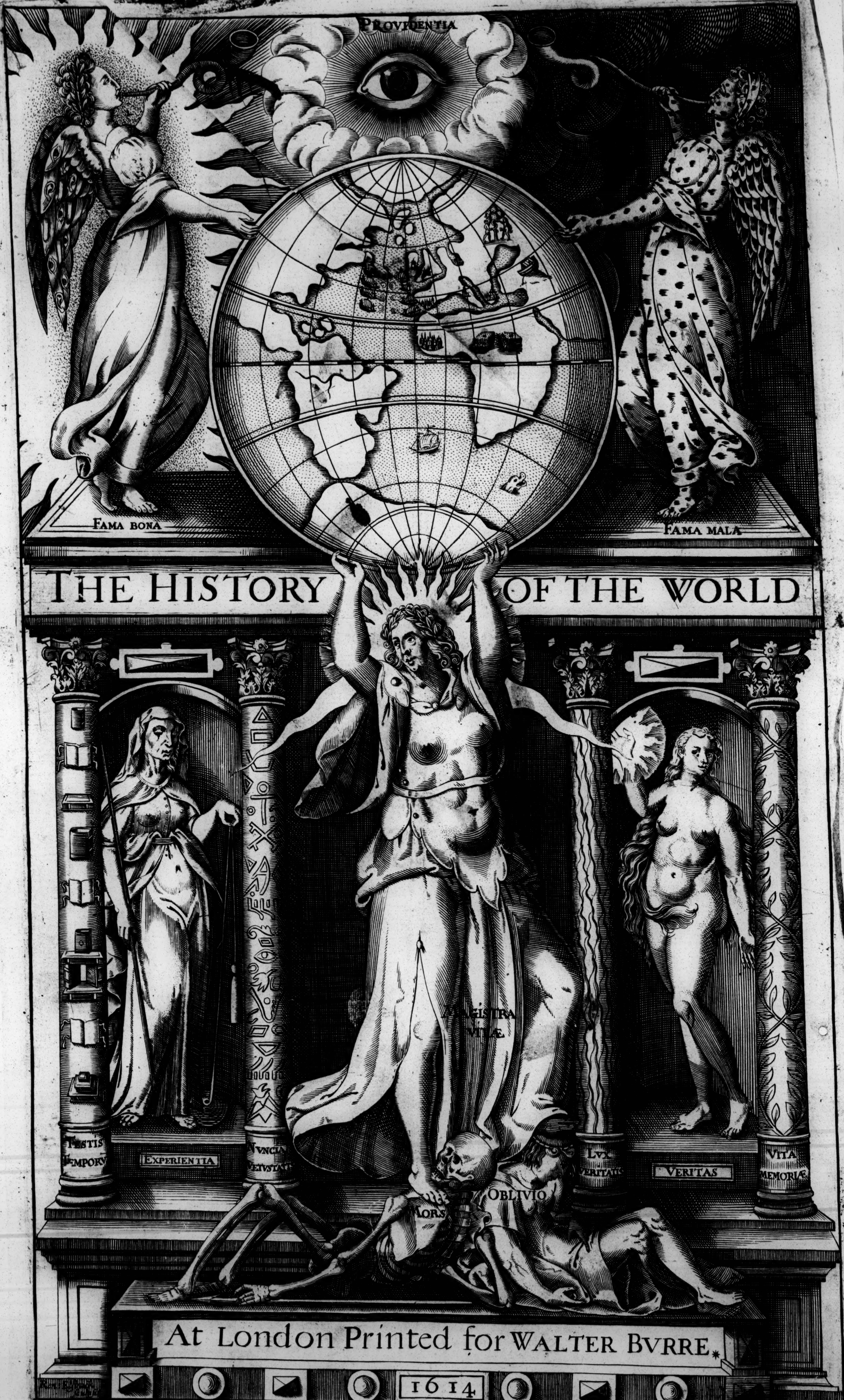

PROVIDENTIA
FAMA BONA
FAMA MALA
TESTIS TEMPORUM
EXPERIENTIA
NUNCIA VETUSTATIS
MAGISTRA VITÆ
LUX VERITATIS
VERITAS
VITA MEMORIÆ
MORS
OBLIVIO

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

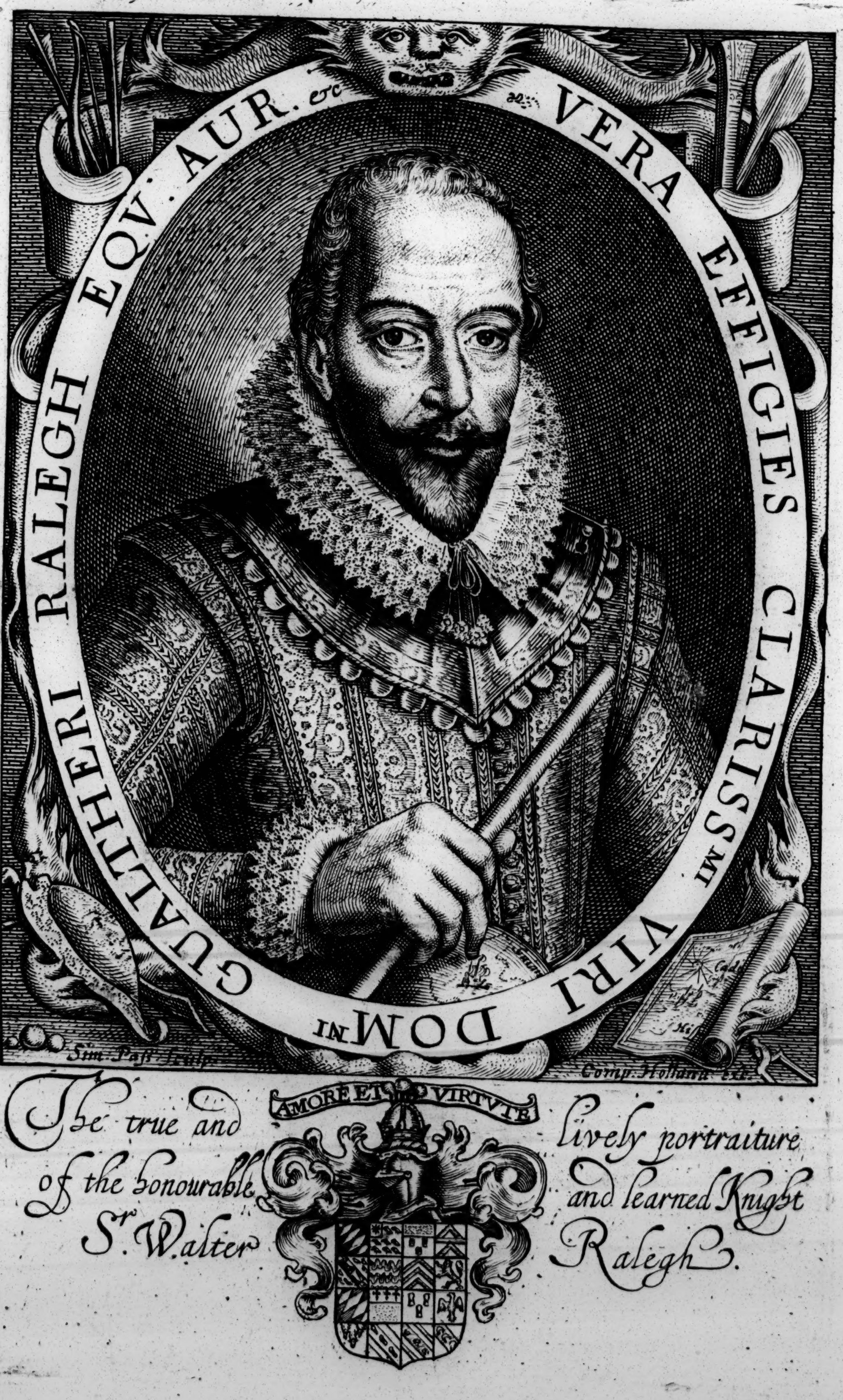
At London Printed for WALTER BURRE.
1614

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

In Fiue Bookes.

1. *INtreating of the Beginning and firſt Ages of the ſame from the Creation vnto* Abraham.
2. *Of the Times from the Birth of* Abraham, *to the deſtruction of the Temple of* Salomon.
3. *From the deſtruction of* Ieruſalem, *to the time of* Philip *of* Macedon.
4. *From the Reigne of* Philip *of* Macedon, *to the eſtabliſhing of that Kingdome, in the Race of* Antigonus.
5. *From the ſetled rule of* Alexanders *ſucceſſors in the Eaſt, vntill the* Romans *(preuailing ouer all) made Conqueſt of* Aſia *and* Macedon.

By Sir Walter Ralegh, *Knight.*


VERA EFFIGIES CLARISSMI VIRI DOMNI GUALTHERI RALEGH EQV. AUR. &c
Sim: Paſs: ſculp:
Comp. Holland exc.
AMORE ET VIRTVTE

The true and lively portraiture of the honourable and learned Knight Sr. Walter Ralegh

291.306

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THE MINDE OF THE FRONT.

F*Rom* Death, *and darke* Obliuion (*neere the ſame*)
The Miſtreſſe of Mans life, *graue* HISTORIE,
Raiſing the VVorld *to good, or euill* FAME,
Doth vindicate it to ETERNITIE.

High PROVIDENCE *would ſo: that nor the Good*
Might be defrauded, nor the Great ſecur'd,
But both might know their waies are vnderſtood,
And the reward, and puniſhment aſſur'd.

This makes, that lighted by the beamie hand
Of TRVTH, *which ſearcheth the moſt hidden ſprings,*
And guided by EXPERIENCE, *whoſe ſtreight Wand,*
Doth mete, whoſe Line *doth ſound the depth of things;*

Shee chearefully ſupporteth what ſhe reares:
Aſſiſted by no ſtrengths, but are her owne.
Some note of which each varied Pillar *beares,*
By which, as proper Titles, ſhe is knowne,

Times VVitneſſe, Herald of Antiquitie,
The Light of Truth, and Life of Memorie

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THE PREFACE.

HOw vnfit, and how vnworthy a choice I haue made of my ſelfe, to vndertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reaſon, though exceeding weake, hath ſufficiently reſolued me. For had it beene begotten then with my firſt dawne of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it ſelfe to my yonger yeares: and before any wound receiued, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well haue doubted that the darkneſſe of Age and Death would haue couered ouer both It and Mee, long before the performance. For beginning with the Creation, I haue proceeded with the Hiſtory of the World; and laſtly purpoſed (ſome few ſallies excepted) to confine my Diſcourſe, within this our renowned Iland of Great Brittaine. *I confeſſe that it had better ſorted with my diſability, the better part of whoſe times are run out in other trauailes; to haue ſet together (as I could) the vnioynted and ſcattered frame of our Engliſh affaires, than of the Vniuerſall: in whom, had there bin no other defect (who am all defect) then the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempeſtuous life, drawne on to the very euening ere I began. But thoſe inmoſt, and ſoule-peircing wounds, which are euer aking while vncured: with the deſire to ſatisfie thoſe few friends, which I haue tryed by the fire of Aduerſitie; the former enforcing, the latter perſwading; haue cauſed me to make my thoughts legible, and my ſelfe the ſubiect of euery opinion wiſe or weake.*

To the World I preſent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither haue others that were, (Fortune changing) ſped much better in any age. For, Proſperity and Aduerſity haue euer-more tyed and vntied vulgar Affections. And as we ſee it in experience, That dogs doe alwayes barke at thoſe they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in thoſe clamours: ſo it is with the inconſiderate multitude; who, wanting that vertue which we call Honeſty in all men and that eſpeciall gift of G O D *which we call Charity in Chriſtian men; condemne without hearing; and wound, without offence giuen: led there-vnto by vncertaine report only; which his* Maieſty *truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies:* Blame no man (*ſaith Siracides*) before thou haue enquired the matter: vnderſtand firſt, and then reforme righteouſly. *Rumor, res ſine teſte, ſine iudice, maligna, fallax;* Rumor is without witneſſe, without iudge, malicious and deceiueable. *This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gaue Saint* Auguſtine *Argument to affirme, That he feared the praiſe of good men, and deteſted that of the euill. And herein no man hath giuen a better rule, then this of* Seneca; Conſcientiæ ſatisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus, ſequatur vel mala, dum bene merearis. Let vs ſatisfie our owne conſciences, and

Dæmonolog. l. 3. c. 1.

Eccl. c. 11. v. 7.

Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis deteſtor. Sen. de ira. l. 3. c. 22.

not trouble our ſelues with fame: bee it neuer ſo ill, it is to be deſpiſed ſo we deſerue well.

For my ſelfe, if I haue in any thing ſerued my Country, and priſed it before my priuate: the general acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time than doth a faire ſunſhine day to a Sea-man after ſhipwrack; & the contrary no other harme than an outragious tempeſt after the Port attained. I know that I loſt the loue of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I muſt ſtill honor in the duſt; though further then the defence of her excellent perſon, I neuer perſecuted any man. Of thoſe that did it, and by what deuice they did it, He that is the Supreame Iudge of all the world, hath taken the accompt: ſo as for this kinde of ſuffering, I muſt ſay with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that haue made themſelues Fathers of that fame, which hath beene begotten for them: I can neither enuy at ſuch their purchaſed glory, nor much lament mine owne miſhap in that kind; but content my ſelfe to ſay with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, *in many particulars. To labour other ſatiſfaction, were an effect of phrenzy, not of hope: ſeeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can trauell the World without a paſſport. For were it otherwiſe; and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then ſome poſſibility, to perſwade by the mouth of one Aduocate, euen Equity alone.*

But ſuch is the multiplying & extenſiue vertue of dead Earth, & of that breath-giuing life which God hath caſt vpon ſlime & duſt, as that among thoſe that were, of whom we read & heare, and among thoſe that are, whom we ſee & conuerſe with; euery one hath receiued a ſeuerall picture of face, & euery one a diuers picture of minde; euery one a forme apart, euery one a fancy & cogitation differing: there being nothing wherin Nature ſo much triumpheth as in diſſimilitude. From whence it commeth that there is found ſo great diuerſity of opinions; ſo ſtrong a contrariety of inclinations; ſo many naturall & vnnatural; wiſe, fooliſh; manly, & childiſh affections, and paſſions in mortall Men. For it is not the viſible faſhion and ſhape of plants, and of reaſonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme internall.

And though it hath pleaſed God, to reſerue the Art of reading mens thoughts to himſelfe: yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; ſo do the outward workes of men (ſo far as their cogitatiõs are acted) giue vs wherof to gueſſe at the reſt. Nay, it were not hard to expreſſe the one by the other, very neare the life: did not craft in many feare in the moſt, and the worlds loue in all, teach euery capacity, according to the compaſſe it hath, to qualifie and maske ouer their inward deformities for a time. Though it be alſo true, Nemo poteſt diu perſonam ferre fictam: cito in naturam ſuam reſidunt, quibus veritas non ſubeſt. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behauiour: the things that are forced for pretences hauing no ground of truth, cannot long diſſẽble their owne natures. *Neither can any man (ſaith* Plutarch*) ſo change himſelfe, but that his heart may be ſometimes ſeene at his tongues end.*

In this great diſcord and diſſimilitude of reaſonable Creatures, if we direct our ſelues to the Multitude; Omnis honeſtæ rei malus iudex eſt vulgus: The common people are euill Iudges of honeſt things, *and* whoſe Wiſedome *(ſaith Eccleſiaſtes)* is to be deſpiſed; *if to the better ſort; euery vnderſtanding* hath a peculiar iudgement, by which it both cenſureth other men, & valueth it ſelf. And therefore vnto me it will not ſeeme ſtrange, though I finde theſe my worthles papers torne with Rats: ſeeing the ſlothfull Cenſureres of al ages haue not ſpared to taxe the Reuerend Fathers of the Church, with Ambitiō; the ſeuereſt men to themſelues, with Hypocriſie; the greateſt louers of Iuſtice, with Popularity; and thoſe of the trueſt valour and fortitude, with vaine-glory. But of theſe natures which lye in wait to finde fault, and to turne good into euill, ſeeing Salomon complained long ſince: & that the very age of the world renders it euery day after other more malicious; I muſt leaue the profeſſors to their eaſie wayes of reprehenſion, than which there is nothing of more facility.

Eccl.c.11. *Nihil facilius, quam reprehendere alium.*

To me it belongs in the firſt part of this Preface, following the common & approued cuſtome of thoſe, who haue left the memories of time paſt to after ages; to giue, as neare as I can, the ſame right to Hiſtory which they haue done. Yet ſeeing therein I ſhould but borrow other mens words; I wil not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefits, for which it hath bin honoured; in this one it triumpheth ouer all humane knowledge, That it hath giuen vs life in our vnderſtanding, ſince the world it ſelfe had life & beginning, euen to this day: yea it hath triumphed ouer time, which beſides it nothing but eternity hath triumphed ouer: for it hath carried our knowledge ouer the vaſt and deuouring ſpace of many thouſands of yeares, & giuen ſo faire & peircing eies to our minde; that we plainly behold liuing now (as if we had liued then) that great world, Magni Dei ſapiens opus, the wiſe worke (ſaith Hermes) of a great GOD, as it was then, when but new to it ſelfe. By it (I ſay) it is, that we liue in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was gouerned: how it was couered with waters, and againe repeopled: How Kings and Kingdomes haue flouriſhed & fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made proſperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one & the other. And it is not the leaſt debt which we owe vnto Hiſtory, that it hath made vs acquainted with out dead Aunceſtors; and, out of the depth and darkeneſſe of the earth, deliuered vs their memory and fame. In a word, wee may gather out of Hiſtory a policy no leſſe wiſe than eternall; by the compariſon and application of other mens fore-paſſed miſeries with our owne like errours & ill deſeruings. But it is neither of Examples the moſt liuely inſtruction, nor the words of the wiſeſt men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet ſo wrought in our blind and ſtupified mindes; as to make vs remember, That the infinite eye and wiſdome of God doth peirce through all our pretences; as to make vs remember, That the iuſtice of God doth require none other accuſer, than our owne conſciences: which neither the falſe beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formalitie, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the leaſt kind, couer from his knowledge. And ſo much did that Heathen wiſedome confeſſe, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (ſaith Euripides) hauing in his life committed wickedneſſe, thinke he can hide it from the euerlaſting gods, he thinkes not well.

To repeat GODS iudgements in particular, vpon thoſe of all degrees, which haue plaied with his mercies; would require a volume apart: for the Sea of examples hath no bottome. The markes, ſet on priuate men, are with their bodies caſt into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of thoſe that liued with them: ſo as they who ſucceed, and haue not ſeene the fall of others, *doe not feare their owne faults.* GODS *iudgments vpon the greater & greateſt haue beene left to poſteritie; firſt, by thoſe happy hands which the Holy Ghoſt hath guided; and ſecondly, by their vertue, who haue gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkeable in the world. Now to poynt farre off, and to ſpeake of the conuerſion of Angells into Deuills, for Ambition: Or of the greateſt and moſt glorious Kings, who haue gnawne the graſſe of the earth with beaſts for pride and ingratitude towards* GOD*: Or of that wiſe working of* Pharao, *when he ſlue the Infants of* Iſrael, *ere they had recouered their Cradles: Or of the policy of* Iezabel, *in couering the Murder of* Naboth *by a triall of the* Elders, *according to the Law: with many thouſands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeleſſe proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the ſame farre-off reſpects, as heretofore? For who hath not obſerued, what labour, practiſe, perill, bloudſhed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world haue vndergone, exerciſed, taken on them, and committed; to make them-ſelues and their iſſues maiſters of the world? And yet hath* Babilō, Perſia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, *& the reſt, no fruit, flower, graſſe, nor leafe, ſpringing vpon the face of the earth, of thoſe ſeeds: No; their very roots & ruines do hardly remaine.* Omnia quæ manu hominum facta ſunt, vel manu hominum euertuntur, vel ſtando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is either ouerturnd by the hand of man, or at length by ſtanding and continuing conſumed. *The reaſons of whoſe ruines, are diuerſly giuen by thoſe that ground their opinions on ſecond cauſes. All Kingdomes & States haue fallen (ſay the Politicians) by outward & forrain force, or by inward negligence & diſſenſion, or by a third cauſe ariſing from both: Others obſerue, That the greateſt haue ſunck downe vnder their own weight; of which* Liuie *hath a touch:* eo creuit, vt magnitudine laboret ſua: *Others, That the diuine prouidence (which* Cratippus *obiected to* Pompey) *hath ſet downe the date and period of euery Eſtate; before their firſt foundation and erection. But hereof I will giue my ſelfe a day ouer to reſolue.*

For ſeeing the firſt bookes of the following ſtory, haue vndertaken the diſcourſe of the firſt Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impoſſible for the ſhort life of a Preface, to trauaile after and ouer-take farre off Antiquity, and to iudge of it; I will, for the preſent, examine what profit hath beene gathered by our owne Kings, and their Neighbour Princes: who hauing beheld, both in diuine and humane letters, the ſucceſſe of infidelitie, iniuſtice, and crueltie; haue (notwithſtanding) planted after the ſame patterne.

True it is, that the iudgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more ſtrange) the affection of any one man ſtirred vp a-like with examples of like nature: But euery one is touched moſt, with that which moſt neerely ſeemeth to touch his owne priuate; Or otherwiſe beſt ſuteth with his apprehenſion. But the iudgements of GOD *are for euer vnchangeable; neither is hee wearied by the long proceſſe of time, and won to giue his bleſſing in one age, to that which he hath curſed in another. Wherefore thoſe that are wiſe, or whoſe wiſedome, if it bee not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to diſcerne the bitter fruites of irreligious policie, as well among thoſe examples that are found in ages remoued farre from the preſent, as in thoſe of latter times. And that it may no leſſe* *appeare by euident proofe, than by aſſeueration, That ill doing hath alwaies beene attended with ill ſucceſſe; I will here, by way of preface, runne ouer ſome examples, which the worke enſuing hath not reached.*

Among our Kings of the Norman *race, we haue no ſooner paſſed ouer the violence of the* Norman *Conqueſt, than we encounter with a ſingular and moſt remarkable example of Gods Iuſtice, vpon the children of* Henry *the firſt. For that King, when both by force, craft and cruelty, he had diſpoſſeſt, ouerreacht, and laſtly made blinde and deſtroyed his elder Brother* Robert *Duke of* Normandy*, to make his owne ſonnes Lords of this Land:* GOD *caſt them al, Male and Female, Nephewes and Neeces (*Maud *excepted) into the bottome of the* Sea*, with aboue a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearely beloued.*

To paſſe ouer the reſt, till we come to Edward *the Second; it is certaine, that after the murder of that King, the iſſue of blood then made, though it had ſome times of ſtay and ſtopping, did againe breake out, and that ſo often and in ſuch aboundance, as all our Princes of the Maſculine race (very few excepted) dyed of the ſame diſeaſe. And although the young yeares of* Edward *the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more then ſuſpitious: yet in that he afterwards cauſed his owne Vncle the Earle of* Kent *to die, for no other offence than the deſire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earle as then ſuppoſed to be liuing; the King making that to be treaſon in his Vncle, which was indeed treaſon in himſelfe, (had his Vncles intelligence beene true) this I ſay made it manifeſt, that he was not ignorant of what had paſt, nor greatly deſirous to haue had it otherwiſe; though he cauſed* Mortimer *to dye for the ſame.*

This cruelty the ſecret and vnſearchable iudgement of GOD *reuenged, on the Grand-child of* Edward *the Third: and ſo it fell out, euen to the laſt of that line, that in the ſecond or third deſcent they were all buried vnder the ruines of thoſe buildings, of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent bloud. For* Richard *the ſecond, who ſaw, both his* Treaſurers, *his* Chancellor, *and his* Steward, *with diuers others of his Counſailours, ſome of them ſlaughtered by the people, others in his abſence executed by his enemies; yet he alwayes tooke himſelfe for ouer-wiſe, to be taught by examples. The Earles of* Huntingdon *and* Kent, Montague *&* Spencer, *who thought themſelues as great Politiciãs in thoſe daies as others haue done in theſe: hoping to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelues, by the Murder of* Glouceſter; *died ſoone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farre more ſhamefully then did that Duke. And as for the King himſelfe (who in regard of many deedes, vnworthy of his Greatneſſe, cannot be excuſed, as the diſauowing himſelfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents:) Hee was in the prime of his youth depoſed, and murdered by his Coſen* Germane *and vaſſall,* Henry *of* Lancaſter; *afterwards* Henry *the fourth.*

This King, whoſe Title was weake, & his obtaining the Crowne traiterous: who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, proteſting to intend onely the recouerie of his proper inheritance; brake faith with Richard *himſelfe; and brake Faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom hee ſwore that the depoſed King ſhould liue. After that hee had enioyed this Realme ſome few yeares, and in that time had beene ſet vpon on all ſides by his Subiects, and neuer free from* conſpiracies & rebellions: he ſaw (if ſoules immortall ſee & diſcerne any things after the bodies death) his Grand-childe Henry the ſixt, & his Son the Prince, ſuddenly & without mercy, murdered; the poſſeſſion of the Crowne (for which he had cauſed ſo much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race; & by the Iſſues of his enemies worne & enioyd: enemies, whom by his own practiſe he ſuppoſed that he had left no leſſe power-leſſe, than the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom queſtionleſſe; by entailing the ſame vpon his own Iſſues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reaſon could haue iudged no otherwiſe, but that theſe cautious prouiſions of the father, ſeconded by the valour & ſignall victories of his ſon Henry the fift, had buried the hopes of euery Competitor, vnder the deſpaire of all reconqueſt and recouery. I ſay, that humane reaſon might ſo haue iudged: were not this paſſage of Caſaubon alſo true; Dies, hora, momentum, euertendis dominationibus ſufficit, quæ adamãtinis credebantur radicibus eſſe fundatæ; A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that ſeemed to haue beene founded & rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henry the ſixt, vpon whom the great ſtorme of his Grandfathers grieuous faultes fell, as it formerly had done vpon Richard the Grand-childe of Edward: although he was generally eſteemed for a gentle & innocent Prince, yet as he refuſed the daughter of Armaignac, of the Houſe of Nauarre, the greateſt of the Princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might haue defended his inheritance in France) & maried the Daughter of Aniou, (by which he loſt all that hee had in France) ſo in condeſcending to the vnworthy death of his Vncle of Gloceſter, the maine and ſtrong Pillar of the houſe of Lancaſter; He drew on himſelfe & this kingdome the greateſt ioynt-loſſe & diſhonor, that euer it ſuſtained ſince the Norman Conqueſt. Of whom it may truly be ſaid which a Counſellor of his own ſpake of Henry the third of France, Q'uil eſtoit vne fort gẽtile Prince; mais ſon reigne eſt aduenu en vne fort mauuois temps. That he was a very gentle Prince; but his reigne happened in a very vnfortunate ſeaſon.

It is true that Buckingham & Suffolke were the practiſers and contriuers of the Dukes death: Buckingham and Suffolk, becauſe the Duke gaue inſtructions to their authority, which otherwiſe vnder the Queene had bin abſolute; the Queene in reſpect of her perſonall wound, ſpretæque iniuria formæ, becauſe Gloceſter diſſwaded her marriage. But the fruit was anſwerable to the ſeed; the ſucceſſe to the Counſaile. For after the cutting downe of Glouceſter, Yorke grew vp ſo faſt, as he dared to diſpute his right both by arguments & armes; in which quarrel, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greateſt number of their adherents, were diſſolued. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleaſed God to ſtrike down Yorke: yet his ſon the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, deſpoyled Henry the Father, and Edward, the ſon, both of their liues and Kingdome. And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queene, other then this, That ſhe liued to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that ſhe liued to looke on, while her Husband the King, & her onely ſon the Prince, were hewen in ſunder; while the Crowne was ſet on his head that did it. Shee liued to ſee her ſelfe diſpoyled of her Eſtate, and of her moueables: and laſtly, her father, by rendering vp to the Crowne of France the Earledome of Prouence and other places for the payment of fifty thouſand crownes for her Ranſome, to be-

come

came a ſtarke Begger. And this was the end of that ſubtilty, which Siracides *calleth* fine *but* vnrighteous: *for other fruit hath it neuer yeeleded ſince the world was.* Sirach. 19.

And now it came to Edward *the fourths turne (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the plants of* Lancaſter *were rooted vp; one only Earle of* Richmond *excepted: whom alſo he had once bought of the Duke of Brittain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of* Edward *ſuch a Plantation, as could any way promiſe it ſelfe ſtability For this* Edward *the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the ſlaughter, which* Glouceſter, Dorſet, Haſtings, *and others, made of* Edward *the Prince in his owne preſence: of which tragicall Actors, there was not one that eſcaped the iudgement of GOD in the ſame kinde. And He, which (beſides the execution of his brother* Clarence, *for none other offence then he him-ſelf had formed in his own imagination) inſtructed* Glouceſter *to kil* Henry *the ſixt, his Predeceſſour; taught him alſo by the ſame Art to kill his owne ſons & ſucceſſors* Edward *and* Richard. For thoſe Kings which haue ſold the blood of others at a low rate; haue but made the market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the ſame price.

To Edward *the fourth ſucceeded* Richard *the Third, the greateſt Maiſter in miſchiefe of all that fore-went him: who although, for the neceſſity of his Tragedie, he had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne perſon, then all the reſt; yet he ſo well fitted euery affection that playd with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne intereſt. For he wrought ſo cunningly vpon the affections of* Haſtings, *and* Buckingham, *enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred, as he eaſily allured them to condeſcend, that* Riuers *and* Grey, *the Kings Maternall Vncle and halfe brother, ſhould (for the firſt) be ſeuered from him: ſecondly, he wrought their conſent to haue them impriſoned and laſtly (for the avoyding of future inconuenience) to haue their heads ſeuered from their bodies. And hauing now brought thoſe his chiefe inſtruments to exerciſe that common precept, which the Deuill hath written on euery poſt, namely, To depreſſe thoſe whom they had grieued, and to deſtroy thoſe whom they had depreſt; Hee vrged that argument ſo farre and ſo forcibly; as nothing but the death of the yong king himſelfe, & of his brother, could faſhion the concluſion. For he cauſed it to be hammered into* Buckinghams *head, That, whenſoeuer the King or his brother, ſhould haue able yeares to exerciſe their power; they would take a moſt ſeuere reuenge of that cureleſſe wrong, offered to their Vncle and Brother,* Riuers *and* Grey.

Scelera ſceleribus tuenda
Sen. de clem.

But this was not his manner of reaſoning with Haſtings, *whoſe fidelity to his Maſters Sonnes was without ſuſpect: and yet the Diuell, who neuer diſſwades by impoſſibility, taught him to try him. And ſo he did. But when hee found by* Catesby *who ſounded him, that he was not fordable; He firſt reſolued to kill him ſitting in councell: wherein hauing fayled with his ſword; He ſet the Hangman vpon him, with a weapon of more weight. And becauſe nothing elſe could moue his appetite, He cauſed his head to be ſtricken off, before hee eate his dinner. A greater iudgement of God, than this vpon* Haſtings *I haue neuer obſerued in any ſtorie. For the ſelfe ſame day that the Earle* Riuers, Grey, *and others, were (without triall of Law, or offence giuen) by* Haſtings *aduice executed at* Pomfret *I ſay* Haſtings *himſelfe in the ſame day, & (as I take it) in the ſame houre, in the ſame law-leſſe maner, had his head ſtricken off in the Tower of* London.

But Buckingham liued a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perſwaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king. And hauing receiued the Earldome of Hereford for reward, beſides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely ſonne; after many grieuous vexations of mind, and vnfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and deliuered vp by his truſtieſt ſeruant; He had his head ſeuered from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peeres. And what ſucceſſe had Richard himſelfe after all theſe miſchiefes & murders, policies, and counter-policies to Chriſtian religion: & after ſuch time, as with a moſt mercileſſe hand he had preſſed out the breath of his Nephews and Naturall Lords; other than the proſperitie of ſo ſhort a life, as it tooke end, ere himſelfe could well looke ouer and diſcerne it? The great outcry of innocent bloud, obtained at GODS hands the effuſion of his; who became a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonor, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruell King, Henry the 7. cut off; & was therein (no doubt) the immediate inſtrument of Gods iuſtice. A politicke Prince he was if euer there were any, who by the engine of his wiſdome, beate downe & ouerturned as many ſtrong oppoſitions both before & after he wore the crowne, as euer King of England did: I ſay by his wiſdome, becauſe as he euer left the raines of his affectiõs in the hands of his profit, ſo he alwaies wayed his vndertakings by his abilities, leauing nothing more to hazard than ſo much as cannot be denied it in all humaine actions. He had wel obſerued the proceedings of Loys the eleuenth, whom he followed in all that was royall or royall-like, but he was farre more iuſt, and begun not their proceſſes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

He could neuer endure any mediation in rewarding his ſeruants, & therein exceeding wiſe; for whatſoeuer him-ſelfe gaue, he him-ſelfe receiued backe the thanks & the loue, knowing it well that the affections of men (purchaſed by nothing ſo readily as by benefits) were traynes that better became great kings, than great ſubiects. On the contrary, in whatſoeuer he greeued his ſubiects, he wiſely put it off on thoſe, that he found fit miniſters for ſuch actions. How-ſo-euer, the taking off, of Stanlies head, who ſet the Crowne on his, & the death of the yong Earle of Warwick, ſon to George D. of Clarence, ſhews, as the ſucceſſe alſo did, that he held ſomewhat of the errors of his Anceſters; for his poſſeſſion in the firſt line ended in his grãd-children as that of Edward the third and Henry the fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eight: if all the pictures and Patternes of a mercileſſe Prince were loſt in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the ſtory of this King. For how many ſeruants did he aduãce in haſt (but for what vertue no man could ſuſpect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more deſert gaue he aboundant flowers from whence to gather hony, and in the end of Harueſt burnt them in the Hiue? How many wiues did he cut off, & caſt off, as his fancy & affection chãged? How many Princes of the bloud (whereof ſome of them for age could hardly crawle towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles haue kept the accompt) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to haue giuen his accompt to GOD for the abundance of bloud already ſpilt: He impriſoned the Duke of Norfolke the Father; & executed the Earle of Surrey the ſon; the one, whoſe deſeruings he knew not how to value, hauing neuer omitted any thing that concerned his own ho-

nour, & the Kings ſeruice; the other, neuer hauing cōmitted any thing worthy of his leaſt diſpleaſure: the one exceeding valiant and aduiſed; the other no leſſe valiant than learned, & of excellent hope. But beſides the ſorrowes which he heaped vpon the Fatherleſſe, & widdowes at home: and beſides the vaine enterpriſes abroad, wherein it is thought that he cōſumed more Treaſure, than all our victorious Kings did in their ſeuerall Conqueſts: what cauſeleſſe and cruell warres did he make vpon his owne Nephew King Iames *the fift? What Lawes & Wills did he deuiſe, to eſtabliſh this Kingdome in his owne iſſues? vſing his ſharpeſt weapons to cut off, and cut downe thoſe branches, which ſprang from the ſame roote that himſelfe did. And in the end (notwithſtanding theſe his ſo many irreligious prouiſions) it pleaſed God to take away all his owne, without increaſe; though, for themſelues in their ſeuerall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For theſe words of* Samuel *to* Agag *King of the* Amalikites, *haue beene verified vpon many others:* As thy ſword hath made other women childleſſe ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſſe among other women. *And that blood, which the ſame King* Henry *affirmed, that the cold aire of* Scotland *had frozen vp in the North, God hath diffuſed by the ſunſhine of his grace: from whence* His Maieſtie *now liuing, & long to liue, is deſcended. Of whom I may ſay it truely; That if al the malice of the world were infuſed into one eie: yet could it not diſcerne in his life, euen to this day, any one of thoſe foule ſpots, by which the conſciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) haue bene defiled, nor any droppe of that innocent blood on the ſword of his iuſtice, with which the moſt that fore-went him, haue ſtayned both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of* England; *it may truely be a-vowed: That he hath receiued it euen from the hand of God, and hath ſtayed the time of putting it on, howſoeuer he were prouoked to haſten it: That He neuer tooke reuenge of any man, that ſought to put him beſide it: That he refuſed the aſſiſtance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as euer Princeſſe did. That his* Maieſtie *entred not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right ſet open; and into which, by a generall loue and Obedience, Hee was receiued. And howſoeuer* His Maieſties *preceding title to this Kingdome, was perferred by many Princes (witneſſe the Treaty at* Cambray *in the yeare,* 1559.) *yet he neuer pleaſed to diſpute it, during the life of that renowned* Lady *his Prædeceſſor; no, notwithſtanding the iniury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long raigne.*

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulneſſe to GOD *for the vniting of the Northern parts of Brittany to the South, to wit of Scotland to England, which though they were ſeuered but by ſmall brookes and bankes, yet by reaſon of the long continewed warre, and the cruelties exerciſed vpon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitly ſeuered. This I ſay is not the leaſt of Gods bleſſings which* His Maieſtie *hath brought with him vnto this Land: No, put all our petty greeuances together, & heap them vp to their hight, thy wil appeare but as a Mole-hill compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Hiſtorians ſince then, haue acknowledged the vniting of the Red-Roſe, and the White, for the greateſt happineſſe; (Chriſtian Religion excepted) that euer this Kingdome receiued from* GOD, *certainly the peace betweene the two Lions of gold & gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, beſides the ſparing of our britiſh blood, heretofore and during the difference, ſo often & aboundantly ſhed, the ſtate of England is more aſſured, the Kingdome more* *inabled to recouer her ancient honor and rights, and by it made more inuincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies & conqueſts. It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the yeare* 1588. *ioyned the army which hee commanded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the ſouth coaſt; & had his Maieſty at the ſame time declared himſelfe againſt vs in the north: it is eaſie to diuine what had become of the liberty of England, certainely we would then without murmur haue brought this vnion a farre greater praiſe than it hath ſince coſt vs. It is true, that there was neuer any Cōmon weale or Kingdom in the world, wherein no man had cauſe to lament. Kings liue in the world & not aboue it. They are not infinit to examine euery mans cauſe, or to relieue euery mans wants, And yet in the latter, (though to his owne preiudice)* His Maieſtie *hath had more compaſſion of other mens neceſſities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be ſaid as* of Salomon, Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem cordis: *Which if other men do not vnderſtād with* Pineda, *to be meant by* Liberality, *but by* Latitude of knowledge; *yet may it be better ſpoken of* His Maieſtie, *than of any King that euer* Englād *had; who as well in diuine, as humane vnderſtāding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.*

Pin comment. in Sal.1.K.4.

I could ſay much more of the Kings Maieſty, *without flatterie: did I not feare the imputation of preſumption, & withall ſuſpect, that it might befall theſe papers of mine, (though the loſſe were little) as it did the Pictures of* Queene Elizabeth, *made by vnskilfull and common Painters, which by her own commandement were knockt in peeces and caſt into the fire. For ill* Artiſts, *in ſetting out the beauty of the externall: and weake writers, in deſcribing the vertues of the internall: doe often leaue to poſterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the moſt perfect and Princely mindes, a moſt defectiue repreſentation. It may ſuffice, and there needes no other diſcourſe; if the honeſt* Reader *but compare the cruell & turbulent paſſages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom for that purpoſe I haue inſerted this breife diſcourſe) with* His Maieſties *temperate, reuengeleſſe, and liberall diſpoſition: I ſay, that if the honeſt Reader weigh them iuſtly, and with an euen hand: & withall but beſtow euery deformed child on his true Parent; He ſhall find, that there is no man that hath ſo iuſt cauſe to complaine, as the King him-ſelfe hath. Now as we haue tolde the ſucceſſe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great perſonages: ſo we finde, that* GOD *is euery where the ſame* GOD. *And as it pleaſed him to puniſh the vſurpation, & vnnatural cruelty of* Henry *the firſt, & of our third* Edward, *in their Children for many generations: ſo dealt* He *with the ſons of* Loys Debonaire, *the ſon of* Charles *the great, or* Charlemaine. *For after ſuch time as* Debonaire *of* France, *had torne out the eies of* Bernard *his Nephew, the ſon of* Pepin *the eldeſt ſon of* Charlemaine, *& heire of the Empire, and then cauſed him to die in priſon, as did our* Henry *to* Robert *his eldeſt brother: there followed nothing but murders vpon murders, poyſoning, impriſonments, & ciuill warre; till the whole race of that famous* Emperour *was extinguiſhed. And though* Debonaire, *after he had rid himſelfe of his Nephew by a violent death; & of his baſtard Brothers by a ciuil death (hauing incloſed them with ſure gard, al the daies of their liues, within a Monaſtery) held himſelf ſecure from all oppoſitiō: Yet God raiſed vp againſt him (which he ſuſpected not) his own ſons, to vex him, to inuade him, to take him priſoner, & to depoſe him; his owne ſons, with whom (to ſatisfie their ambition)*

hee

he had ſhared his eſtate, and giuen them Crownes to weare, and Kingdomes to gouerne, during his owne life. Yea his eledſt ſon Lothaire (*for he had foure, three by his firſt wife, & one by his ſecond; to wit,* Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, *and* Charles) *made it the cauſe of his depoſition, That he had vſed violence towards his brothers and kinſmen; and that he had ſuffered his Nephew (whom he might haue deliuered) to be ſlaine,* eo quod, *ſaith the Text,* fratribus, et propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem ſuum, quem ipſe liberare poterat, interfici permiſerit: Becauſe he vſed violence to his Brothers and Kinſmen, & ſuffered his Nephew to be ſlaine whom he might haue deliuered.

Step. Paſquiere recher. l. 5. c. 1.

Yet did he that which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his crueltie. For among many other things, which he performed in the Generall Aſſemblie of the States, it followes: Poſt hæc autem palam ſe erraſſe confeſſus, & imitatus Imperatoris *Theodoſii* exemplum, pœnitentiam ſpontaneam ſuſcepit, tam de his, quam quæ in *Bernardum* proprium nepotem geſſerat. After this he did openly confeſſe him-ſelfe to haue erred, and following the example of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, hee vnder-went voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done againſt *Barnard* his own Nephew.

Paſq Ibidem.

This he did: and it was praiſe-worthie. But the bloud that is vniuſtly ſpilt, is not againe gathered vp from the ground by repentance. Theſe Medicines, miniſtred to the dead, haue but dead rewards.

This King, as I haue ſaid, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire *his eldeſt he gaue the Kingdome of* Italy; *as* Charlemaine, *his father, had done to* Pepin *the father of* Bernard, *who was to ſucceed him in the Empire. To* Pepin *the ſecond ſon he gaue the Kingdome of* Aquitaine: *to* Loys, *the Kingdome of Bauier: and to* Charles, *whom hee had by a ſecond wife called* Iudith, *the remainder of the Kingdome of* France. *But this ſecond wife, being a Mother-in-law to the reſt, perſwaded* Debonaire *to caſt his ſon* Pepin *out of* Aquitaine; *therby to greaten* Charls *which, after the death of his ſon* Pepin, *he proſequuted to effect, againſt his Grãdchild bearing the ſame name. In the meane while; being inuaded by his ſon* Loys *of* Bauier, *he dies for greife.*

Debonaire *dead:* Loys *of* Bauier, *and* Charles *afterwards called the* bald, *& their Nephew* Pepin *of* Aquitaine, *ioyne in league againſt the Emperour* Lothaire *their eldeſt brother. They fight neare to* Auxerre *the moſt bloody battaile that euer was ſtroken in* France: *in which, the marueilous loſſe of Nobility, & men of warre, gaue courage to the* Saracens *to inuade* Italie; *to the* Hunnes *to fal vpō* Almaine; *& the* Danes, *to enter vpon* Normandy. Charles *the* bald *by treaſon ſeizeth vpon his Nephew* Pepin, *kills him in a* Cloyſter, Carloman *rebells againſt his Father* Charles *the* Bald, *the Father burnes out the eies of his ſon* Carloman; Bauier *inuades the Emperour* Lothaire *his brother,* Lothaire *quits the Empire, Hee is aſſailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conſcience, for his rebellion againſt his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monaſterie.* Charles *the* Bald, *the Vncle oppreſſeth his Nephewes the ſonnes of* Lothaire, *hee vſurpeth the Empire to the preiudice of* Loyes *of* Bauier *his elder Brother,* Bauiers *armies and his ſonne* Carloman *are beaten, hee dies of griefe, & the Vſurper* Charles *is poyſoned by* Zedechias *a* Iew *his Phiſitian, his ſonne* Loys le Beque *dies of the ſame drinke.* Beque *had* Charles the ſimple *and two Baſtards,* Loys *and* Carloman; *they rebell againſt their Brother, but the eldeſt breakes his Neck, the younger is ſlaine by a wild Bore; the ſon of* Bauiere *had the ſame ill deſtiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in ſporting with his companions.* Charles *the* groſſe *becomes Lord of all that the ſonnes of* Debonaire *held in* Germanie; *wherewith not contented, he inuades* Charles the ſimple: *but being forſaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his vnderſtanding, he dies a diſtracted begger.* Charles the ſimple *is held in Wardſhip by* Eudes Maior *of the Pallace, then by* Robert *the Brother of* Eudes, *and laſtly being taken by the Earle of* Vermandois, *hee is forced to die in the priſon of* Peron: Loyes *the ſonne of* Charles the ſimple *breakes his neck in chaſing a Wolfe, & of the two ſonnes of this* Loys, *the one dies of poyſon, the other dies in the priſon of* Orleans; *after whom* Hugh Capet, *of another race, and a ſtranger to the* French *makes him-ſelfe King.*

Theſe miſerable ends had the iſſues of Debonaire: *who after he had once apparelled iniuſtice with authority, his ſonnes and ſucceſſours tooke vp the faſhion; and wore that Garment ſo long without other prouiſion, as when the ſame was torne from their ſhoulders, euery man deſpiſed them as miſerable & naked beggers. The wretched ſucceſſe they had,* (*ſaith a learned* French-man) *ſhewes,* que en ceſte mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la iuſtice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit, of *Bernard* the ſon of *Pepin,* the true heire of *Charlemaine,* men had more medling, than either God, or Iuſtice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certaine that Francis *the firſt, One of the worthieſt Kings* (*except for that fact*) *that euer the* French men *had, did neuer enioy him-ſelfe; after hee had commended the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of* Mirandol & Cabrieres, *to the Parliament of* Prouence, *which poore people were thervpon burnt, and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true, that the ſaid King* Francis *repented him-ſelfe of the fact, and gaue charge to* Henry *his ſonne, to do iuſtice vpon the Murderers, threatning his ſonne with* GODS *iudgments, if hee neglected it. But this vnſeaſonable care of his,* GOD *was not pleaſed to accept for payment. For after* Henry *him-ſelfe was ſlaine in ſport by* Montgomery; *wee all may remember what became of his foure ſonnes;* Francis, Charles, Henry, *and* Hercules. *Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: Yet were they, one after another, caſt out of the world, without ſtock or ſeed. And not-with-ſtanding their ſubtilty, and breach of faith; with all their Maſſacres vpon thoſe of the religion, and great effuſion of bloud; the Crowne was ſet on his head, whom they all laboured to diſſolue, the Proteſtants remaine more in number than euer they were; and hold to this day more ſtrong citties than euer they had.*

Let vs now ſee if God be not the ſame God in Spaine, *as in* England & France. *Towards whom wee will looke no further backe than to* Don Pedro *of* Caſtile: *in reſpect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of* Sicil, *our* Richard *the third, and the great* Euan Vaſilowick *of* Moſcouia, *were but pettie ones: this* Caſtilian, *of all Chriſtian and Heathen Kings, hauing beene the moſt mercileſſe. For beſides thoſe of his owne bloud and Nobility which he cauſed to be ſlaine in his owne Court & Chamber, as* Sancho Ruis *the great Maſter of* Calatraua, Ruis Gonſales, Alphonſo Tello, *and* Don Iohn *of* Arragon, *whom he cut in peeces and caſt into the ſtreets, denying him Chriſtian buriall. I ſay, beſides theſe, and the ſlaughter* *of* Gomes Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonſo Gomes, *and the great Commander of* Caſtile; *He made away the two Infants of* Arragon *his Coſen-germans; his brother* Don Frederick, Don Iohn de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzmã, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Guttiere *his great Treaſurer, and all his Kindred; & a world of others. Neither did he ſpare his two youngeſt brothers, innocent Princes: whom after he had kept in cloſe priſon from their Cradles, till one of them had liued ſixteene yeares, and the other, foureteene; he murdered them there. Nay he ſpared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady* Blanch *of* Bourbon. *Laſtly, as he cauſed the Archbiſhop of* Toledo, *& the Deane, to be killed of purpoſe to enioy their treaſures: ſo did he put to death* Mahomet Aben Alhamar *King of* Barbary, *with* 37. *of his Nobilitie; that came vnto him for ſuccour, with a great ſumme of money, to leuy (by his fauour) ſome companies of ſouldiers to returne withall. Yea, he would needs aſſiſt the Hangman with his owne hand, in the execution of the old King; in ſo much as Pope* Vrban *declared him an enemie both to God and Man. But what was his end? Hauing beene formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-eſtabliſhed by the valour of the* Engliſh Nation, *led by the famous Duke of* Lancaſter: *He was ſtabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of* Aſtramara, *who diſpoſſeſt all his Children of their inheritance; which, but for the Fathers iniuſtice and cruelty, had neuer beene in danger of any ſuch thing.*

Hiſt. of Spaine.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it muſt be Duke Iohn *of* Burgoigne *who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of* Orleans, *cauſed the Conſtable of* Armagnac, *the Chancelour of* France, *the Biſhops of* Cõſtance, Bayeux, Eureux Senlis, Saintes, *and other religious and reuerend Church-men, the Earle of* gran Pré, Hector *of* Chartres, *and (in effect) all the Officers of iuſtice, of the Chamber of Accompts, Treaſurie, and Requeſt, (with ſixteene hundred others to accompany them) to be ſuddenly and violently ſlaine. Hereby, while he hoped to gouerne, and to haue maiſtred* France: *He was ſoone after ſtrucken with an axe in the face, in the preſence of the* Dauphin; *and, without any leiſure to repent his miſdeeds, preſently ſlaine.* Theſe were the Louers of other mens miſeries: and miſerie found them out.

French Inuent. in Anno. 1418.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, *which liued both with* Henry *the ſeuenth,* Henry *the eight,* Queene Mary, *and* Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand *of* Arragon *was the firſt: and the firſt that layd the foundation of the preſent* Auſtrian *greatneſſe. For this King did not content himſelfe to hold* Arragon *by the vſurpation of his Anceſtor; & to faſten thereunto the Kingdome of* Caſtile *and* Leon, *which* Iſabel *his wife held by ſtrong hand, and his aſſiſtance, from her owne Neece the Daughter of the laſt* Henry: *but moſt cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee alſo caſt his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of* Nauarre, *and, contrarie to faith, and the promiſe that he made to reſtore it, fortified the beſt places, and ſo waſted the reſt, as there was no meanes left for any army to inuade it. This King I ſay, that betrayed alſo* Ferdinand *and* Frederick *Kings of* Naples, *Princes of his owne bloud, and by double alliance tied vnto him; ſold them to the* French: *and with the ſame Army, ſent for their ſuccour vnder* Gonſaluo, *caſt them out; and ſhared their Kingdome with the* French, *whom afterwards he moſt ſhamefully betrayed.*

This wiſe and politique King, who ſold Heauen and his owne Honour, to make his ſonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greateſt Monarch of the world: ſaw him die in the flower of his yeares; and his wife great with childe, with her vntimely birth, at once & together buried. His eldeſt daughter maried vnto Don Alphõſo Prince of Portugall, beheld her firſt husband breake his necke in her preſence; and being with childe by her ſecond, dyed with it. A iuſt iudgement of God vpon the race of Iohn father to Alphonſo, now wholly extinguiſhed: who had not onely left many diſconſolate Mothers in Portugall, by the ſlaughter of their children; but had formerly ſlaine with his owne hand, the ſonne and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Ducheſſe of Viſeo. The ſecond Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-duke Philip, turned foole, and died mad and depriued. His third daughter, beſtowed on King Henry the eight, He ſaw caſt off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; & the mother of a Daughter, that in her vnhappy zeale ſhed a world of innocent bloud; loſt Calice to the French; and died heart-broken without increaſe. To conclude: all thoſe Kingdomes of Ferdinand haue maiſters of a new name; and, by a ſtrange family are gouerned and poſſeſt.

Charles the fift, ſon to the Arch-duke, Philip, in whoſe vaine enterpriſes vpon the French, vpon the Almans, & other Princes and States, ſo many multitudes of Chriſtian ſouldiers, and renowned Captaines, were conſumed: who gaue the while a moſt perilous entrance to the Turkes, and ſuffered Rhodes the Key of Chriſtendom, to be taken; was in concluſion chaced out of France, and in a ſort out of Germany; and left to the French, Mentz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire, ſtole away from Inſpurg; and ſcaled the Alpes by torch-light, purſued by Duke Maurice; hauing hoped to ſwallow vp al thoſe dominions wherin hee concocted nothing ſaue his owne diſgraces. And hauing, after the ſlaughter of ſo many Millions of men, no one foote of ground in eyther: Hee crept into a Cloyſter, and made himſelfe a Penſioner of an hundred thouſand Duckets by the yeare to his ſonne Philip, from whom he very ſlowly receiued his meane and ordinary maintenance.

Nether. Hiſt. l. 7. fol. 313.

His Son againe King Philip the ſecond, not ſatisfied to hold Holland and Zeland, (wreſted by his anceſtors from Iaqueline their lawfull Princeſſe) & to poſſeſſe in peace many other Prouinces of the Netherlands: perſwaded by that miſchieuous Cardinall of Granuile, and other Romiſh Tyrants; not onely forgot the moſt remarkable ſeruices, done to his Father the Emperour by the Nobilitie of thoſe countries; not onely forgot the Preſent made him vpon his entrie, of forty millions of Florens, called the Nouale aide; nor onely forgot, that hee had twice moſt ſolemnly ſworne to the Generall States, to maintaine and preſerue their auncient rights, priuiledges, and cuſtomes, which they had enioyed vnder their thirty and fiue Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of thoſe Prouinces: but beginning firſt to conſtraine them, and enthrall them by the Spaniſh Inquiſition, and then to impoueriſh them by many new deuiſed and intollerable impoſitions; he laſtly, by ſtrong hand and maine force, attempted to make himſelfe not onely an abſolute Monarch ouer them, like vnto the Kings and Soueraignes of England and France, but Turke-like, to tread vnder his feet all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, Priuiledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had eaſily obtained from the Pope a Diſpenſation of his formes Oathes (which Diſpenſation was the true cauſe of the warre & bloudſhed ſince then;) and after he had tryed what he could performe, by diuiding of their owne Nobilitie, vnder the gouernment

Hiſto: of the Netherlands.

ment of his baſe ſiſter, Margaret *of* Auſtria, *& the* Cardinall Granuile; *He employed that moſt mercileſſe* Spaniard Don Ferdinãd Aluarez *of* Toledo, *Duke of* Alua, *followed with a powerfull army of ſtrange Nations: by whom he firſt ſlaughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of* Egmont, *Prince of* Gauare: *&* Philip Montmorency *Earle of* Horn: *made away* Montigue, *& the* Marquis *of* Bergues, *& cut off in thoſe ſixe yeares (that* Alua *gouerned) of Gentlemen & others, eighteene thouſand & ſixe hundred, by the hands of the* Hangman, *beſides al his other barbarous murders & maſſacres. By whoſe miniſtry when he could not yet brings his affaires to their wiſhed ends, hauing it in his hope to worke that by ſubtlety, which he had failed to performe by force: He ſent for gouernour his baſtard brother* Don Iohn *of* Auſtria; *a Prince of great hope, & very gracious to thoſe people. But he, vſing the ſame Papall aduantage that his predeceſſors had done, made no ſcruple to take Oath vpon the Holy Euangeliſts, to obſerue the treaty made with the Generall States; & to diſcharge the* Low Countries *of all* Spaniards, *& other ſtrangers, therein garriſond: Towards whoſe Pay & Paſport, the* Netherlands *ſtrained themſelues to make payment of 600 thouſand pounds. Which monies receiued, He ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Citadells of* Antwerp *&* Nemeures: *not doubting (being vnſuſpected by the States) to haue poſſeſt himſelfe of al the maiſtring places of thoſe Prouinces. For whatſoeuer he ouertly pretended, He held in ſecret a contrary councell with the* Secretary Eſcouedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, *& others, Miniſters of the* Spaniſh *tyranny; formerly practiſed, & now againe intended. But let vs now ſee the effect & end of this periurie, & of all other the Dukes cruelties. Firſt, for himeſelfe; after he had murdered ſo many of the Nobilitie; executed (as aforeſaid) eighteen thouſãd ſix hundred in ſixe yeeres, & moſt cruelly ſlaine Man, Woman, and Childe, in* Mecklin, Zutphen, Naerden *and other places: & after he had conſumed ſixe and thirty millions of treaſure in ſix yeares: notwithſtanding his* Spaniſh *vant, That he would ſuffocate the* Hollanders *in their owne butter-barrells, and milke-tubbs: Hee departed the country no otherwiſe accompanied, than with the curſe & deteſtation of the whole Nation; leauing his Maiſters affaires in a tenfold worſe eſtate, then he found them at his firſt arriuall. For* Don Iohn, *whoſe haughty conceipt of him-ſelfe ouer-came the greateſt difficulties; though his iudgement were ouer-weake to mannage the leaſt: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers iealouſie & diſtruſt, with the vntimely death that ſeized him, euen in the flowre of his youth? And for* Eſcouedo *his ſharpe-witted Secretarie, who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Maiſter both* England *& the* Netherlands; *being ſent into* Spaine *vpon ſome new proiect, He was at the firſt arriuall, & before any acceſſe to the King, by certaine Ruffians appointed by* Anthony Peres *(though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his owne lodging. Laſtly, if we conſider the King of* Spaines *carriage, his counſaile, & ſucceſſe in this buſineſſe; there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkeable. For he hath paid aboue an hundred Millions, & the liues of aboue foure hundred thouſand Chriſtians, for the loſſe of all thoſe countries; which, for beauty, gaue place to none; & for reuenue, did equall his* West Indies: *for the loſſe of a nation, which moſt willingly obeyed him; & who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in deſpight of all his forces become a free Eſtate, & far more rich and powerfull, than they were, when hee firſt beganne to impoueriſh and oppreſſe them.*

Oh by what plots, by what forſwearings, betrayings; oppreſsions, impriſonments, tortures, poyſonings, and vnder what reaſons of State, and politique ſubtelty, haue theſe forenamed Kings, both ſtrangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD *vpon themſelues, vpon theirs, and vpon their prudent miniſters! and in the end haue brought thoſe things to paſſe for their enemies, and ſeene an effect ſo directly contrary to all their owne counſailes and cruelties; as the one could neuer haue hoped for themſelues; and the other neuer haue ſucceeded; if no ſuch oppoſition had euer bene made.* GOD *hath ſayd it and performed it euer:* Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum, I will deſtroy the wiſedome of the wiſe.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the liuing, the fall and fortunes of the dead: ſeeing the world is the ſame that it hath bin; and the children of the preſent time, will ſtill obey their parents? It is in the preſent time, that all the wits of the world are exerciſed. To hold the times we haue, we hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for euer; or at leaſt wee hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our ſelues; or perſwade our ſelues, that GOD *hath giuen vs letters patents to purſue all our irreligious affections, with a* non obſtante: *ſo we neither looke behind vs what hath bene, nor before vs what ſhal be. It is true, that the quantity which we haue, is of the body: wee are by it ioyned to the earth: we are compounded of earth; and we inhabite it. The Heauens are high, farre off and vnſearchable: we haue ſenſe and feeling of corporall things; and of eternall grace, but by reuelation. No meruaile then that our thoughts are alſo earthly: and it is leſſe to be wondred at, that the words of worthleſſe men cannot cleanſe them; ſeeing their doctrine and inſtruction, whoſe vnderſtanding the Holy Ghoſt vouchſafed to inhabite, haue not performed it. For as the Prophet* Eſai *cryed out long agone,* Lord, who hath beleeued our reports? *And out of doubt, as* Eſai *complained then for himſelfe and others: ſo are they leſſe beleeued, euery day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in euery mans mouth, yea in the diſcourſe of euery woman, who for the greateſt number are but* Idols of vanity: *what is it other than an vniuerſall diſsimulation? We profeſſe that we know* GOD: *but by workes we deny him. For Beatitude doth not conſiſt in the knowledge of diuine things, but in a diuine life: for the Diuells know them better than men.* Beatitudo non eſt diuinorum cognitio, ſed vita diuina. *And certainely there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the priuate contention, the paſsionate diſpute, the perſonall hatred, and the perpetuall war, maſſacres, and murthers, for Religion among* Chriſtians: *the diſcourſe whereof hath ſo occupied the World, as it hath well neare driuen the practiſe thereof out of the world. Who would not ſoone reſolue, that tooke knowledge but of the religious diſputations among men, and not of their liues which diſpute, that there were no other thing in their deſires, than the purchaſe of Heauen; and that the World it ſelfe were but vſed as it ought, and as an Inne or place, wherein to repoſe our ſelues in paſsing onwards our celeſtiall habitation? when on the contrary, beſides the diſcourſe and outward profeſsion, the ſoule hath nothing but hypocriſie. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in religion: and while we act in geſture and voyce, diuine vertues, in all the courſe of our liues we renounce our Perſons, and the parts we play. For Charity, Iuſtice, and Truth, haue*

Paule to Titus Ch.1.ver.10.

haue but their being in termes, *like the Philoſophers* Materia prima.

Neither is it that wiſdome, which Salomon *defineth to be the* Schoole-Miſtreſſe of the knowledge of *God*, *that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we giue it our good word; but the ſame which is altogether exerciſed in the ſeruice of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchaſe and obtaine honour, with the many reſpects which attend it. Theſe indeed be the markes, which (when we haue bent our conſciences to the higheſt) we all ſhoote at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future: and yet when we haue gathered the greateſt abundance, we our ſelues enioy no more thereof, than ſo much as belongs to one man. For the reſt, He that had the greateſt wiſdome, and the greateſt ability that euer man had, hath told vs that this is the vſe:* When goods increaſe *(ſayth Salomon)* they alſo increaſe that eate them; and what good commeth to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? *As for thoſe that deuour the reſt, and follow vs in faire weather: they againe forſake vs in the firſt tempeſt of misfortune, and ſteere away before the Sea and Winde; leauing vs to the malice of our deſtinies. Of theſe, among a thouſand examples, I will take but one out of Maiſter* Dannet, *and vſe his owne words:* Whileſt the Emperour *Charles* the fift, after the reſignatiõ of his Eſtates, ſtayed at Vluſhing for winde, to carry him his laſt iourny into Spaine; He conferred on a time with *Seldius*, his brother *Ferdinands* Embaſſadour, till the deepe of the night. And when *Seldius* ſhould depart: the Emperour calling for ſome of his ſeruants, and no body anſwering him (for thoſe that attended vpon him, were ſome gone to their lodgings, and all the reſt aſleepe) the Emperour tooke vp the candle himſelfe, and went before *Seldius* to light him downe the ſtaires; and ſo did, notwithſtanding al the reſiſtance that *Seldius* could make. And when He was come to the ſtaires foote, He ſayd thus vnto him: *Seldius*, remember this of *Charles* the Emperour, when he ſhall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou haſt knowne in thy time enuironed with ſo many mighty Armies, and Guards of ſouldiers, thou haſt alſo ſeene alone, abandoned, and forſaken, yea euen of his owne domeſticall ſeruants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of G*OD*; which I will by no meanes go about to withſtand.

Eccleſ.5.10.

But you will ſay that there are ſome things elſe, and of greater regard than the former. The firſt, is the reuerend reſpect that is held of great men, and the Honor done vnto them by all ſorts of people. And it is true indeed: prouided, that an inward loue for their iuſtice and piety, accompany the outward worſhip giuen to their places and power; without which what is the applauſe of the Multitude, but as the outcrie of an Heard of Animals, *who without the knowledge of any true cauſe, pleaſe themſelues with the noyſe they make? For ſeeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to diſtinguiſh Vertue and Fortune: the moſt impious (if proſperous) haue euer bene applauded; the moſt vertuous (if vnproſperous) haue euer bene deſpiſed. For as Fortunes man rides the Horſe, ſo Fortune herſelfe rides the* Man. *Who, when he is deſcended and on foote: the Man taken from his Beaſt, and Fortune from the Man; a baſe groome beates the one, and a bitter contempt ſpurnes at the other, with equall liberty.*

The ſecond, is the greatning of our poſterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leaue behind vs. Certainely, of thoſe which conceiue that their ſoules departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be ſayd of them, which *Lact. de falſa ſap. 3. c. 29.* Lactantius *ſpake of certaine Heathen Philoſophers,* quod ſapientes ſunt in re ſtulta. *For when our ſpirits immortall ſhall be once ſeparate from our mortall bodies, & diſpoſed by* GOD*: there remaineth in them no other ioy of their poſterity which ſucceed, than there doth of pride in that ſtone, which ſleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other ſorrow for their pouerty, than there doth of* *S. Aug. de cura pro mort.* *ſhame in that, which beareth vp a Beggers cotage.* Neſciunt mortui, etiam ſancti, quid agunt viui, etiam eorum filij, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viuentium non interſunt. The dead though holy, know nothing of the liuing, no, not of their owne children: for the ſoules of thoſe departed, are not conuerſant with their affaires that remaine. *And if we doubt of Saint* Auguſtine, *we cannot of* Iob; *who tells vs,* *Iob 1.14.21.* That wee know not if our ſonnes ſhall bee honourable: neither ſhall wee vnderſtand concerning them, whether they ſhallbee of low degree. *Which* Eccleſiaſtes *alſo confirmeth:* *Pſal. 39.* Man walketh in a ſhaddow, and diſquieteth himſelfe in vaine: hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell *Eccl. 9.5. & 1.2.* who ſhall gather them. The liuing (*ſayth he*) know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can ſhew vnto man, what ſhall be after him vnder the Sun? ***He therefore accompteth it among the reſt of worldly vanities, to labour and trauaile in the world; not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wiſe man ſhould enioy the fruits thereof:*** which made me (*ſaith he*) endeauour euen to abhorre mine owne labour. ***And what can other men hope, whoſe bleſſed or ſorrowfull eſtates after death God hath reſerued? mans knowledge lying but in his hope; ſeeing the Prophet*** Eſai ***confeſſeth of the elect,*** *Eſai. 63:16.* *That* Abraham is ignorant of vs, and Iſrael knowes vs not. ***But hereof wee are aſſured, that the long and darke night of death, (of whoſe following day wee ſhall neuer behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed ouer it) ſhall couer vs ouer, till the world be no more. After which, and when we ſhall againe receiue Organs glorified and incorruptible, the ſeats of Angelicall affections: in ſo great admiration ſhall the ſoules of the bleſſed be exerciſed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any ſecond or leſſe ioy; nor any returne of foregone & mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom whether we ſhall retaine any particular knowledge, or in any ſort diſtinguiſh them: no man can aſſure vs; & the wiſeſt men doubt. But on the contrary; If a diuine life retaine any of thoſe faculties, which the ſoule exerciſed in a mortall body; we ſhall not at that time ſo diuide the ioyes of Heauen, as to caſt any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remaine in the World. No, be their eſtates greater than euer the World gaue, we ſhall (by the difference knowne vnto vs) euen deteſt their conſideration. And whatſoeuer comfort ſhall remaine of all forepaſt, the ſame will conſiſt in the charity, which we exerciſed liuing: and in that Piety, Iuſtice, and firme Faith, for which it pleaſed the infinite mercy of*** God ***to accept of vs, and receiue vs. Shal we therefore value honor and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as vnneceſſary & vaine? Certainly no. For that infinite wiſedome of*** God, ***which hath diſtinguiſhed his Angells by degrees: which hath giuen greater and leſſe light and beauty, to Heauenly bodies: which hath made differences betweene beaſts and birds: created***

ted the Eagle and the Flye, the Cedar and the Shrub; and among ſtones, giuen the faireſt tincture to the Ruby, and the quickeſt light to the Diamond; hath alſo ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magiſtrates, Iudges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to poſterity, for a marke and enſigne of the vertue and vnderſtanding of their Anceſtors: ſo, ſeeing Siracides *preferreth* *Sira.c.40.v.28.* *Death before Beggery: and that titles, without proportionable eſtates, fall vnder the miſerable ſuccour of other mens pitty; I accompt it fooliſhneſſe to condemne ſuch a care: Prouided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raiſe not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For as* Plato *doth firſt preferre the* *Pla.de leg.1.2.6.et in Gorgia.* *perfection of bodily health; ſecondly, the forme and beauty; and thirdly,* Diuitias nulla fraude quæſitas: *ſo Ieremy cries,* Woe vnto them that erect their hou- *Ier.22.13.* ſes by vnrighteouſneſſe, and their chambers without equity: *and Eſai the ſame,* Woe to thoſe that ſpoyle and were not ſpoyled. *And it was out of the* *Eſay 33.* *true wiſdome of* Salomon, *that he commandeth vs,* not to drinke the wine of *Prou.1.18.12.* violence; not to lie in wait for bloud, and not to ſwallow them vp aliue, *Prou.23.1.3.8.9.25.9.8.* whoſe riches we couet: for ſuch are the wayes (*ſayth hee*) of euery one that is greedy of gaine.

And if we could affoord our ſelues but ſo much leiſure as to conſider, That hee which hath moſt in the world, hath, in reſpect of the world, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longeſt time lent him to liue in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, ſetting it either by that which is paſt, when wee were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we ſhall abide for euer: I ſay, if both, to wit, our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing; it is not out of any excellency of vnderſtanding, that we ſo much priſe the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and ſo much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coueting thoſe mortall things of the world, as if our ſoules were therein immortall, and neglecting thoſe things which are immortall, as if our ſelues after the world were but mortall.

But let euery man value his owne wiſdome, as he pleaſeth. Let the Rich man thinke all fooles, that cannot equall his abundance; the Reuenger eſteeme all negligent, that haue not troddē downe their oppoſites; the Politician, al groſſe, that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when we once come in ſight of the Port of death, to which all windes driue vs; and when by letting fall that fatall Anchor, which can neuer be weighed againe, the Nauigation of this life takes end: Then it is, I ſay, that our owne cogitations (thoſe ſad & ſeuere cogitations, formerly beaten frō vs by our Health and Felicity) returne againe, and pay vs to the vttermoſt for all the pleaſing paſſages of our liues paſt. It is then that we crie out to God, for mercy; then, when our ſelues can no longer exerciſe cruelty to others: and it is onely then, that we are ſtrucken through the ſoule with this terrible ſentence, That God will not *Gal.6.7.* be mockt. *For if according to* S. Peter, The righteous ſcarcely be ſaued: and *1.Pet.4.* that God ſpared not his Angels: *where ſhall thoſe appeare, who, hauing ſerued their appetites all their liues, preſume to thinke, that the ſeuere Commandements of the All-powerfull God were giuen but in ſport; and that the ſhort breath, which we draw when death preſſeth vs, if we can but faſhion it to the ſound of* Mercy *(without any kind of ſatisfaction or amends) is ſufficient?* O quam multi, *ſaith a reuerend Father,* Cum hac ſpe ad æternos labores & bella deſcendunt! *I confeſſe that it is a great comfort to our friends, to haue it ſaid, that we ended wel; for we al* *deſire(as* Balaam *did)*to die the death of the righteous. *But what ſhall wee call a diſeſteeming, an appoſing, or (indeed) a mocking of God: if thoſe men do not appoſe him, diſeſteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for God, to aske him forgiueneſſe at leiſure, with the remainder and laſt drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they otherwiſe, that die this kinde of wel-dying, but ſay vnto God as followeth? We beſeech thee O God, that all the falſhoods, forſwearings, and treacheries of our liues paſt, may be pleaſing vnto thee; that thou wilt for our ſakes (that haue had no leiſure to do any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impoſſible) and forget to be a iuſt God; that thou wilt loue iniuries and oppreſsions, call ambition wiſedome, and charity fooliſhneſſe. For I ſhall preiudice my ſonne (which I am reſolued not to doe) if I make reſtitution; and confeſſe my ſelfe to haue bene vniuſt, (which I am too proud to do) if I deliuer the oppreſſed. Certainly, theſe wiſe worldlings haue either found out a new God; or made One: and in all likelihood ſuch a Leaden One, as* Lewis *the eleuenth ware in his Cappe; which when he had cauſed any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head and kiſſe it: beſeeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it ſhould be the laſt; which (as at other times) he did, when by the practiſe of a* Cardinal *and a falſified Sacrament, he cauſed the Earle of* Armagnack *to be ſtabbed to death; mockeries indeed fit to be vſed towards a Leaden, but not towards the euerliuing God. But of this compoſition are all deuout louers of the World, that they feare all that is dureleſſe and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practiſes of their oppoſites, and their very whiſperings: they feare the opinions of men which beate but vpon ſhadowes: they flatter and forſake the proſperous and vnproſperous, be they friends or Kings: yea they diue vnder water, like Ducks, at euery pebble ſtone, that's but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they ſhew an obſtinate and Giantlike valour, againſt the terrible iudgements of the Al-powerfull God: yea they ſhew themſelues gods againſt God, and ſlaues towards men; towards men whoſe bodies and conſciences are alike rotten.*

Now for the reſt: If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poore & oppreſſed, whom we account wretched: we ſhall find the happineſſe of the one, and the miſerable eſtate of the other, ſo tied by God to the very inſtant, and both ſo ſubiect to enterchange (witneſſe the ſodaine downefall of the greateſt Princes, and the ſpeedy vpriſing of the meaneſt perſons) as the one hath nothing ſo certaine, whereof to boaſt; nor the other ſo vncertaine, whereof to bewaile it ſelfe. For there is no man ſo aſſured of his honor, of his riches, health, or life; but that hee may be depriued of either or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid veſper vehat, incertum eſt, What the euening will bring with it, it is vncertaine. And yet yee cannot tell (*ſayth S. Iames*) what ſhalbe to morrow. To day he is ſet vp, and to morrovv he ſhall not be found: for he is turned into duſt, and his purpoſe periſheth. *And although the aire which compaſſeth aduerſity, be very obſcure: yet therin we better diſcerne God, than in that ſhining light which enuironeth worldly glory; through which, for the cleareneſſe thereof, there is no vanity which eſcapeth our ſight. And let aduerſity ſeeme what it will; to happy men, ridiculous, who make them-ſelues merry at other mens misfortunes; and to thoſe vnder the* croſſe, *grieuous: yet this is true, That for all that is paſt, to the very inſtant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For be it that we* *haue liued many yeares,* and(*according to* Salomon) in them all we haue reioyced; *or be it that we haue meaſured the ſame length of dayes, and therein haue euermore ſorrowed: yet looking backe from our preſent being, wee finde both the one and the other, to wit, the ioy and the woe, ſayled out of ſight; and death, which doth purſue vs & hold vs in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it.* Quicquid ætatis retro eſt, mors tenet: Whatſoeuer of our age is paſt, death holds it. *So as who-ſo-euer he be, to whom Fortune hath beene a ſeruant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompt of his memory (for we haue no other keeper of our pleaſures paſt) and truly examine what it hath reſerued eyther of beauty and youth, or fore-gone delights; what it hath ſaued, that it might laſt, of his deareſt affections, or of whateuer elſe the amorous* Spring time *gaue his thoughts of contentment, then vnualuable; and he ſhall finde that all the art which his elder yeares haue, can draw no other vapour out of theſe diſſolutions, than heauy, ſecret, and ſad ſighes. He ſhall finde nothing remaining, but thoſe ſorrowes, which grow vp after our faſt-ſpringing youth; ouertake it, when it is at a ſtand; and ouer-top it vtterly, when it beginnes to wither: in ſo much as looking backe from the very inſtant time, & frõ our now being; the poore, diſeaſed, & captiue creature, hath as little ſence of all his former miſeries and paines; as he, that is moſt bleſt in common opinion, hath of his fore-paſſed pleaſures & delights. For whatſoeuer is caſt behind vs, is iuſt nothing: and what is to come, deceiptfull hope hath it.* Omnia quæ euentura ſunt, in incerto iacent. *Onely thoſe few blacke Swannes I muſt except: who hauing had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retayning the comfortable memory of a well acted life, behold death without dread, and the graue without feare; and embrace both, as neceſſary guides to endleſſe glory.*

For my ſelfe, this is my conſolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the ſorrowes of this life, are but of two ſorts: whereof the one hath reſpect to GOD; *the other, to the World. In the firſt we complaine to* GOD *againſt our ſelues, for our offences againſt him; and confeſſe,* Et tu iuſtus es in omnibus quæ venerunt ſuper nos, And thou O Lord art iuſt in all that hath befallen vs. *In the ſecond wee complaine to our ſelues againſt* GOD: *as if he had done vs wrong, either in not giuing vs worldly goods and honours, anſwering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs hauing had them; forgetting that humble & iuſt acknowledgment of* Iob, The Lord hath giuen, & the Lord hath taken. *To the firſt of which Saint* Paul *hath promiſed bleſſedneſſe; to the ſecond, death. And out of doubt he is either a foole or vngratefull to* GOD, *or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane ſoeuer his eſtate be, that the ſame is yet far greater, than that which* God *oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how ſharpe ſoeuer his afflictions be, that the ſame are yet far leſſe, than thoſe which are due vnto him. And if an Heathen wiſe man cal the aduerſities of the world but* tributa viuendi, the tributes of liuing: *a wiſe Chriſtian man ought to know them, & beare thẽ, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them manlike, and reſoluedly; & not as thoſe whining ſouldiers do,* qui gementes ſequuntur imperatorem.

For ſeeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for vs, & appointed vs all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their diſtribution, bene partiall to the moſt mighty Princes of the world; That gaue vnto Darius *the part of the greateſt Emperour, and the part of the moſt miſerable begger,*

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a begger begging water of an Enemie, to quench the great drougth of death; That appointed Baiazet to play the Grand Signior of the Turks in the morning, & in the ſame day the Footſtoole of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had alſo plaid, being taken by Sapores:) that made Belliſarius play the moſt victorious Captaine, & laſtly the part of a blinde begger; of which examples many thouſands may be produced: why ſhould other men, who are but as the leaſt wormes, complaine of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to reſolue, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the leſſe. For when on the one and the other, euery man weares but his own skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man, out of weaknes priſe the paſſages of this world otherwiſe (for ſaith Petrarch, Magni ingenij eſt reuocare mentem a ſenſibus) it is by reaſon of that vnhappy fantaſie of ours, which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miſeries (the corporall excepted) whereunto he is ſubiect: Therein it is, that Misfortune & Aduerſitie worke all that they worke. For ſeeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatſoeuer Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a fooliſh madneſſe in the ſhipwracke of worldly things, where all ſinkes but the Sorrow, to ſaue it. That were, as Seneca ſaith, Fortunæ ſuccumbere, quod triſtius eſt omni fato, to fall vnder Fortune, of all other the moſt miſerable deſtinie.

But it is now time to ſound a retrait, and to deſire to be excuſed of this long purſuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moued me to draw the picture of time paſt (which we call Hiſtorie) in ſo large a Table, may alſo be accepted in place of a better reaſon.

The examples of diuine prouidence, euery where found (the firſt diuine Hiſtories being nothing elſe but a continuation of ſuch examples) haue perſwaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though theſe two glorious actions of the Almightie be ſo neare, and (as it were) linked together, that the one neceſſarily implyeth the other: Creation, inferring Prouidence (for what father forſaketh the childe that he hath begotten?) and Prouidence preſuppoſing Creation: Yet many of thoſe that haue ſeemed to excell in worldly wiſedome, haue gone about to diſioyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation and Prouidence, but granting that the world had a Beginning; the Ariſtotelian granting Prouidence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by faith we vnderſtãd, that the world was made by the word of God) be too weighty a worke for Ariſtotles rotten ground to beare vp, vpõ which he hath (notwith ſtanding) founded the Defences and Fortreſſes of all his Verball Doctrine: Yet that the neceſsity of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impoſsibility of the contrary euen in the iudgement of Naturall reaſon, wherein he beleeued, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be maruailed at. And it is no leſſe ſtrange, that thoſe men which are deſirous of knowledge (ſeeing Ariſtotle hath failed in this maine point; and taught little other than termes in the reſt) haue ſo retrencht their mindes from the following and ouertaking of truth, and ſo abſolutely ſubiected them-ſelues to the law of thoſe Philoſophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the ſearch of cauſes they haue condemned either for phantaſticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the poſitions of Heathen Philoſophers, are vndoubted grounds and principles *indeed, becauſe ſo called? Or that* ipſi dixerunt, *doth make them to be ſuch? Certainly no. But this is true, That where naturall reaſon hath built any thing ſo ſtrong againſt it ſelfe, as the ſame reaſon can hardly aſſaile it, much leſſe batter it downe: the ſame in euery queſtion of Nature, and finite power, may be approued for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For ſaith* Charron *in his booke of wiſdome,* Tout propoſition humaine a autant d'authorite que l'autre, ſi la raiſon n'on fait la difference; Euery humane propoſition hath equall authoritie, if reaſon make not the difference, *the reſt being but the fables of principles. But hereof how ſhall the vpright and vnpartiall iudgement of man giue a ſentence, where oppoſition and examination are not admitted to giue in euidence? And to this purpoſe it was well ſaid of* Lactantius, Sapientiam ſibi adimunt, qui ſine vllo iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab alijs pecudum more ducuntur. They neglect their owne wiſdome, who without any iudgement approue the inuention of thoſe that fore-went them; & ſuffer themſelues, after the manner of Beaſts, to be led by them. *By the aduantage of which ſloth and dulneſſe, ignorance is now become ſo powerfull a Tyrant: as it hath ſet true Philoſophie, Phiſick, and Diuinity, in a Pillory; and written ouer the firſt,* Contra negantem Principia; *ouer the ſecond,* Virtus ſpecifica; *and ouer the third,* Eccleſia Romana.

Charron de Sageſſe.

Lact. de orig. Erroris, l.2.c.8.

But for my ſelfe, I ſhall neuer be perſwaded, that God hath *ſhut vp all light of Learning within the lanthorne of* Ariſtotles *braines: or that it was euer ſaid vnto him, as vnto* Eſdras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus: *that God hath giuen inuention but to the Heathen, and that they onely inuaded Nature, and found the ſtrength and bottome thereof; the ſame Nature hauing conſumed all her ſtore, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That theſe and theſe be the cauſes of theſe and theſe effects, Time hath taught vs; and not reaſon: and ſo hath experience, without Art. The Cheeſe-wife knoweth it as well as the Philoſopher, that ſowre Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reaſon of this cauſe, why the ſowreneſſe doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philoſophie, to ſatisfie this and many other like vulgar queſtions. But man to couer his ignorance in the leaſt things, who cānot giue a true reaſon for the Graſſe vnder his feete, why it ſhould be greene rather then red, or of any other colour; that could neuer yet diſcouer the way and reaſon of Natures working, in thoſe which are farre leſſe noble creatures than himſelfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heauens themſelues:* Man (*ſaith Salomon*) that can hardly diſcerne the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before vs; *that hath ſo ſhort a time in the world, as he no ſooner beginnes to learne, than to die that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his vnderſtanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Eſſence of his owne ſoule, and which the wiſeſt of the Naturaliſts (if* Ariſtotle *be he) could neuer ſo much as define, but by the Action & effect, telling vs what it workes (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any elſe, doth know, but* GOD *that created it;* (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my ſoule, *ſaith* Iob.) *Man I ſay, that is but an Idiot in the next cauſe of his owne life, and in the cauſe of all actions of his life: will (notwithſtanding) examine the Art of* GOD *in creating the World; of* GOD, *who (ſaith Iob)* is ſo excellent as wee know him not;

Salomon.1.9.

Iob.26.

and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Man-kinde had a beginning of being. He will diſable Gods power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather giue the mothes of the Aire for a cauſe; caſt the worke on neceſſity or chance; beſtow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, *the other of the* Forme; *and laſtly, for want of a worke-man, haue it Eternall: which latter opinion* Ariſtotle *to make himſelfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatours haue maintained it;* parati ac coniurati, quos ſequuntur, Philoſophorum animis inuictis opiniones tueri. *For* Hermes, *who liued at once with, or ſoone after* Moſes, Zoroaſter, Muſæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Meliſſus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, *and many others (whoſe opinions are exquiſitely gathered by* Steuchius Eugubinus) *found in the neceſſitie of inuincible reaſon,* One eternal and infinite Being, *to be the Parent of the vniuerſall.* Horum omnium ſententia quamuis ſit incerta, eodem tamen ſpectat, vt Prouidētiam vnam eſſe conſentiant: ſiue enim Natura, ſiue AEther, ſiue Ratio, ſiue mens, ſiue fatalis neceſſitas, ſiue diuina Lex; idem eſſe quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All theſe mens opinions (*ſaith Lactātius*) though vncertaine, come to this; That they agree vpon one Prouidence; whether the ſame be Nature, or light, or Reaſon, or vnderſtanding, or deſtinie, or diuine ordinance; that it is the ſame which we call GOD. *Certainly, as all the Riuers in the world, though they haue diuers riſings, and diuers runnings; though they ſome-times hide them-ſelues for a while vnder ground, & ſeeme to be loſt in Sea-like Lakes; doe at laſt finde, & fall into the great* Ocean: *ſo after all the ſearches that humaine capacitie hath; & after all Philoſophicall contemplation and curioſitie; in the neceſſitie of this infinite power, all the reaſon of man ends and diſſolues it ſelfe.*

Lact.5.

As for others; and firſt touching thoſe, which conceiue the matter *of the World to haue beene* eternall, *and that God did not create the World,* ex nihilo, *but* ex materia præexiſtēte: *the Suppoſitiō is ſo weake, as is hardly worth the anſwering. For* (*ſaith* Euſebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere, They ſeeme vnto me, which affirme this, to giue part of the work to God, & part to Fortune: *inſomuch as if God had not found this* firſt matter *by chance. He had neither beene Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Vniuerſall. For were the* Matter *or* Chaos, *eternall: it then followes, That either this ſuppoſed* Matter *did fit it ſelfe to God, or God, accommodate himſelfe to the* matter. *For the firſt; it is impoſſible, that things without ſenſe could proportion themſelues to the Workmans will. For the ſecond; it were horrible to conceiue of God, That as an Artificer he applyed himſelfe, according to the proportion of* matter *which he lighted vpon.*

Euſeb, de præp. Euang. l.7.c.8.

But let it be ſuppoſed, That this matter *hath bin made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wiſe: I would gladly learne how it came to paſſe, that the ſame was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent & infinitely wiſe; & no more, nor no leſſe, than ſerued to receiue the forme of the Vniuerſall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was ſufficient; then muſt it be granted, That God crea*ted out of nothing *ſo much of new* matter, *as ſerued to finiſh the worke of the World: Or had there bin more of this matter, than ſufficed; then God did diſſolue & annihilate whatſoeuer remained and was ſuperfluous. And this muſt euery rea-*

ſonable ſoule confeſſe, That it is the ſame worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, *And by the ſame art and power, and by none other, can thoſe things, or any part of that eternall* matter, *be againe changed into* Nothing; *by which thoſe things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.*

Againe, to ſay that this matter *was the cauſe of it ſelfe; this, of all other, were the greateſt idiotiſme. For, if it were the cauſe of it ſelfe at any time; then there was alſo a time when it ſelfe was not: at which time of not being, it is eaſie enough to conceiue, that it could neither procure it ſelfe, nor any thing elſe. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impoſſible.* Nihil autem ſeipſum præcedit, neq; ſeipſum componit corpus. There is nothing that doth præcede it ſelfe, neither doe bodies compound themſelues.

For the reſt; Thoſe that faine this matter to be eternall, muſt of neceſſity confeſſe, that Infinite cannot be ſeparate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter *left no place for* infinite forme, *but that the* firſt matter was finite, *the* forme *which it receiued proues it. For concluſion of this part; whoſoeuer will make choice, rather to beleeue in eternall deformity, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madnes of that kind, as wanteth tearmes to expreſſe it. For what reaſon of man (whom the curſe of preſumption hath not ſtupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of ſhadow,* quia comprehenſio eſt intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) *hath any thing wanting in it ſelf, either for* matter *or* forme; *yea for as many worlds (if ſuch had bene Gods will) as the* Sea *hath ſands? For where the power is without limitation, the worke hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reaſon it ſelfe findes it more eaſie for infinite power, to deliuer from it ſelfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man; a foole and duſt, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are* Dionyſius *his words,* Deus in vna exiſtentia omnia præhabet: *and againe,* Eſſe omnium eſt ipſa Diuinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; *to wit,* cauſaliter, *or in better tearmes,* non tanquam forma, ſed tanquam cauſa vniuerſalis. *Neither hath the world vniuerſall cloſed vp all of* GOD. For the moſt part of his workes (*ſayth Siracides*) are hid. *Neither can the depth of his wiſedome be opened, by the glorious worke of the world: which neuer brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And heereof it comes; That wee ſeldome entitle* GOD *the* all-ſhewing, *or the* all-willing; *but the* Almighty, *that is, infinitely able.*

Cap.16.v.21.

But now for thoſe, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, *inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not ſo ſaluage therein, as thoſe are, which giue an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word* (nothing) *be taken in the affirmatiue; and the* making, *impoſed vpon* Naturall *Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But ſeeing their great Doctor* Ariſtotle *himſelfe confeſſeth,* quod omnes antiqui decreuerunt quaſi quoddam rerum principium, ipſumq; infinitum, That all the ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the ſame to be infinite: *and a little after, more largely and plainly,* Principium eius eſt nullum, ſed ipſum omnium cernitur eſſe principium, ac omnia complecti ac regere: *it is ſtrange that this Philoſopher, with his followers, ſhould rather make choice out of falſhood, to conclude falſly; than out of truth, to reſolue truly. For if wee compare the world Vniuerſall, and all the*

Steue.Eug.l.3. c.9.ex *Ariſt. Phyſ.*3.20.

vnmeaſurable Orbes of Heauen, and thoſe marueilous bodies of the Sun, Moone, *and* Stars, *with* ipſum Infinitum: *it may truly be ſaid of them all, which himſelfe affirmeth of his imaginary* Materia prima, *That they are neither* quid, quale, *nor* quantum; *and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite* (qui deſtruit omnem proportionē) *is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore* Anaximander, Meliſſus, *&* Empedocles, *cal the world vniuerſal, but* particulam Vniuerſitatis *and* infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the vniuerſality and the infinity it ſelfe; *&* Plato, *but a* ſhadow of *God. But the other,* to proue *the worlds eternity, vrgeth this* Maxime, *That,* A ſufficient & effectual cauſe being granted, an anſwerable effect thereof is alſo granted: *inferring that God being for euer a ſufficient and effectuall cauſe of the world, the effect of the cauſe ſhould alſo haue bene for euer; to wit, the world vniuerſal. But what a ſtrange mockery is this in ſo great a Maſter, to cōfeſſe a ſufficient and effectuall cauſe of the world, (to wit, an almighty God) in his Antecedent; & the ſame God to be a God reſtrained in his concluſion; to make God free in power, & bound in wil; able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet vnable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiouſly to reſolue of God, as of natural neceſſity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor vnderſtanding; which cannot but worke matter being preſent; as fire, to burne things combuſtible. Againe he thus diſputeth, That euery Agent which can worke, and doth not worke: if it afterward worke, it is either thereto moued by it ſelfe, or by ſomewhat elſe; and ſo it paſſeth from power to Act. But God (ſayth he) is immoueable, and is neither moued by himſelfe, nor by any other; but being alwaies the ſame, doth alwayes worke: Whence he concludeth, if the world were cauſed by God, that he was for euer the cauſe thereof; and therefore eternall. The anſwere to this is very eaſie, For that Gods performing in due time that, which he euer determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather conſtancy in him. For the ſame action of his will, which made the world for euer, did alſo with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this anſwere, in it ſelfe ſufficient, others adde further, that the patterne or Image of the World may be ſayd to be eternall: which the* Platonicks *call,* ſpiritualem mundum; *and doe in this ſort diſtinguiſh the* Idæa *and* Creation in time.

Mar. Ficin. de immort. Anim. l. 18. c. 1.

Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali eſt Architecto, fuit ſemper cum illo, eritque ſemper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod ſecundum opus eſt Dei, decedit iam ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit ſemper; retinet alteram, quia ſit ſemper futurus. That repreſentatiue, or the intentionall world (*ſay they*) the ſampler of this viſible world, the firſt worke of GOD, was æqually ancient with the Architect; for it was for euer with him, and euer ſhalbe. This materiall world, the ſecond worke or creature of GOD, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from euerlaſting, and in this it doth agree, that it ſhall be for euer to come. *The firſt point, That it was not for euer, all Chriſtians confeſſe: The other they vnderſtand no otherwiſe, than that after the conſummation of this world, there ſhalbe* a new Heauen and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. *But of theſe things we need not here ſtand to argue: though ſuch opinions be not vnworthy the propounding; in this conſideration, of an eternall and vnchangeable cauſe, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point* Proclus *the* Platoniſt *diſputeth,* *That the compounded eſſence of the World (and becauſe compounded, therefore diſsipable) is continued, & knit to the Diuine Being, by an indiuidual & inſeparable power, flowing from diuine vnity; and that the Worlds naturall appetite of God ſheweth, that the ſame proceedeth from a good and vnderſtanding diuine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, muſt be infinite, that it may infinitely and euerlaſtingly continue and preſerue the ſame. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (ſayth he) is not capable of, but receiueth it from the diuine infinite according to the temporal Nature it hath, ſucceſsiuely euery momẽt by litle & litle; euen as the whole Material World is not altogether: but the aboliſhed parts are departed by ſmal degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the ſame ſmal degrees ſucceed, as the ſhadow of a tree in a Riuer, ſeemeth to haue continued the ſame a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renued, in the continuall ebbing and flowing thereof.*

But to returne to them, which denying that euer the World had any beginning, withall deny that euer it ſhall haue any end, and to this purpoſe affirme, That it was neuer heard, neuer read, neuer ſeene, no not by any reaſon perceiued, that the Heauens haue euer ſuffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the older by continuance; or in any ſort otherwiſe than they were; which had they beene ſubiect to finall corruption, ſome change would haue bene diſcerned in ſo long a time. To this it is anſwered, That the little change as yet perceiued, doth rather proue their newneſſe, and that they haue not continued ſo long; than that they will continue for euer as they are. And if coniecturall arguments may receiue anſwer by coniectures: it then ſeemeth that ſome alteration may be found. For either Ariſtotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, *and others, were groſſely miſtaken: or elſe thoſe parts of the world, lying within the burnt* Zone, *were not in elder times habitable, by reaſon of the Sunnes heate; neither were the* Seas, *vnder the* Equinoctiall, *nauigable. But we know by experience, that thoſe Regions, ſo ſituate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the* Sea, *ouer which we Nauigate, paſſable enough. We reade alſo many Hiſtories of deluges: and how that in the time of* Phaeton, *diuers places in the world were burnt vp, by the Sunnes violent heate.*

Ariſt. Met. 2.
Plin. l. 2. c. 8.
Strab. l. 3.
Beda de ratione tem. 11. c. 32.
Thom. 1. p. q. 102. art. 2.

But in a Word, this obſeruation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certaine, That ſtone-wals, of matter moldring and friable, haue ſtood two, or three thouſand yeares: that many things haue bene digged vp out of the earth, of that depth, as ſuppoſed to haue bene buried by the generall floud; without any alteration either of ſubſtance or figure: yea it is beleeued, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mynes, and Rockes, vnder ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldeſt times haue not inuaded and corrupted: what great alteration ſhould we looke for in Cæleſtiall and quinteſſentiall bodies? And yet we haue reaſon to thinke, that the Sunne, by whoſe helpe all Creatures are generate, doth not in theſe latter Ages aſsiſt Nature, as heretofore. We haue neither Gyants, ſuch as the eldeſt world had: nor mighty men, ſuch as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of leſſe vertue, which from the Heauens receiue vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface, would permit a larger diſcourſe, we might eaſily fetch ſtore of proofe; as that this world ſhall at length haue end, as that once it had beginning.

And I ſee no good anſwere that can be made to this obiection: If the World *were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no* firſt, *no* cauſe, *no* Father, *no* Creator, *no* incomprehenſible wiſedome, *but that euery* Nature *had bene alike eternall; and Man more rationall than euery other* Nature: *Why had not the eternall reaſon of Man prouided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equall, why not equall conditions to all? why ſhould heauenly bodies liue for euer; and the bodies of Men rot and die?*

Againe, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gaue Order that it ſhould hang in the Aire: that the Sunne *ſhould trauaile betweene the Tropicks, and neuer exceed thoſe bounds, nor faile to performe that Progreſſe once in euery yeare: the* Moone *to liue by borrowed light: the firſt Stars (according to common opinion) to be faſtned like Nailes in a Cart-wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleaſure? Or if none of theſe had power ouer other: was it out of Charity and Loue, that the* Sunne *by his perpetuall trauaile within thoſe two Circles, hath viſited, giuen light vnto, and releiued all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the* Sunne *haue of his owne accord kept this courſe in all eternity: He may iuſtly be called eternall Charity, and euerlaſting Loue. The ſame may be ſayd of all the Stars: who being all of them moſt large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may alſo be called eternall vertues: the Earth may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and begger; and man of all other the moſt miſerable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleeue againe in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than euer* Heſiodus *dreampt of. But in ſteed of this mad folly, we ſee it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reaſon diſcerne it better; That the Sun, Moone, Stars, & the Earth, are limited, bounded, and conſtrained. themſelues they haue not conſtrained,* nor *could.* Omne determinatum cauſam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinauerit, Euery thing bounded hath ſome efficient cauſe, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; *As by the ambiguity of this name, the ſchoole of* Ariſtotle *hath both commended many errours vnto vs, and ſought alſo thereby to obſcure the glory of the high Moderator of all things ſhining in the Creation, and in the gouerning of the World: ſo if the beſt definition be taken out of the ſecond of* Ariſtotles phyſicks, *or* primo de Cœlo, *or out of the fifth of his* Metaphyſicks; *I ſay that the beſt is but nominall, and ſeruing onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion from Artificiall: which yet the* Academicks *open better, when they call it* A Seminary ſtrength, infuſed into matter by the Soule of the World: *who giue the firſt place to* Prouidence, *the ſecond to* Fate, *and but the third to* Nature. Prouidentia (*by which they vnderſtand GOD*) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex prouidentia prodiens; Natura poſtremum. *But be it what he will, or be it any of theſe (God excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or vnderſtanding (both which are neceſſarily in the cauſe of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is vnanſwerable of* Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut ſcientiam, He only can be ſaid to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

Ficin. in Plat.

But the wil and ſcience of Nature, are in theſe words truely expreſt by Ficinus: Poteſt vbiq; Natura, vel per diuerſa media, vel ex diuerſis materijs, diuerſa facere: ſublata vero mediorũ materiarumq; diuerſitate, vel vnicũ, vel ſimilimum operatur, neque poteſt quando adeſt materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diuerſity of meanes, or out of diuerſity of matter, to produce diuers things: but taking away the diuerſity of meanes, and the diuerſity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being preſent. *Now if* Nature *made choice of diuerſity of matter, to worke all theſe variable workes of Heauen and Earth, it had then both vnderſtanding and will; it had counſaile to beginne, reaſon to diſpoſe; vertue and knowledge to finiſh, and power to gouerne: without which all things had bene but one and the ſame: all of the matter of Heauen; or all of the matter of Earth. And if we grant* Nature *this will, and this vnderſtanding, this counſaile, reaſon, and power:* Cur Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? *Why ſhould we then* *Lact. de ira Dei. l. 1. c. 10.* *call ſuch a cauſe rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men haue notion, and giue the firſt and higheſt place to Diuine power:* Omnes homines notionem *Ariſt. l. 1. de Cœlo. c. 3. T. 22.* deorum habent, omneſq; ſummum locum diuino cuidam numini aſſignant. *And this I ſay in ſhort; that it is a true effect of true reaſon in man (were there no authority more binding than reaſon) to acknowledge and adore the firſt and moſt ſublime power.* Vera Philoſophia, eſt aſcenſus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere ſunt, & ſemper eadem: *True Philoſophy, is an aſcending from the things which flow, and riſe, and fall, to the things that are for euer the ſame.*

For the reſt; I do alſo account it not the meaneſt, but an impiety monſtrous, to confound God and Nature: be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only diſpoſeth of all things according to his owne will, and maketh of one Earth, Veſſels of honor and diſhonor. *It is Nature that can diſpoſe of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God, that cōmandeth al: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God, that doth good vnto al, knowing and louing the good he doth: It is Nature, that ſecondarily doth alſo good, but it neither knoweth nor loueth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himſelfe: Nature, nothing in it ſelfe. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things; in which it liueth and laboureth; for by it ſelfe it exiſteth not. For ſhall we ſay, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heauy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reaſon, which doth conduct euery Riuer into the ſalt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to conſume combuſtible matter? If it be Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledge in theſe: by the ſame Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore ſeeing all things worke as they do, (call it by* Forme, *or* Nature, *or by what you pleaſe) yet becauſe they worke by an impulſion, which they cannot reſiſt; or by a faculty, infuſed by the ſupremeſt power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worſhip, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lyes the wonder: and to him is the worſhip due, who hath created ſuch a Nature in things, and ſuch a faculty, as neither knowing it ſelfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet worke all things to their laſt and vttermoſt perfection. And therefore euery reaſonable man, taking to himſelfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that euer the world had; to wit; That there is a power infinite, and eternall (which alſo neceſſity doth proue vnto vs, without the helpe of Faith; and Reaſon, without the force of Authority) all things do as eaſily follow which haue bene deliuered by diuine letters, as the* *waters of a running riuer do ſucceſsiuely purſue each other frō the firſt fountaines.*

This much I ſay it is, that Reaſon it ſelfe hath taught vs: and this is the beginning of knowledg. Sapientia præcedit, Religio ſequitur: quia prius eſt Deum ſcire, conſequens colere; *Sapience goes before, Religion followes: becauſe it is firſt to know God, and then to worſhip him. This Sapience* Plato *calleth* abſoluti boni ſcientiam, *The ſcience of the abſolute good: and another*, ſcientiam rerum primarum, ſempiternarum, perpetuarum. *For Faith (ſayth* Iſidore*) is not extorted by violence; but by reaſon and examples perſwaded*: fides nequaquam vi extorquetur; ſed ratione & exemplis ſuadetur. *I confeſſe it, That to enquire further, as of the eſſence of God, of his power, of his Art, and by what meane He created the world: Or of his ſecret iudgement, and the cauſes; is not an effect of Reaſon:* Sed cum ratione inſaniunt, *but they grow mad with reaſon, that inquire after it: For as it is no ſhame nor diſhonor (ſaith a French Author)* de faire arreſt au but qu'on naſceu ſurpaſſer, *For a man to reſt himſelf there, where he finds it impoſſible to paſſe on further: ſo whatſoeuer is beyond, and out of the reach of true reaſon, it acknowledgeth it to be ſo; as vnderſtanding it ſelf not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that beſt knowes the end of his own Art. For ſeeing both Reaſon & Neceſsity teach vs (Reaſon, which is* pars diuini ſpiritus in corpus humanum merſi*) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach vs: and ſeeing the ſame Reaſon and Neceſsity make vs know, that the ſame infinite power is euery where in the world; and yet how euery where, it cannot informe vs: our beleefe hereof is not weakned, but greatly ſtrengthened, by our ignorance, becauſe it is the ſame Reaſon that tels vs, That ſuch a Nature cannot be ſaid to be God, that can be in all conceiued by man.*

Lact. l. 4. c. 4. de vera Sapientia.

Iſaac de defin.

Quod eſt infinitum & non ſecundum naturam terminatū non continetur à ſcientia. Ariſt. poſter.

I haue bene already ouer-long, to make any large diſcourſe either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuſe: eſpecially in the excuſe of this or that paſſage; ſeeing the whole is exceeding weak and defectiue. Among the groſſeſt, the vnſutable diuiſion of the bookes, I could not know how to excuſe, had I not bene directed to inlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the firſt part finiſhed. All men know that there is no great Art in the diuiding euenly of thoſe things, which are ſubiect to number and meaſure. For the reſt, it ſutes well enough with a great many Bookes of this age, which ſpeake too much, and yet ſay little; Ipſi nobis furto ſubducimur; *We are ſtollen away from our ſelues, ſetting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer make complaint, yet ſhall it not lay hold on me, becauſe I beleeue as he doth; that who ſo thinkes himſelfe the wiſeſt man, is but a poore and miſerable ignorant. Thoſe that are the beſt men of war, againſt all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do alwayes keepe the ſtrongeſt guards againſt themſelues, to defend them from themſelues, from ſelfe loue, ſelfe eſtimation, and ſelfe opinion.*

Generally concerning the order of the worke, I haue onely taken counſaile from the Argument. For of the Aſſyrians, *which after the downefall of* Babel *take vp the firſt part, and were the firſt great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of poſterity. ſome few enterpriſes, greater in fame than faith, of* Ninus *and* Semiramis *excepted.*

It was the ſtory of the Hebrewes, *of all before the* Olympiads, *that ouercame the conſuming diſeaſe of time; and preſerued it ſelfe, from the very cradle and be-*

beginning

ginning to this day: and yet not ſo entire, but that the large diſcourſes thereof (to which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of thoſe Kings and Princes which ſhot vp here and there in the ſame time, I am driuen to relate by way of digreſsion: of which we may ſay with Virgil:

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto;
They appeare here and there floting in the great gulfe of time.

To the ſame firſt Ages do belong the report of many Inuentions therein found, and from them deriued to vs; though moſt of the Authors Names, haue periſhed in ſo long a Nauigation. For thoſe Ages had their Lawes; they had diuerſity of Gouernment; they had Kingly rule; Nobility, Pollicy in war; Nauigation, and all, or the moſt of needfull Trades. To ſpeak therefore of theſe (ſeeing in a generall Hiſtory we ſhould haue left a great deale of Nakednes, by their omiſsion) it cannot properly be called a digreſsion. True it is that I haue made alſo many others: which if they ſhall be layd to my charge, I muſt caſt the fault into the great heape of humane error. For ſeeing we digreſſe in all the wayes of our liues: yea, ſeeing the life of man is nothing elſe but digreſsion; I may the better be excuſed, in writing their liues & actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of Hiſtory, and of the Kindes.

The ſame hath bene taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater breuity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Chriſtian Lawes are alſo taught vs by the Prophets and Apoſtles; and euery day preacht vnto vs. But we ſtill make large digreſsions: yea, the teachers themſelues doe not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the reſt, after ſuch time as the Perſians had wreſted the Empire from the Chaldæans, and had raiſed a great Monarchy, producing Actions of more importance then were elſewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whileſt it ſo floriſhed, that the affaires of the nations adioyning had reference thereunto. The like obſeruance was to be vſed towards the fortunes of Greece, when they againe began to get ground vpon the Perſians, as alſo towards the affaires of Rome, whẽ the Romans grew more mighty thẽ the Greekes.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations, who reſiſted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their compoſition and enlargement: it ſeemed beſt to remember what was knowne of them from their ſeuerall beginnings, in ſuch times and places, as they in their flouriſhing eſtates oppoſed thoſe Monarchies; which in the end ſwallowed them vp. And herein I haue followed the beſt Geographers: who ſeldome giue names to thoſe ſmall brookes, whereof many, ioyned together, make great Riuers; till ſuch time as they become vnited, and run in maine ſtreame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phraſe be weake, & the Stile not euery-where like it ſelf; the firſt, ſhewes their legitimation and true Parent; the ſecond will excuſe it ſelfe vpon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili auena, vſed ſtronger pipes, when he ſounded the wars of Aeneas. It may alſo be layd to my charge that I vſe diuers Hebrew words in my firſt booke, and elſewhere: in which language others may thinke, and I my ſelfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that ſome of them I find in Montanus, others in latine Caracter in S. Senenſis; and of the reſt I haue borrowed the interpretatiõ of ſome of my friends. But ſay I had bin beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, hauing had a eleuen yeares leaſure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; Howſoeuer, I know that it will be ſayd by many, That I might haue bene more pleaſing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times, hauing bene permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I anſwere, that whoſoeuer in writing a moderne Hiſtory, ſhall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may haply ſtrike out his teeth. There is no Miſtreſſe or Guide, that hath led her followers and ſeruants into greater miſeries. He that goes after her too far off, loſeth her ſight, and loſeth himſelfe: and he that walkes after her at a middle diſtance; I know not whether I ſhould call that kind of courſe Temper or Baſeneſſe. It is true, that I neuer trauailed after mens opinions, when I might haue made the beſt vſe of them: and I haue now too few dayes remaining, to imitate thoſe, that either out of extreame ambition, or extreame cowardiſe, or both, do yet, (when death hath them on his ſhoulders) flatter the world, betweene the bed and the graue. It is enough for me (being in that ſtate I am) to write of the eldeſt times: wherein alſo why may it not be ſaid, that in ſpeaking of the paſt, I point at the preſent, and taxe the vices of thoſe that are yet liuing, in their perſons that are long ſince dead; and haue it laid to my charge? But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainely if there be any, that finding themſelues ſpotted like the Tigers of old time, ſhall find fault with me for painting thẽ ouer anew, they ſhal therin accuſe thẽſelues iuſtly, & me falſly.

For I proteſt before the Maieſty of God, That I malice no man vnder the Sun. Impoſsible I know it is to pleaſe all: ſeeing few or none are ſo pleaſed with themſelues, or ſo aſſured of themſelues, by reaſon of their ſubiection to their priuate paſsions; but that they ſeeme diuers perſons in one & the ſame day. Seneca hath ſaid it, and ſo do I: Vnus mihi pro populo erat: and to the ſame effect Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis ſed tibi; or (as it hath ſince lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the reſolutiõ of an ancient Philoſopher, Satis eſt vnus, Satis eſt nullus. For it was for the ſeruice of that ineſtimable Prince Henry, the ſucceſsiue hope, and one of the greateſt of the Chriſtian World, that I vndertooke this Worke. It pleaſed him to peruſe ſome part thereof, and to pardon what was amiſſe. It is now left to the world without a Maiſter: from which al that is preſented, hath receiued both blowes and thankes, Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus eſt omnis iudicij, in quo lis ſecundum plures datur. But theſe diſcourſes are idle. I know that as the charitable will iudge charitably: ſo againſt thoſe, qui gloriantur in malitia, my preſent aduerſity hath diſarmed me. I am on the ground already; & therefore haue not far to fall: and for riſing againe, as in the Naturall priuation there is no receſsion to habit; ſo it is ſeldome ſeene in the priuation politique. I do therefore forbeare to ſtile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promiſe a ſecond and third volume (which I alſo intend) if the firſt receiue grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certaine, let vs claw the Reader with neuer ſo many courteous phraſes; yet ſhall we euermore be thought fooles, that write fooliſhly For concluſion, al the hope I haue lies in this That I haue already found more vngentle and vncourteous Readers of my Loue towards them, and well-deſeruing of them, than euer I ſhall do againe. For had it beene otherwiſe, I ſhould hardly haue had this leiſure, to haue made my ſelfe a foole in print.

THE

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§. X.

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* * *

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FINIS.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

Intreating Of The Beginning, And firſt Ages of the ſame, from the Creation, vnto Abraham.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Of the Creation, and Preſeruation of the World.

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§. I.

That the inuiſible God is ſeene in his Creatures.

GOD, whom the wiſeſt men acknowledge to be a Power vneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant claritie inuiſible; an Vnderſtanding, which it ſelfe can onely comprehend, an Eſſence eternall and ſpirituall, of abſolute pureneſſe and ſimplicitie; was, and is pleaſed to make himſelfe knowne by the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereof, (all which Hee imbraceth, filleth, and ſuſtayneth) we behold the Image of that glorie, which cannot be meaſured, and withall that one, and yet vniuerſall Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heauen, we perceiue a ſhadow of his diuine Countenance; in his mercifull prouiſion for all that liue, his manifold goodneſſe: and laſtly, in creating and making exiſtent the World vniuerſall, by the abſolute Arte of his owne Word, his Power and Almightineſſe; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wiſedome, and Goodneſſe, being all but attributes of one ſimple Eſſence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part diſcerne *per ſpeculum creaturarum*, that is, in the diſpoſition, order, and varietie of Celeſtiall and Terreſtriall bodies: Terreſtriall, in their ſtrange and manifold diuerſities; Celeſtiall, in their beautie and magnitude; which in their continuall and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By theſe potent effects, we approch to the knowledge of the Omnipotent cauſe, and by theſe motions, their Almightie Mouer.

In theſe more then wonderfull works, God (ſaith *Hugo*) ſpeaketh vnto man, and it is true, that theſe be thoſe diſcourſes of God, whoſe effects, all that liue, witneſſe in themſelues; the ſenſible, in their ſenſible natures; the reaſonable, in their reaſonable ſoules: for according to S. Gregory, *Omnis homo eo ipſo quòd rationalis conditus eſt, ex ipſa ratione, illum qui ſe condidit, Deum eſſe colligere debet*: Euery man, in that he is reaſonable, out of the ſame reaſon may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (ſaith *Iob*,) which is according to the *Fathers*, *Dominationem illius conſpicere in creaturis*, *To diſcerne him in his prouidence by his Creatures*. That God hath beene otherwiſe ſeene, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the ſmall proportion of my vnderſtanding,

Hugo ſuper Eccleſ. Homil 8.
Greg. in Moral.
Herm. ad fil. Tat. l. 5. *Vnus verò ingenitus, & non apparens & immanifeſtus, omnia autem manifeſtans, per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia ſolùm generatorũ eſt, nihil apparitio quàm generatio.*

Ioh. 5. 37.
1.Tim.6.16.

ding, grounded on theſe places of S. *Iohn*, and S. *Paul*, *Yee haue not heard his voice at any time, neither haue yee ſeene his ſhape.* And againe, *Whom neuer man ſaw, nor can ſee.*

Origen. l.2. περὶ ἀρχῶν, c. 21. Cyril. & Chryſ. in Iohn, hom. 14. Greg. Naz. l. 2. Theolog. Hier in Eſaiam. Aug. l. 2. de Trin. c. 12. & 13. Greg. Mag. l. 18. Mor. Euar. epiſt. 1. Decret. Alcuin l. 2. de Trin c. 16. D. Areop cap. 4. Cœl. Hierar. Thom. p. 1. q 12. art. 11. & alibi. *Deus, qui natura inuiſibilis eſt, vt à viſibilibus poſſet ſciri, opus fecit, quod Opificem ſui viſibiliter manifeſtaret, vt per certum incertum ſciretur, & ille Deus omnium eſſe crederetur,* Amb. in Epiſt. ad Rom. c. 1.
Cuſan. de gen. dialog.
Rom. 1. 20.

And this, I am ſure, agreeth with the nature of Gods ſimplicitie, of which S. *Auguſtine*, *Ipſa enim natura, vel ſubſtantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum eſt, idipſum quod Deus eſt, corporaliter videri non poteſt*; That nature, or that ſubſtance, or by whatſoeuer name that is to be called which is God, whatſoeuer that be, the ſame cannot be corporally perceiued. And of this opinion were *Origen, Cyril, Chryſoſtome, Gregory Nazianzenus, Hierome, Auguſtine, Gregory* the great, *Euariſtus, Alcuinus, Dionyſius Areopagita, Aquinas*, and all others of authoritie. But by his owne Word, and by this viſible World, is God perceiued of men, which is alſo the vnderſtood language of the Almightie, vouchſafed to all his Creatures, whoſe Hieroglyphicall Characters, are the vnnumbred Starres, the Sunne and Moone, written on theſe large Volumes of the Firmament: written alſo on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all thoſe liuing Creatures, and Plants, which inhabit and reſide therein. Therefore ſaid that learned CVSANVS, *Mundus vniuerſus nihil aliud eſt, quam Deus explicatus*; The World vniuerſall, is nothing elſe but God expreſt. And the inuiſible things of God (ſaith S. *Paul*) are ſeene by creation of the World, being conſidered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other cauſe preceding, then his owne Will, no other matter then his owne Power, no other workman then his owne Word, no other conſideration then his owne infinite Goodneſſe. The example and patterne of theſe his Creatures, as hee beheld the ſame in all eternitie in the abundance of his owne loue, ſo was it at length in the moſt wiſe order, by his vnchanged Will mooued, by his high Wiſedome diſpoſed, and by his almightie Power perfected, and made viſible. And therefore (ſaith *Mirandula*) we ought to loue God, *Ex fide, & ex effectibus*, (that is) both perſwaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds creation: *Neq; enim qui cauſa caret, ex cauſa & origine ſciri, cognoſciq́ poteſt, ſed vel ex rerum, quæ factæ ſunt, quæq́ fiunt & gubernantur obſeruatione & collatione, vel ex ipſius Dei verbo:* For he of whom there is no higher cauſe, cannot be knowne by any knowledge of cauſe or beginning, (ſaith *Montanus*) but either by the obſeruing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and gouerne, or elſe by the Word of God himſelfe.

A. Mont. Nat. Hiſt. fol. 7.

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§. II.

That the wiſeſt of the Heathen, whoſe authoritie is not to be deſpiſed, haue acknowledged the world to haue beene created by God.

Herm. in Pœmandro, & in ſermone ſacro.

THis worke and creation of the World, did moſt of the ancient and learned Philoſophers acknowledge, though by diuers termes, and in a different manner expreſt, I meane all thoſe who are entitled by S. AVGVSTINE, *Summi Philoſophi*, Philoſophers of higheſt iudgement and vnderſtanding. *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* calleth God, *Principium vniuerſorum*; The originall of the vniuerſall: to whom hee giueth alſo the attributes of *Mens, Natura, Actus, Neceſſitas, Finis, & Renouatio.* And wherein hee truely, with S. *Paul*, caſteth vpon God all power; confeſſing alſo, that the world was made by Gods almightie Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus fabricatus eſt mundus.* *Zoroaſter* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) tooke the word *Fire*, to expreſſe God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in Saint *Paul* it is vſed) *Omnia ex vno igne genita ſunt*; *All things* (ſaith he) *are cauſed, or produced out of one fire.*

Deut. 4. 24.
Heb 12. 19.

So did *Orpheus* plainely teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the Will of the moſt High God; whoſe remarkeable words are thus conuerted: *Cùm abſcondiſſet omnia Iupiter ſummus, deindè in lumen gratum emiſit, ex ſacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia:* Of which I conceiue this ſenſe; *When great Iupiter had hidden all things in himſelfe; working out of the loue of his ſacred heart, he ſent thence*, or brought forth *into gratefull light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.*

Orph. de ſum. Ioue.

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wiſeſt, acknowledged alſo one God, the moſt High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Vnus Deus, Pater, Creator ſummus.* PLATO calleth God the cauſe and originall, the nature and reaſon of the vniuerſall; *Totius rerum natura, cauſa, & origo Deus.* But hereof more at large hereafter.

Vid. cap. 6.

Now, although the curioſitie of ſome men haue found it ſuperfluous, to remember the opinions of Philoſophers, in matters of Diuinitie: (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any forraine teſtimony) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; ſo Saint *Paul* himſelfe did not deſpiſe, but thought it lawfull, and profitable, to remember whatſoeuer hee found agreeable to the Word of God, among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all eſcape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not: as in his Epiſtle to *Titus*, he citeth *Epimenides* againſt the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*, and in the ſeuenteenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus, &c.* for Truth (ſaith S. *Ambroſe*) by whomſoeuer vttered, is of the holy Ghoſt; *Veritas à quocunq; dicatur, à Spiritu ſancto eſt*: and laſtly, let thoſe kind of men learne this rule; *Quæ ſacris ſeruiunt, prophana non ſunt*; *Nothing is prophane that ſerueth to the vſe of holy things.*

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§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, *Geneſ* 1. 1.

THis viſible World of which *Moſes* writeth, God created in the beginning, or, firſt of all: in which (ſaith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrewes* ſeeke ſome hidden myſterie, and which in the *Iewes Targum* is conuerted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to ſucceſſion of time, nor to order, as ſome men haue conceiued, both which are ſubſequent: but onely to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary matter to be informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the Eternall. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken; for if God had but diſpoſed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, ſo muſt it follow, that the inſtitution of Matter proceeded from a greater Power, then that of God. And by what name ſhall we then call ſuch an One (ſaith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to diſpoſe of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we faine a double Creation, or allow of two Powers, and both infinite, the impoſſibilitie whereof ſcorneth defence. *Nam impoſſibile plura eſſe infinita: quoniam alterum eſſet in altero finitum*; *There cannot bee more infinites then one; for one of them would limit the other.*

Cuſan. de Mente lib. 3.

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§. IIII.

Of the meaning of the words Heauen *and* Earth: *Geneſis* 2. 1.

THe vniuerſall matter of the world (which *Moyſes* comprehendeth vnder the names of *Heauen and Earth*) is by diuers diuerſly vnderſtood: for there are that conceiue, that by thoſe words, was meant the firſt matter, as the *Peripatetikes* vnderſtand it, to which, S. *Auguſtine* and *Iſidore* ſeeme to adhere. *Feciſti mundum* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *de materia informi, quam feciſti de nulla re, penè nullam rem*: (that is) *Thou haſt made the world of a matter without forme; which matter thou madeſt of nothing, and being made, it was little other then nothing.*

But this potentiall and imaginarie *materia prima*, cannot exiſt without forme. *Peter Lombard, the Schoole-men, Beda, Lyranus, Comeſtor, Toſtatus* and others, affirme, that it pleaſed God firſt of all to create the Empyrean Heauen: which at the ſucceeding inſtant (ſaith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This Empyrean Heauen *Steuchius Eugubinus* calleth *Diuine claritie, and vncreated*: an errour, for which he is ſharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceiue) he rather fayled in the ſubſequent, when he made it to be a place, and the ſeate of Angels, and iuſt Soules, then in the former affirmation: for of the firſt, That God liueth in eternall Light, it is written; *My ſoule, praiſe thou the Lord, that couereth himſelfe with light*: and in the Reuelation; *And the Citie hath no neede of Sunne, neither of the Moone to ſhine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein alſo *Iohn Mercer* vpon *Geneſis*, differeth not in opinion from *Eugubinus*: for as by Heauen created in the beginning, was not meant the inuiſible or ſupercæleſtiall; ſo in his iudgement, becauſe it was in all Eternitie, the glorious ſeate of God himſelfe, it was not neceſſary to be created; *Quem mundum ſupercæleſtem meo iudicio creari* (ſaith Mercer) *non erat neceſſe*.

Beda Hex. Strabo ſuper Geneſ. Eug Coſ. & de nat. incorp.

Pſal. 104. 12. *Claritas diuina nō eſt lux facta, ſed ſapientia Dei, non creata, ſed nata.*

Apoc. 21. 23.

Mercer. in Gen. cap. 7. verſ. 7.

But as *Moſes* forbare to ſpeake of Angels, and of things inuiſible, and incorporate, for

Bar.3.24.25.

the weakneſſe of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of thoſe things, which were more manifeſt, (to wit) that God did not only by a ſtrong hand deliuer them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promiſe made to their forefathers: but alſo that he created, and was the ſole cauſe of this aſpectable, and perceiueable Vniuerſall; ſo on the other ſide I dare not thinke, that any ſuperceleſtiall Heauen, or whatſoeuer elſe (not himſelfe) was increate & eternall: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wiſdome of mortall men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the ſeate of infinite power, no more then infinite power it ſelfe can be limited: for his place is in himſelf, whom no magnitude elſe can cōtain: *How great is the houſe of God* (ſaith BARUCH) *how large is the place of his poſſeſsions! it is great, and hath no end, it is high and vnmeaſurable.*

Cuſan. in compend. fol. 224. Operis.

Caluin. in Gen.

But leauing multiplicitie of opinion, it is more probable & allowed, that by the words *Heauen and Earth*, was meant the ſolid matter and ſubſtance, aſwell of all the Heauens, and Orbes ſupernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which couered it ouer, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *materia, Chaos, poſsibilitas, ſiue poſſe fieri.* Which matter (ſaith *Caluin*) was ſo called, *quòd totius mundi ſemen fuerit; Becauſe it was the ſeed of the Vniuerſall:* an opinion of ancient Philoſophers long before.

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§. V.

That the ſubſtance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by MOSES *vnderſtood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of vnformed and voide, is deſcribed as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.*

MOSES firſt nameth Heauen and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth; but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to diſtinguiſh the confuſed Maſſe, and (as *Baſil* ſaith) *præparare naturam aquæ ad fœcunditatem vitalem; to prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulneſſe.*

Pſal. 102. 26.

Eſay 51.

Gen. 1. v. 9.

Pſal. 104. 6.

Zeno.

Gul. Pariſ. 600.

A. Mont. de nat.

For vnder the word *Heauen*, was the matter of all heauenly bodies, and natures expreſt: and by the name of *Earth and Waters*, all was meant, whatſoeuer is vnder the Moone, and ſubiect to alteration. Corrupt ſeedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heauens are not ſubiect, though ſubiect to periſhing. *They ſhall periſh* (ſaith *Dauid*) *and the heauens ſhall vaniſh away like ſmoke*, ſaith *Eſay*. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth: for it is written, *Let the waters vnder the heauens be gathered into one place, and let the drie land appeare:* which proueth that the drie land was mixt and couered with the waters, and not yet diſtinguiſhed; but no way, that the waters were the matter or ſeede of the Earth, much leſſe of the Vniuerſall. *Initio tu Domine terram fundaſti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning haſt founded the Earth:* and againe, *The Earth was couered with the Deepe* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*, ſaith *Dauid*. And if by naturall arguments it may be proued, that water by condenſation may become earth, the ſame reaſon teacheth vs alſo, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire: aire, fire; and ſo on the contrarie. *Deus ignis ſubſtantiam per aerem in aquam conuertit, God turneth the ſubſtance of fire, by aire, into water.* For the Heauens and the Earth remained in the ſame ſtate, in which they were created, as touching their ſubſtance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in reſpect of beautie and ornament. *Cœlum verò & terra in ſtatu creationis remanſerunt, quantum ad ſubſtantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis poſtmodùm ſuperaddita eſt.* And the word which the Hebrewes cal *Maim*, is not to be vnderſtood according to the Latine tranſlation ſimply, and as ſpecificall water; but the ſame more properly ſignifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Eſt autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit. For Maim* (ſaith he) *is a double liquor,* (that is, of diuers natures) *and this name or word the Latines wanting a voice to expreſſe it, call it in the Plurall,* Aquas, *Waters.*

Gen. 1. 2.

12.

This Maſſe, or indigeſted matter, or Chaos created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had ſeparated the Earth, and digeſted it from the waters: *And the earth was voide:* that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after *the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters*, and wrought this indigeſted matter into that forme, which it now retayneth, then did *the earth bud forth the herbe, which ſeedeth ſeede, and the fruitfull tree according to his kind, and God ſaw that it was good;* which attribute was not giuen to the Earth, while it was confuſed; nor to the Heauens, before they had motion, and adornement. *God ſaw that it was good*; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that, to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta ſunt opera*; *The works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their inuention of *Demogorgon*: *Heſiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that Chaos, of which *Ouid*:

Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Cœlum,
Vnus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixère Chaos, rudis indigeſtaq; moles.
Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heauen, that all doth hide,
In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

Ouid. m. Meta. lib. 1.

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§. VI.

How it is to bee vnderſtood that the Spirit of God mooued vpon the Waters, and that this is not to bee ſearched curiouſly.

AFter the Creation of Heauen and Earth, then void and without forme, the Spirit of God moued vpon the Waters. The *Seuenty Interpreters* vſe the word *ſuperferebatur*, moued vpon or ouer: *incubabat*, or *fouebat* (ſaith *Hierome*) out of *Baſil*; and *Baſil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, ſed viri cuiuſdam Syri ſententiam recenſebo* (ſaith *Baſil*:) which words *incubare* or *fouere* importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, haue a ſpeciall likeneſſe. *Verbum tranſlatum eſt ab auibus pullitiei ſuæ incubantibus, quamuis ſpirituali, & planè inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; *The word is taken of birds hatching their yong, not corporally, but in a ſpirituall and vnexpreſsible manner.*

Baſil. Hexam.

Iunius.

Some of the Hebrewes conuert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat*; *The Spirit of God did flutter*: the Chaldæan Paraphraſt in this ſenſe, *Ventus à conſpectu Dei ſufflabat*: or as other vnderſtand the Chaldæan, *Flabat, pellebat, remouebat*: *The wind from the face of God did blow vnder, driue, or remoue*, or *did blow vpon*, according to the 147. *Pſalme*, *He cauſed his wind to blow, and the waters increaſe: but there was yet no wind nor exhalation.* *Arias Montanus* in theſe words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Meracheſet, id eſt, efficaciter motitans; confouens, ac agitans ſuper facies gemini liquoris*; *The Spirit of God effectually and often mouing, keeping warme, and cheriſhing, quickning and ſtirring vpon the face of this double liquor.* For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents, and the laſt paſſiue and materiall, to wit, *Cauſa*, which is the diuine goodneſſe: *Icht*, which is, *fiat, ſiue erit*, *Let it be*, or *it ſhall be*. *Quæ vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit*: *Which voice* (ſaith he) *was the firſt that was vttered by the word of God.* The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id eſt, vis quædam diuina, agilis ac præſens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*, that is, *A certayne diuine power, or ſtrength euery where, actiue and extending, and ſtretching through all, filling and finiſhing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim, id eſt, materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis*; *Matter apt to become euery thing.* For my ſelfe I am reſolued (*Cùm Deus ſit ſuperrationale omni ratione*; *Seeing God is in all reaſon aboue reaſon*) that although the effects which follow his wonderfull wayes of working, may in a meaſure be perceiued by mans vnderſtanding, yet the manner & firſt operation of his diuine power, cannot be conceiued by any mind, or ſpirit, compaſſed with a mortall body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei ſunt non percipit*: *For my thoughts* (ſaith the Lord in Esay) *are not your thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes.* And as the world hath not knowne God himſelfe: ſo are his wayes (according to S. Pavl) *paſt finding out*. *O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee*, ſaith Chriſt. And therefore, whether that motion, vitalitie and operation, were by incubation or how elſe, the manner is onely knowne to God, *Quomodo in omnibus ſit rebus vel per eſſentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noſter nòn capit*; *For, how God* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, ſpeaking of his Vbiquitie) *is in all things, either by eſſence, preſence, or power, our vnderſtanding cannot comprehend.* *Nihil inter Deum hominemq; diſtaret, ſi conſilia, & diſpoſitiones illius maieſtatis æternæ, cogitatio aſſequeretur humana*: *There would be no difference betweene God and Man, if mans vnderſtanding could conceiue the counſels and diſpoſing of that eternall Maieſtie*; and therefore to bee ouer-curious in ſearching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operatiue Spirit diſtinguiſhing, gaue forme to the Matter

Pſal. 147. 18.

Ar. Mont. vt ſup. Eugub. in Coſ. ſal. 13.

Ar. Mont. de natura, pag. 149.

Eſay 55. 8.

Aug. Tract. 20. in Iohan. 17. 25.

Lact. in Præfat.

of the Vniuerſall, is a labour and ſearch like vnto his, who not contented with a knowne and ſafe Foord, will preſume to paſſe ouer the greateſt Riuer in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for ſo doth the one loſe his life, and the other his vnderſtanding. We behold the Sunne, and enioy his light, as long as we looke towards it, but tenderly, and circumſpectly: we warme our ſelues ſafely, while we ſtand neare the fire; but if we ſeeke to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

Nazian. lib. 2. Theol.

But to eſchew curioſitie: this is true, that the Engliſh word *(moued)* is moſt proper and ſignificant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatſoeuer is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truely called, *Principium motus*, and with MIRANDVLA, *Vis cauſæ efficientis*; *The force of the efficient cauſe*, S. *Auguſtine* ſometimes taketh for the holy Ghoſt; ſometime for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus, vnder the name of a Spirit*, which is ſometimes ſo taken: or for *virtualis creatura, For a created virtuality*: *Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it alſo a breath or wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem, A pure or thin intelligible Spirit*: ANAXAGORAS, *Mentem*: TOSTATVS, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*; *The will and minde of God*; which *mens, Plato in Timæo*, maketh *Animam mundi, The ſoule of the world*: and in his ſixt Booke *de Republica*, he calleth it *the Law of Heauen*; in his Epiſtles, *The Leader of things to come, and the preſence of things paſt*. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of Chriſt our Sauiour, *Mens deficit, vox ſilet, & non mëa tantùm, ſed etiam Angelorum*; *My minde fayleth, my voice is ſilent, and not mine onely, but euen the voice of Angels*: ſo may all men elſe ſay in the vnderſtanding, and vtterance of the wayes and works of the Creation; for to him (ſaith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one ſubſtance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed conſubſtantiale illi eſt, quicquid eius eſt, & quicquid eſt*; *Whatſoeuer attribute of him there is, and whatſoeuer he is, it is the very ſame ſubſtance that himſelfe is.*

Wiſd. cap. 1. v. 7.

But the Spirit of God which moued vpon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, ſeparate from the infinite actiue power of God, which then formed and diſtinguiſhed, and which now ſuſtayneth, and giueth continuance to the Vniuerſall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the ſame is it *which maintayneth all things*, ſaith SALOMON. *If thou ſend forth thy Spirit* (ſaith DAVID) *they are created*: And GREGORY, *Deus ſuo præſentiali eſſe, dat omnibus rebus eſſe, ita quòd, ſi ſe rebus ſubtraheret, ſicut de nihilo facta ſunt omnia, ſic in nihilum deſluerent vniuerſa*; *God giueth being to all things, by being preſent with all things, ſo as if he ſhould withdraw himſelfe from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away and vaniſh into nothing*. And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath expreſt excellently:

Virg. Æneid. lib. 8. 724.

Principio Cœlum ac Terras, campoſq; liquentes,
Lucentemq; globum Lunæ, Titaniaq; aſtra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infuſa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.

The Heauen, the Earth, and all the liquid Mayne,
The Moones bright Globe, and Starres Titanian,
A Spirit within maintaynes: and their whole maſſe,
A Mind, which through each part infus'd doth paſſe,
Faſhions, and works, and wholly doth tranſpierce
All this great Body of the Vniuerſe.

Iob c. 26. v. 13.

Gen. 1. 5.

And this was the ſame Spirit, which moued in the Vniuerſall, and thereby both diſtinguiſhed and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garniſhed the Heauens*, ſaith *Iob*. So then the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters, and created in them their ſpiritualitie, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heate; and heate rarifaction, and ſubtilitie of parts. By this Spirit (which gaue heate and motion, and thereby, operation to euery nature, while it moued vpon the waters, which were in one indigeſted lump, and Chaos, diſpoſed to all formes alike) was begotten Aire: an element ſuperior, as lighter then the waters, through whoſe vaſt, open, ſubtile, diaphanicke, or tranſparent body, the light afterwards created might eaſily tranſpierce: Light, for the excellency thereof, being the firſt creature which God called good, whoſe creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chryſoſtome* calleth a vitall Operation, *Aquis à Deo inſitam, ex qua aquæ non ſolùm motionem, ſed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint.* He calleth it, *A vitall Operation giuen by God vnto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely motion, but alſo power to procreate or bring forth liuing Creatures.*

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of the light created, as the materiall ſubſtance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and difficultie of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and vſe of it: and of motion, and heate annexed vnto it.

THeſe waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and vnited, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and inſtrument of created light. For this firſt and diſperſed light did not (as I conceiue) diſtinguiſh the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes creation, and the vniting of the diſperſed light therein. This is proued by theſe words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to ſeparate the day from the night:* which lights in the firmament of Heauen were alſo made for ſignes, and for ſeaſons, and for dayes, and for yeares, implying a motion inſtantly to follow, by which, dayes and yeares are diſtinguiſhed; after which ſucceeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the meaſure of motion) began. For that ſpace of the firſt three dayes which preceded the Sunnes creation, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be meaſured, and the day named in the fift Verſe, was but ſuch a ſpace, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a ciuill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and vpper waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beaſts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: ſo may Light (for expreſſion ſake) be called the Chaos, or materiall ſubſtance of the Sunne, & other lights of heauen: Howbeit, neither the Sunne, nor any thing ſenſible, is that Light it ſelfe, *Quæ cauſa eſt lucidorum, Which is the cauſe that things are lightſome* (though it make it ſelfe & all things elſe viſible) but a body moſt illightned, which illuminateth the Moone, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Æther*, the place of the ſuppoſed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies liuing in this our aire. For this light *Auicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium cœleſtium virtutum, & impreſſionum: The conducter, and preſeruer or nouriſher of all celeſtiall vertues and impreſſions,* nothing deſcending of heauenly influences, but by the *medium,* or meanes of light. *Ariſtotle* calleth light, a qualitie, inherent, or cleauing to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen eſt qualitas inherens Diaphano:* but this may be better auouched of the heate, which it tranſporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heate (ſay the Platonicks) *Abeunte lumine reſidet in ſubiecto, The light being departed, doth reſide in the ſubiect,* as warmth in the aire, though the ſame be depriued of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academikes* make incorporall, and ſo doth MONTANVS, *Cui nec duritia reſiſtit, nec ſpatium; Which neither hardneſſe reſiſteth, nor ſpace leaueth.*

Gen.1.14.

Lux dicitur, quæ ſe, & omnia viſibilia facit. Cuſan. in comment. cap.7. & exercit. lib.5.

Ficin. lib de Lumine, cap.11.

Ariſtotle findeth corporalitie in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, ſaith *Picolomineus, Democritus, Leucippus,* and *Epicurus,* giue materialitie to light it ſelfe, but improperly: for it paſſeth at an inſtant, from the Heauen to the Earth, nor is it reſiſted by any hardneſſe, becauſe it pierceth through the ſolid body of glaſſe, or other Criſtalline matter; and whereas it is withſtood by vncleane, and vnpure earthy ſubſtances, leſſe hard, and more eaſie to inuade then the former, the ſame is, *Quòd obſtaculum naturâ terreum atq; ſordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem; Becauſe an obſtacle, by nature earthy and foule, doth not receiue the pure clearneſſe of light:* alluding to that moſt diuine Light, which onely ſhineth on thoſe minds, which are purged from all worldly droſſe, and humane vncleanneſſe.

Pic. de finit.

Plotin.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither doe I maruaile at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philoſophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or later Writers, that any of them vnderſtood either it or themſelues therein: all men (to caſt off ignorance) haue diſputed hereof, but there is no man that hath beene taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferiour to any in wit) as hee hath ſhewed little ſtrength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda, Hugo, Lombard, Lyranus,* and others: ſo is his owne iudgement herein, as weake as any mans; and moſt of the Schoolemen were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more ſubtile in diſtinguiſhing vpon the parts of doctrine already laid downe, then diſcouerers of any thing hidden, either in Philoſophie or Diuinitie: of whom it may be truely ſaid, *Nihil ſapientiæ odioſius acumine nimio; Nothing is more odious to true wiſedome, then too acute ſharpneſſe.* Neither hath the length of time, and the ſearch of many learned men, (which the ſame time hath brought forth and deuoured) reſolued vs, whether this light be ſubſtantiall, corporall, or incorporall: Corporall they ſay it cannot bee, becauſe then it could neither pierce the aire, nor thoſe hard, ſolid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth, and yet euery day we ſee the aire illightned: incorporall it cannot bee, becauſe it ſometime affecteth the ſight of the eye with offence, and therefore by moſt of the Fathers ſo eſteemed: others ſay, (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, becauſe no forme ſo excellent as it ſelfe to informe it: neither can it be any accident, which is not ſeparable without the deſtruction of the ſubiect: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Sunne in exiſtence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then either, or both muſt be one of theſe, lucide or bright, darke or opake, Diaphanous or tranſparent; but darkneſſe cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light, nor darkneſſe, but capable of either) cannot be the cauſe of either, and therefore muſt the matter, or forme, or both, be lucide and ſhining. Lucide and ſhining obtayne their ſo being of the light; and therefore, if wee deriue this being of light from a former, then would the progreſſe goe on infinitely, and againſt nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, and immediately of it ſelfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme, and the forme of all lucide and ſhining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others iudge.

Lucida corpora ſunt plena ſua luce, alienis tenebris impervia. Opaca ſunt plena ſuis tenebris alieno lumine. Tranſparentia ſeu Diaphana carent ſuis & lumine & tenebris: alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scal. ſubt. ex. 71.

But in my vnderſtanding, *Lumen*, (which may be Engliſhed by the word *Shine*) is an intentionall Species of that, which may be Engliſhed by Light, and ſo, this ſhining which proceedeth from the Sunne, or other lights of Heauen, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentionall Species thereof, and an intentionall Species may be vnderſtood by the example of a red, or greene colour, occaſioned by the ſhining of the Sun through red or greene glaſſe: for then we perceiue the ſame colour caſt vpon any thing oppoſite; which redneſſe or other colour, we call the *intentionall Species* of the colour in that glaſſe. And againe, as this light, touching his ſimple nature, is no way yet vnderſtood: ſo it is diſputed, whether this light firſt created, bee the ſame which the Sunne inholdeth and caſteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer then till the Sunnes creation.

Geneſ. 1.

Verſ. 12.

9.

But by the moſt wiſe and vnchanged order, which God obſerued in the worke of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the firſt day created, was the ſubſtance of the Sunne: for *Moſes* repeateth twice the mayne parts of the Vniuerſall; firſt, as they were created in matter; ſecondly, as they were adorned with forme: firſt, naming the Heauens, the Earth, the Waters, all confuſed; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made drie Land, and the Heauens diſtinguiſhed from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was vncouered, and before it was called *Arida*, or drie Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated, and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their vertuall formes: ſo the Sunne, although it had not his formall perfection, his circle, beautie, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the ſubſtance thereof in the firſt day (vnder the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly diſperſed, was in the ſame fourth day vnited, and ſet in the Firmament of Heauen: for to Light created in the firſt day, God gaue no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation*, (which was, to ſeparate day from night) were preciſely performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obtayned life and motion. Neither did the wiſedome of God finde cauſe why it ſhould mooue (by which motion, dayes and nights are diſtinguiſhed) till then: becauſe there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by mouing, the Sunne might giue light, heate, and operation.

Quemadmodum Rex aliquis &c. Procop. in Gen. 1.

But after the Earth (diſtinguiſhed from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herbe, &c. God cauſed the Sunne to moue, and (by interchange of time) to viſite euery part of the inferiour world; by his heate to ſtirre vp the fire of generation, and to giue actiuitie to the ſeeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth ſome goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the ſame to that vſe and end, to which it was ordayned; ſo it pleaſed God (ſaith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerfull Word he approued, and approuing it, diſpoſed thereof, to the vſe and comfort of his future Creatures.

Iob 38. 24.

9.

But in that it pleaſed God to aske of IOB, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not vnder mans vnderſtanding; and therefore let it ſuffice, that by Gods grace we enioy the effects thereof. *For this light is of the treaſure of God* (ſaith Esdras.) *And thoſe which* Eſd.l.2.c.6.40. *inhabite the Heauens, doe onely know the Eſſence thereof. Nihil ignotum in cœlo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing vnknowne in Heauen, nothing perfectly knowne on earth.* Herm. *Res veræ ſunt in mundo inuiſibili, in mundo viſibili vmbræ rerum: Things themſelues are in the inuiſible world, in the world viſible, but their ſhadowes:* Surely, if this Light be not ſpirituall, yet it approcheth neareſt vnto ſpiritualitie; and if it haue any corporalitie, then of all other the moſt ſubtile and pure; for howſoeuer, it is of all things ſeene, the moſt beautifull, and of the ſwifteſt motion, of all other the moſt neceſſary and beneficiall. For it miniſtreth to men, and other creatures, all celeſtiall influences; it diſſipateth thoſe ſad thoughts and ſorrowes, which the darkneſſe both begetteth and maintayneth; it diſcouereth vnto vs the glorious works of God, and carryeth vp with an Angelicall ſwiftneſſe, our eyes vnto Heauen, that by the ſight thereof, our minds being informed of his viſible maruailes, may continually trauaile to ſurmount theſe perceiued Heauens, and to finde out their omnipotent Cauſe and Creator. *Cognitio non quieſcit in rebus creatis; Our knowledge* Ficin. *doth not quiet it ſelfe in things created. Et ipſa lux facit, vt cætera mundi membra digna ſint laudibus, cùm ſuam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light* (ſaith Saint Ambrose) *that maketh the other parts of the world ſo worthy of praiſe, ſeeing that it ſelfe communicateth its goodneſſe and beauty vnto all:* of which *Ouid* out of *Orpheus:*

Ille ego ſum, qui longum metior annum, Ouid.Met.l.1.
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.

The World diſcernes it ſelfe, while I the World behold,
By me the longeſt yeares, and other times are told,
I the worlds eye.

Laſtly, if we may behold in any creature, any one ſparke of that eternall fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightneſſe, the ſame in the beautie, motion, and vertue of this Light, may be perceiued. Therefore was God called *Lux ipſa*, and the Light, by *Hermes* named *Lux ſancta*, and *Chriſt* our Sauiour ſaid to be *that Light, which lighteth euery man that commeth into the world.* Ioh.1.9.& 14.46. Yet in reſpect of Gods incomprehenſible ſublimitie, and puritie, this is alſo true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other ſpirits; nor a light, ſuch as can be diſcerned. *Deus profectò non mens eſt, at verò vt ſit mens cauſa eſt; nec ſpiritus, ſed cauſa qua ſpiritus extat; nec lumen, ſed cauſa qua lumen exiſtit. God* (ſaith Hermes in Pœmandro) *certainly is not a minde, but the cauſe that the minde hath his being; nor ſpirit, but the cauſe by which euery ſpirit is; nor light, but the cauſe by which the light exiſteth.*

So then the *Maſſe* and *Chaos* being firſt created, void, darke, and imformed, was by the operatiue Spirit of God, pierced and quickned, and the Waters hauing now receiued Spirit and motion, reſolued their thinner parts into Aire, which God illightned: the Earth alſo by being contiguat, and mixt with waters (participating the ſame diuine vertue) brought forth the bud of the herbe that ſeedeth ſeede, &c. and for a meane and Gen.1.10. organ, by which this operatiue vertue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be vnited, and gaue it alſo motion and heate, which heate cauſed a continuance of thoſe ſeuerall *ſpecies*, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begate the time and times ſucceeding.

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§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters aboue the Firmament: and whether there be any Criſtalline Heauen, or any Primum mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and light was created, God ſaid, *Let there be a Firmament in the middeſt of the waters, and let it ſeparate the waters from the waters:* that is, thoſe waters which by rarifaction and euaporation were aſcended, and thoſe of the Earth and Sea.

But theſe waters ſeparate aboue this extenſion, which the Latine Tranſlation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expanſum* (for ſo *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Iunius* turne it) are not the Criſtalline Heauens, created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Baſilius Magnus* calleth a childiſh ſuppoſition, making in the ſame place many learned arguments againſt this fancy. For the waters aboue the Firmament, are the waters in the Aire aboue vs, where the ſame is more ſolid and condenſe, which God ſeparated from the neather waters by a Firmament, that is, by an extended diſtance and vaſt ſpace: the words *Raquia*, which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*, and *Shamaijm*, being indifferently taken for the Heauen and for Aire, and more properly for the Aire and *Æther*, then for the Heauens, as the beſt Hebricians vnderſtand them, *Quo ſuprema ac tenuia ab infimis craſſis diducta, interſectaq́ diſtarent*, for that *whereby the ſupreme and thin bodies were placed in diſtance, being ſeuered and cut off from low and groſſe matters*: and the waters aboue the Firmament, expreſt in the word *Maijm*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters aboue the Aire, or in the vppermoſt Region of the ſame.

Mont Nat. hiſt. fol. 152.

And that the word Heauen is vſed for the Aire, the Scriptures euerywhere witneſſe, as in the bleſſings of *Ioſeph*, and in the 104. Pſalme. * *By theſe Springs ſhall the fowle of the Heauen dwell*; and [a] *vpon Sodom and Gomorrha it rayned brimſtone and fire out of the Heauen*; and in *Iſaacs* bleſſing to *Iacob*, GOD *giue thee therefore of the dew of Heauen*; and in *Deuteronomie* the 11. *But the land whither you goe to poſſeſſe it, is a land, that drinketh water of the rayne of Heauen*; and in IOB, *Who hath ingendred the froſts of Heauen*; and in S. MATTHEW, *Behold the Fowles of Heauen, for they ſow not*. So as in all the Scriptures of the old Teſtament throughout, is the word Heauen very often vſed for aire, and taken alſo hyperbolically for any great heigth, as, *Let vs build vs a Tower, whoſe top may reach to Heauen, &c.* And in this very place *Baſil* auoucheth, that this appellation of Heauen for the Firmament, is but by way of ſimilitude: his owne words be theſe; *Et vocauit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hæc appellatio alij quidem propriè accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad ſimilitudinem*; *And God called the firmament Heauen: This appellation* (ſaith *Baſil*) *is properly applyed to another* (that is, to the Starry Heauen) *but to this*, (that is, to the Firmament diuiding the waters) *it is impoſed by ſimilitude*: and if there were no other proofe, that by the Firmament was meant the Ayre, and not the Heauen, the words of MOSES in the eighth Verſe, conferred with the ſame word Firmament in the twentieth Verſe, makes it manifeſt: for in the eighth Verſe it is written, that God called the Firmament, which diuided waters from waters, Heauen; and in the 20. Verſe he calleth the Firmament of Heauen, Ayre, in theſe words: *And let the Fowle flye vpon the earth in the open firmament of Heauen.* And what vſe there ſhould be of this ycie, or criſtalline, or waterie Heauen, I conceiue not, except it be to moderate and temper the heate, which the *Primum nobile* would otherwiſe gather and increaſe: though in verie truth, in ſtead of this helpe, it would adde an vnmeaſurable greatneſſe of circle, whereby the ſwiftneſſe of that firſt Moueable would exceede all poſſibilitie of beliefe. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impoſſibilia*; *but no man ought to be held to impoſſibilities*; and faith it ſelfe (which ſurmounteth the heighth of all humane reaſon) hath for a forcible Conducter, the Word of Truth, which alſo may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus*; *the light of all reaſon and vnderſtanding*. Now that this ſuppoſed firſt Moueable, turneth it ſelfe ſo many hundred thouſand miles in an inſtant (ſeeing the Scriptures teach it not) let thoſe that can beleeue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of theſe many Heauens, let the Reader that deſireth ſatisfaction, ſearch *Orontius*, and of this waterie Heauen, *Baſilius Magnus* in his *Hexam. fol.* 40. 41. *&c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, his ſecond Booke, and ſixt Chapter. For my ſelfe, I am perſwaded, that the waters, called, The waters aboue the Heauens, are but the cloudes and waters ingendred in the vppermoſt Ayre.

Gen. 49.25.
* *Pſal.* 104.12.
[a] *Gen.* 19.24.
Cap. 27.28.
Deu. 11.11.
Iob. 38 29.
Matth. 6.26.
Gen. 11.4.

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§. IX.

A concluſion repeating the ſumme of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finiſhing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, that this was the order of the moſt wiſe GOD in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehenſible eternitie. Firſt, hee created the matter of all things: and in the firſt three dayes he diſtinguiſhed and gaue to euery nature his proper forme; the forme of leuitie to that which aſcended, to that which deſcended, the forme of grauitie: for he ſeparated light from darkeneſſe, diuided waters from waters, and gathered the waters vnder the Firmament into one place. In the laſt three daies, God adorned, beautified, and repleniſhed the World: he ſet in the Firmament of Heauen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beaſts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fiſh, giuing to all that haue life, a power generatiue, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to Creatures vegetatiue and growing, their ſeedes in themſelues; for *he created all things, that they might haue their being: and the generations of the world are preſerued.*

Wiſd. Sal. c. 1. 14.

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§. X.

That Nature is no Principium per ſe; *nor forme the giuer of being: and of our ignorance, how ſecond cauſes ſhould haue any proportion with their effects.*

AND for this working power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and reſt, according to *Ariſtotle*, the ſame is nothing elſe, but the ſtrength and facultie, which God hath infuſed into euerie creature, hauing no other ſelfe-abilitie, then a Clocke, after it is wound vp by a mans hand, hath. Theſe therefore that atttribute vnto this facultie, any firſt or ſole power, haue therein no other vnderſtanding, then ſuch a one hath, who looking into the Sterne of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helme and Rudder, doth aſcribe ſome abſolute vertue to the peece of wood, without all conſideration of the hand that guides it, or of the iudgement, which alſo directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and in all elſe, that by the vertue of the firſt act, all Agents worke whatſoeuer they worke: *Virtute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt:* for as the minde of man ſeeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore we attribute ſight to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde onely, that giueth abilitie, life, and motion to all theſe his inſtruments and Organs; ſo God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infuſed properties, and by men, as by ſeuerall Organs, ſeuerall effects; all ſecond cauſes whatſoeuer, being but inſtruments, conduits, and pipes, which carrie and diſperſe what they haue receyued from the head and fountaine of the Vniuerſall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and euerie-where-preſence (compaſſing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giueth to the Sunne power to draw vp vapours, to vapours to be made cloudes, cloudes to containe raine, and raine to fall: ſo all ſecond and inſtrumentall cauſes, together with Nature it ſelfe, without that operatiue facultie which God gaue them, would become altogether ſilent, vertuleſſe, and dead: of which excellentlie ORPHEUS; *Per te vireſcunt omnia, All things by thee ſpring forth in youthfull greene.* I enforce not theſe things, thereby to annihilate thoſe variable vertues which God hath giuen to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heauenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his workes in their vertues prayſe him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philoſophers, and thoſe that follow them, haue taken on them to teach: I ſay, there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could euer yet conceiue it, or expreſſe it, euer enrich his owne vnderſtanding with any certaine truth, or euer edifie others (not fooliſh by ſelfe-flatterie) therein. For (ſaith *Lactantius*, ſpeaking of the wiſedome of the Philoſophers) *Si facultas inueniendæ veritatis huic ſtudio ſubiaceret, aliquandò eſſet inuenta; cùm vero tot temporibus, tot ingenijs in eius inquiſitione contritis, non ſit comprehenſa, apparet nullam ibi eſſe ſapientiam; If in this* ſtudie (ſaith he) *were meanes to find out the truth, it had ere this beene found out: but ſeeing it is not yet comprehended, after that ſo much time, and ſo many wits haue beene worne out in the inquirie of it, it appeareth, that there is no wiſedome there to be had. Nam ſi de vna re præciſa ſcientia haberetur, omnium rerum ſcientia neceſſariò haberetur: If the preciſe knowledge of any one thing wer to be had, it ſhould neceſſarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had.* And as the Philoſophers were ignorant in Nature, and the wayes of her working: ſo were they more curious, then knowing, in their firſt matter and Phyſicall forme. For if their firſt matter had any being, it were not then the firſt matter: for, as it is the firſt matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth ſubſiſt. And ſeeing it is neither a ſubſtance perfect, nor a ſubſtance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other ſubſtance ſhould thence take concreſcence, it hath not beene taught, neyther are theſe formes (ſaith a learned Author) any thing, *ſi ex ea exprimatur potentia, quæ nihil eſt.* Againe, how this firſt matter ſhould be *ſub-*

Natura enim remota prouidentia & poteſtate diuina, prorſus nihil eſt. Lact. de falſ. ſapientia, l. 3. cap. 28.

Cyprian. de mente, lib. 3.

iectum formarum, and paſsiue, which is vnderſtood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceiue: for to make forme which is the cauſe, to be ſubſequent to the thing cauſed (to wit, to the firſt matter) is contrarie to all reaſon, diuine and humane: onely it may be ſaid, that originally there is no other difference betweene matter and forme, then betweene heate and fire, of which the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other, but in a kinde of rationall conſideration. Leauing therefore theſe Riddles to their Louers, who by certaine ſcholaſticall diſtinctions wreſt and peruert the truth of all things, and by which *Ariſtotle* hath laboured to prooue a falſe eternitie of the World, I thinke it farre ſafer to affirme with Saint AVGVSTINE, *That all ſpecies and kindes are from God, from whom, whatſoeuer is naturall proceedeth, of what kinde or eſtimation ſoeuer, from whence are the ſeedes of all formes, and the formes of all ſeedes and their motions*; *A quo eſt omnis ſpecies, à quo eſt quicquid naturaliter eſt, cuiuſcunq; generis eſt, cuiuſcunq; æſtimationis eſt, à quo ſunt ſemina formarum, formæ ſeminum, motus ſeminum atq; formarum.* And thus much *Auerrois* is forced to confeſſe. *For all formes* (ſaith hee) *are in primo motore*; which is alſo the opinion of *Ariſtotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* vpon *Dionyſius*.

12.Metaph.

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starres haue great influence: and that their operations may diuerſly be preuented or furthered.

ANd, as of Nature, ſuch is the diſpute and contention concerning Fate or Deſtinie, of which the opinions of thoſe learned men that haue written thereof, may be ſafely receiued, had they not thereunto annexed and faſtened an ineuitable neceſsitie, and made it more generall, and vniuerſally powerfull then it is, by giuing it Dominion ouer the minde of man, and ouer his will; of which *Ouid* and *Iuuenal*:

Iuuen.ſat.7.201

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Seruis regna dabunt, captiuis Fata triumphos.

'Gainſt Fate no counſell can preuaile.
Kingdomes to Slaues by Deſtinie,
To Captiues triumphs giuen be.

Baſil.Eſſa.4.
Aug. de hæreſ. 70 c.31.
Tho. cont. Gent. 3.cap.83.
3.cap.83.
Ficin.in 12.de leg.
Cic. de fat.

An errour of the *Chaldæans*, and after them of the Stoicks, the Phariſees, Priſcillianiſts, the Bardiſaniſts, and others, as *Baſil*, *Auguſtine*, and *Thomas* haue obſerued: but that Fate is an obedience of ſecond cauſes to the firſt, was well conceiued of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platoniſt. *Plotinus* out of the Aſtronomers calleth it a diſpoſition from the acts of celeſtiall Orbes, vnchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the ſame being alſo true enough, in reſpect of all thoſe things, which a rationall minde doth not order nor direct. *Ptolomie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chryſippus, Empedocles*, and the *Stoicks*, ſome of them more largely, others more ſtrictly, aſcribe to Fate a binding and ineuitable neceſsitie; and that it is the ſame which is ſpoken and determined by God *(quod de vnoquoq; noſtrûm fatus eſt Deus)* and the definite lot of all liuing. And certainely it cannot be doubted, but the Starres are inſtruments of farre greater vſe, then to giue an obſcure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunne-ſet: it being manifeſt, that the diuerſitie of ſeaſons, the Winters, and Summers, more hote and colde, are not ſo vncertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one and the ſame courſe, but that the Starres haue alſo their working therein.

And if we cannot denie, but that God hath giuen vertues to Springs and Fountaines, to colde earth, to plants and ſtones, Mineralls, and to the excrementall parts of the baſeſt liuing ccreatures, why ſhould we robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for ſeeing they are many in number, and of eminent beautie and magnitude, wee may not thinke, that in the treaſurie of his wiſedome, who is infinite, there can be wanting (euen for euerie Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as euery herbe, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as theſe were not created to beutifie the earth alone, and to couer & ſhadow her duſtie face, but otherwiſe for the vſe of man and beaſt, to feed them and cure them; ſo were not thoſe vncountable glorious bodies ſet in the Firmament, to no other end, then to adorne it, but for inſtruments and Organs of his diuine prouidence, ſo farre as it hath pleaſed his iuſt will to determine. *Origen* vpon this place of *Geneſis, Let there be light in the Firmament,&c.* affirmeth, that the Starres are not cauſes (meaning perchance binding cauſes) but are as open Bookes, wherein are contained and ſet downe all things whatſoeuer to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wiſedome: which latter part I beleeue well, and this ſaying of *Syracides* withall: *That there are hid yet greater things then theſe be, and we haue ſeene but a few of his workes.* And though, for the capacitie of men, wee know ſomewhat, yet in the true and vttermoſt vertues of herbes and plants, which our ſelues ſow and ſet, and which grow vnder our feet, wee are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celeſtiall bodies. for *hardly* (ſaith Salomon) *can we diſcerne the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde we out thoſe things that are before vs: who can then inueſtigate the things that are in Heauen? Multum eſt de rebus cœleſtibus aliquid cognoſcere: It is much to know a little of heauenly things.* But in this queſtion of Fate, the middle courſe is to be followed, that as with the Heathen wee doe not binde God to his creatures, in this ſuppoſed neceſſitie of deſtinie, ſo on the contrarie, wee doe not robbe thoſe beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of theſe ſecond cauſes deſpoyled God of his prerogatiue, or had God himſelfe conſtrayned the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celeſtiall inforcements, then ſure the impious excuſe of ſome were iuſtifiable; of whom Saint Avgvstine: *Impiâ peruerſitate in malis factis rectiſſimè reprehendendis ingerunt accuſandum potiùs auctorē ſyderum, quàm commiſſorem ſcelerum. Where we reprehend them of euill deeds, they againe with wicked peruerſeneſſe vrge, that rather the Author and Creatour of the Starres, then the doer of the euill is to be accuſed.*

Gen 1.15.
Eccl.42.c.32.
Wiſd.9.16.
Ariſtotle.
Aug.20.ſuper Gen.ad lit.

But that the Starres and other celeſtiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the ſenſitiue appetite, which is alſo ſtirred by the conſtitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora cæleſtia* (ſaith Damascene) *conſtituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & diſpoſitiones, The heauenly bodies* (ſaith hee) *make in vs habits, complexions, and diſpoſitions:* for the bodie (though *Galen* inforce it further) hath vndoubtedly a kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, eſpecially bodies ſtrong in humour, and weake in vertues; for thoſe of cholericke complexion are ſubiect to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they ſuffer themſelues to bee tranſported, where the minde hath not reaſon to remember, that paſſions ought to be her Vaſſals, not her Maſters. And that they wholly direct the reaſonleſſe mind I am reſolued: For of all thoſe which were created mortall, as birds, beaſts, and the like, are left to their naturall appetites, ouer all which, celeſtiall bodies (as inſtruments and Executioners of Gods prouidence) haue abſolute dominion. What we ſhould iudge of men, who little differ from beaſts, I cannot tell: for as hee that contendeth againſt thoſe inforcements, may eaſily maſter or reſiſt them: ſo whoſoeuer ſhall neglect the remedies by vertue and pietie prepared, putteth himſelfe altogether vnder the power of his ſenſuall appetite; *Vincitur fatum ſi reſiſtas, vincit ſi contempſeris: Fate will be ouercome, if thou reſiſt it, if thou neglect, it conquereth.*

Gal.l.mor.an.ſeq.temp.
Quint.

But that either the Starres or the Sunne haue any power ouer the mindes of men immediately, it is abſurd to thinke, other then as aforeſaid, as the ſame by the bodies temper may be effected. *Lumen ſolis ad generationem ſenſibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipſam mouet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sunne* (ſaith Saint Avgvstine) *helpeth the generation of ſenſible bodies, moueth them to life, and nouriſheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them:* yet ſtill as a Miniſter, not as a Maſter: *Bonus quidem eſt Sol, in miniſterio, non imperio; The Sunne is good to ſerue, not to ſway* (ſaith S. *Ambroſe.*) And Saint Avgvstine: *Deus regit inferiora corpora per ſuperiora; God ruleth the bodies below by thoſe aboue,* but hee auoucheth not, that ſuperiour bodies haue rule ouer mens mindes, which are incorporeall.

Aug.de Ciuit. Dei,lib.5.
Hex.lib.4.de-term.3.

But howſoeuer we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the ſame, and weaken their operation: and *Ariſtotle* himſelfe confeſſeth, that the Heauens doe not alwaies worke their effects in inferiour bodies, no more then the ſignes of raine and winde doe alwaies come to paſſe. And it is diuers times ſeene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to theſe inclinations. *Eſt in Iuuencis patrum virtus; In the young off-ſpring the Fathers vertue is,* and ſo the contrarie, *patrum vitia:* and herein alſo there is often found an enterchange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill conſtellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men, to vertue.

Hor.lib.4.Od.4. 30.

Egregia eſt ſoboles, ſcelerato nata parente.

A worthie ſonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reſerued power) that ſo much ſetteth this art of influence out of ſquare and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the World ſo wickedly inclined, but that a religious inſtruction and bringing vp may faſhion anew and reforme them; nor any ſo well diſpoſed, whom (the reines being let looſe) the continuall fellowſhip and familiaritie, and the examples of diſſolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Veſſels will euer retaine a ſauour of their firſt liquor: it being equally difficult eyther to clenſe the minde once corrupted, or to extinguiſh the ſweet ſauour of vertue firſt receyued, when the minde was yet tender, open, and eaſily ſeaſoned; but where a fauourable conſtellation (allowing that the Starres incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arriue, or the contrarie in both, thereby it is that men are found ſo exceeding vertuous or vicious, Heauen and Earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the ſeedes of vertue may by the art and husbandrie of Chriſtian counſaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, then the ſtrength of ſelfe-nature and kind could haue yeelded them; ſo the plants apt to grow wilde, and to change themſelues into weedes, by beeing ſet in a ſoyle ſutable, and like themſelues, are made more vnſauourie and filled with poyſon. It was therefore truely affirmed, *Sapiens adiuuabit opus aſtrorum, quemadmodùm agricola terræ naturam*; *A wiſe man aſſiſteth the worke of the Starres, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the ſoyle*. And *Ptolomie* himſelfe confeſſeth thus much, *Sapiens, & omina ſapientis medici dominabuntur aſtris, A wiſeman, and the ominous art of a wiſe Phyſician ſhall preuaile againſt the Starres*. Laſtly, we ought all to know, that God created the Starres, as he did the reſt of the Vniuerſal, whoſe influences may be called his reſerued and vnwritten Lawes. But let vs conſider how they bind: euen as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the World haue by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a Murderer ſhall ſuffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Iudges and Magiſtrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly; yet theſe Lawes doe not depriue Kings of their naturall or religious compaſſion, or binde them without prerogatiue, to ſuch a ſeuere execution, as that there ſhould be nothing left of libertie to iudgement, power, or conſcience: the Law in his owne nature, being no other then a deafe Tyrant. But ſeeing that it is otherwiſe, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe ſometimes for cauſes to themſelues knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both againſt others and themſelues, it were then impious to take that power and libertie from God himſelfe, which his Subſtitutes enioy; God being mercie, goodneſſe, and charitie
Mat.6.13. it ſelfe. Otherwiſe that example of Prayer by our Sauiour taught; *And let vs not be led into temptation, but deliuer vs from euill*, had beene no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which onely knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truely) hath aſſured vs, that there is no inclination or temptation ſo forcible, which our humble Prayers and deſires may not make fruſtrate, and breake aſunder: for were it (as the *Stoicks* conceiue) that Fate or Deſtinie, though depending vpon eternall power, yet being once ordered and diſpoſed, had ſuch a connexion and immutable dependencie, that God himſelfe ſhould in a kind haue ſhut vp himſelfe therein: *How miſerable then were the condition of men* (ſaith S. AVGVSTINE) *left altogether without hope!*

And if this ſtrength of the Starres were ſo transferred, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion ouer his creatures; be hee Pagan or Chriſtian that ſo beleeueth, the onely true God of the one, and the imaginarie gods of the other would thereby be deſpoyled of all worſhip, reuerence, or reſpect.

And certainly, God which hath promiſed vs the reward of well-doing, which Chriſt
Iohn 18.4. himſelfe claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I haue finiſhed the worke which* thou gaueſt mee to doe:) and the ſame God, who hath threatned vnto vs the ſorrow and torment of offences, could not contrary to his mercifull nature be ſo vniuſt, as to bind vs ineuitably to the Deſtinies or influences of the Starres, or ſubiect our ſoules to any impoſed neceſſitie. But it was well ſaid of *Plotinus*, that the Starres were ſignificant, but not efficient, giuing them yet ſomething leſſe then their due: and therefore as I do not conſent with them, who would make thoſe glorious creatures of God vertueleſſe: ſo I thinke that wee derogate from his eternall and abſolute power and prouidence, to aſcribe to them

them the ſame dominion ouer our immortall ſoules, which they haue ouer all bodily ſubſtances, and periſhable natures: for the ſoules of men, louing and fearing God, receiue influence from that diuine light it ſelfe, whereof the Sunnes claritie, and that of the Starres is by *Plato* called but a ſhadow. *Lumen eſt vmbra Dei, & Deus eſt lumen luminis*; *Light is the ſhadow of Gods brightneſſe, who is the light of light:* But to end this queſtion, becauſe this Deſtinie, together with Prouidence, Preſcience, and Predeſtination are often confounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two, for euery man hath not obſerued it, though all learned men haue.

Plat.pol.6.
Ficin.in l.7.pol.

§. XII.

Of Preſcience.

PReſcience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prognoſis,* the Latines *præcognitio,* or *præſcientia*) conſidered in order and nature (if we may ſpeake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Prouidence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Preſcience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatſoeuer our ſelues fore-know, except the ſame be to ſucceede accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Preſcience of God (as it is Preſcience onely) is not the cauſe of any thing futurely ſucceeding: neyther doth Gods foreknowlege impoſe any neceſſitie, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will riſe, and ſet; that all men borne in the World ſhall dye againe; that after Winter, the Spring ſhall come; after the Spring Summer and Harueſt, and that according to the ſeuerall ſeedes that we ſow, we ſhall reape ſeuerall ſorts of graine, yet is not our fore-knowledge the cauſe of this, or any of theſe: neyther doth the knowledge in vs binde or conſtraine the Sunne to riſe and ſet, or men to dye; for the cauſes (as men perſwade themſelues) are otherwiſe manifeſt and knowne to all. *The eye of man* (ſaith BOETIVS) *beholdeth thoſe things ſubiect to ſenſe, as they are; the eye ſeeth that ſuch a beaſt is an horſe, it ſeeth men, trees, and houſes, &c. but our ſeeing of them (as they are) is not the cauſe of their ſo being, for ſuch they be in their owne naturet.* And againe out of the ſame Authour; *Diuina prouidentia rebus generandis non imponit neceſſitatem, quià ſi omnia euenirent ex neceſſitate, præmia bonorum, & pœna malorũ periret*; *Diuine Prouidence* (ſaith he) *impoſeth no neceſſity vpon things that are to exiſt, for if all came to paſſe of neceſſity, there ſhould neither be reward of good, nor puniſhment of euil.*

Boetius de con ſol.

§. XIII.

Of Prouidence.

NOw Prouidence (which the *Greekes* call *Pronoia)* is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-ſeeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all paſt, all preſent, and all to come, but is the cauſe of their ſo being, which Preſcience (ſimply taken) is not: and therefore Prouidence by the Philoſophers (ſaith S. *Auguſtine)* is diuided into Memorie, Knowledge, and Care: Memorie of the paſt, Knowledge of the preſent, and Care of the future: and wee our ſelues account ſuch a man for prouident, as, remembring things paſt, and obſeruing things preſent, can by iudgement, and comparing the one with the other, prouide for the future, and times ſucceeding. That ſuch a thing there is as Prouidence, the Scriptures euery-where teach vs, *Moſes* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions: Chriſt himſelfe and his Apoſtles aſſure vs hereof; and, beſides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus,* and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Prouidence of God: yea the *Turkes* themſelues are ſo confident therein, as they refuſe not to accompany and viſit each other, in the moſt peſtilent diſeaſes, nor ſhun any perill whatſoeuer, though death therein doe manifeſtly preſent it ſelfe.

The places of Scripture proouing prouidence, are ſo many, both in generall and particular, as I ſhall need to repeate but a few of them in this place. *Sing vnto God* (ſaith DAVID) *which couereth the Heauens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth, and maketh the graſſe to grow vpon the Mountaines, which giueth to beaſts their food, and feedeth the yong Rauen that cries: All theſe wait vpon thee, that thou mayeſt giue them food in due ſeaſon. And thou ſhalt drinke of the Riuer Cheareth* (ſaith God to ELIAH) *and I haue com-*

Pſal.147.8. 9.
Pſal.104.27.
145.15.

1.Reg.17.4. Matth.6.26. Luke 12.6.7. 1.Pet.5.7. Pſal.36.6.

commanded the Rauens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowles of the Ayre, they ſow not, nor reape, and yet your heauenly Father feedeth them: Againe, *Are not two Sparrowes ſold for a farthing? and one of them ſhall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea all the haires of your head are numbred:* And S. PETER, *Caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you: And his iudgements are written,* ſaith DAVID.

Ier.23.24. Eſai.42.8. Ioh.ep.1.c.4. ver.8. God is loue.

God therefore, who is euerie-where preſent, *who filleth the Heauens and the Earth, whoſe eyes are vpon the righteous, and his countenance againſt them that doe euill,* was therefore by *Orpheus* called, *oculus infinitus, an infinite eye,* beholding all things, and cannot therefore be eſteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne Word: *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not giue my glorie to another.* No man commandeth in the Kings preſence, but by the Kings direction; but God is euery-where preſent, and King of Kings. The example of Gods vniuerſall Prouidence is ſeene in his creatures. The Father prouideth for his children: beaſts and birds and all liuings for their young ones. If prouidence bee found in ſecond Fathers, much more in the firſt and Vniuerſall: and if there be a naturall louing care in men, and beaſts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whoſe Diuine loue was the beginning, and is the bond of the Vniuerſall: *Amor diuinus rerum omnium eſt principium, & vinculum vniuerſi* (ſaith PLATO.) *Amor Dei eſt nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumq́; eius immobile ſuſtentaculum, ac vniuerſæ machinæ fundamentum; The loue of God is the perpetuall knot, and linke or chayne of the world, and the immoueable pillar of euery part thereof, and the Baſis and foundation of the vniuerſall.* God therefore who could only be the cauſe of all, can only prouide for all, and ſuſtaine all; ſo as to abſolute power; to euery-where preſence; to perfect goodneſſe; to pure and diuine loue; this attribute tranſcendent hability of Prouidence is only proper and belonging.

§. XIV.

Of Predeſtination.

Rom.8.& 9. Lomb.l.1.diſt. 39. Thom.part.1. diſt.23. Bern.de Probl. de p. d. Aug.l.15.c.1.de Ciuit Dei. Cal.in cap.9.ad Rom.v 11. Bez.in magn. annor.in cap.9. ad Rom. Danæus,l.3.de Salut. Greg.Magn. Iob.9. Aug.ad Polin. ep.59.

NOw for Predeſtination; we can difference it no otherwiſe, from Prouidence and Preſcience, then in this, that Preſcience onely fore-ſeeth: Prouidence fore-ſeeth & careth for, and hath reſpect to all creatures, euen from the brighteſt Angels of Heauen, to the vnworthieſt Wormes of the Earth, and Predeſtination (as it is vſed ſpecially by Diuines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their ſaluation properly, in the common vſe of Diuines, or perdition, as ſome haue vſed it. Yet *Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernenſis Theologus,* and others, take the word Predeſtination more ſtrictly, and for a preparation to felicitie: diuers of the Fathers take it more largely ſometimes: among whom S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of two Cities, and two Societies, vſeth theſe words, *Quarum eſt vna, quæ prædeſtinata eſt in æternũ regnare cum Deo, altera æternum ſupplicium ſubire cum Diabolo; Whereof one is it, which is predeſtinated to reigne for euer with God, but the other is to vndergoe euerlaſting torment with the Deuill:* for according to NONIVS MARCELLVS, *deſtinare eſt præparare;* and of the ſame opinion are many Proteſtant writers, as *Caluin, Beza, Buchanus, Danæus,* and ſuch like: and as for the manifold queſtions hereof ariſing, I leaue them to the Diuines; and why it hath pleaſed God to create ſome veſſels of honour, and ſome of diſhonour, I will anſwer with *Gregorie*, who ſaith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem ſuam conſiderans, cur non videat, rationem videt; He that ſeeth no reaſon in the actions of God, by conſideration of his owne infirmity perceyueth the reaſon of his blindneſſe.* And againe with S. AVGVSTINE, *Occulta eſſe cauſa poteſt, iniuſta eſſe non poteſt; Hidden the cauſe of his Predeſtination may be, vniuſt it cannot be.*

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reaſon of ſome things that ſeeme to be by fortune, and againſt Reaſon and Prouidence.

LAſtly, ſeeing Deſtinie or Neceſſitie is ſubſequent to Gods prouidence, and ſeeing that the Starres haue no other dominion, then is before ſpoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificioſum Dei Organum; The art, or artificiall Organ af God:* and CVSANVS, *Diuini præcepti inſtrumentum;*

The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and CVSANVS, *Diuini præcepti inſtrumentum*; *The inſtrument of the diuine precept:* we may then with better reaſon reiect that kinde of Idolatrie, or God of fooles, called *Fortune* or Chance: a Goddeſſe, the moſt reuerenced, and the moſt reuiled of all other, but not ancient; for *Homer* maketh her the Daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pauſanias* witneſſeth in his *Meſſeniacks*. The *Greekes* call her τυχὴν, ſignifying a relatiue being, or betiding, ſo as before *Homers* time this great Ladie was ſcarce heard of; and *Heſiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all theſe counterfait gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*: yet afterward ſhe grew ſo great and omnipotent, as from Kings and Kingdomes, to Beggers and Cottages, ſhe ordered all things, reſiſting the wiſdome of the wiſeſt, by making the Poſſeſſor therof miſerable: valuing the folly of the moſt fooliſh by making their ſucceſſe proſperous, inſomuch as the actions of men were ſaid to be but the ſports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens liues, but her paſtimes: of which * PALLADIVS, *Vita hominum ludus fortunæ eſt*; *The life of man is the play of Fortune:* and becauſe it often falleth out, that enterpriſes guided by ill counſels haue equal ſucceſſe to thoſe by the beſt iudgement conducted, therfore had Fortune the ſame external figure with Sapience: wherof *Athenæus*:

> *Longiſsimè à Sapientia Fors diſsidet,*
> *Sed multa perficit tamen ſimillima:*
>
> From Wiſedome Fortune differs farre,
> And yet in workes moſt like they are.

Sen. Ep. 91.
Aur. vict. de pertinace Sen. ep. 74.
Demetrius Poliorcetes in the great and often changes of his Fortune, is ſaid to haue vſed to crye out vpon *Fortune*, applying to her a Verſe of Æſchylus, *Tu me extuliſti, eadem me is (ſentio) perditum.*

But I will forbeare to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly vnderſtood) is nothing elſe but a power imaginarie, to which the ſucceſſe of humane actions and endeuours were for their varietie aſcribed; for when a manifeſt cauſe could not be giuen, then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cauſe of thoſe things, of which moſt men are ignorant, contrary to this true ground of PLATO: *Nihil eſt ortum ſub Sole, cuius cauſa legitima non præceſſerit*; *Nothing euer came to paſſe vnder the Sunne, of which there was not a iuſt preceding cauſe.* But *Aquinas* hath herein anſwered in one diſtinction, whatſoeuer may be obiected; for many things there are (ſaith he) which happen, *beſides the intention of the Inferior, but not beſides the intention of the Superior*; *Præter intentionem inferioris, ſed non præter intentionem ſuperioris,* (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (ſaith MELANCHTON) *Quod Poetæ fortunam, nos Deum appellamus*; *Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God*, and that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth vs, as in the Law of Murder. *He that ſmiteth a man, and he die, ſhall die the death; and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he ſhall flee.* Now, where the Scripture hath theſe words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we ſay, if he hurt him by Chance: and in *Deuteronomie* the nineteenth, where the ſlipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby another is ſlaine, was the worke of God himſelfe, we in our phraſe attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune: and in the *Prouerbs* the ſixteenth, *The lot is caſt into the lap, but the whole diſpoſition thereof is of the Lord:* ſo as that which ſeemeth moſt caſuall and ſubiect to Fortune, is yet diſpoſed by the ordinance of God, as all things elſe; and hereof the wiſer ſort, and the beſt learned of the Philoſophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witneſſeth for them, gathering the opinion of *Ariſtotle* and his Sectators, with thoſe of *Plato*, and the *Academicks* to this effect, That the ſame power which they called *animam mundi*; *The ſoule of the World*, was no other then that incomprehenſible wiſdome, which we expreſſe by the name of God, gouerning euery being aſwell in heauen as in earth; to which wiſdome and power they ſometime gaue the title of Neceſſitie or Fate, becauſe it bindeth by ineuitable ordinance: ſometime, the ſtyle of Fortune, becauſe of many effects there appeare vnto vs no certain cauſes. To this effect ſpeaketh S. *Auguſtine* in his queſtions vpon *Geneſis* the firſt Booke: the ſame hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits*; which was alſo the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which Sect he was: *For whatſoeuer* (ſaith he) *thou calleſt God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the ſame, differenced by diuers termes, according as he vſeth, and exerciſeth his power diuerſly.*

Te facimus Fortuna Deam, cœloq; locamus. *Sat.* 10. 366.
Exod. 21. 12. 13.
Verſ. 5.
Verſ. 33.
Cic. ac. quæſt. l. 1
Senec. l. 4. *c.* 7.

But it may be obiected, that if Fortune and Chance were not ſometimes the cauſes of good and euill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expreſſe ſucceſſe; how comes it then, that ſo many worthie and wiſe men depend vpon ſo many vnworthy and emptie-headed fooles; that riches and honor are giuen to externall men, and without kernell:

nell: and ſo many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their liues in poore and deiected eſtates. In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparent cauſe, beſide the partialitie of mans affection, but the faſhioning and not faſhioning of our ſelues according to the nature of the time wherein we liue: for whoſoeuer is moſt able, and beſt ſufficient to diſcerne, and hath withall an honeſt and open heart and louing truth; if Princes, or thoſe that gouerne, endure no other diſcourſe then their owne flatteries, then I ſay ſuch an one, whoſe vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be baſe and a diſſembler, ſhall euermore hang vnder the wheele; which kinde of deſeruing well and receiuing ill, we alwaies falſly charge Fortune withall. For whoſoeuer ſhall tell any great Man or Magiſtrate, that he is not iuſt; the Generall of an Armie, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire; ſhall neuer be made a Counſeller, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it ſufficient to be wiſe with a wiſe Prince, valiant with a valiant, and iuſt with him that is iuſt, for ſuch a one hath no eſtate in his proſperitie; but he muſt alſo change with the ſucceſſor, if he be of contrarie qualities; ſaile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Eſtate or the Eſtates Maſter changeth: Otherwiſe how were it poſſible, that the moſt baſe men, and ſeparate from all imitable qualities, could ſo often attaine to honour and riches, but by ſuch an obſeruant ſlauiſh courſe? Theſe men hauing nothing elſe to value themſelues by, but a counterfait kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them beleeue that all their vices are vertues, and all their duſtie actions cryſtalline, haue yet in all ages proſpered equally with the moſt vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, *Omnis inſipiens arrogantia & plauſibus capitur*; *Euerie foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others flattering applauſe*: ſo as whoſoeuer will liue altogether out of himſelfe, and ſtudie other mens humours, and obſerue them, ſhall neuer be vnfortunate; and on the contrarie, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the ſeaſon wherein he liueth be of all theſe, and of all ſorts of goodneſſe fruitfull) ſhall neuer proſper by the poſſeſſion or profeſſion thereof. It is alſo a token of a worldly wiſe man, not to warre or contend in vaine againſt the nature of times wherein he liueth: for ſuch a one is often the authour of his owne miſerie; but beſt it were to follow the aduice, which the Pope gaue the Biſhops of that age, out of *Ouid*, while the Arian Hereſie raged:

Ouid. rem. am. lib. 1.

Dum furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori.
While furie gallops on the way,
Let no man furies gallop ſtay.

And if *Cicero* (then whom that world begat not a man of more reputed iudgement) had followed the counſaile of his brother QVINTVS, *Potuiſſet* (ſaith PETRARCH) *in lectulo ſuo mori, potuiſſet integro cadauere ſepeliri*; *He might then haue dyed the death of nature, and beene with an vntorne and vndiſſeuered bodie buried*; for as *Petrach* in the ſame place noteth: *Quid ſtultius quàm deſperantem (præſertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari*; *What more fooliſh then for him that deſpaires, eſpecially of the effect, to be intangled with endleſſe contentions?* Whoſoeuer therefore will ſet before him MACHIAVELS *two markes to ſhoote at* (to wit) riches, and glorie, muſt ſet on and take off a back of yron to a weak woodden Bow, that it may fit both the ſtrong and the feeble: for as he, that firſt deuiſed to adde ſayles to rowing veſſels, did eyther ſo proportion them, as being faſtened aloft, and towards the head of his Maſt, he might abide all windes and ſtormes, or elſe he ſometime or other periſhed by his owne inuention: ſo that man which prizeth vertue for it ſelfe, and cannot endure to hoiſe aud ſtrike his ſailes, as the diuers natures of calmes and ſtormes require, muſt cut his ſailes and his cloth, of meane length and bredth, and content himſelfe with a ſlow and ſure nauigation, (to wit) a meane and free eſtate. But of this diſpute of Fortune, and the reſt, or of whatſoeuer Lords or Gods, imaginarie powers, or cauſes, the wit (or rather fooliſhneſſe) of man hath found out: let vs reſolue with S. *Paul*, who hath taught vs, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him*; *and one Lord, Ieſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diuerſities of operations, but God is the ſame which worketh all in all.

1. Cor. c. 8. v. 6.
Cap. 12. verſ. 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of mans eſtate in his firſt Creation, and of Gods reſt.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was firſt created.

THe creation of all other creatures being finiſhed, the heauens adorned, and the earth repleniſhed, GOD ſaid, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, according to our likeneſſe.*

Gen. 1.26.

Man is the laſt and moſt admirable of Gods workes to vs knowne, *ingens miraculum homo, Man is the greateſt wonder* (ſaith PLATO out of MERCVRIVS:) *Naturæ ardentiſſimæ artificium, The artificiall worke of the moſt ardent or fire-like nature* (as ſaith *Zoroaſter*) though the ſame be meant, not for any excellencie externall, but in reſpect of his internall forme, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, becauſe it hath an eſſence immortall, and ſpirituall; in qualities, becauſe the ſame was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, becauſe Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Triſ. Aſcl. 2. & de volunt. Dei.
Plat. leg. l. 1.

Sanctius his animal mentiſq; capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc: & quod dominari in cætera poſſet,
Natus homo eſt.

More holy then the reſt, and vnderſtanding more,
A liuing creature wants, to rule all made before:
So man began to be.

Sanctum, quia pars potier immortalis; animal, quia in mortali.
In locum Ouid. Met. l 1.76.

Of this Image and ſimilitude of God, there is much diſpute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceiue, that man was made after the Image of God, in reſpect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as S. *Chryſoſtome, Ambroſe*, and ſome others: which S. *Ambroſe* denieth to the woman in theſe words, *Vt ſicut Deus vnus, ab eo fieret homo vnus, & quomodò ex Deo vno omnia, ità ex vno homine omne genus eſſet ſuper faciem totius terræ: Vnus igitur vnum fecit, qui vnitatis eius haberet imaginem; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewiſe of one man the whole kinde ſhould be vpon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that ſhould haue the Image of his vnitie.* But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the ſame Verſe, that man was after the Image of God in reſpect of rule and power, it is written *Dominamini* in the plurall number, *and let them rule ouer the fiſh in the Sea, &c.* and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceiue, that man is ſaid to be after the image of God in reſpect of his immortall ſoule onely, becauſe as God is inuiſible, ſo the ſoule of man is inuiſible; as God is immortall and incorporall, ſo is the ſoule of man immortall and incorporall; and as there is but one God which gouerneth the world, ſo but one ſoule which gouerneth the bodie of man; and as God is wholly in euery part of the world, ſo is the ſoule of man wholly in euery part of the bodie: *Anima eſt tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The ſoule is wholly in the whole bodie, and wholly in euery part thereof,* according to *Ariſtotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men denie that doctrine; which that it is otherwiſe then potentially true, all the *Ariſtotelians* in the world ſhall neuer proue. Theſe and the like arguments doe the *Iewes* make (ſaith *Toſtatus*) and theſe reſemblances, betweene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men reſemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this reſpect eſpecially; becauſe that as in the Minde there are three diſtinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memorie, Vnderſtanding, and Will; and yet all theſe, being of reall differences, are but one minde: ſo in God there are three diſtinct perſons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt, and yet but one God. They alſo make the Image and Similitude diuers; and againe, they diſtinguiſh betweene *imaginem Dei*, and *ad imaginem Dei*, and ſpinne into ſmall threds, with ſubtile diſtinctions, many times the plaineneſſe and ſinceritie of the Scriptures: their wits being like that ſtrong water, that eateth thorow and diſſolueth the pureſt gold. *Victorinus* alſo maketh the Image of God to be ſubſtantiall, but not the ſimilitude: *ſed in ſubſtantia nomen qualitatis declaratiuum*; *A word declaring qualitie in the ſubſtance.* Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is infer'd, that as the image and ſimilitude doe greatly differ: ſo the ſinfull ſoule doth not therefore leaue to be the image of God, but it hath not his ſimilitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. *Auguſtine* alſo againſt *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by ſinne, the perfection of this image is loſt in man, and in his Retractations maintayneth the ſame opinion, and alſo affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howſoeuer the Schoole-men and others diſtinguiſh, or whatſoeuer the Fathers conceiue, ſure I am that S. *Paul* maketh the ſame ſenſe of the image, which *Victorinus* doth of the ſimilitude, who ſaith: 1.Cor.15.49. *As we haue borne the image of the earthly, ſo ſhall we beare the image of the heauenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, that the words image and ſimilitude were vſed but in one ſenſe, and in this place the better to expreſſe each other; whatſoeuer *Lombard* hath ſaid to the contrarie. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himſelfe in the Scriptures, which neither *Moſes*, the *Prophets*, or *Apoſtles*, euer conceiued. Now as S. *Paul* vſeth the word (image) for both: ſo S. *Iames* vſeth the word (ſimilitude) for both in theſe words: Iam.3.9. *Therewith bleſſe we God euen the Father, and therewith curſe we Men, which are made after the ſimilitude of God*: Howſoeuer therefore S. *Auguſtine* ſeemeth, out of a kind of elegancie in writing, to make ſome difference, as where he writeth, *Vt ſupra.* *Confitemur imaginem in æternitate, ſimilitudinem in moribus inueniri*; *We confeſſe that this image is found in eternitie, but his ſimilitude in manners*, that is, in the ſpirituall diſpoſitions and qualities of the minde; yet thus he elſewhere ſpeaketh plainely: *Aug.vt ſupr.* *Quaſi verò poſſit eſſe imago aliqua in qua ſimilitudo non ſit: ſi enim omninò ſimilis non eſt, procul dubio nec imago eſt*; *As if* (ſaith he) *there could be any image, where the ſimilitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeneſſe, there is no image*. The verie words of the Text make this moſt manifeſt, as, *Let vs make man in our image, according to our likeneſſe*: which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may be like vs; and in the next Verſe following, God himſelfe maketh it plaine, for there he vſeth the word (image) onely, as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all diſpute or ambiguitie, in the firſt Verſe of the fift Chapter, the word (ſimilitude) is vſed againe by it ſelfe, as, *In the day that God created* ADAM, *in the likeneſſe of God made he him.* And this ſimilitude S. *Paul Coloſ.* the third, calleth the image. *Verſ.10.* *Put on* (ſaith he) *the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him, that created him.* And in *Syracides* it is written, *He made them according to his image*. Now if we may beleeue S. *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoole-men, then it is as manifeſt as wordes can make it, that the image and ſimilitude is but the ſame, for S. *Paul* vſeth both the wordes directly in one ſenſe. Rom.1.23. *For they turned the glorie of the incorruptible God, to the ſimilitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

Zanchius laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both in bodie and minde: *Zanch.de op. Dei l.3.ca.1.* *Nulla pars in homine quæ non fuerit huiuſce imaginis particeps*, *No part in a man* (ſaith he) *which was not participating Gods image: for God ſaid, Let vs make man according to our owne image*. But the ſoule alone is not man, but the *Hypoſtaſis* or whole man compounded of bodie and ſoule. The bodie of man (ſaith he) *is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcoſmus*; but the *Idæa* and exemplar of the world was firſt in God, ſo that man, according to his bodie muſt needes be the image of God. Againſt which opinion of this learned man, his owne obiection ſeemeth to me ſufficient, where he alleageth, that it may be ſaid, that *Moſes* ſpake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the bodie onely: ſo when God ſaid, Let vs make man after our image, he meant the ſoule of man, and not the bodie of earth and duſt: *Maledictus qui deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (ſaith S. AVGVSTINE,) *Curſed is he that referreth the Deitie of God to the lineaments of mans bodie*. *In Gen.* *Deus enim non eſt humanæ formæ particeps, neque corpus humanum diuinæ* (ſaith PHILO,) *God is not partaker of humane forme, nor humane body of the forme diuine*. The *Hebrew* word for image, is *Tſelem*, which ſignifieth a ſhadow or obſcure reſemblance: *In imagine pertranſit homo*; *Man paſſeth away in a ſhaddow*: Let vs then know and conſider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily ſhape or compoſition, for it is both againſt his Nature and his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, againſt the verie eſſence and Maieſtie of God.

Surely *Cicero,* who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more diuine vnderſtanding then theſe groſſe Heretikes: *Ad ſimilitudinem Dei proprius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura*, *The vertue which is in man* (ſaith he) *came neerer the ſimilitude of God, then the figure.* For God is a ſpirituall ſubſtance, inuiſible, and moſt ſimple; God is a iuſt God: God is Mercifull: God is Charitie it ſelfe, and (in a word) Goodneſſe it ſelfe, and none elſe ſimply good. And thus much it hath pleaſed God himſelfe to teach vs, and to make vs know of himſelfe. What then can be the ſhadow of ſuch a ſubſtance, the image of ſuch a nature, or wherein can man be ſaid to reſemble his vnexcogitable power and perfectneſſe? certainely, not in dominion alone: for the Deuill is ſaid to be the Prince of this World, and the Kingdome of Chriſt was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither, becauſe man hath an immortall ſoule, and therein the faculties of Memorie, Vnderſtanding, and Will, for the Deuils are alſo immortall, and participate thoſe faculties, being called *Dæmones*, becauſe *ſcientes* of Knowledge, and ſubtilitie; neither becauſe we are reaſonable creatures, by which we are diſtinguiſhed from beaſts: for who haue rebelled againſt God? who haue made Gods of the vileſt beaſts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea, euen of ſhamefull parts, of luſts and pleaſures, but reaſonable men? Yet doe I not condemne the opinion of S. *Chryſoſtome* and *Ambroſe*, as touching dominion, but that, in reſpect thereof, man was in ſome ſort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, ſuch as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Iuſtice and Pietie: for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Gouernor ouer the Fiſhes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen (or of the aire) and ouer the Beaſts of the Field; but God gaue vnto man a dominion ouer men, he appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Iudges, to iudge them in equitie. Neither doe I exclude Reaſon, as it is the abilitie of Vnderſtanding. For I doe not conceiue, that *Irenæus* did therefore call man, the image of God, becauſe he was *animal rationale* onely; but that he vnderſtood it better, with SYBILLA: *Imago mea eſt homo, rectam rationem habens*: *Man, that is endued with right reaſon, is ſaid to reſemble God,* (that is) by right reaſon to know and confeſſe God his Creatour, and the ſame God to ſerue, loue, and obey: and therefore ſaid Saint *Auguſtine* (who herein came neerer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem ſuam in mente, God made man, in reſpect of the intellect, after his owne Image and ſimilitude; and* REYNERIVS; *Homo, quòd habet mentem, factus eſt ad imaginem Dei, Man was made after the Image of God, in minde*, or *in that he had a minde.*

Eph. 6. 12.
Io. 18. 36.
Plat. in Cratyl.
Oſorius de Iuſt. lib. 5.
Reyn. de ment.

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§. II.

Of the intellectuall minde of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sinne.

BVt *Mens* is not taken here for *anima phyſica*, according to *Ariſtotle*, which is *forma, vel natura hominis*: *The forme or nature of man*; but this facultie or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi, the principall ſtrength of the minde*, or ſoule, *cuius actus eſt perpetua veritatis contemplatio*; *whoſe act*, exerciſe, or office, *is the perpetuall contemplation of truth*; and therefore it is alſo called *intellectus diuinus, intellectus contemplatiuus, & anima contemplatiua, A diuine vnderſtanding, and an intellect or minde contemplatiue. Eſt autem mens noſtra* (ſaith CVSANVS) *vis comprehendendi, & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compoſitum*: *Our intellectuall minde* (ſaith he) *is a power of comprehending, euen the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehenſion*: vnto which *Mercurius* attributeth ſo much (if his meaning accompany his words) that hee eſteemeth it to be the very eſſence of God (which was alſo the errour of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwiſe ſeparate from God (ſaith he) then the light from the Suune: for this *Mens* or vnderſtanding (ſaith MERCVRIVS) *eſt Deus in hominibus*: *Is God in men*, or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the ſame eſſence or nature with the diuine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; ſo is this *Mens* or vnderſtanding in men, not of the eſſence of Gods infinite vnderſtanding, but a power and facultie of our ſoules the pureſt; or the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this *Mens* others call *animam animæ, The ſoule of the ſoule*, or with S. *Auguſtine*, the eye of the ſoule, or receptacle of Sapience and diuine knowledge, *quæ amorē ſapientiæ tanquàm ducē ſequitur, Which followeth*

Pœmander.
De mente. Idiota. l. 3.
Sen. Ep. 65. f. & 31. f.

after the loue of ſapience as her guide (ſaith *Philo*) betweene which and reaſon, betweene which and the mind, called *anima,* between which & that power which the Latines call *animus,* there is this difference. Reaſon is that facultie by which we iudge and diſcourſe; *Anima,* by which we liue. Hereof it is ſaid, *Anima corpus animat; id eſt, viuificat; or the ſoule is that which doth animate the body, that is, giueth it life:* for death is the ſeparation of body and ſoule; and the ſame ſtrength (ſaith *Philo*) which God the great Director hath in the World, the ſame hath this *Anima,* or mind, or ſoule in man. *Animus,* is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Baſil* agreeth, which calleth this *Mens,* or diuine vnderſtanding, *perſpicacem animæ partem, the perceiuing part of the mind,* or the light by which the Soule diſcerneth: *dormientium mens, non anima, ſopitur, & in furioſis mens extinguitur, anima manet, In men that ſleepe it is this (mens) or vnderſtanding, and not the mind or ſoule, which reſteth,* during which time it is but habitual in wiſe men, *& in mad men this (mens) is extinguiſhed, and not the ſoule:* for mad men doe liue, though diſtract.

Therefore this word being often vſed for the Soule giuing life, is attributed abuſiuely to mad men, when we ſay that they are of a diſtract minde, in ſtead of a broken vnderſtanding, which word (mind) we vſe alſo for opinion, as, I am of this minde, or that mind: and ſometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, he is of an honeſt minde, or, a man of a iuſt minde: ſometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mindes ſake; and *Ariſtotle* ſometimes vſeth this word *(Mens)* for the phantaſie, which is the ſtrength of the imagination: ſometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we haue without diſcourſe: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences: but as it is vſed in the proper ſignification, including both the vnderſtanding agent and poſſible, it is deſcribed to bee a pure, ſimple, ſubſtantiall act, not depending vpon matter, but hauing relation to that which is intelligible, as to his firſt obiect: or more at large thus; a part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth vnderſtand, not depending vpon matter, nor needing any organ, free from paſſion comming from without, and apt to bee diſſeuered, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently MERCVRIVS: *Anima eſt imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præeſt, mens animæ, anima corpori; The Soule* (meaning that which giueth life) *is the Image of this vnderſtanding,* or *Mens, and this (Mens)* or *vnderſtanding is the Image of God. God is Preſident or Ruler ouer this vnderſtanding, this vnderſtanding ouer the Soule, and this Soule ouer the bodie.* This diuiſion and diſtinction out of the *Platonikes* and *Peripateticks,* I leaue to the Reader to iudge of. That, *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, *Marſilius Ficinus* in his ninth Booke of the Soules immortalitie laboureth to proue. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words, for (ſayth he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo, tanquàm medio, per quod intelligat, quanquàm eget obiecto in quod intueatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat: hoc autem obiectum ſunt phantaſmata, ſeù rerum à ſenſibus perceptarum ſimulachra ad phantaſiam prolata: To exerciſe the facultie of vnderſtanding, the mind of man* (ſayth he) *needeth no inſtrument, as a meane, by which it may vnderſtand: but it needeth an obiect, whereon to looke, and whence to conceiue the act of vnderſtanding. This obiect are the phantaſmes, or the reſemblances of things receiued from the ſenſe & caryed to the phantaſie:* But in effect his concluſion ſeemeth to carry a contrary ſenſe, when he maketh the Phantaſie, in repreſenting the obiect to the vnderſtanding, to be a corporall *Organum*; neither can it be vnderſtood to be an *Organū* of any thing; but of the vnderſtanding. And he addeth that the reſemblance of things in mans imaginatiō, are to his vnderſtanding & mind, as colours are to the ſight: whence it ſo followeth, that the imagination or phantaſie it ſelf is to the facultie of vnderſtanding, as the eye is to the faculty of ſeeing; & as this is an *organum,* ſo that. Of this queſtion, How the minde in all her actions maketh vſe of the bodie, & hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to a moſt graue & learned Diſcourſe in the laſt Reply of M. D. *Bilſon,* late Biſhop of *Wincheſter,* vnto *Henry Iacob.* Howſoeuer the Truth be determined, we muſt conclude, that it is neither in reſpect of reaſon alone, by which we diſcourſe, nor in reſpect of the minde it ſelfe by which wee liue, nor in reſpect of our ſoules ſimply, by which we are immortall, that wee are made after the Image of God. But moſt ſafely may we reſemble our ſelues to God *in mente,* and in reſpect of that pure facultie which is neuer ſeparate from the contemplation and loue of God. Yet this is not all. For Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference betweene the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and betweene the infuſion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which,

being

Lib.9.cap.5. Zanch.de oper. Dei, part.3.lib.1 cap.2.

Pag.185.& ſequent.

Ad imaginem Dei creauit illum, id eſt, ſapientiæ, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui ſeſe intuitus Creatorem agnoſceret ſuum, atq; imitari, vtroq; ingenij, proq; auctoritatis, ſibi conceſſa ratione ſtuderet. Exam.

being added to the nature, eſſence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to bee after the Image of God, whoſe words are theſe: *Non propterea imago Dei eſt, quia ſui meminit Mens, ſeq; intelligit & diligit* (which alſo was the opinion of Saint AVGVSTINE) *ſed quia poteſt meminiſſe, intelligere ac diligere eum à quo facta eſt,* (that is) *The minde* (or *Mens*) *was not therefore the Image of God, becauſe it remembreth, vnderſtandeth, and loueth it ſelfe, but becauſe it can remember, vnderſtand, and loue God, who created it.* And that this Image may be deformed and made vnprofitable, heare BASIL: *Homo ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem Dei factus eſt, peccatum verò imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformauit: & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiſcentiæ affectibus immerſit: Man was made after the Image and ſimilitude of* GOD, *but ſinne hath deformed the beautie of this Image, and made it vnprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiſcence.*

It is not therefore (as aforeſaid) by reaſon of Immortalitie, nor in Reaſon, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of theſe by it ſelfe, nor in all theſe ioyned, by any of which, or by all which we reſemble, or may be called the ſhaddow of God, though by reaſon and vnderſtanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, wee are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in reſpect of the habit of Originall righteouſneſſe, moſt perfectly infuſed by God into the minde and Soule of man in his firſt Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberalitie, that we were printed with the ſeale of Gods Image (though Reaſon may be ſaid to be of her gift, which ioyned to the ſoule is a part of the Eſſentiall Conſtitution of our proper *Species)* but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodneſſe, who breathed life into Earth, and contriued within the Trunke of Duſt and Clay, the inimitable habilitie of his owne Pietie, and Righteouſneſſe.

So long therefore (for that reſemblance which Dominion hath) doe thoſe that are powerfull retaine the Image of God, as according to his Commandements they exerciſe the Office or Magiſtracie to which they are called, and ſincerely walke in the wayes of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men ſo long retayne *Gen.5.22.* this Image, as they feare, loue and ſerue God truly, that is, for the loue of God alone, and doe not bruiſe and deface his Seale by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obſtinate ſinnes. For the vniuſt minde cannot be after the Image of God, ſeeing God is Iuſtice it ſelfe; The bloud-thirſtie hath it not; for God is Charitie, and Mercie it ſelfe: Falſhood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Sathan; and therefore cannot dwell in one ſoule, together with GOD; and to be ſhort, there is no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darkneſſe, betweene beautie & deformity, *2.Co.6.14.* or betweene righteouſneſſe and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common vnderſtanding, haue made vs capable by the power of reaſon, and apt enough to receiue this Image of Gods goodneſſe which the ſenſuall ſoules of beaſts cannot perceiue; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and imbrace the falſe and dureleſſe pleaſures of this Stage-play World, then to become the ſhaddow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanſhippe of GODS Wiſedome, and the liberalitie of his Mercy, formed eyes to our ſoules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impuritie of our fleſh, behold the higheſt Heauens, and thence bring Knowledge and Obiect to the Minde and Soule, to contemplate the euer-during Glorie, and termeleſſe Ioy, prepared for thoſe, which retaine *2.Cor.3.9.* the Image and ſimilitude of their Creatour, preſeruing vndefiled and vnrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of GOD, is created in Righteouſnes and Holineſſe, as ſaith S. *Paul*. Now, whereas it is thought by ſome of the Fathers, as by Saint *Auguſtine*, with whom Saint *Ambroſe* ioyneth, that, by ſinne, the perfection *S. Ambroſe.* of the Image is loſt, and not the Image it ſelfe; both opinions by this diſtinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for either it is conſidered, according to naturall gifts, and conſiſteth therein: namely to haue a reaſonable and vnderſtanding nature, &c. and in this ſenſe, the Image of God is more loſt by ſinne, then the very reaſonable or vnderſtanding nature, &c. is loſt, (or ſinne doth not aboliſh and take away theſe naturall gifts:) or, the Image of God is conſidered, according to ſupernaturall gifts, namely, of Diuine Grace and heauenly Glorie, which is indeed the perfection and accompliſhment of the naturall Image; and this manner of ſimilitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out and deſtroyed by ſinne.

§. III.

Of our baſe and fraile bodies: and that the care thereof ſhould yeeld to the immortall Soule.

THe externall man God formed out of the duſt of the Earth, or according to the ſignification of the word, *Adam* of *Adamath*, of red Earth, or, *ex limo terræ*, out of the ſlime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, ſed ex ghaphar adamath (id eſt) ex pinguiſſima & molliſſima: Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth or duſt God formed and made fleſh, bloud, and bone, with all parts of man.*

Arias Mont. de nat. ſ. 156.

That man was formed of Earth and Duſt, did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in humble feare he called vnto God, to ſaue *Sodome: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I ſpeake, I, that am but duſt and aſhes:* And *In theſe Houſes of Clay, whoſe foundation is in the duſt, doe our ſoules inhabite*, according to *Iob*. And though our owne eyes doe euery-where behold the ſudden and reſiſtleſſe aſſaults of Death, and Nature aſſureth vs by neuer-failing Experience, and Reaſon by infallible demonſtration, that our times vpon the Earth haue neither certaintie nor durabilitie, that our Bodies are but the Anduiles of paine and diſeaſes, and our Minds the Hiues of vnnumbred cares, ſorrowes and paſſions: and that (when we are moſt glorified) we are but thoſe painted poſts, againſt which Enuie and Fortune direct their darts; yet ſuch is the true vnhappineſſe of our condition, and the darke ignorance which couereth the eyes of our vnderſtanding, that wee only prize, pamper, and exalt this Vaſſall and Slaue of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our caſt-away leiſure) the impriſoned immortall Soule, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, nor periſh with the mortall parts of vertuous men: ſeeing Gods Iuſtice in the one, and his goodneſſe in the other is exerciſed for euermore, as the euer-liuing ſubiects of his reward and puniſhment. But when is it that wee examine this great account? Neuer while we haue one vanitie left vs to ſpend: wee plead for Titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for Riches whiles our ſtrength enableth vs; exerciſe malice, while we can reuenge; and then, when Time hath beaten from vs both youth, pleaſure, and health, and that Nature it ſelfe hateth the houſe of old age, we remember with *Iob*, that *we muſt goe the way from whence we ſhall not returne, and that our bed is made ready for vs in the darke*; And then I ſay, looking ouer-late into the bottome of our conſcience (which Pleaſure and Ambition had locked vp from vs all our liues,) we behold therein the fearefull Images of our actions paſt, and withall this terrible Inſcription: *That God will bring euery worke into iudgement, that man hath done vnder the Sunne.*

Gen. 18.27.
Iob 4.v.27.

Iob 10.21.17.13

Eccl. 12.14.

But what examples haue euer mooued vs? what perſwaſions reformed vs? or what threatnings made vs afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before vs, we heare what is promiſed and threatned: but the Worlds bright glorie hath put out the eyes of our minds; and theſe betraying lights, (with which wee only ſee) doe neither looke vp towards termeleſſe ioyes, nor downe towards endleſſe ſorrowes, till wee neither know, nor can looke for any thing elſe, at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*:

Nil hoſtes, nil dira fames, nil deniq; morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc ſumus, ijſq; periclis
Tentati, nihilo meliores reddimur vnquam,
Sub vitijs nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diſeaſes, Famine, Enemies, in vs no change haue wrought,
What erſt we were, we are; ſtill in the ſame ſnare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend,
In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

But let vs not flatter our immortall Soules herein: for to neglect God all our liues, and know that wee neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that wee offend him, caſting our hopes on the Peace, which wee truſt to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious preſumption, and (that which is the worſt of all) euen a contemptuous laughing to ſcorne, and deriding of God, his Lawes and Precepts. *Fruſtrà ſperant, qui ſic de miſericordia Dei ſibi blandiuntur*; *They hope in vaine*, ſaith BERNARD, *which in this ſort flatter themſelues with Gods mercie.*

Bern. in Pſ. Qui habitat.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his Creation.

IN this frame and carcaſſe God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a liuing Soule: (that is) God gaue a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule ſpirituall and incorruptible; not that God had any ſuch bodily inſtruments as men vſe, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortalitie into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into ſuch as loue and feare him. *The Spirit of God* (ſaith ELIHV in IOB) *hath made me, and the breath of the Almightie hath giuen me Life: In qua ſententia* (ſaith RABANVS) *vitanda eſt paupertas ſenſus carnalis, nè forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formaſſe corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labijs ſuis inſpiràſſe in faciem formati, vt viuere poſſit & ſpiraculum vitæ habere: Nam & Propheta cùm ait, Manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. Tropica hac locutione magis quàm propria, (id eſt) iuxta conſuetudinē, qua ſolent homines operari, loquutus eſt:* In which ſentence (ſaith he) *the beggerlineſſe of carnall ſenſe is to be auoided, leſt perhaps we ſhould thinke, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of ſlime, or breathed with iawes or lips vpon his face (being formed) that he might liue, and haue the Spirit of Life: for the Prophet alſo when he ſaith; Thy hands haue made me, ſpake this Tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the cuſtome which men vſe in working. Quantum eſt periculi hijs, qui Scripturas ſenſu corporeo legunt? In what danger are they that reade the Scriptures in a carnall ſenſe?* By this breath was infuſed into man both life and ſoule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philoſophers call *Animam, quæ viuificat corpus, & animat, Which doth animate, and giue life to the bodie. The inſpiration of the Almightie giueth vnderſtanding*, ſaith *Iob*; and this ſpirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reaſonable ſoule of man, returneth againe to God that gaue it, as the bodie returneth vnto the Earth, out of which it was taken, according to *Eccleſiaſtes: And duſt ſhall returne to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the ſpirit ſhall returne to God that gaue it.* Neither is this word (ſpirit) vſually otherwiſe taken in the Scriptures, then for the ſoule; as when *Stephen* cryed vnto God: *Domine, ſuſcipe ſpiritum meum; Lord Ieſus, receiue my ſpirit: and in* S. IOHN, *And Ieſus bowed his head, and gaue vp the ghoſt*, or ſpirit, (which was) that his life and ſoule left his body dead. And that the immortall ſoule of man differeth from the ſoules of beaſts, the manner of creation maketh it manifeſt: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance euery creeping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the liuing thing, according to his kinde, the beaſt of the Earth, &c.* But of Man it is written, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, &c.* and further, that *the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life.* Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were thoſe creatures brought forth, and thence receiued life: ſo ſhall they againe be diſſolued into the ſame firſt matter, when they were taken: but the life of breath euerlaſting, which God breathed into man, ſhall according to *Eccleſiaſtes, returne againe to God that gaue it.*

Iob 33.4.
*Eccleſ.*12.7.
*Act.*7.59.
Iohn 9.30.
*Gen.*1.20. 24. 26.
*Gen.*2.7.
*Eccl.*12.7.

§. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digreſsion touching our mortalitie.

MAN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abſtract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Vniuerſall: in whom God concluded the Creation, and worke of the World, and whom hee made the laſt and moſt excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a diuine vnderſtanding, by which hee might contemplate and ſerue his Creatour, after whoſe Image hee was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reaſon and other abilities; that thereby alſo he might gouerne and rule the World, and all other Gods creatures therein. And whereas God created three ſorts of liuing natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giuing to Angels an intellectuall, and to Beaſts a ſenſuall nature, he vouchſafed vnto Man, both the intellectuall of Angels, the ſenſitiue of Beaſts, and the proper rationall belonging vnto man, and therefore (ſaith GREGORY NAZIANZENE:) *Homo eſt vtriuſq; naturæ vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tyeth together both natures:* and becauſe in the little frame of mans body there is a repreſentation of the Vniuerſall, and (by alluſion) a kind of participation of all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcoſmos*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum,*

Ari. Phyſ.l.8.c.2 1.17.f.
Gre.Nazi.Epiſt.
Omnis in homine creatura, & cœlum & terra.
Aug.l.qu.83.4. 67.retr.l.1.c.2.

dum, in breui magnum, atq; exiguo totum, in terris ſtatuit, God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another World, the great and large World in the ſmal and little World: for out of the Earth and Duſt was formed the fleſh of Man, and therefore heauie and lumpiſh; the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rockes and Stones, and therefore ſtrong and durable; of which OVID:

Ouid. Met. l.1.

> *Inde genus durum ſumus, experienſq; laborum,*
> *Et documenta damus, qua ſimus origine nati:*
>
> From thence our kind hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care,
> Approouing, that our bodies of a ſtonie nature are.

His bloud, which diſperſeth it ſelfe by the branches of veines through all the body, may be reſembled to thoſe waters, which are carryed by Brookes and Riuers ouer all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heate to the incloſed warmth which the Earth hath in it ſelfe, which ſtirred vp by the heate of the Sunne, aſſiſteth Nature in the ſpeedier procreation of thoſe varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radicall moiſture, Oyle, or Balſamum (whereon the naturall heate feedeth and is maintained) is reſembled to the fat and fertilitie of the Earth; the haires of mans bodie, which adornes or ouer-ſhaddowes it, to the graſſe, which coueteth the vpper face and skin of the Earth; our generatiue power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandering & vnſtable clouds, carried euery where with vncertaine winds; our eies, to the light of the Sun and Moone, and the beautie of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very ſhort time, or with the Sunnes heat dry vp, and wither away, or the fierce puffes of winde blow them from the ſtalkes; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure vnderſtanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which alwayes looketh vpwards) to thoſe intellectuall natures, which are alwayes preſent with God; and laſtly our immortall ſoules (while they are righteous) are by God himſelfe beautified with the title of his owne image and ſimilitude: And although, in reſpect of God, there is no man iuſt, or good, or righteous: for *in Angelis deprehenſa eſt ſtultitia*, *Behold, hee found folly in his Angels* (ſaith *Iob*) yet with ſuch a kind of difference, as there is betweene the ſubſtance and the ſhadow, there may be found a goodneſſe in man: which God being pleaſed to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and ſimilitude of his owne righteouſneſſe. In this alſo is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Vniuerſall (man being the meaſure of all things; *Homo eſt menſura omnium rerum*, ſaith *Ariſtotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the foure Complexions reſemble the foure Elements, and the ſeuen Ages of man the ſeuen Planets: Whereof our Infancie is compared to the *Moone*, in which wee ſeeme onely to liue and grow, as Plants; the ſecond Age to *Mercurie*, wherein wee are taught and inſtructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the dayes of Loue, Deſire, and Vanitie; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the ſtrong, flouriſhing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we ſeeke honour and victorie, and in which our thoughts trauaile to ambitious ends; the ſixth Age is aſcribed to *Iupiter*, in which we beginne to take accompt of our times, iudge of our ſelues, and grow to the perfection of our vnderſtanding; the laſt and ſeuenth to *Saturne*, wherin our dayes are ſad and ouer-caſt, and in which we find by deare and lamentable experience, & by the loſſe which can neuer be repaired, that of all our vaine paſſions and affections paſt, the ſorrow only abideth: Our attendants are ſickneſſes, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more wee are accompanied with plentie, by ſo much the more greedily is our end deſired, whom when *Time* hath made vnſociable to others, we become a burthen to our ſelues: being of no other vſe, then to hold the riches we haue, from our Succeſſors. In this time it is, when (as aforeſaid) we, for the moſt part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we paſſe on vnto, with many ſighes, grones, and ſad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanſhip of death, finiſh the ſorrowfull buſineſſe of a wretched life, towards which wee alwaies trauel both ſleeping and waking: neither haue thoſe beloued companions of honor & riches any power at all, to hold vs any one day, by the glorious promiſe of entertainments; but by what crooked path ſoeuer we walk, the ſame leadeth on directly to the houſe of death: whoſe dores lye open at all houres, and to all perſons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, euer runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Streame, but neuer floweth againe: our Leafe once fallen, ſpringeth no more,

Iob 4.18.

Ariſt.10. Metaph.c.1.f.

neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne vs againe, with the garments of new Leaues and Flowers.

Redditur arboribus florens reuirentibus ætas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit antè, redit.

To which I giue this ſenſe,

The Plants and Trees made poore and old
By Winter enuious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Couers againe from ſhame and cold:
But neuer Man repayr'd againe
His youth and beautie loſt,
Though Art, and care, and coſt,
Doe promiſe Natures helpe in vaine.

And of which,

CATVLLVS, EPIGRM. 53.
Soles occidere & redire poſſunt:
Nobis cùm ſemel occidit breuis lux,
Nox eſt perpetua vna dormienda.

The Sunne may ſet and riſe:
But we contrariwiſe
Sleepe after our ſhort light
One euerlaſting night.

For if there were any bayting place, or reſt, in the courſe or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the ſame might alſo perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall liuing things, and as the ſap and iuyce, wherein the life of Plants is preſerued, doth euermore aſcend or deſcend: ſo is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increaſing towards ripeneſſe and perfection, or declining and decreaſing towards rottenneſſe and diſſolution.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his firſt Creation, to diſpoſe of himſelfe.

THeſe be the miſeries which our firſt Parents brought on all Mankinde, vnto whom God in his creation gaue a free and vnconſtrayned will, and on whom he beſtowed the liberall choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God ſet before him, a mortall and immortall Life, a nature celeſtiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gaue man to himſelfe, to bee his owne guide, his owne Workeman, and his owne Painter, that hee might frame or deſcribe vnto himſelfe what hee pleaſed, and make election of his owne forme. *God made man in the beginning* (ſaith SIRACIDES) *and left him in the hands of his owne counſaile.* Eccluſ.15.14. Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beaſts, and all other creatures reaſonleſſe, brought with them into the World (ſaith *Lucilius*) and that euen when they firſt fell from the bodies of their Dams, the nature, which they could not change; and the ſupernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or ſoone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpeuall eternitie. But (as aforeſaid) God gaue vnto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetatiue life of Plants, the ſenſuall of Beaſts, the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels; whereof which ſoeuer he tooke pleaſure to plant and cultiue, the ſame ſhould futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choice and plantation. This freedome of the firſt man *Adam*, and our firſt Father, was ænigmatically deſcribed by *Aſclepius Atheníenſis* (ſaith *Mirandula*) in the perſon and Fable of *Proteus*, who was ſaid, as often as he pleaſed, to change his ſhape. To the ſame end were all thoſe celebrated *Metamorphoſes* among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were tranformed into diuers ſhapes of beaſts, thereby to ſhew the change of mens conditions, from Reaſon to Brutalitie, from Vertue to Vice, from Meekneſſe to Crueltie, and from Iuſtice to Oppreſſion. For by the liuely Image of other creatures did thoſe *Ancients* repreſent the variable paſſions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were ſignified Deceiuers; by Lyons, Oppreſſors, and cruell men; by Swine, Men giuen ouer to luſt and ſenſualitie; by Wolues, rauening, and greedie Men; which alſo S. *Matthew* reſembleth to falſe prophets, *Which come to you in ſheepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening Wolues*: Matth.7.15. by the images of ſtones and ſtockes, fooliſh and ignorant men; by Vipers, vngratefull men: of which S. IOHN BAPTIST, *O yee generation of Vipers, &c.* Matth.3.7.

§. VII.

Of Gods ceaſing to create any more: and of the cauſe thereof, becauſe the Vniuerſall created was exceeding good.

Iohn 5.17.

Gen.1.28. 22.24.

IN this worke of Man, God finiſhed the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore reſted: for God commanded, and it was finiſhed, *Cui voluiſſe eſt feciſſe*: *With whom, to will is to make*, ſaith *Beda*. Neither did God ſo reſt, that he left the World made, and the creatures therein to themſelues: for *my Father worketh to this day* (ſaith *Chriſt*) *and I worke*; but God reſted (that is) he created no new *ſpecies* or kinds of creatures, (but as afore-ſaid) gaue vnto man a power generatiue, and ſo to the reſt of liuing creatures, and to Plants and Flowers their ſeeds in themſelues; and commanded man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their ſeuerall kinds: all which being finiſhed, God ſaw that his works were good; not that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made euery Plant of the field before it was in the Earth, but he gaue to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from ſo good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whoſe ſimple puritie and from ſo excellent a cauſe, there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man hauing a free will and liberall choice, purchaſed by diſobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltie of mans heart, was the Earth afterward curſed, and all creatures of the firſt Age deſtroyed: but the righteous man *Noah* and his Family, with thoſe creatures which the Arke contayned, reſerued by God to repleniſh the Earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradiſe.

§. I.

That the ſeate of Paradiſe is greatly miſtaken: and that it is no maruell that men ſhould erre.

COncerning the firſt Habitation of man we reade, that *the Lord God planted a Garden, Eaſtward, in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made*, GEN.2.6. Of this ſeate and place of *Paradiſe*, all Ages haue held diſpute; and the opinions and iudgements haue beene in effect, as diuers, among thoſe that haue written vpon this part of *Geneſis*, as vpon any one place therein, ſeeming moſt obſcure: ſome there are, that haue conceiued the being of the terreſtriall *Paradiſe*, without all regard of the Worlds Geographie, and without any reſpect of Eaſt and Weſt, or any conſideration of the place where *Moſes* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heauens) the way how to find out and iudge, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein hee was exceeding reſpectiue and preciſe. Others, by being themſelues ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the firſt Interpretation, or truſting to their owne iudgements, vnderſtood one place for another; and one Errour is ſo fruitfull, as it begetteth a thouſand Children, if the licentiouſneſſe thereof bee not timely reſtrayned. And thirdly, thoſe Writers which gaue themſelues to follow and imitate others, were in all things ſo obſeruant Sectatours of thoſe Maſters, whom they admired and beleeued in, as they thought it ſafer to condemne their owne vnderſtanding, then to examine theirs. For (ſaith *Vadianus* in his Epiſtle of *Paradiſe*) *Magnos errores (magnorum virorum auctoritate perſuaſi) tranſmittimus*; *Wee paſſe ouer many groſſe errours, by the authoritie of great men led and perſwaded*. And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the vnderſtanding of this place. I ſpeake it not, that I my ſelfe dare preſume to cenſure them, for I reuerence both their Learning and their Pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum eſt errare*. And to the end that no man ſhould bee proude of himſelfe, God hath diſtributed vnto men ſuch a proportion of Knowledge, as the wiſeſt may behold in themſelues their owne weakeneſſe:

Nulli vnquam dedit omnia Deus; *God neuer gaue the knowledge of all things to any one.* S. *Paul* confeſt that he knew not, whether he were taken vp into the third heauen in the fleſh, or out of the fleſh; and Chriſt himſelfe acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, ſeeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to S. *Iude*) who is only wiſe. *Sapientia vbi inuenitur?* (ſaith Iob) *but where is wiſedome found? and where is the place of vnderſtanding? man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the liuing.* And therefore ſeeing God found folly in his Angels, mens iudgements (which inhabite in houſes of clay) cannot be without their miſtakings: and ſo the Fathers, and other learned men excuſable in particulars, eſpecially in thoſe whereupon our ſaluation dependeth not.

2.Cor.12.2.
Matt24.36.
Iude Ep.v.27.
Iob 28.12. 13.
4.18.

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§. II.

A recitall of ſtrange opinions, touching Paradiſe.

NOw touching *Paradiſe*, firſt it is to be inquired, whether there were a *Paradiſe*, or no? or whether *Moſes* deſcription were altogether myſticall, & allegoricall? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran.Georgius*, with others haue affirmed, and that vnder the names of thoſe foure Riuers, *Piſon*, *Gehon*, *Hidekel*, and *Perath*, *the tree of life, and the tree of Knowledge*, there were deliuered vnto vs other myſteries and ſignifications; as, that by the foure Riuers were meant the foure Cardinall vertues, *Iuſtice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*, or (by other) Oyle, Wine, Milke, and Honny. This Allegoricall vnderſtanding of *Paradiſe* by *Origen* diuulged, was againe by *Franciſcus Georgius* receiued (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis*) whoſe friuolous imaginations *Sixtus* himſelfe doth fully and learnedly anſwere, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Booke. *fol.* 338. the laſt Edition.

Bartaſ ſem.2. l.1.143.

S. *Ambroſe* alſo leaned wholly to the Allegoricall conſtruction, and ſet *Paradiſe* in the third Heauen, and in the vertues of the mind, *& in noſtro principali*, which is, as I conceiue it, *in mente*, or in our ſoules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this ſort. By the place or garden of *Paradiſe*, was meant the ſoule or mind; by *Adam*, *Mens* or Vnderſtanding; by *Eue*, the Senſe; by the *Serpent*, Delectation; by the *Tree* of good and euill, Sapience; and by the reſt of the Trees, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence ſpringing. Notwithſtanding all which, vpon the firſt of the *Corinth.cap.* 6. he in direct words alloweth both of a celeſtiall and terreſtriall *Paradiſe*; the one, into which S. *Paul* was rapt; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug.Chryſamenſis* was of opinion, that a *Paradiſe* had beene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth: the ſame being not only defaced, but withall the places now not ſo much as exiſting. To which *Luther* ſeemeth to adhere.

Amb. de Parad.

The *Manichees* alſo vnderſtood, that by *Paradiſe* was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion, *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceiue his words in two ſeuerall places. Firſt, vpon this: *Fill the earth*, Gen. 10. Of which he giueth this iudgement. *Hoc ipſo etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini vniuerſis animantibus, ſubijcite terram, clariſſimè docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (vt tum erat) fructibus conſitam, ſedem & hortum illum* Adæ, *& poſteritatis futuræ fuiſſe*; *Theſe words* (ſaith he) *in which God ſaid, Bring forth fruite and multiplie, and fill the earth, and ſubdue it and rule ouer euery creature, doe cleerely ſhew, that the Vniuerſall earth ſet or filled with all ſorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and ſeate of* Adam, *and of his future poſteritie.* And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the *Acts* the 17. *Apoſtolus ex vno ſanguine omne genus humanum adeò factum docet, vt habitarent ſuper vniuerſam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra Paradiſus ille erat*; *The Apoſtle* (ſaith he) *teacheth, that God hath made of one bloud all mankinde, to dwell ouer all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth* (ſaith hee) *was that Paradiſe.* Which coniectures I will anſwere in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was firſt planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Goropius* findeth neere the Riuer of *Aceſines*, in the confines of *India*.

Verſ.26.

Tertullian, *Bonauenture*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradiſe* vnder the *Æquinoctiall*, and *Poſtellus*, quite contrarie, vnder the *North* pole: the *Chaldæans* alſo for the moſt part, and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who would either make *Paradiſe* a figure, or Sacrament only, or elſe would haue it ſeated out of this ſenſible word, or rayſed into ſome high and remote Region of the Aire. *Strabus*, and

Bart.16.126.

Bed in Gen. Pet·Comeſt.l.1. cap.3. Moſes Barc.de Par.

Rabanus, were both ſicke of this vanitie, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: ſo was our venerable *Beda*, and *Pet. Comeſtor*, and *Moſes Barcephas* the *Syrian*, tranſlated by *Maſius*. But as *Hopkins* ſayes of *Philo Iudæus*, that he wondred, *Quo malo genio afflatus*; *By what euill Angell he was blowne vp into this error*: ſo can I not but greatly maruaile at the learned men, who ſo groſly and blindly wandred; ſeeing *Moſes*, and after him the *Prophets*, doe ſo plainly deſcribe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the Kingdoms and Prouinces bordering it, by the Riuers which watered it, and by the points of the Compaſſe vpon which it lay, in reſpect of *Iudæa*, or *Canaan*.

Nouiomagus alſo, vpon *Beda, De natura rerum*, beleeueth that all the earth was taken for *Paradiſe*, and not any one place. For the whole earth (ſaith he) hath the ſame beautie adſcribed to *Paradiſe*. He addeth, that the *Ocean* was that Fountaine, from whence the foure Riuers, *Piſon*, *Gehon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning: for he could not thinke it poſſible, that theſe Riuers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, (whereof the one ranne through *India*, the other through *Ægypt*, and the other through *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*) could riſe out of one Fountaine, were it not out of the Fountaine of the *Ocean*.

§. III.

That there was a true locall Paradiſe Eaſtward, in the Countrie of Eden.

Gen.cap.2.

TO the firſt therefore, that ſuch a place there was vpon the earth, the words of *Moſes* make it manifeſt, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a garden Eaſtward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had made*. And howſoeuer the vulgar tranſlation, called *Hieromes* tranſlation, hath conuerted this place thus, *Plantauerat Dominus Deus Paradiſum voluptatis à principio*; *The Lord God planted a Paradiſe of pleaſure from the beginning*; putting the word (*pleaſure*) for *Eden*, and (*from the beginning*) for *Eaſtward*: It is manifeſt, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a Region. For what ſenſe hath this tranſlation (ſaith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe*) that he planted a garden in pleaſure, or that a Riuer went out of pleaſure to water the garden? But the ſeuentie Interpreters call it *Paradiſum Edenis*, the *Paradiſe of Eden*, and ſo doth the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* truly take it for the proper name of a place, & for a *Noune* appellatiue; which Region, in reſpect of the fertilitie of the ſoile, of the many beautifull Riuers, and goodly Woods, and that the trees (as in the *Indies*) doe alwaies keepe their leaues, was called *Eden*, which ſignifieth in the *Hebrew*, pleaſantneſſe or delicacie, as the *Spaniards* call the Countrie, oppoſite to the *Iſle of Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the miſtaking, which may end the diſpute, as touching the double ſenſe of the word, that as *Florida* was a Countrie, ſo called for the flouriſhing beautie thereof, ſo was *Eden* a Region called pleaſure, or delicacie, for the pleaſure, or delicacie: and as *Florida* ſignifieth flouriſhing: ſo *Eden* ſignifieth pleaſure, & yet both are the proper names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region (called pleaſure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradiſe* being the choice ſeate of all that Region, *Paradiſe* was truely the Garden of *Eden*, and truely the Garden of Pleaſure.

Now, for Eaſtward, to tranſlate it, *from the beginning*, it is alſo contrarie to the tranſlation of the Seuentie; to the ancient *Greeke* Fathers, as *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Theodoret*, *Gregorie*; and to the *Rabines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Salomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the *Latines*, *Seuerinus*, *Damaſcenus &c.* who plainely take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and ſet the word (*Eaſtward*) for *ab initio*: for *Damaſcens* owne words are theſe, *Paradiſus eſt locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter conſitus*; *Paradiſe is a place, maruailouſly planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the Eaſt.*

And after all theſe Fathers, *Guilhelmus Pariſienſis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senenſis*, of later times, doe both vnderſtand theſe words of *Eden*, and of the *Eaſt*, contrarie to the vulgar tranſlation; *Pariſienſis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senenſis*, directly againſt the vulgar: of which theſe are their owne words: *After this I will begin to ſpeake of Paradiſe terreſtriall, which God planted from the beginning, or Eaſtward, &c. Poſt hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiſo terreſtri, quem plantâſſe Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, &c.* And then *Senenſis*; MOSES *enim clariſſimè prodit, Paradiſum à Deo conſitum in regione terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem eſſe proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. vbi legimus* CHAM *habitâſſe ad Orientalem plagam Heden*; For MOSES (ſaith he) *doth ſhew moſt cleerely, that Paradiſe was planted of God in a Region of the Eaſt Countrie, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Geneſis, where we reade, that* CHAM *dwelt on the Eaſt border of Heden.* PERE- *Verſ.16.* RIVS endeuoureth to qualifie this tranſlation: for this particle (ſaith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very firſt day; alleaging this place of Chriſt that although the Deuill was ſaid to be a man-ſlayer from the beginning, yet *Iohn 8. 44.* that was meant but after the ſixth day. But ſurely, as I thinke (referring my ſelfe to better iudgement) the Deuill was from the inſtant of his fall a man-ſlayer in diſpoſition, though he had not whereon to practiſe till mans creation. And for concluſion, S. *Hierome* (if that be his tranſlation) aduiſeth himſelfe better in the end of the third Chapter of *Geneſis*, conuerting the word *(Eden)* by *(antè)* and not *(à principio)* as, *God did* *Gen.3.24.* *ſet a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden; Collocauit Deus ante Paradiſum voluptatis Cherubin*, and *Pererius* himſelfe acknowledgeth, that this is the true ſenſe of this place, preciſely taken, according to the Hebrew. *Poſuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin; He ſet on the Eaſt-ſide of the Garden of Heden, Cherubin.* BECANVS affirmeth, that the *Hebrew* word *(Be)* ſignifieth (with) as well as (in) and ſo the Text beareth this ſenſe; That God planted a Garden with pleaſure (that is to ſay) full of pleaſure. But *Becanus* followeth this conſtruction, onely to the end, to find *Paradiſe* vpon the Riuer of *Aceſines*: for there he hath heard of the *Indian* Fig-tree in great aboundance, which he ſuppoſeth to be the tree of Knowledge of good, and euill, and would therefore draw *Paradiſe* to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will anſwere hereafter.

Now, becauſe *Paradiſe* was ſeated by *Moſes* toward the Eaſt, thence came the cuſtome of praying towards the Eaſt, and not by imitation of the *Chaldæans*: and therefore all our Churches are built Eaſt and Weſt, as to the point where the Sunne riſeth in *March*, which is directly ouer *Paradiſe* (ſaith *Damaſcenus*:) affirming, that wee alwayes pray towards the Eaſt, as looking towards *Paradiſe*, whence we were caſt out; and yet the Temple of *Salomon* had their Prieſts and Sacrifices, which turned themſelues in their ſeruice and diuine ceremonies, alwayes towards the Weſt, thereby to auoid the ſuperſtition of the *Ægyptians* and *Chaldæans*.

But becauſe Eaſt and Weſt are but in reſpect of places; (for although *Paradiſe* were Eaſt from *Iudæa*, yet it was Weſt from *Perſia*) and the ſeruing of God is euery where in the world, the matter is not great which way we turne our faces, ſo our hearts ſtand right, other then this, that we who dwell weſt from *Paradiſe*, and pray turning our ſelues towards the Eaſt, may remember thereby to beſeech God, that as by *Adams* fall we haue loſt the *Paradiſe* on Earth: ſo by Chriſts death and paſſion wee may bee made partakers of the *Paradiſe* celeſtiall, & the Kingdom of Heauen. To conclude, I conceiue, that there was no other myſterie in adding the word (Eaſt) to *Eden* by *Moſes*, then to ſhew, that the Region of *Eden*; in which *Paradiſe* was, lay Eaſtward from *Iudæa* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures alwayes called the people of thoſe Nations, the Sonnes of the Eaſt, which inhabited *Arabia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldæa*, and *Perſia*: of which *Ouid*:

> *Eurus ad Auroram, Nabatæaq; regna receſſit,*
> *Perſidaq; & radijs iuga ſubdita matutinis.*

> The Eaſt wind with *Aurora* hath abiding
> Among th'*Arabian*, and the *Perſian* Hils,
> Whom *Phœbus* firſt ſalutes at his vp-riſing.

And if it be obiected, that *Hieremie* the Prophet threatning the deſtruction of *Hieruſalem*, doth often make mention of Northerne Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in reſpect of thoſe nations that followed *Nabuchodonoſor*, and of whom the greateſt part of his Armie was compounded; not that *Babylon* it ſelfe ſtood North from *Hieruſalem*, though inclining from the Eaſt towards the North.

Now to the difference of this Tranſlation, *Peter Comeſtor* giueth beſt ſatisfaction: for he vſeth the word, *From the beginning, that is, from the firſt part of the World, (à principio) id eſt* (ſaith he) *à prima orbis parte*, and afterward he affirmeth, that *(à principio*, and *ad Orientem)* haue the ſame ſignification; *From the beginning & Eaſt-ward is all one, à principio idem eſt quod ad Orientem.*

But to returne to the proofe of this place, and that this Story of Mankind was not Allegoricall, it followeth in the Text of the . Chap. & 9. Verſ. in theſe words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow euery Tree pleaſant to the ſight, & good for meate, &c.* ſo as firſt it appeared that God created *Adam* elſewhere, as in the World at large, & then, *put him into the Garden*: and the end why, is expreſt: *that he might dreſſe it &*

keepe

Verſe 18. keepe it; *Paradiſe* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the moſt excellent kinds, pleaſant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proueth that *Paradiſe* was a terreſtiall Garden, garniſhed with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taſte. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall conſtruction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a Riuer; expreſſing Verſe 10. alſo the Region, out of which this Riuer ſprang, which hee calleth *Heden*; and that Ezech.c.27.23. *Heden* is alſo a Countrie neere vnto *Charan* in *Meſopotamia*, *Ezechiel* witneſſeth.

But to all theſe *Cabaliſts*, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* anſwereth in theſe words: *Si Paradiſus non eſt ſenſibilis, non eſt etiam fons, ſi non eſt fons, non eſt flumen, ſi non eſt flumen, non ſunt quatuor principia, non Piſon, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non eſt ficus, non folia, non comedit* EVA *de arbore, non eſt* ADAM, *non ſunt homines, ſed veritas iam fabula eſt, & omnia ad Allegorias reuocantur: If Paradiſe be not ſenſible, then there was no fountaine, and then no Riuer, if no Riuer, then no ſuch foure heads or branches, and then not any ſuch Riuer as Piſon, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no ſuch Fig-tree, or fruit, or leaues,* EVE *then did not eate of the fruit, neither was there any* ADAM, *or any man, the truth was but a Fable, and all things eſteemed are called backe into Allegories.* Words to the ſame effect hath S. *Hierome* vpon DANIEL: *Conticeſcant eorum deliramenta, qui vmbras & imagines in veritate ſequentes, ipſam conantur euertere veritatem, vt Paradiſum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoriæ Legibus ſe debere ſubruere, Let the dotage of them be ſilent, who following ſhadowes and Images in the Truth, endeuour to ſubuert the Truth it ſelfe, and thinke that they ought to bring Paradiſe, and the Riuers and the Trees vnder the rules of Allegorie.*

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Storie is the place made more manifeſt. For God gaue *Adam* free libertie to eate of euery Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moſes* in the ninth verſe ſaith that they were good to eate; meaning the fruit which they bare. Beſides, God left all beaſts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and theſe beaſts were neither in the third Heauen, nor neere the Circle of the Moone, nor beaſts in imagination: for if all theſe things were Enigmaticall or Myſticall, the ſame might alſo be ſaid of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel* ſpeaking of the glory of the *Aſſyrian* Kings vſeth this ſpeech: Ezech.31.9. *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, enuied him,* which proueth both *Eden*, and *Paradiſe* therein ſeated to be terreſtiall: for the Prophets made no imaginary compariſons. But *Moſes* wrote plainely, and in a ſimple ſtile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and preciſe in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, then in any other place of Scripture; of purpoſe to take away all ſcruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inuentions, and that if he had not deſcribed both the Region and the Riuers, and how it ſtood from *Canaan*, many of the vnbeleeuing *Iſraelites* and others after them, would haue miſconſtrued this Storie of Mankind. And is it likely, there would haue beene ſo often mention made of *Paradiſe* in the Scriptures, if the ſame had beene an *Vtopia*? For we find that the Valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrha* ſtood, (ſometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the fiue principall Cities therein) was before the deſtruction (which their vnnaturall ſinne purchaſed) compared to the *Paradiſe* of the Lord, and like to the Land Gen.13.10. of *Ægypt* toward *Zoar*; In like manner was *Iſrael* reſembled to the *Paradiſe* of God, before the *Babylonians* waſted it: which proueth plainely, that *Paradiſe* it ſelfe exceeded in beautie and fertilitie, and that theſe places had but a reſemblance thereof: being compared to a ſeate and ſoyle of farre exceeding excellencie.

Beſides, whence had *Homer* his inuention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Iuſtin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moſes* his deſcription of *Paradiſe*? *Gen.2.* and whence are their prayſes of the *Elizian* fields, but out of the Storie of *Paradiſe*? to which alſo appertaine thoſe Verſes of the Golden Age in *Ouid*:

Ouid.Metam.l.1

Ver erat æternum, placidiq́; tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri natos ſine ſemine flores.

The ioyfull ſpring did euer laſt,
And *Zephyrus* did breede
Sweete flowers by his gentle blaſt,
Without the helpe of ſeed.

And it is manifeſt, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Heſiodus*, and *Homer*, and after him, *Ouid*, one out of another, and all theſe together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their

Sectatours, did greatly enrich their inuentions, by venting the ſtolne Treaſures of Diuine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and diſguiſed by poeticall conuerſions, as if they had bin conceiued out of their owne ſpeculations and contemplations.

But beſides all theſe teſtimonies, if we finde what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if we proue the Riuer that ran out of it, and that the ſame afterwards was diuided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of *Hauila* and *Cuſh*, & that all theſe are Eaſtward from *Canaan*, or the Deſerts of the *Amorites*, where *Moſes* wrote; I then conceiue, that there is no man that will doubt, but that ſuch a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the Allegoricall ſenſe of the Scripture; for aſwell in this there were many figures of Chriſt, as in all the old Teſtament throughout: the Storie being directly true notwithſtanding. And to this purpoſe (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *Tres ſunt de Paradiſo generales ſententiæ: vna eſt eorum, qui tantummodò corporaliter Paradiſum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui ſpiritualiter tantùm (id eſt) Eccleſiam: tertia eorum, qui vtroq; modo Paradiſum accipiunt*, (that is) *There are three opinions of Paradiſe: the one of thoſe men, which will haue it altogether corporall: a ſecond of thoſe which conceiue it altogether ſpirituall, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of thoſe, which take it in both ſenſes*; which third opinion S. *Auguſtine* approueth, and of which *Suidas* giueth this allowable iudgement: *Quemadmodum homo ſenſibilis, & intelligibilis ſimul conditus erat: ſic & huius ſanctiſſimum nemus, ſenſibile ſimul & intelligibile, & duplici ſpecie eſt præditum*, (that is) *As man was created at one time both ſenſible and intelligible: ſo was this holy Groue or Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.*

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 13. c. 21.
Suidas in verbo Paradiſus.

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§. IV.

Why it ſhould be needfull to intreate diligently of the place of Paradiſe.

BVt it may be obiected, that it is needleſſe, and a kind of curioſitie to enquire ſo diligently after this place of *Paradiſe*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no vſe. To which I anſwer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our inſtruction; and if the truth of the Storie be neceſſarie, then by the place proued, the ſame is alſo made more apparent. For if wee ſhould conceiue that *Paradiſe* were not on the Earth, but lifted vp as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the knowne World, from whence *Adam* was ſaid to wade through the Sea, and thence to haue come into *Iudæa*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would giue any credit vnto it. For what could ſeeme more ridiculous then the report of ſuch a place? and beſides, what maketh this ſeate of *Paradiſe* ſo much diſputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Piſhon* ſhould be *Ganges*, which watereth the Eaſt *India*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Ægypt*, and theſe two Riuers ſo farre diſtant, as (except all the World were *Paradiſe*) theſe ſtreames can no way be comprized therein?

Secondly, if the birth and workes, and death of our Sauiour, were ſaid to haue beene in ſome ſuch Countrey, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his Miracles had bin performed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I aſſure my ſelfe, that the Chriſtian Religion would haue taken but a ſlender roote in the mindes of men: for times and places are approued witneſſes of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we ſhould rely, or giue place to the iudgement of ſome Writers vpon this place of *Geneſis* (though otherwiſe for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour & reuerence) I ſay that there is no fable among the *Grecians* or *Ægyptians* more ridiculous: for who would beleeue that there were a piece of the World ſo ſet by it ſelfe & ſeparated, as to hang in the Ayre vnder the circle of the Moone? or who ſo doltiſh to conceiue, that from thence the foure riuers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, ſhould fall downe, and run vnder all the Ocean, & riſe vp againe in this our habitable world, & in thoſe places where they are now found? Which leſt any man think, that I enforce or ſtraine to the worſt, theſe are *Peter Comeſtors* own words. *Eſt autē locus amœniſſimus, longo terræ & maris tractu à noſtra habitabili Zona ſecretus, adeò eleuatus, vt vſq; ad lunarē globū attingat, &c.* (that is) *It is a moſt pleaſāt place, ſeuered frō our habitable Zone by a long tract of Land and Sea, eleuated ſo, that it reacheth to the Globe of the Moone.*

And *Moſes Barcephas* vpon this place writeth in this maner: *Deinde hoc quoq; reſponſū volumus, Paradiſū multò ſublimiore poſitum eſſe regione, atq; hac noſtra extet terra, eoq; fieri*

Barc. conuerted by Maſius.

vt illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluuij tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non poſsis; eoq́; impetu impulſi preſsiq́; ſub Oceani vado rapiuntur, vnde rurſus proſiliant ebullientq́; in hoc à nobis culto orbe: which haue this ſenſe: *Furthermore* (ſaith he) *we giue this for an anſwer, that Paradiſe is ſet in a Region farre raiſed aboue this part which we inhabite; whereby it comes to paſſe, that from thence theſe Riuers fall downe with ſuch a headlong violence, as words cannot expreſſe; and with that force ſo impulſed and preſt, they are carried vnder the deepe Ocean, and doe againe riſe and boyle vp in this our habitable World:* and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this. *Ephram dicit Paradiſum ambire terram, atq́; vltra Oceanū ita poſitum eſſe, vt totū terrarū orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atq́; Lunæ orbis Lunā cingit,* (which is) *That Paradiſe doth compaſſe or embrace the whole Earth, and is ſo ſet beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuironeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on euery ſide, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone.* To the end therfore that theſe ridiculous expoſitions and opinions doe not bring queſtion vnto Truth it ſelfe, or make the ſame ſubiect to doubts or diſputes, it is neceſſarie to diſcouer the true place of *Paradiſe*, *which God in his wiſdome* appointed in the very Nauel of this our World, and (as *Melanchton* ſaies) *in parte terræ meliore, in the beſt part thereof,* that from thence, as from a Centre, the Vniuerſal might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we ſhall the better iudge of the beginning of Nations, & of the worlds inhabitation: for neere vnto this did the Sons of *Noah* alſo diſperſe themſelues after the floud, into all other remote regions & countries. And if it be a generous deſire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers haue come, & out of what regions and Nations, it cannot be diſpleaſing to vnderſtand the place of our firſt Anceſter, from whence all the ſtreames & branches of Mankind haue followed & bin deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that ſuch a place there was as *Paradiſe*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be vnprofitable, it followeth in order to examine ſeueral opinions before remembred, by the Truth it ſelfe; & to ſee how they agree with the ſenſe of the Scripture, and with common reaſon, and afterward to proue directly, and to delineate the Region in which God firſt planted this delightfull Garden.

§. V.

That the Floud hath not vtterly defaced the markes of Paradiſe, nor cauſed Hils in the Earth.

And firſt, whereas it is ſuppoſed by *Aug. Chyſamenſis*, that the Floud hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in ſuch ſort, as no man can finde any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others alſo, aſcribing to the Floud the cauſe of thoſe high Mountaines, which are found on all the Earth ouer, with many other ſtrange effects) for mine owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot denie, but that the face of *Paradiſe* was after the Floud withered, and growne old, in reſpect of the firſt beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no ſigne of any ſuch place, or if the ſoile and ſeate had not remayned, then would not *Moſes*, who wrote of *Paradiſe* about 850. yeares after the Floud, haue deſcribed it ſo particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moſes* would not haue made ſo often mention thereof. And though the verie Garden it ſelfe were not then to be found, but that the Floud, and other accidents of time made it one common field and paſture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is ſtill the ſame, and the Riuers ſtil remaine the ſame Riuers. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, we are ſure to finde in what longitude *Paradiſe* lay; & learning out one of theſe Riuers, which afterward doth diuide it ſelfe into foure branches, we are ſure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it ſelfe. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a Riuer to water the Garden, and from thence it was diuided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine Tranſlation *(Inde) from thence*, be referred to *Eden* it ſelfe, or to *Paradiſe*, yet the diuiſion & branching of thoſe riuers muſt be in the North or South ſide of the very Garden (if the riuers run as they doe, North & South) & therfore theſe riuers yet remaining, & *Eden* manifeſtly known, there could be no ſuch defacing by the floud, as is ſuppoſed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be ſo altered as future ages know it not, ſo is there no probability, that

Gen. 2. 10.

that eyther theſe Riuers were turned out of their courſes, or new Riuers created by the Floud which were not, or that the Floud (as aforeſaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decreaſe, was the cauſe of high Hils, or deepe Vallies. For what deſcent of waters could there be in a Sphericall and round bodie, wherein there is nor high nor low? ſeeing that all violent force of waters is eyther by the ſtrength of winde, by deſcent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebbe or floud of the Sea. But that there was any winde (whereby the Seas are moſt inraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrarie is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a winde to paſſe vpon the Earth, and the waters ceaſed.* Gen. 8. 1. So as it appeareth not, that, vntill the waters ſanke, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodneſſe, cauſed the wind to blow, to drye vp the abundant ſlime and mudde of the Earth, and make the Land more firme, and to cleanſe the Ayre of thicke vapours, and vnwholſome miſts; and this we know by experience, that all downe-right raines doe euermore diſſeuer the violence of outragious windes, and beat downe, and leuell the ſwelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any ebbes and flouds there could be none, when the waters were equall and of one heighth ouer all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bayes, or Gulfes to receiue a Floud, or any deſcent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the Earth and Waters, as aforeſaid: and therefore it ſeemeth moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the waters rathers ſtood in a quiet calme, then that they moued with any raging or ouer-bearing violence. And for a more direct proofe that the Floud made no ſuch deſtroying alteration, *Ioſeph.* auoweth that one of thoſe pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be ſeene in his dayes, which Pillars were ſet vp aboue 1426. yeares before the Floud, counting *Seth* to be an hundred yeares old at the erection of them; and *Ioſeph* himſelfe, to haue liued ſome fortie or fiftie yeares after Chriſt: of whom although there be no cauſe to beleeue all that he wrote, yet that, which hee auouched of his owne time, cannot (without great derogation) bee called in queſtion. And therefore it may be poſſible, that ſome foundation or ruine thereof might then be ſeene. Now that ſuch Pillars were raiſed by *Seth*, all Antiquitie hath auowed. It is alſo written in *Beroſus* (to whom although I giue little credit, yet I cannot condemne him in all) that the Citie of *Enoch*, built by *Cain*, about the Mountaines of *Libanus*, was not defaced by length of time: yea the ruines therof *Annius* (who commented vpon that inuented Fragment) ſaith, were to be ſeene in his daies, who liued in the Reigne of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* of *Caſtile*; and if theſe his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent. For, ſpeaking of this Citie of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this ſort: *Cuius maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta viſuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Ciuitas Cain, vt noſtri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge Maſſe is now to be ſeene, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the City of Cain, as both our ſtrangers and Merchants report.* It is alſo auowed by *Pomponius Mela*, (to whom I giue more credit in theſe things) that the Citie of *Ioppa* was built before the Floud, ouer which *Cepha* was King: whoſe name with his Brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found grauen vpon certaine Altars of ſtone; and it is not vnpoſſible, that the ruines of this other Citie, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might bee ſeene, though founded in the firſt Age: but it could not be of the firſt City of the world, built by *Cain*, the place, rather then the time, denying it. Gen. 4. 17.

And to proue directly, that the floud was not the cauſe of Mountains, but that there were Mountains from the Creation, it is written, that *the waters of the floud ouerflowed by fifteene Cubits the higheſt Mountaines.* And *Maſius Damaſcenus* ſpeaking of the Floud, writeth in this manner: *Eſt ſupra Minyadam excelſus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos ſermo eſt diluuij tempore liberatos, And vpon Minyada there is an high Mountaine, in Armenia (called Baris) vnto which (as it is ſaid) that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they ſaued themſelues thereon.* Now although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were ſaued then eight perſons (which *Maſius* doth not auouch, but by report) yet it is a teſtimonie, that ſuch Mountaines were before the Floud, which were afterwards, and euer ſince, knowne by the ſame names; & on which Mountaines it is generally receiued that the *Arke* reſted: but vntruely, as I ſhall proue hereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was knowne before the Floud: on which the *Thalmudiſts* report, that many Giants ſaued themſelues alſo; but (as *Annius* ſaith) without all authoritie, either Diuine or Humane.

Laſtly, it appeareth that the Floud did not ſo turne vpſide-downe the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made paſt knowledge, after the waters were decreaſed, by this Gen. 8. 11. that *when* Noah *ſent out the Doue the ſecond time, ſhe returned with an Oliue-leafe in her mouth*, which ſhe had pluckt, and which (vntill the Trees were diſcouered) ſhe found not: for otherwiſe ſhe might haue found them floting on the water; a manifeſt proofe, that the Trees were not torne vp by the rootes, nor ſwamme vpon the waters, for it is written: *folium Oliuæ, raptum* or *decerptum, a leafe pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to teare off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrarie) that the Floud made no ſuch alteration, as was ſuppoſed, but that the place of *Paradiſe* might be ſeene to ſucceeding Ages, eſpecially vnto *Moſes*, by whom it pleaſed God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation; and vnto the Prophets which ſucceeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Diſcouerie.

§. VI.

That Paradiſe was not the whole Earth, as ſome haue thought: making the Ocean to be the fountaine of thoſe foure Riuers.

This conceit of *Aug. Chyſamenſis* being anſwered, who onely giueth *his opinion* for *reaſon*, I wil in a few words examine that of the *Manichees*, of *Nouiomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius Becanus*, and all thoſe that vnderſtood, that by *Paradiſe* was meant the whole Earth. But in this I ſhall not trouble the Reader with many words, becauſe by thoſe places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Vniuerſalitie will appeare altogether improper. Gen. 1. 28. Acts 17. 26. The places which *Vadianus* alleageth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the Earth and ſubdue it, rule ouer euerie Creature, &c.* with this of the *Acts*, *and hath made of one bloud all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth*, doe no way proue ſuch a generalitie: for the World was made for man, of which hee was Lord and Gouernor, and all things therein were ordained of God for his vſe: Now although all men were of one and the ſame fountaine of bloud originally; and *Adams* Poſteritie inhabited in proceſſe of time ouer all the face of the Earth; yet it diſproueth in nothing the particular Garden, aſſigned to *Adam*, to dreſſe and cultiue, in which hee liued in ſo bleſſed an eſtate before his tranſgreſſion. For if there had beene no other choice, but Gen. 2. 8. that *Adam* had bin left to the Vniuerſall; *Moſes* would not then haue ſaid, *Eaſtward in Eden*, ſeeing the World hath nor Eaſt nor Weſt, but reſpectiuely. And to what end 3. 24. had the Angell of God beene ſet to keepe the Eaſt-ſide, and entrance into *Paradiſe* after *Adams* expulſion, if the Vniuerſall had beene *Paradiſe*? for then muſt *Adam* haue beene chaſed alſo out of the World. For if All the Earth were *Paradiſe*, that place can receiue no better conſtruction then this, That *Adam* was driuen out of the World into the World, and out of *Paradiſe* into *Paradiſe*, except we ſhould beleeue with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to denie; he thinkes all one, as to affirme, *That in ſo large a field, as the Vniuerſall, there ſhould grow but one Thiſtle.* Noviomagus vpon *Beda*, ſeemeth to be led by this, that it was vnpoſſible for thoſe three Riuers, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates* (which water three portions of the World ſo farre diſtant) to riſe out of one Fountaine, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that thoſe foure Riuers, being ſo vnderſtood, there could be no coniecture more probable; but it ſhall plainly appeare, that *Piſon* was falſly taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falſly for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a Riuer by *Hauilah* in *India*, and *Nilus* run through *Æthiopia*. The *Seuentie* write *Chus* for *Æthiopia*, and thereby the errors of the *Manichees*, and the miſtakings of *Nouiomagus*, *Goropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifeſt. Yet was their coniecture farre more probable, then that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrillus*, and *Athanaſius*: That *Paradiſe* was ſeated farre beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at laſt came toward the Country in which he was created, and was buried at *Mount Caluary* in *Hieruſalem*. And certainly, though all thoſe of the firſt Age were of great ſtature, and ſo continued many yeares after the Floud, yet *Adams* ſhin-bones muſt haue contayned a thouſand fadome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is ſo ridiculous, as it needes no argument to diſproue it.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of their opinion, which make Paradiſe as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the Ayre.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* ſaith, and as the Schoole-men affirme, *Paradiſe* to be a place, altogether remoued from the knowledge of men (*locus à cognitione hominum remotiſſimus*) and *Barcephas* conceiued, that *Paradiſe* was farre in the Eaſt, but mounted aboue the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neere the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the Schoole-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* layes it off from *Beda* vpon *Strabus*, and his Maſter *Rabanus*:) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geographie of *Paradiſe*, doth not much differ from the reſt, but findes it ſeated next or neereſt heauen; It may ſeeme, that all theſe borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*; but neyther of them (as I conceiue) well vnderſtood: who (vndoubtedly) tooke this place for Heauen it ſelfe, into which the Soules of the bleſſed were carried after death.

True it is, that theſe Philoſophers durſt not for feare of the *Areopagites* (in this and many other diuine apprehenſions) ſet downe what they beleeued in plaine termes, eſpecially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end ſuffered death, for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the Deuill himſelfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wiſeſt man. *Iuſtine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and S. *Auguſtine* gaue this iudgement of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Chriſtian. And it ſeemeth to mee, that both *Tertullian* and *Euſebius* conceiue, that *Socrates*, by that place aforeſaid, meant the celeſtiall *Paradiſe*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, vpon the top of Mount *Atho* (called *Acrothonos*) which being aboue all Clouds of Raine, or other inconuenience, the people (by reaſon of their ſo many yeares) are called *Macrobici* (that is) *Long-liued*. A further Argument is vſed, for proofe of the heighth of this place, becauſe therein was *Enoch* preſerued from the violence of the floud: approued by *Iſidore*, and *Peter Lombard*; in which place alſo *Tertullian* conceiued, that the bleſſed Soules were preſerued till the laſt iudgement; which *Irenæus*, and *Iuſtine Martyr* alſo beleeued. But this opinion was of all *Catholique Diuines* reproued, and in the *Florentine Councell* damned; of which Saint *Auguſtine* more modeſtly gaue this iudgement: *Sicut certum eſt*, ENOCN *&* ELIAM *nunc viuere: ita vbi nunc ſunt: an in Paradiſo an alibi, incertum eſt*; (that is) *As it is certaine that* ENOCH *and* ELIAS *doe now liue: ſo where they now liue, in Paradiſe or elſewhere, it is vncertaine.* But *Barcephas* giues a third cauſe, though of all other the weakeſt. For (ſaith he) it was neceſſarie that *Paradiſe* ſhould be ſet at ſuch a diſtance and heighth, becauſe the foure Riuers (had they not fallen ſo precipitate) could not haue had ſufficient force to haue thruſt themſelues vnder the great Ocean, and afterward haue forced their paſſage through the earth, and haue riſen againe in the farre diſtant Regions of *India*, *Ægypt*, and *Armenia*.

Diog. Laert. in Sco.

Iuſtin. Mart. adm. ad Gent.

Aug.

Theſe ſtrange fancies and dreames haue beene anſwered by diuers learned men long ſince, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing vpon this ſubiect; of whoſe arguments I will repeate theſe few: for to vſe long diſcourſe againſt thoſe things, which are both againſt Scripture and Reaſon, might rightly be iudged a vanitie in the Anſwerer, not much inferior to that of the Inuenter.

It is firſt therefore alleaged, that ſuch a place cannot be commodious to liue in: for being ſet ſo neere the Moone, it had beene too neere the Sunne, and other heauenly bodies. Secondly, becauſe it muſt haue beene too ioynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, becauſe the ayre in that Region is ſo violently moued, and carried about with ſuch ſwiftneſſe, as nothing in that place can conſiſt or haue abiding. Fourthly, becauſe the place betweene the Earth and the Moone (according to *Ptolemie* and *Alfraganus*) is ſeuenteene times the *Diameter* of the Earth, which makes a groſſe account about one hundred and twentie thouſand miles. Hereupon it muſt follow, that *Paradiſe*, being raiſed to this heighth, muſt haue the compaſſe of the whole earth for a *Baſis* and foundation. But had it bin ſo raiſed, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: ſeeing it would depriue vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part of the day, being ſeated in the Eaſt, as they ſuppoſe. Now, to fortifie the former opinions *Toſtatus* addeth this, that thoſe people which dwell neere thoſe falls of waters, are deafe from their infancie, like thoſe which dwell neere the *Catadupæ*, or ouer-falls of *Nilus*. But this I hold as fained. For I haue ſeene in the *Indies*, far greater water-falls, than thoſe of *Nilus*, and yet the people dwelling neere them, are not deafe at all. *Toſtatus* (the better to ſtrengthen himſelfe) citeth *Baſil* and *Ambroſe* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego hæc apud Baſilium & Ambroſiũ in corũ ſcriptis, quæ nunc extant, nuſquã me legere memini*; *But I doe not remember* (ſaith he) *that I euer read thoſe things, either in* BASIL *or* AMBROSE.

Cicero Somn. Scip.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* & *Elias*, God hath diſpoſed of them according to his wiſdome. Their taking vp might be into the celeſtiall *Paradiſe*, for ought we know. For although fleſh and bloud, ſubiect to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of heauen, and the ſeed muſt rot in the ground before it grow, yet we ſhall not all die (ſaith S. *Paul*) *but all ſhall be changed:* which change, in *Enoch* & *Elias*, was eaſie to him that is Almightie. But for the reſt, the Scriptures are manifeſt, that by the floud all periſhed on the earth, ſauing eight perſons, and therefore in the terreſtriall *Paradiſe* they could not be.

1.Cor.15.36.51.

1.Pet.3.20.

For *Toſtatus* his owne opinion, who ſoared not altogether ſo high as the reſt, but beleeued that *Paradiſe* was raiſed aboue the middle Region of the Aire, and twentie cubits aboue all Mountaines, that the floud did not therfore reach it: (which *Scotus* and other later Schoole-men alſo beleeued; for, ſay there, they were no ſinners in *Paradiſe*, and therefore no cauſe to ouer-whelme it:) this is alſo contrarie to the expreſſe letter of the Scripture: which directly, and without admitting of any diſtinction teacheth vs, that *the waters ouer-flowed all the mountains vnder heauen*. And were it otherwiſe, then might we aſwell giue credit to *Maſius*, *Damaſcenus*, & the *Thalmudiſts*, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that ſaued themſelues on the Mountaine *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to helpe this, *Scotus*, being (as the reſt of the Schoolemen are) full of diſtinctions, ſaith; That the waters ſtood at *Paradiſe*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at *Iordan*; and as the floud was not naturall, ſo was *Paradiſe* ſaued by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this ſuppoſition, That it was not beleeued, that *Paradiſe* was ſo ſeated, as *Beda* and others ſeeme to affirme in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatiuely, for the delicacie and beautie ſo reſembled. But this I dare auow of all thoſe Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding wittie, yet they better teach all their Followers to ſhift, then to reſolue, by their diſtinctions. Wherefore not to ſtay long in anſwering this opinion of *Toſtatus*, I confeſſe that it is written, that the Mountaines of *Olympus*, *Atho*, and *Atlas*, ouer-reach and ſurmount all winds and clouds, and that (notwithſtanding) there is found on the heads of the Hils both ſprings and fruits; and the Pagan Prieſts, ſacrificing on theſe mountaine tops, do not find the aſhes (remaining of their ſacrifices) blowne thence, nor thence waſht off by raines, when they returne: yet experience hath reſolued vs, that theſe reports are fabulous, and *Plinie* himſelf (who was not ſparing in the report of wonders) auoweth the contrarie. But were it granted, yet the heighth of theſe Mountaines is far vnder the ſuppoſed place of *Paradiſe*; and on theſe ſelfe Hills the ayre is ſo thinne (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, whom herein I miſtruſt) that it is not ſufficient to beare vp the body of a bird, hauing therein no feeling of her wings, or any ſenſible reſiſtance of ayre to mount her ſelfe by.

Gen.7.19.

Exod.14.21.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that ſeate Paradiſe vnder the Æquinoctiall: and of the pleaſant habitation vnder thoſe Climats.

THoſe which come neerer vnto Reaſon, finde *Paradiſe* vnder the *Æquinoctiall line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonauenture*, and *Durandus*: iudging, that thereunder might be found moſt pleaſure, and the greateſt fertility of ſoile: but againſt it *Thomas Aquinas* obiecteth the diſtemperate heate, which he ſuppoſeth to be in all places ſo directly vnder the Sunne; but this is *(non cauſa pro cauſa,)* for although *Paradiſe* could not bee vnder the Line, becauſe *Eden* is farre from it, in which *Paradiſe* was; and becauſe there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, or *Ganges* vnder it, (*Ganges* being one of the foure riuers, as they ſuppoſe) yet this conceit of diſtemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntrue, though for the coniecture not to be condemned, conſidering the age when thoſe Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that euerie Countrie, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and ſo toward the *Æquinoctiall*, did ſo much the more exceede in heat; It was therefore a reaſonable coniecture, that thoſe Countries which were ſituated directly vnder it, were of a diſtemper vninhabitable: but it ſeemeth that *Tertullian* conceiued better, and ſo did *Auicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in thoſe daies it might be thought a fantaſticall opinion (as all are which goe againſt the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place vpon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight, that *Paradiſe* had, the ſame muſt be found within that ſuppoſed vninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neereſt to the line it ſelfe. For hereof experience hath informed Reaſon, and Time hath made thoſe things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be diſcouered. Indeed it hath ſo pleaſed God to prouide for all liuing creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that ſuch inconueniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by triall and the witneſſe of mens trauailes, to be ſo qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or as a fruitleſſe lump to faſhion out the reſt. For *God himſelfe* (ſaith Isay) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited.* Now we finde that theſe hotteſt Regions of the world, ſeated vnder the *Æquinoctiall line*, or neere it, are ſo refreſhed with a daily gale of Eaſternely winde (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth euermore blow ſtrongeſt in the heate of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sun cannot ſo much maſter it, that there is any inconuenience or diſtemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are ſo cold, freſh, and equall, by reaſon of the entire interpoſition of the earth, as (for thoſe places which my ſelfe haue ſeen, neere the Line & vnder it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper: Onely there are ſome tracts, which by accident of high Mountaines are barr'd from this ayre and freſh wind, and ſome few ſandie parts without trees, which are not therefore ſo well inhabited as the reſt; and ſuch difference of ſoiles we finde alſo in all other parts of the world. But (for the greateſt part) thoſe Regions haue ſo many goodly Riuers, Fountaines, and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other ſtately trees caſting ſhade, ſo many ſorts of delicate fruits, euer bearing, and at all times beautified with bloſſome and fruit both greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts be beſt compared to the *Paradiſe* of *Eden*: the boughes and branches are neuer vnclothed and left naked, their ſap creepeth not vnder ground into the root, fearing the iniury of the froſt: neither doth *Pomona* at any times deſpiſe her withered Husband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are theſe Countries called *Terræ vitioſæ, Vicious Countries*: for Nature being liberall to all without labour, neceſſitie impoſing no induſtrie or trauell, idleneſſe bringeth forth no other fruits then vaine thoughts, and licentious pleaſures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and thoſe of his opinion were not deceiued in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who miſliked this opinion, and followed a worſe. And (to ſay the truth) all the Schoolemen were groſſe in this particular.

Iſay 45. 18.

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§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that beſides that Eden in Cœleſyria, there is a Country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proued out of Esa. 37. *and* Ezech. 27.

THeſe opinions anſwered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of thoſe imaginary worlds, nor vnder *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we diſcouer and find out the ſeat thereof, for in it was *Paradiſe* by God planted. The difficultie of which ſearch reſteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations haue often changed names with their Maſters; ſo are moſt of theſe places, by *Moſes* remembred, forgotten by thoſe names of all Hiſtorians and Geographers, as well ancient as moderne.

Beſides, we find that the *Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes* and *Perſians* (*Cyrus* onely and few other excepted) ſought to extinguiſh the *Hebrewes*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romanes* deſpiſed once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as thoſe three Monarchies ſucceeded each other: ſo did they transforme the names of all thoſe principall Places and Cities in the Eaſt: and after them, the *Turke* hath ſought (what he could) to extinguiſh in all things, the ancient memorie of thoſe people; which he hath ſubiected and inthralled.

Now beſides thoſe notable markes, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, the better to find the way, which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides theſe two conſiderations (to wit) That it lay Eaſtward from *Canaan* and *Iudæa*; and that it was of all other the moſt beautiful and fertile. Firſt then in reſpect of ſituation, the next Country to *Iudæa* Eaſtward was *Arabia Petræa*; but in this region was *Moſes* himſelfe when he wrote: and the next vnto it Eaſtward alſo was *Arabia* the *Deſart*, both which in reſpect of the infertility could not bee *Eden*, neither haue any of the *Arabians* any ſuch Riuers, as are expreſt to run out of it: So as it followeth of neceſſitie, that *Eden* muſt be Eaſtward, and beyond both *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deſerta*. But becauſe *Eden* is by *Moſes* named by it ſelfe, and by the fertility, & the riuers only deſcribed, we muſt ſeeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better deſcribed. In the Prophet *Iſay* I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in *Iſai.37.v.12.* theſe words, ſpoken in the perſon of *Senacherib* by RABSAKEH: *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them, which my Fathers haue deſtroyed, as* GOSAN, *and* HARAN, *&* RESEPH, *and the children of* EDEN, *which were at Telaſſar?* and in *Ezechiel*, where he *Cap.27.verſ.23.* propheciеth againſt the *Tyrians*: *They of Haran, and Canneh, & Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Aſhur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants, &c.*

But to auoid confuſion, wee muſt vnderſtand that there were 2. *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he diuideth *Syria* into three Prouinces, where- *Cap.1.verſ.1.* of, the firſt he maketh *Syria Damaſcene*, or *Decapolitan*: the ſecond part is that Valley called *Auenis*, otherwiſe *Conuallis*, or the tract of *Chamath*, where *Aſſyria* is ioyned to *Strabo.* *Arabia* the *Deſart*, & where *Ptolemie* placeth the City of *Aueria*: & the third is knowne by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Cœleſyria*, otherwiſe *Vallis caua*, or *the hollow Valley*, becauſe the mountaines of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both ſides, and border it: for *Coele* in *Greeke* is *Caua* in *Latine*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we ſeeke: neither doth this Prouince lye Eaſt from *Canaan*, but North, and ſo ioyneth vnto it, as it could not be vnknowne to the *Hebrewes*. Yet, becauſe there is a little Citie therein called *Paradiſe*, the *Iewes* beleeued this *Cœleſyria* to be the ſame which *Moſes* deſcribeth. For the ſame cauſe doth *Hopkins* in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradiſe*; though to giue *Beroaldus* his right, I conceiue that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, ſauing, That hee fayled in diſtinguiſhing theſe two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether miſvnderſtood two of the foure riuers (to wit) *Piſon* and *Gehon*, as ſhall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out *Eden*, which (as *Moſes* teacheth vs) lay Eaſtward from the Deſarts, where he wrote, after he had paſſed the Red Sea; wee muſt conſider where thoſe other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Iſay* and *Ezechiel* ioyneth with it. For (ſaith ESAIAH) *Goſan, Haran, and Re- Ezech.27.v.23. ſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar.* Alſo *Ezechiel* ioyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who, together with thoſe of *Sheba*, *Aſhur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the Citie of *Tyre*, which was then (ſaith EZECHIEL) *the Mart of the people for many Iſles*. And it hath euer beene the cuſtome, that the *Perſians* conueyed their Merchandiſe to *Babylon*, and to thoſe Cities vpon *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and from thence tranſported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterrane* Sea: as in ancient times to the Citie of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the *Bay* of *Iſſicus*, now *Laiazzo*. *Ezechiel* in the deſcription of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the Eaſt, as the onely Marttowne of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and alſo what commodities euerie Countrie yeelded: and hauing counted the ſeuerall People and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them ex- *Verſ.24.* erciſed: *They were thy merchants* (ſaith the Prophet) *in all ſorts of things, in rayments of blue ſilke, and of broydered workes, fine linnen, corrall, and pearle:* and afterwards ſpeaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kinds they traded, he hath theſe words: *The merchants of Sheba & Raamah were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Faires, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all precious ſtones and gold.* Now theſe be indeed the riches which *Perſia* and *Arabia Fœlix* yeeld: & becauſe *Sheba* & *Raamah* are thoſe parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Perſian Gulfe*, therefore did thoſe Nations both vent ſuch Spice, ſweet Gummes, and Pearles, as their owne Countries yeelded;

and (withall) hauing trade with their Neighbours of *India*, had from them alſo all ſorts of ſpices, and plentie of gold. The better to conuey theſe commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans* or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tigris*, and from the Citie of *Terredon* (built or enlarged by *Nabuchodonozor*, now called *Balſara)* thence ſent vp all theſe rich merchandiſes by boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as farre as it bended Weſtward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three daies iourney of *Aleppo*, and then ouer Land they paſt to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripoly*, (formerly *Hieropolis)* and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforeſaid. Now the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth with *Eden*, inhabited farre vp the Riuer, and receiued this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, beſides thoſe proper commodities which themſelues had, and which they receiued out of *Perſia*, which bordered them. S. *Hierome* vnderſtandeth by *Canneth*, *Seleucia*, which is ſeated vpon *Euphrates*, *where it breaketh into foure heads*, and which tooke that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent Citie. *Hieroſolymitanus* thinkes it to be *Cteſiphon*, but *Cteſiphon* is ſeated downe low vpon *Tigris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that ſide, I meane on the Eaſt-ſide of *Tigris*, for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Plinie* placeth the *Schenite* vpon *Euphrates*, where the ſame beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaueth to be the bound of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, and where the Riuer of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the *Deſart* of *Palmirena*: for theſe people of *Canneh* (afterward *Schenitæ)* inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, ſtretching themſelues from their owne Citie of *Canneh* in *Shinar* Weſtward along the bankes of *Euphrates*, as far as the Citie of *Thapſacus*, where *Ptolemie* appointed the Foords of *Euphrates*: which alſo agreeth with the deſcription of the *Schenitæ* by *Strabo*, whoſe words are theſe. *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciã & Babyloniã euntibus iter eſt per Schenitas*; *The Merchants which trauaile frõ Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites*. Therefore thoſe which take *Canneth* for *Charran*, doe much miſtake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Vr* in *Chaldæa* (called by God) ſtandeth alſo in *Meſopotamia*, not vpon *Euphrates* it ſelfe, but vpon the Riuer of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charran* are diſtinctly named with thoſe of *Canneh* in *Ezechiel* (as) *they of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Aſhur, & Chilmad were thy merchants*. Wherefore *Charran* which is ſometime called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran* is but the ſame *Charran* of *Meſopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the region of *Meſopotamia*: or *Aran fluuiorũ*, the *Greeke* word (*Meſopotamia*) importing, a Country between riuers: for *Meſos* in *Greeke*, is *Medius* in *Latine*, and *Potamos*, *fluuius*; and when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the City it ſelfe, to which *Abraham* came from *Vr* (as aforeſaid.) For *Strabo* in the deſcription of *Arabia*, giueth that tract of Land from the borders of *Cœleſyria*, to the edge of *Meſopotamia*, to the *Schenitæ*, who alſo inhabited on both ſides of *Euphrates*, & were in after-ages accounted of theſe *Arabians* which inhabite *Batanea*, and the North part of the *Deſarts*, ſtretching thẽſelues toward the vnhabited Solitude of *Palmirena*, which lyeth betweene *Syria*, and *Arabia* the *Deſart*. So as theſe of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran* and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneth, & Eden, &c.* But S. *Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneth*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia* for *Seleucia* was anciently called *Chalanne* (witneſſe *Appian*;) and ſo *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries vpon *Geneſis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from *Chalne* or *Canneh* to *Chalanne*: of which name there are two other Cities, ſtanding in Triangle with *Seleucia*, and almoſt the next vnto it, (as) *Thelbe-canne* and *Mann-canne*, the one a little to the Weſt of *Seleucia*, and the other oppoſite vnto it, where theſe riuers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are readie to ioyne. Therefore, which of theſe the ancient *Canne* was, (being all three within the bound of the valley *Shinar)* it is vncertaine: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certaine ſeat thereof, that ſo many other Cities did retaine a part of the name in ſo many ages after. Neither is it vnlikely, that theſe additions of *Thelbe* and *Mann* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference betweene the Eaſt and the Weſt, or the greater and the leſſe *Canne*, or betweene *Canne* the old, and the new: which additions to diſtinguiſh Cities by, are ordinarie in all the Regions of the World.

Plin.l.6.c.26.

Strabo l.16.

Gen.11.31.

Now of the other City ioyned with *Eden*, as *Haran* or *Charran*, S. *Hierome* on the

Iud.1.

Iudges ſpeaketh thereof in theſe words: *Cumq; reuerterentur, peruenerunt ad Charran, quæ eſt in medio itinere contra Niniuen, vndecimo die*; *When they returned, they came to Charran, (which is the mid-way againſt Niniuie) the eleuenth day.*

Acts 7. This Citie is by the Martyr *Stephen* named *Charran* (ſpeaking to the high Prieſt:) *Ye Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: The God of glory appeared to our Father* ABRAHAM, *while he was in Meſopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* But the ſeat of this Citie is not doubted of: for it is not onely remembred in many Scriptures, but, withall, exceeding famous for the death and ouerthrow of *Craſſus* the *Romane*, who for his vnſatiable greedineſſe was called *Gurges auaritiæ*; *The gulfe of auarice.* Whereof *Lucan:*

Lucan.l.1.105. *Aſſyrias Latio maculauit ſanguine Carras.*
With Roman bloud th'Aſſyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this Citie *Canne* or *Chalne* is made manifeſt by *Moſes* himſelfe, where it is written of NIMROD: Gen. 10. 10. *And the beginning of his Kingdomes was Babel, & Erech, & Acad, & Chalne, in the land of Sinaar* or *Shinar:* where *Moſes* ſheweth the firſt compoſition of the *Babylonian* Empire, and what Cities and People were ſubiect vnto *Nimrod*, all which lay in the ſaid Valley of *Shinar* or neere it; and this Valley of *Shinar* is that Tract, afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldæa*, into which alſo *Eden* ſtretcheth it ſelfe. *Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinaar, idem ſunt* (ſaith COMESTOR.) *Three names of one Countrie:* which Region of *Babylonia* took name of the Towre *Babel*; & the Towre, of the confuſion of tongues. And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proued in the eleuenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, in theſe words: Verſ. 2. *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Playne in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode:* in which Playne *Babylon* was built (as aforeſaid.)

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia*, and *Canneh*, in the firſt beginning of *Nimrods* greatnes, and before he had ſubdued any ſtrange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and alſo named by *Moſes* to be in *Shinar*, it proueth, that *Canneh* ioyneth to *Babylonia*; which alſo *Ezechiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth, that thoſe of *Eden* were alſo the Merchants, which traded with the *Tyrians*: and *Eſay* in the threats of *Senacherib* againſt *Hieruſalem* (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Fathers had deſtroyed) nameth the children of *Eden* which were at *Telaſſar*. But before I conclude where *Eden* it ſelfe lyeth, it is neceſſarie to deſcribe, thoſe other Countries, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth therewith in the places before remembred, as, thoſe of Verſ. 7. *Sheba* and *Raamah*. It is written in *Geneſis* the tenth: *Moreouer the ſonnes of* HAM *were* CUSH, *&c. And the ſonnes of* CUSH *were* SEBA, *and* HAVILAH, *and* SABTAH, *and* RAAMAH, *&c. And the ſonnes of* RAAMAH *were* SHEBA, *&c.* and anon after, CUSH *begat* NIMROD: ſo as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cuſh*, and *Nimrod* the ſonne of *Cuſh*, whoſe elder brother was *Sebah:* though ſome there are that conceiue to the contrarie, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and vnderſtanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of *Shinar*, where *Babel* was built, afterwards *Babylonia*. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* tooke that part adioyning to *Shinar*, toward the Sea ſide and *Perſian gulfe* (called afterward *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sons, which poſſeſſed it.) For (ſaith EZECHIEL) *the merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Faires with the chiefe of all ſpices, and all precious ſtones, and gold.* So as *Sheba* was that Tract of Countrie, which parteth *Arabia Deſerta* from *Arabia Fœlix*, and which ioyneth to the Sea where *Tigris* and *Euphrates* fall out, and render themſelues to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrie *Strabo* calleth Strabo, l. 16. *Catabria*, where the beſt Myrrhe and Frankincenſe is gathered; which people haue an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the Eaſt ſide of the *Perſian gulfe*. By this it appeareth who were the *Shebeans*, ſpoken of by *Ezechiel*, and ſaid to haue beene the Merchants of *Tyre*, for gold, ſpices, and precious ſtones: of which they had not only plentie of their owne, but were alſo furniſhed from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For as *Strabo* reporteth out of ERATOSTHENES: *In Perſicæ oræ initio Inſula eſt, in qua multi & pretioſi vniones gignantur: in alijs verò, clari & perlucidi lapilli.* ERATOSTHENES (ſaith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that in the *beginning of the Perſian gulfe, there is an Iſland, in which there are many precious pearles bred: and in other, verie cleare and ſhining ſtones.* Now, the difference betweene *Sheba*, the ſonne of *Raamah*, and *Seba*, the ſonne of *Cuſh*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew *(Samech;)* and *Sheba* with *(Schin:)*

but whatſoeuer the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthographie, their Countries and Habitations are diuers. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the *Perſian* Sea and *Saba* (whence the Queene of *Saba*) neighboured the Red Sea; and ſo that place of the 72. *Pſalme*: expounded, *Reges Arabum & Saba*, hath in the Hebrew this ſenſe: *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ*.

The *Shebans*, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, becauſe they inhabited vpon the Out-let of the ſame Riuer, vpon which the *Edenites* were ſeated: and ſo thoſe of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-coaſt, and vpon it, paſt vp the Countrey, by *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, being ioyned in one maine ſtreame, and ſo through the Region of *Eden*, which *Tigris* boundeth, thereby the better to conuey their merchandiſe toward *Tyre*. And as the Cities of *Charran*, and *Canneh*, border *Eden* on the Weſt and Northweſt: ſo doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilmad* on the North-eaſt. *Chilmad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt*, which Countrie by the Geographers is called *Coromitena*, (*L*) placed by exchange for (*R*:) which change the Hebrewes alſo often vſe.

Thus much of thoſe Countries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chiefe were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telaſſar*: for theſe *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had deſtroyed; and this place of *Telaſſar* lay moſt conuenient, both to receiue the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and alſo to conuey it ouer into *Syria*, and to *Tyrus*. Now to make theſe things the more plaine, wee muſt remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death theſe Monarchies were vtterly disioyned.

For it appeareth both in *Eſay* the 37. and in the ſecond of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabſache*, the while the Armie of *Aſſyria* lay before *Hieruſalem*, that the Cities of *Goſan*, *Haran*, *Reſeph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telaſſar*, had reſiſted the *Aſſyrians*, though by them (in a ſort) maſtered and recouered. *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them, whom my Fathers haue deſtroyed, as Goſan, and Haran, Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar?* But it appeared manifeſtly after *Senacheribs* death, that theſe Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others ſubiection: for *Eſar-Haddon* held *Aſſyria*, and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Armie of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabſache* which lay before *Hieruſalem* (*Ezechias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angell of God deſtroyed: the King of *Babel* ſent to *Ezechias*, both to congratulate the recouerie of his health, and his victory obtained ouer the *Aſſyrians*. After which ouerthrow, *Senacherib* himſelfe was ſlaine by his owne ſonnes in the Temple of his Idols, *Eſar-Haddon* ſucceeding him in *Aſſyria*. To the *Babylonian Ambaſſadours* ſent by *Merodach*, *Ezechias* ſhewed all his treaſures, aſwell proper as conſecrate, which inuited the Kings of *Babylon* afterward to vndertake their conqueſt and ſubuerſion. So as, the ſuſpition of warre encreaſing betweene *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Aſſyria*, were imployed to beare off the incurſions of the *Aſſyrians*; and their Garriſon-place was at *Telaſſar*: and the very word (*Telaſſar*) ſaith *Iunius*, ſignifying as much, as a Bulwarke againſt the *Aſſyrians*. This place *Hieroſolymitanus* takes for *Reſem*, others for *Seleucia*: but this *Telaſſar* is the ſame, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the Hiſtorie of *Iulian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of *Perſia*) calleth *Thilutha* in ſtead of *Telaſſar*, who deſcribeth the exceeding ſtrength thereof in his 24. Booke: It is ſeated in an Iſland of *Euphrates* vpon a ſteepe and vnaſſaultable Rocke, in ſo much as the Emperour *Iulian* durſt not attempt it; and therefore it was a conuenient place for a Garriſon againſt the *Aſſyrians*, being alſo a paſſage out of *Meſopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Countrey adioyning were lodged to defend the ſame. This place *Ptolomie* calleth *Teridata*, hauing *Reſeph* (which he calleth *Reſepha*) on the left hand, and *Canneh*, (which he calleth *Thelbe-canne*) on the right hand, not farre from whence is alſo found the Citie of *Mann-canne* vpon *Tigris*, and all theſe ſeated together, as *Eſay* and *Ezechiel* haue ſorted them. But the vnderſtanding of theſe places is the more difficult, becauſe *Aſſyria* (which the *Chaldæans* call *Atturia*) and *Meſopotamia*, were ſo often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. *Aſſyria & Meſopotamia in Babyloniæ nomen tranſierunt* (ſaith NIGER,) *Aſſyria and Meſopotamia tooke the name of Babylonia*. Laſtly, it appeareth by thoſe adiacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World *Eden* is ſeated,

Eſay 37. v. 12.

2. *Kings* 19. 35.

20. 12.
Eſay 39. 1.

Eſay 37. 38.

Eſay 39. 1.

Aſiæ Tab. 4.

Coſmog. Aſiæ.

ſeated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in *Meſopotamia:* alſo by *Canneh* and *Reſeph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in theſe words tranſlateth this place: *Plantauerat autem* IEHOVAH *Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente, The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden, Eaſtward:* that is: (ſaith he in his Annotations.) *Iuſſerat naſci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabiæ & Meſopotamiæ, He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Eaſterne Region in the borders of Arabia and Meſopotamia.*

§. X.

Of diuers other teſtimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradiſe.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it ſeemes by the two Epiſtles of the *Neſtorian Chriſtians*, that inhabit *Meſopotamia*, which Epiſtles in the yeare 1552. they ſent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and *Andræas Maſius* hath publiſhed them, tranſlated out of *Syriac* into Latine. By theſe Epiſtles (I ſay) it ſeemes wee may haue ſome farther light for the proofe of that, which we haue ſaid about the Region of *Eden* in thoſe parts. For in them both there is mention of the Iſland of *Eden* in the Riuer *Tigris*, or at leaſt, *Tigris* in both theſe Epiſtles is called the Riuer of *Eden*. This Iſland, as *Maſius* in his *Preface* to theſe Epiſtles ſaith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, the Iſland, by an eminencie.) It hath (ſaith hee) ten miles in circuit, and was ſometimes walled round about, which name of the Iſland *Eden* may (doubtleſſe) remaine to this day; though in the reſt of the Region ſo called this name be ſwallowed vp, with the fame of thoſe flouriſhing Kingdomes of *Meſopotamia, Aſſyria, Babylonia,* and *Chaldæa*. This Iſland of *Eden* hath vp the Riuer, and not farre beyond it, the Citie of *Haſan-Cepha*, otherwiſe *Fortis Petra:* below it, it hath *Moſal* or *Moſel*, from which (as in that which followeth it ſhall appeare out of *Maſius*) it is not aboue twelue miles diſtant. Neither is it to trouble vs, that *Moſal* or *Moſel*, by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the Cities higher vp *Tigris*, in theſe words. *Iuxta autem Tigrim, Ciuitates ſunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Moſel dicitur; magna ſanè, &c.* (that is) *By Tigris are theſe Cities, Dorbeta neere vnto mount Taurus (which is now called Moſel) which is a great one, &c.* This opinion of *Niger*, diſplacing *Moſel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I ſay) needs not here to trouble vs: ſeeing for this matter, the teſtimonie of *Maſius* informed by the Chriſtians that dwelt there (the Seat of whoſe *Patriach* it is) ought to be of credit, auowing that this *Moſal* (or *Mozal*) is in the Confines of *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*, ſeated vpon *Tigris*, and in the neighbor-hood of *Niniue*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The *Neſtorian* Chriſtians in their former Epiſtle, call it *Attur* in theſe words: *Ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & pagis quæ ſunt circum Ciuitatem Mozal (hoc eſt) Attur in vicinia Niniues; Of all the Cities & Townes which are about the Citie of Mozal (that is) Attur in the neighbour-hood of Niniue.* As alſo *Niger* acknowledgeth *Cteſiphon*, a Citie thereabout to be called *Aſſur*, (which is the ſame as *Attur*, after the Dialect of thoſe Nations, which change *Sh* into *T.*) Neither is it much that he ſhould miſtake *Cteſiphon*, (which is not farre off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Aſſur*. By this then we may come ſomewhat neere the end of our purpoſe. For the Ile of *Eden*, which lyeth in the breſt of *Tigris*, is but twelue miles from *Moſal*, and that ancient Citie, which *Ptolomie* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Nineue*, *Philoſtratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, *Moſula*, and *Iohn Lean Moſal*, others *Moſſe*, (though it bee not the ſame with *Moſal*) is ſet but a little higher vpon the ſame Riuer of *Tigris*, neere *Moſal:* ſo that we are like to find this Ile of *Eden* hereabout. For the ſame *Andræas Maſius*, which placeth it aboue *Moſal*, makes it to be below *Haſan-chepha*, which is vpon the ſame Riuer of *Tigris*.

Vt ſupra.

The onely difficultie is this, that ſome perhaps may thinke, that the words of the *Neſtorians* in both their Epiſtles, ſpeake not of any Ile in *Tigris*, called the Ile of *Eden*, but of an Ile in *Tigris*, a Riuer of *Eden*. But this ſenſe of their words in my opinion ſeemeth the more vnprobable. And yet if this were the meaning heere, we haue a teſtimony from the Learned of thoſe parts, that not onely *Euphrates*, but alſo *Tigris* was a Riuer of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in thoſe parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath bin ſubiect to the ſame change, that all other Kingdomes of the world haue beene, and hath by conqueſt, and corruption of other Languages, receiued new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which ſtretcheth ouer *Euphrates*, was after the floud called *Shinar*, and then of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the bankes of *Tigris*, betweene Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient *Æthicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Æthicus*, Diſciple of *Callinicus*, otherwiſe by *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* called *Iſtri*, who liued in *Ægypt* in the Reigne of *Philadelphus*, but another of a farre higher and remote time) the ſame being made Latine out of Greeke by Saint *Hierome*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written in *Æthicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*; yet *Adonis* being a Riuer of *Phœnicia*, cannot be vnderſtood to be the Region named by *Æthicus*. For *Æthicus* makes it a Countrey, and not a Riuer, and ioyneth it with *Meſopotamia* and *Æthiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Æthiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And laſtly, the Riuer which watereth the Regions, (ſaith *Æthicus*) falleth into the Gulfe of *Perſia*: which Riuer he calleth *Armodius*, for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name impoſed for the ſwiftneſſe thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* haue their originall: for out of *Eden* came a Riuer, or Riuers, to water the Garden, both which Riuers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them trauerſe *Meſopotamia*, Regions firſt of all knowne by the name of *Eden* for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained alſo ſome part of *Armenia*, and the excellent fertilitie thereof in diuers places, is not vnworthy the name of *Eden*. For in ſome part therof (ſaith *Strabo*) the leaues are alway green, & therfore therein a perpetuall Spring. Alſo Stephanvs *de vrbibus* mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* vpon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in vſe in *Amos* time, though he ſpeake not of *Eden* in the Eaſt, but of *Eden* in *Cœleſyria*. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a Diſcourſe, it may ſuffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once ioyned together, and afterward ſeparate) are two of thoſe foure heads, into which theſe Riuers which are ſaid to water the Garden of Paradiſe, were diuided: whoſe courſes being knowne, *Eden*, (out of which they are ſaid to come) cannot be vnknowne. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Seuentie and all others conuert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: *& Hiddekel Tigrim omnes exponunt*: *& all men vnderſtand Hiddekel by Tigris* (ſaith *Vatable*.) And becauſe that which I haue ſaid of the Ile of *Eden*, ſhall not be ſubiect to the cenſure of ſelfe-inuention, I haue heere-vnder ſet downe the words out of the two generall Epiſtles of the *Neſtorians*, as Masivs *(ad verbum)* hath conuerted them into Latine. The occaſion of thoſe Letters and Supplications to the Pope were, that the *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, which inhabit *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, *Babylonia*, *& haue to this day* (at leaſt in Queene *Maries* time they had) fifteene Churches in one Citie called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Moſel* vpon the Riuer of *Tigris*; hauing no ſufficient authoritie to chooſe themſelues a Patriarch (which cannot bee done without foure or three Metropolitane Biſhops at leaſt) ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*, in the yeare of Chriſt 1552. (as afore-ſaid) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto ſuch an Election as themſelues had made: hauing three hundred yeare before that vpon the like defect, ſent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Biſhop of *Rome* the ſtate of the Chriſtian Church in thoſe parts: for vpon the death of their Patriarch (who of a couetous deſire to enrich himſelfe had forborne to inſtitute Metropolitane Biſhops, when the places fell void) they all aſſembled themſelues together to conſult of the Church-gouernment. And becauſe all the Patriarchs for an hundred yeares had beene of one Houſe and Family to the preiudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Biſhop of the ſame Stocke and Kindred, who aſpired to the ſame dignitie which his Predeceſſors had held, the reſt of the Profeſſors refuſed to allow him. Vpon which occaſion, and for the choice of a Gouernour more ſufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches aſſembled themſelues. The words of the generall Epiſtle to the Pope are theſe about the middle of the ſaid Epiſtle: *Verùm nos non acceptauimus neq; proclamauimus ipſum, ſed ſubitò conuenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & Pagis quæ ſunt circum Ciuitatem Moſel (hoc eſt) Attur, in vicinia Niniues, ex Babylonia, ex Charrha, ex Arbella, ex Inſula quæ eſt in medio Tigris, fluminis Eden, ex Tauris Perſiæ, ex Niſibi, &c.* which is: *But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but ſuddenly we aſſembled our ſelues out of all parts of the Eaſt, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Moſel (or Attur) neighbouring Niniue, & out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella, and out of the Iland which lyeth in the middle of Tigris,*

gris, a Riuer of Eden, or rather, *out of the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the Riuer Tigris*. And in a ſecond Epiſtle at the ſame time ſent, they vſe theſe words: *Neq; ſuperſunt apud nos Metropolitæ, quorum eſt ordinare Catholicum, ſed ſoli pauci Epiſcopi, Epiſcopus Arbelæ, Epiſcopus Salmaſti, Epiſcopus Adurbeigan; en è veſtigio conuenimus in Inſulam, quæ eſt intra Tigrim flumen, Eden, fecimuſq; compactum inter nos, &c.* (which is) *Neither are there remaining among vs any Metropolitan Biſhops to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Biſhops, as the Biſhop of Arbela, the Biſhop of Salmaſtus, and the Biſhop of Adurbeigan: but lo, we aſſembled ſpeedily in the Iland Eden, which is in Tigris, and agreed betweene our ſelues, &c.*

Now this Iland of *Eden Maſius* deſcribeth with other places; which being well conceiued, the *Neſtorian* Epiſtles, and the ſtate of the Church may be in thoſe parts (ſaith he) the better vnderſtood. And after he hath diſtinguiſhed the foure ſorts of Chriſtians in thoſe parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which hee calleth *Neſtorians, Iacobites, Maronitæ*, and *Cophti*, he goeth on in theſe words: *Mox audita illius morte, concurriſſe aiebant tumultuariò in illam quam modò dixi Tigris Inſulam, quæ duodecim circiter paſſuum millibus ſupra Moſal poſita, decem ferè millia paſſuum ſuo ambitu continet, muris vndiq; cincta, & à paucis alijs quàm Chriſtianis hominibus habitata*: which is, *Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch*, (as thoſe that came to *Rome* reported) *they ran tumultuouſly together into that Iland of Tigris* or *Eden* before ſpoken of, *which Iland is ſituated about twelue miles aboue Moſel, containing very neere ten miles in compaſſe, and euerie where inuironed with a wall, inhabited by a few other men then Chriſtians.* And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Chriſtian Churches; among the reſt hee addeth the Ile of *Eden* by the name of *Geſerta, Inſula Tigris: ſiue Geſerta.* Furthermore, deſcribing the Citie of *Hoſan-cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *ſupra prædictam Tigris Inſulam rupi aſperæ impoſitam*; *Aboue the aforeſaid Iland of Tigris, being ſeated on a ſteepe Rocke.* Of this Iland of *Geſerta, Andrew Theuet* maketh mention in his tenth Booke of his generall Coſmographie in theſe words: *Geſerta ou Geſire eſt au milieu de la riuiere du Tigre, & penſe que c'eſt vne terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Aſie, Geſerta or Geſire is in the middle of Tigris, the Soyle the moſt fertile of all Aſia.*

By this we ſee that the ancient name of *Eden* liueth, and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eaſtward from *Arabia Petræa*, and the Deſert where *Moſes* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is ſeated according to the aſſertion of the ſaid Prophet, and ioyned with thoſe Nations of *Reſeph, Canneh*, and *Charran*, and the reſt which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Aſſyria* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelaſſar* were garriſond to reſiſt the *Aſſyrians*, whoſe diſplantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as aboue written) and laſtly, the ſame *Eden*, which embraceth *Tigris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the knowne Riuers of thoſe foure, which are by all men aſcribed to Paradiſe.

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§. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which ſeemeth to make the foure Riuers to riſe from one ſtreame.

BVt it may be obiected, that it is written in the Text, *That a Riuer went out of Eden* and not Riuers, in the plurall, which ſcruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus anſwered in his Chronologie: The Latine Tranſlation, ſaith hee, hath theſe words: *Et fluuius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradiſum, qui inde diuidebatur in quatuor capita: Quæ verba melius conſentient cum rei narratione, & eiuſdem explicatione, ſi ita reddantur. Et fluuius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc eſt) fluuij procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium, & inde diuidebatur, & erat in quatuor capita*: which is, *And a Riuer went out of the place of pleaſure to water Paradiſe, and thence was diuided into foure heads*: which words (ſaith *Beroaldus*) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus tranſlated: *And a Riuer was going forth of Eden (that is) Riuers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was diuided, and they became foure heads.* The *Tigurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine, for it conuerts it thus: *Et fluuius egrediebatur de delicijs; And a Riuer went out of pleaſure*, in ſtead of *Eden*; and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluuius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a Riuer went out of the place* *of pleaſure:* and ſo the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region moſt delightfull and fertile; and ſo alſo the word *(inde)* and *thence* was diuided, hath reference to the Countrey of *Eden*, and not to the Garden it ſelfe.

And for the word *(Riuer)* for Riuers, it is vſuall among the *Aebrewes:* for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herbe that ſeedeth Seed, the fruitfull Tree, &c.* Here the Hebrew vſeth the Singular for the Plurall, *Herbe and Tree, for Herbs and Trees*; and againe, We eate of the fruit of the Tree, in ſtead of (Trees:) And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themſelues from the preſence of God; In medio ligni Paradiſi; In the middle of the Tree of the Garden,* for *(Trees.* And of this opinion is *Dauid Kimhi*, and *Vatablus*, who vpon this place of *Geneſis* ſay, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *illud,* for *vnumquodq; illorum,* and hee giueth an inſtance in this queſtion it ſelfe, as, *A Riuer* (for *Riuers) went out of Eden.*

Gen. 1. 11.
3. 2.
8.

And this anſwere out of diuers of the Learned, may, not without good reaſon, bee giuen to the obiection, That *Moſes* ſpeaketh but of one Riuer, from which the heads ſhould diuide themſelues. Howbeit I denie not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reaſon, we may expound the foure heads, to bee foure notable paſſages into famous Countries. And ſo we may take the word (Riuer) Verſe the tenth for one Riuer (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this Riuer, (after he is paſt the place, where we ſuppoſe Paradiſe to haue bin, diuides it ſelfe, & ere long yeeldeth foure notable paſſages into ſeuerall Countries, though not all the way downe ſtreame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the Riuer downward, there is conueyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to *Aſſyria)* were vp *Tigris.*

To this end the Text ſpeaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riſeth from the Riuer of *Eden*, doth not ſay it compaſſeth or waſheth the whole Region of *Aſſyria*, (as it had vſed this phraſe of *Piſon* and *Gehon)* but that it runneth toward *Aſſyria.* The firſt branch *Piſon*, is *Nahar-malcha,* (by interpretation) *Baſilius*, or *flumen regium,* which runneth into *Tigris* vnder *Apamia*, whence ariſeth the name of *Paſi-tigris,* (as it were) *Piſo-tigris.* This leadeth to the Land of *Hauila* or *Suſiana.* The ſecond branch *Gehon*, is that which in Hiſtorians is *Nabarſares* or *Narragas*, for *Nahar-ragas:* both which names ſignifie *flumen deriuatum* (a Riuer deriued,) alſo *Acracanus, quaſi Ranoſus*, by reaſon of the froggie Fennes which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the firſt ſeate of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldæa* and *Arabia*, and it is loſt at length in the Lakes of *Chaldæa*. The third branch, *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the vpper ſtreame of *Piſon*, or *Baſilius*, which runneth into *Hiddekel* properly ſo called (that is, into *Tigris)* aboue *Seleucia*, where it ſheweth a paſſage vp *Tigris* into *Aſſyria:* where, becauſe at length it is called *Hiddekel*, or *Tigris*, hauing before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, ſo called *per excellentiam*, being the bodie of the Riuer *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*. But, be it a Riuer, or Riuers, that come out of *Eden*, ſeeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can bee no doubt, but that Paradiſe was not farre from theſe Riuers: for that *Perath* in *Moſes* is *Euphrates*, there can be no queſtion; and (indeed) as plaine it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (ſaith *Moſes)* Eaſtwards towards *Aſſur*, as we find, that *Tigris* is the Riuer of *Aſſyria propriè dicta*, whoſe chiefe Citie was *Niniue*, as in *Geneſis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia, Nimrod* went into *Aſſur*, and builded *Niniue,* which was the chiefe Citie of *Aſſyria.*

And as for the kind of ſpeech here vſed in the Text, ſpeaking of foure heads; though the heads of Riuers be (properly) their Fountaines, yet here are they to be vnderſtood, to be ſpoken of the beginning of their diuiſion from the firſt ſtreame. *Caput aquæ* (ſaith VLPIANVS) *illud eſt, vnde aqua naſcitur; ſi ex fonte naſcatur, fons, ſi ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountaine, then is the Fountaine taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake*; and if from a maine Riuer any branch be ſeparate and diuided, then where that branch doth firſt bound it ſelfe with new bankes, there is that part of the Riuer, where the branch forſaketh the maine ſtreame, called the head of the Riuer.

§. XII.

§. XII.

Of the ſtrange fertilitie and happineſſe of the Babylonian Soile, as it is certaine that Eden was ſuch.

IT may alſo bee demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by vs deſcribed, bee of ſuch fertilitie and beautie, as *Eden* the ſeate of Paradiſe was: which if it be denyed, then muſt we alſo conſider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleaſure, that it had before the curſe: neither can we aſcribe the ſame fruitfulneſſe to any part of the Earth, nor the ſame vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before the floud; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be now no ſuch flouriſhing Countrey, as it was when it was firſt created in his perfection. Yet this I finde written of it: Firſt, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witneſſe, and ſpeaketh of the very place it ſelfe; for the Ile of *Eden* is but twelue miles or thereabout from *Niniue*, and ſo from *Moſal. Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta quod Vrbs Ninus ſita erat. Hæc regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima eſt, &c. Where Euphrates runneth out into Tigris, not farre from the place where Ninus is ſeated, This Region, of all that we haue ſeene, is moſt excellent*; and he addeth afterward: *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeò ferax eſt, vt nunquàm non ferè ducenta reddat, &c.* (that is) *It is ſo fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeldeth two hundred fold: The leaues of Wheate and Barley being almoſt foure fingers broad: As for the height of Millet and Seſame, they are euen in length like vnto Trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbeare to ſpeake hereof, well knowing, that thoſe things which are reported of this fruitfulneſſe, will ſeeme very incredible to thoſe, which neuer were in the Country of Babylon. They haue commonly in all the Country Palme Trees growing of their owne accord, the moſt of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meates, and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Fig Trees.* Thus farre *Herodotus.*

Herod. Clia. li. 1.

To this Palme-tree ſo much admired in the Eaſt *India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellencie, which is, that *it yeeldeth bread; Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt; Of which theſe people make Brad, Wine, Honey, and Vineger.* But *Antonius* the *Eremite* findeth a fift commoditie, not inferior to any of thoſe foure, which is, that from this ſelfe-ſame Tree there is drawne a kind of fine Flaxe, of which people make their Garments, and with which in Eaſt *India* they prepare the cordage for their ſhips; and that this is true, *Athanaſius* in the life of *Antonius* the *Eremite*, confeſſeth, ſaying: *That he receiued a Garment made thereof from the Eremite himſelfe, which he brought with him out of this Region.* So therefore thoſe Trees, which the Eaſt *Indies* ſo highly eſteeme and ſo much admire (as indeed the Earth yeeldeth no Plant comparable to this) thoſe Trees (I ſay) are in this vpper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (ſaith STRABO) *paſſim per omnem Regionem Palmæ ſua ſponte naſcentes; There are of Palmes ouer all the whole Region, growing of their owne accord.* Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Euntibus à parte læua Arabiæ odorum fertilitate nobilis, regio campeſtris intereſt inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacens tam vbere & pingui ſolo, vt à paſtu repelli pecora dicantur, ne ſatietas perimat*; (that is) *As you trauaile on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plentie of ſweet Odours) there lyeth a Champaine Country placed betweene Tigris and Euphrates, and ſo fruitfull and fat a ſoile, that they are ſaid to driue their Cattell from paſture, leſt they ſhould periſh by ſatietie. Bis in anno ſegetes Babylonij ſecant; The Babylonians cut their Corne twice a yeare* (ſaith *Niger.*) And as Countreyes generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, then in the Northerne parts: ſo we may iudge the excellencie of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South part of *America*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof; his words be theſe in the Latine: *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat manſuetis, itemq; ſemper virentibus; This Region aboundeth with pleaſant fruits, & Trees alwayes greene:* which witneſſeth a perpetuall Spring, not found elſewhere but in the *Indies* only, by reaſon of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life & ſtirrer vp of Nature in a perpetuall actiuitie. In briefe, ſo great is the fertilitie of the ground, that the people are conſtrained twice to mow downe their Corne fields, and a third time to eate them vp with Sheep: which husbandry the *Spaniards* wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the firſt fortie yeares, could not make our kind of Wheate beare Seed, but it grew vp as high as the Trees, and was fruitleſſe. Beſides, thoſe fields are altogether without weeds (ſaith *Plinie*) who addeth this ſingularitie to that ſoile, That the ſecond yeere the very Plin.Nat.hiſt. l.18.c.17. ſtubble (or rather falling downe of the ſeedes againe) yeeldeth them a Harueſt of Corne without any further labour: his words are theſe: *Vbertatis tantæ ſunt, vt ſequenti anno ſponte reſtibilis fiat ſeges.*

§. XIII.

Of the Riuer Piſon, and the Land of Hauilah.

AFter the diſcouerie of *Eden*, and the teſtimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it reſteth to proue that *Piſon* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*. For that the knowledge and certainetie of theſe two Riuers ſhould trouble ſo many wiſe men it is ſtrange to me, ſeeing neceſſitie it ſelfe (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being knowne) findeth them out: for *Euphrates* or *Tigris*, or both, be that Riuer or Riuers of *Eden*, which water *Paradiſe*, which Riuer or Riuers *Moſes* witneſſeth afterward, diuided into foure heads, whereof the one is called *Piſon*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there bee a ſtranger fancie in the world, then when we finde both theſe (namely) *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Aſſyria* and *Meſopotamia*, to ſeeke the other two in *India* and *Ægypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two Riuers as farre diſtant, as any of fame knowne or diſcouered in the world: the Scriptures making it ſo plaine, that theſe Riuers were diuided into foure branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reaſon and Experience bearing witneſſe. There is no errour, which hath not ſome ſlipperie and bad foundation, or ſome apparance of probabilitie, reſembling truth, which when men (who ſtudie to bee ſingular) finde out, (ſtraining reaſon according to their fancies) they then publiſh to the world matter of contention, and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds, to find ſome partakers or ſectators, the better by their helpe to nurſe and cheriſh ſuch weake babes, as their owne inuentions haue begotten.

But this miſtaking (and firſt for the Riuer of *Piſon*) ſeemeth to haue growne out of the not-diſtinguiſhing of that Region in *India*, called *Hauilah*, from *Hauilah*, which adioyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward knowne by the name of *Suſiana*. For *Hauilah* vpon *Tigris* tooke name from *Hauilah* the ſonne of *Cuſh*; and *Hauilah* in *India*, from *Hauilah* the ſonne of *Ioctan*, the one remembred by *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe* the other Gen.10.7. where *Moſes* ſetteth downe the generations of *Noah*, and his ſonnes after the floud. For the ſonnes of *Cuſh* were *Seba*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*, and the ſonnes of *Ioctan* were *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*, &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the ſonnes 10.29. of *Ioctan*, that *Iland of Ophir*, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and *Hauilah* adioyning had their names. Now becauſe *Ganges* is a great and a famous Riuer of the Eaſt *India*, and *Hauilah* a Countrie of the ſame, and is ſituated vpon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Piſon*, which Riuer is ſaid by *Moſes* to water the land of *Hauilah*. Or per- 2.11. haps it was ſuppoſed that thoſe foure Riuers, named by *Moſes*, muſt of neceſſitie be foure of the greateſt in the world; whence (ſuppoſing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous Riuer after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*) they choſe out this Riuer to make one of the foure. And yet certainely there is another Riuer, whom in theſe reſpects they ſhould rather haue choſen then *Ganges*; for the Riuer *Indus* on this ſide *India*, for beautie, for neereneſſe, & for abilitie, giueth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reaſonable man conceiue, that *Ganges* can be one of the foure heads, ſeeing *Indus* commeth betweene it and *Tigris*? and betweene *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Perſia*, conſiſting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther towards the Eaſt, and beyond *Indus*, are all thoſe ample Dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie betweene thoſe two proud Riuers of *Indus* and *Ganges* now called the Kingdome of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the foure, becauſe it is remoued from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Perſia*, then how much leſſe *Ganges*; which falleth into the Ocean, little leſſe then fortie degrees to the Eaſtward of *Indus*? Surely, whoſoeuer readeth the Storie of *Alexander*, ſhall finde, that there is no Riuer in *Aſia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hydaſpis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Gallies* tranſported himſelfe, and the greateſt part of his armie, and in ſayling downe that branch of *Indus*, found it ſo large and deepe, and by reaſon thereof ſo great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleete, which was ready to bee ſwallowed vp therein: *Hydaſpis* (as afore ſaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, hauing beſides this, the Riuers of *Coas*, of *Suaſtus*, *Aceſines*, *Adris* (otherwiſe *Hirotis*, *Hiſpalis*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are ſwallowed vp with all their Children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one ſtreame, it croſſeth athwart *Aſia*, and then at *Cambaia* viſiteth the Ocean Sea.

Gen.2.15.

But becauſe *Piſon*, which compaſſeth *Hauilah*, as alſo *Gehon*, which watereth *Cuſh*, muſt ſome-where be ioyned with the reſt in one bodie, or at leaſt be found to proceede out of the ſame Countrie of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceede, out of doubt they cannot eyther the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riſeth in the vttermoſt of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterran* Sea; and the Riuer *Ganges* riſeth out of the Mountaine *Imaus*, or (as others will haue it) *Caucaſus*, which diuides the Northerne *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neere *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other not farre off in the ſame *Armenia*, by the *Gordiæan* Mountaines, ſo as *Ganges*, who onely trauaileth in her owne *India*, and *Nilus* through *Æthiopia* and *Ægypt*, neuer ſaw the land of *Eden*, or ioyned themſelues in one channell, either with themſelues, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be ſeparated, or diuided into foure heads or branches, according to *Moſes*.

Gen.2.v.12.

Therefore the Riuer *Piſon*, which enricheth *Hauilah*, is the ſame which by ioyning it ſelfe with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Piſi-tigris*, or *Piſo-tigris*, of *Piſon* and *Tigris*, which Riuer watereth that *Hauilah*, which *Hauilah* the Sonne of *Cuſh* gaue name vnto, and not *Hauilah* of *India*, ſo called of *Hauilah* the Sonne of *Ioctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the Eaſt. And this *Hauilah* of the *Cuſhites* had alſo Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx ſtone. This Bdellium is a Tree, of the bigneſſe of an Oliue, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine gum ſweet to ſmell to, but bitter in taſte, called alſo Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-ſtone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in Hebrew ſignifieth Pearle: ſo doth *Eugubinus*; and *Hierome* calls it *Olcaſter*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearle: *Hauilah* or *Suſiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Countrie of *Suſiana* or *Hauilah* ſtretcheth it ſelfe toward the North, as farre as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as farre as the *Perſian Gulfe*, on the Eaſt ſide thereof: from which Eaſt ſide had the *Shebans* (which traded with the Citie of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold, which *Strabo* alſo witneſſeth, as was ſhewed before.

Steuch.
Hopk. de Par.

The Greekes had a conceit, that *Piſon* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbines* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-ezra* (ſayth *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, tranſlateth *Piſon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the ſame impoſſibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Helleſpont* and all *Aſia* the leſſe, betweene it and *Tigris*. Now *Piſon*, which runneth through *Hauilah* or *Suſiana*, doth to this day retaine ſome ſigne of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embraceth each other vnder the Citie of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a ioynt and compounded name, and are called *Piſo-tigris*. And it is ſtrange vnto me, that from ſo great antiquitie there ſhould be found remaining any reſembling ſound of the firſt name: for *Babylon* it ſelfe, which dwelleth ſo neere theſe Riuers, is by ſome writers knowne by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Poſtellus*, by *Caſtaldus*, of *Baldach*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by *Andrew Theuet*; and yet all thoſe that haue lately ſeene it, call it *Bagdet*. To this Riuer of *Piſon*, *Ptolomie* indeede with many others giue the name of *Baſilius* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they terme *Mahar-ſares* and *Marſias*, and *Baarſares*. So is *Euphratas*, neere the Spring and Fountaine, by *Strabo* and *Plinie* called *Pixirates*: by *Iunius*, *Puckperah*, out of the Hebrew (that is) The profuſion, or comming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountaine *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the Hebrewes *Parath*, (ſayth *Ar. Montanus*:) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Ioſephus*, *Phorah*; *Euſebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Giſtilanus*, and *Colinutius* terme it *Cobar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Aſſyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

Poſt. Coſmog.
Theuet. Coſmog.
Aſia tab.4.
Plin.lib.5.c.24.

The ſame confuſion of names hath *Tigris*, as *Diglito*, and *Diglath*, *Seilax*, and *Sollax*: of the Hebrewes it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* vpon *Geneſis* conceiueth rightly of theſe Riuers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (ſaith he) ſtreame into foure branches, two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other two are called *Piſon* and *Gehon*. The reaſon, why theſe two riuers ioyned in one (below *Apamia*) loſe their names, and are called *Piſi-tigris*, and the memorie of *Euphrates* extinguiſhed, is, becauſe the beſt part of *Euphrates* running through the channell of *Gehon*, ſinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldæa* not farre from *Vr*, the Citie of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Perſian* Sea, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Piſon* doth.

This errour that *Piſon* was *Ganges*, was firſt broched by *Ioſephus*, (whoſe fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weedes) and other men (who take his authoritie to be ſufficient in matter of deſcription, whereupon depended no other important conſequence (were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, and *Hierome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Piſon* was tranſported into the Eaſt *India*, to find out *Hauilah*: ſo was *Gehon* drawne into *Africa*, to compaſſe *Æthiopia*. But if *Hauilah*, whereof *Moſes* ſpeaketh in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, be found to be a Region, adioining to *Babylon* on the one ſide, and *Cuſh* (which is falſly interpreted *Æthiopia*) faſtened to it on the other ſide, wee ſhall not neede then to worke wonders (that is) to impoſe vpon men the tranſportation of Riuers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other vſes) were made to tranſport men. Now it was in the Valley of *Shinar*, where *Cuſh* the Sonne of *Ham* firſt ſate downe with his ſonnes *Shebah*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Hauilah*, the ſonne of *Cuſh*, did that Region take name, which *Piſon* compaſſeth; and the land (called *Cuſh*) which *Gehon* watereth, tooke name of *Cuſh* himſelfe. For as the ſonnes of *Ioctan*, *Ophir* and *Hauilah*, ſeated themſelues as neere together as they could in *India*, ſo did the ſonnes of *Cuſh* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Hauilah* or *Chaulah* was firſt *Chuſea* of *Cuſh*; then *Chuſa*, *Suſa*, and *Suſiana*,

From this *Hauilah* vnto the Deſerts of *Sur*, did the *Iſraelites* and *Amalechites* poſſeſſe all the interiacent Countries: for *Saul* ſmote the *Amalechites* from *Hauilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur*, the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* conuerteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the red Sea; but this was not meant from *Sur* vpon the Red Sea, to *Hauilah* in the *Eaſt India*, for *Saul* was no ſuch trauailer or Conquerour, and therefore *Hauilah* muſt be found neerer home, where the ſonnes of *Iſmael* inhabited, and which countrie *Saul* waſted: for *Amalec* & the *Amalechites* poſſeſt that necke of Countrie, betweene the *Perſian* Sea, and the Red Sea; *Hauilah* being the extreme of the one towards the Eaſt, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the Weſt, leauing that great body of *Arabia fœlix* towards the South, and they ſpred themſelues with the *Midianites* and *Edumæans*, from the Eaſt part, or backe ſide of the Holie Land, to the bankes of *Euphrates*, compriſing the beſt part of *Arabia Petræa* and *Deſerta*.

1.Sam.15.7.

§. XIIII.

Of the Riuer Gehon and the Land of Cuſh: and of the ill tranſlating of the Æthiopia for Cuſh, 2. CHRON. 21.16.

NOw, as *Hauilah* in the Eaſt *India* drew *Piſon* ſo farre out of his way thither, ſo I ſay did *Cuſh* (being by the *Seuentie* tranſlated *Æthiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cuſh* being taken for *Æthiopia* by the *Greekes* whom the *Latines* followed, *Gehon* conſequently was eſteemed for *Nilus*. But *Æthiopians* are, as much, as *blacke or burnt faces*, whoſe proper Countrie is called *Thebaides*, lying to the Southward of all *Ægypt*. And although there bee many other Regions of *Æthiopians*, and farre South in *Africa*, yet thoſe of *Thebaides* are thoſe ſo often remembred in the *Ægyptian* ſtories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Ægypt*: all which *Æthiopians* are very neere, or elſe directly vnder the Equinoctiall line, which is very far from that land inhabited by the *Chuſites*; who are neither blacke of colour, nor in any ſort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (ſaith he) two *Æthiopia's*, the Eaſt, and the Weſt: and this diuiſion he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now becauſe there is no colour to make *Chus Æthiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Chuſh* and the land of the *Chuſites* (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Happy*, with the Region of *Madian*) to bee the Eaſt *Æthiopia*.

See more of this point, c.7. § 10.

Now if it be granted, that *Cuſh* and the land of the *Chuſites*, be that tract from *Sur* to *Hauilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitauit* ISMAEL *ab Hauilah vſq; Sur, quæ reſpicit*

Gen.25.18.

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Ægyptum introeuntibus Aſſyrios; ISMAEL *dwelt from Hauilah vnto Sur, that is,*
towards Ægypt, as thou goeſt toward Aſſyria; The ſame ſufficeth to proue that *Gehon*
cannot bee *Nilus*, but a Riuer which watereth *Cuſh*, and not *Æthiopia*. But this
place of Scripture, *Habitauit* ISMAEL, *&c.* hath this ſenſe: *Iſmael* dwelt from
Hauilah, which is the way of *Aſſyria*, or the Countrey bordering *Aſſyria*; and *Sur*,
Verſ.16. which lyeth toward *Ægypt*, which is as much to ſay, as, The iſſues of *Iſmael* (whereof
there were twelue Princes) whom God had promiſed to make a great people, inhabited
all thoſe Regions betweene the border of *Ægypt* and *Aſſyria*. And that they
were (according to the Word of God) ſo increaſed and multiplyed, it well appeared,
2.Chron.14.9. when *Zearah* the *Chuſite*, which others call *Tharantha*, brought an Armie of ten hundred
thouſand againſt *Aſa* King of *Iuda*. Which Armie came not out of *Æthiopia*
beyond *Ægypt*; for that had beene a ſtrange progreſſe for ſuch a multitude, as ten
hundred thouſand, hauing ſo mightie a King as the King of *Ægypt*, betweene *Palæſtina*
and *Æthiopia*. But theſe were the *Chuſites*, *Amalechites*, *Madianites*, *Iſmaelites*,
and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Aſa* (ſtrengthened by God) had defeated
this world of an Armie, hee in following his victorie tooke ſome of the Cities of
King *Zearah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now that *Gerar* is a Citie of the *Æthiopians*,
it cannot bee ſuſpected: for theſe bee the wordes of the Scripture diſprouing it: *And*
Gen.10.v.11. ABRAHAM *departed thence toward the South Countrey, and dwelt betweene Cadeſh and*
Exod.17.8. *Sur, and ſoiourned in Gerar*: Now *Sur* is that part, vpon which *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites*
firſt ſet their feete after they paſſed the Red Sea, where the *Amalechites* in *Rephidim* ſet
on them, ſuppoſing that they had beene wearie, and vnable to reſiſt. Againe, in the
Gen.26.1. ſtorie of *Iſaac* it is written: *Wherefore* ISAAC *went to* ABIMELECH, *and the Philiſtims*
vnto Gerar: and I am ſure *Abimelech* and the *Philiſtims* were no *Æthiopians*.
10.19. And laſtly, *Moſes* himſelfe, where hee deſcribeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath theſe
words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou commeſt to Gerar*: for
Sydon was the frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gazah* towards the
South. But indeed, howſoeuer *Pererius* doth with an honeſt excuſe ſalue his tranſlation
of *Chus* for *Æthiopia*, yet it appeareth plainely, that the *Septuagint* and *Ioſephus* did
altogether miſvnderſtand this place. And firſt, for *Homers* Eaſt and Weſt *Æthiopia*,
they are both found elſewhere. For *Plinie* in his fift Booke and eighth Chapter, citeth
Homer for an Authour of theſe two *Æthiopia's*. But the Eaſt *Æthiopia* is that
which compaſſeth *Nilus* to the South of *Egypt*, and is the South border thereof;
now a part of the Empire of the *Abyſſines*, vnder *Preſter Iohn*; And the Weſt *Æthiopia*
is that, which ioyneth it ſelfe with the Riuer *Niger*, which wee call *Senega* and *Gambra*:
for thereabouts are theſe *Æthiopians* called *Perorſi*, *Daratites*, with diuers other
Plin.l.5.c.8. names, which *Plinie* numbreth. But all theſe are in *Africa*, and beyond the Deſarts
thereof, ſaith *Plinie* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa*, and *Iuba*; which Regions indeede (I
meane that of *Niger*, and that of *Preſter Iohn*, and the *Troglodytes*) lye due Eaſt and
Weſt. But as for *Cuſh* and the Region of the *Iſmaelites*, *&c.* they are extended directly
North from that *Æthiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Ioſephus* vvas exceeding
groſſe herein, it appeareth by that fiction, vvhich hee hath of *Moſes* vvhen hee
ſerued *Pharao*, in the warres againſt the *Æthiopians*: for in that (to make *Chus*, *Æthiopia*)
hee tranſporteth *Madian* by miracle ouer the Red Sea, and beyond all *Egypt*,
and ſetteth it in *Æthiopia*, as ſhall bee ſhewed more at large in the Chapter of the
Worlds Plantation. Againe, that *Gehon* was improperly tranſlated *Nilus*, *Pererius*
confeſſeth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the *Greeke* Copie, than otherwiſe.
And whereas the *Septuagint* haue conuerted this place of the Prophet HIEREMIE;
C.2.v.18. *And what haſt thou now to doe in the way of Egypt, to drinke the water of Nilus?*
Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, vt bibas aquam Gehon? to this ſaith PERERIVS, *profectò*
Hebraicè ibi non eſt vox Gehon, ſed Sichor, quæ ſignificat nigrum & turbidum; *Truely*
(ſaith PERERIVS) *the word Gehon in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but*
Sichor, which ſignifieth blacke and troubled water.

Furthermore, this is a manifeſt and vnanſwerable argument, that *Chus* was ill taken
Exod.2.21. 3.1. for *Æthiopia*. *Moſes* married the daughter of *Iethro*, Prince and Prieſt of *Madian*, whom
Num.12.1. both the *Greeke* and *Latine* call a *Madianite*, and not *Æthiopiſſam*, as (with *Ioſephus*)
the *Geneua* conuerts it, though it helpe it a little with a marginall note. Now it is
without diſpute, that *Zipporah* was of the Countrey of *Madian*, which is that part of

Arabia Petræa, bordering the Red Sea, for it is written in the ſecond of *Exodus*, that MOSES *fled from* PHARAO *into the Land of Madian, and ſate downe by a Well, &c.* and againe, in the third of *Exodus*; *When* MOSES *kept the ſheepe of* IETHRO *his father in law, Prieſt of Madian, &c.* Indeede, theſe foure nations are euery where mixt in the Scriptures, becauſe they dwell confuſedly together (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Iſmaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chuſites*, which were all in one generall word, *Arabians*, and in the Scriptures ſometimes called by one of thoſe names, and ſometimes by another, as in *Gen.* 37. *v.* 25. 27. & 28. that *Ioſeph* was ſold to the *Iſmaelites*; and in the ſame Chapter, *v.* 36. it is written, that the *Madianites* ſold *Ioſeph* to *Putiphar*, *Pharao's* Steward. The *Geneuians*, in a marginall note (to auoid this confounding of the Nations) ſay, that *Moſes* wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the *Madianites* and *Iſmaelites* to be all one. But *Moſes* wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth, and theſe were all *Arabiãs*, & ſo in this very place it appeareth by their merchandiſe, which they brought with them, when they bought *Ioſeph*: for their Camels were loden with Spicery and Balme, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of *Arabia fælix*: from whence chiefly, and from the Eaſt *India*, all the World is ſerued with Myrrhe and Frankincenſe; and their Spices they receiued from the Eaſt ſide of the *Arabian Gulfe*, as aforeſaid. And in the 39. Chap. it is ſaid: That *Putiphar* bought *Ioſeph* of the *Iſmaelites*, which the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* in the ſame place calleth *Arabians*. Now, to make this the more manifeſt, it is written in the ſixt of *Iudges*, That when *Iſrael* had ſowen, then came vp the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the Eaſt, and came vpon them: they of the Eaſt, were *Arabians* of the *Deſart*; ſo as where before in the buying of *Ioſeph*, the *Madianites* and the *Iſmaelites* were confuſed, here the *Madianites* and *Amalekites* are made one Nation. For in the proſecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the *Madianites* onely are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, *v.* 24. theſe Nations are all called *Iſmaelites*, and neither *Madianites* nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedeon* deſired, that euery man would giue him the golden eare-rings, which they had taken after the victory againſt *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of *Arabia*, amounting to 1700. ſhickles of gold, it is written: *For they had golden eare-rings, becauſe they were Iſmaelites.* And theſe *Iſmaelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and euer in action of warre. *Manus eius contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; *His hand* (ſaith God of ISMAEL) *ſhall be againſt all men, and euery mans hand againſt him.* Of theſe *Iſmaelites* came the *Mahometan Arabians*, though ſome Writers thinke *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenitæ*. And theſe *Iſmaelites*, which inhabite chiefly in *Cedar*, and the Deſarts of *Sur* and *Pharan* (ſaith *Ioſephus*) vſe poyſon vpon their Arrowes, as the *Indians* doe. Towards the South-eaſt are the *Madianites*, and *Chuſites*: and beyond them, towards the *Deſarts* of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*; and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

Verſ. 15.
Verſ. 1.
Gen. 37. 25.
verſ. 1.
Verſ. 3.
Cap. 7.
c. 8. *v.* 24.
Gen. 16. 12.

Laſtly, the ill tranſlation of *Æthiopia* for *Chus*, is among other places, made moſt apparant, in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, in theſe words: *So the Lord ſtirred vp againſt* IEHORAM, *the ſpirit of the Philiſtines, and the Arabians, which confine the Æthiopians*; ſo *Hierom* reades it: the *Geneua* tranſlation hath it, *which were beſides the Æthiopians*. Now, how far it is off betweene the *Philiſtines*, and the *Negro's*, or the *Æthiopians*, euery man that looketh in a Map may iudge. For the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* doe mixe & ioyne with the Land of the *Chuſites*, and are diſtant from *Æthiopia* about two and thirtie, or three & thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next neighbours, but all *Egypt*, and the *Deſarts* of *Sur* and *Pharan*, are betweene them. So as this place of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, ſhould haue beene tranſlated in theſe words: *So the Lord ſtirred vp againſt* IEHORAM, *the ſpirits of the Philiſtines, and the Arabians, which confine and border vpon the Chuſites*, who indeed are their next neighbours. * *Nulla supereſt dubitatio quin Æthiopia in Sacris literis ſit Arabiæ propinqua*; *There remayneth no doubt* (ſaith *Steuchius*) *but Æthiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey, which ioyneth to Arabia.*

Chro. 2. *c.* 21. 16.
* *Steuch. Eugub. in Gen. c.* 2.

Now may we thinke is it probable, or poſſible, that *Moſes* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No, he knew it, no liuing man ſo well, and therefore would neuer haue named *Gehon*, for *Nilus*, or *Nilus*, for *Gehon*. Surely, if *Moſes* had meant *Nilus*, when hee named *Gehon*, he would haue called the Riuer (into which he was caſt vpon Reeds, and preſerued by God, working compaſſion in the Daughter of *Pharao*) a Riuer of *Egypt*, wherein he was borne & bred, & wrought ſo many miracles. Beſides, the Riuer of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but neuer by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moſes* had told the

Exod. 2.

Iſraelites, that *Nilus* had beene a Riuer of *Paradiſe*, they might iuſtly haue thought, that he had derided them: for they had liued there all dayes of their liues, and found no ſuch *Paradiſe* at all, nor any memory, or ſpeech thereof; except we ſhall beleeue the *Paradiſe* of *Heſperides*, where (ſaith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Plin.l.5.c.1. Oliues in ſtead of golden Apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Eſay*, & once C.23.v.3. in the Prophet *Hieremie*; and yet in thoſe places it is not ſaid to be a Riuer of *Æthiopia*, C.2.v.18. but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Iſraelites* had neuer any communion or affaires with the *Æthiopians*, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the Enemies which they had on the South, and Eaſt parts, were theſe Nations of the *Chuſites*, *Philiſtines*, *Iſmaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*: who being often gouerned by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were diſtinguiſhed in names, according to the Fathers and heads of thoſe Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North ſide of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Cœleſyrians*, with the *Magogians*, *Tubalines*, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themſelues, the Nations, which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the ſtrongeſt Cities vpon the Sea-coaſt (as) *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others: yea, *Hieruſalem* it ſelfe was with-held from *Iſrael* (from the dayes of *Moſes*, euen vnto the time of *Dauid*) by the *Iebuſites*.

That which now remaineth of moſt difficultie is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the ſtony, which the *Chuſites* inhabited in the times of the Kings of *Iſrael*: and in this *Deſart* it was that *Matt. Beroaldus* loſt himſelfe in ſeeking out *Paradiſe*: for he was driuen (to my vnderſtanding) to create two Riuers, and call them *Gehon*, and *Piſon*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Hauilah*, for I find none ſuch in *rerum natura*, as he hath deſcribed: by which Riuers he alſo includeth within *Paradiſe*, euen *Arabia the Deſart*.

And as he well proued that *Piſon* was not *Ganges*; nor *Gehon*, *Nilus*, ſo where to find them elſe-where it ſeemeth he knew not. Certainely this Riuer of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterran* at *Gaza*, and whoſe Springs he findeth farre Eaſt in *Arabia*, is but imaginary: for the Current by *Gaza* is but a ſmall ſtreame, riſing betweene it and the Red Sea, whoſe head from *Gaza* it ſelfe is little more then twenty *Engliſh* miles, as ſhall appeare hereafter. But queſtionleſſe, hence it comes that many were miſtaken. They all conſidered of the habitations of the *Chuſites*, as they were planted when the ſtate of *Iſrael* ſtood, and when it flouriſhed, being then their neere Neighbours, & neuer looked backe to the firſt ſeates and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Floud, *Chus* and his Children neuer reſted, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and neere which himſelfe with his ſonnes firſt inhabited. *Hauilah* tooke the Riuer-ſide of *Tigris* chiefly on the Eaſt, which after his owne name he called *Hauilah*, (now *Suſiana*:) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther downe the Riuer, in the entrance of *Arabia fœlix*. NIMROD ſeated himſelfe in the beſt of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himſelfe and his brother *Mizraim* firſt kept vpon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, and in proceſſe of time, and as their people increaſed, they drew themſelues more Weſterly towards the Red or *Arabian* Sea: from whence *Mizraim* paſt ouer into *Egypt*, in which Tract the *Chuſites* remained for many yeeres after. Now becauſe there could be no ſuch Riuer found in *Arabia* the ſtonie, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they tranſlated *Chus Æthiopia*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if wee doe examine this miſtaking by example, wee ſhall the better perceiue it as it was. For let vs ſuppoſe, that *Brute*, or whoſoeuer elſe that firſt peopled this *Iland*, had arriued vpon the Riuer of *Thames*, and calling the *Iland* after his name *Britannia*, it might bee ſaid that *Thames* or *Tems* was a Riuer that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards in proceſſe of time, the ſame *Brute* had alſo diſcouered and conquered *Scotland*, which hee alſo intituled by the ſame name of *Britannia*, after ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, becauſe the Riuer of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let vs ſuppoſe that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King Herod.l.1.& 4. of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gaue the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, and that the firſt diſcouerers thereof arriued in the mouth of ſome Riuer in *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as hee firſt diſcouered, ſhall wee in like ſort reſolue that *France*, *Spaine*, and *Italie*, *&c.* are no parts of *Europe*, becauſe that Riuer is not found in them, or any of them? in like manner was it ſaid by *Moſes* in his deſcription of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which the *Chuſites* ſhould or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabite, ſeeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) haue beene Maſters in time, (as the *Saracens*, which came of them, were) of a great part of the world. For (though the *Babylonian* Empire, which tooke beginning in *Nimrod* the ſonne of *Chus*, conſiſted at the firſt but of foure Cities, (to wit) *Babel, Erech, Acad,* and *Chalne*, yet we find, that his Succeſſours within a few yeares after commanded all the whole World in effect: and the fame of *Babel* conſumed the memorie of *Chuſea*. For of this *Tower of Confuſion* did all that Land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatneſſe of that Empire founded by *Nimrod* a yonger ſonne, obſcured the name and nation of his father *Cuſh* in thoſe parts, vntill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian* Empire, where the *Chuſites* retayned their names, which alſo they faſtned to the Soile and Territorie by themſelues afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke, that *Chus* or any of his, could in haſte creepe through thoſe deſart Regions, which the length of 130. yeares after the Floud had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted euery Buſh and Bryar, Reede and Tree to ioyne themſelues (as it were) into one mayne body and Forreſt. For if we looke with iudgement and reaſon into the Worlds plantation, we ſhall find, that euery Family ſeated themſelues as neare together as poſſible they could, and though neceſſitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to ſpread themſelues, and creepe out of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, yet did they it with this aduice, as that they might at all times reſort, and ſuccour one another by Riuer, the fields being then (without all doubt) impaſſable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and ſtrength vſurped dominion ouer the reſt, ſate downe in the very confluence of all thoſe Riuers, which watered *Paradiſe*: for thither it was to which the greateſt troupes of *Noahs* children repayred; and from the ſame place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increaſe. The firſt Father of men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation. The ſecond Father of Mankind *Noah*, began from thence his diſperſion.

Now as *Nimrod* the yongeſt, yet ſtrongeſt, made his choice of *Babel* (as aforeſaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleanſed and enriched; ſo did *Hauilah* place himſelfe vpon *Piſo-Tigris*: *Raamah* and his ſonne *Sheba* farther downe vpon the ſame Riuer, on the Sea-coaſt of *Arabia*: *Chus* himſelfe vpon *Gehon*, the faireſt branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to ſpread themſelues farther off, yet they alwayes faſtened themſelues to the Riuers ſides: for *Niniue*, *Charran*, *Reſeph*, *Canneh*, *Vr* in *Chaldæa*, and the other firſt-peopled Cities were all founded vpon theſe nauigable Riuers, or their branches, by which the one might giue ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the other, as is already often remembred.

§. XV.

A concluſion by way of repetition of ſomething ſpoken of before.

BVt now to conclude this diſpute, it appeareth to me by the teſtimonies of the Scriptures, that *Paradiſe* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, ſeated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram fluuiorum*, or *Meſopotamia*, which taketh into it alſo a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region ſtanding in the moſt excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Æquinoctiall*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which climate the moſt excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all ſorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proueth the excellency of this ſaid ſoile and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. For whereinſoeuer the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can moſt vaunt, that they haue excelled, yet ſhall this Plant be the greateſt wonder of all their workes: this Tree alone giueth vnto man whatſoeuer his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may be ſaid, that theſe Trees are found both in the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, which Countries are alſo bleſſed with a perpetuall Spring and Summer, yet, lay downe by thoſe pleaſures and benefits the fearefull and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diſeaſes, the multitude of venimous Beaſts and Wormes, with other inconueniences, and then there will bee found no compariſon betweene the one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradiſe* had, before God (for mans ingratitude and crueltie) curſed the Earth, we cannot iudge; but I may ſafely thinke, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all liuing men in perfection, by being the immediate workemanſhip of God, by ſo much did that choſen and particular Garden exceede all parts of the Vniuerſall World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees of Life, of Knowledge; Plants onely proper, and becomming the *Paradiſe*, and Garden of ſo great a Lord.

The ſumme of all this is, That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture haue beene dimme-ſighted (ſome of them finding *Paradiſe* beyond our knowne World: ſome, aboue the middle Region of the Ayre: ſome, eleuated neere the Moone: others as farre South as the Line, or as farre North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be ſufficiently ſatisfied, that theſe were but like Caſtles in the Ayre, and in mens fancies, vainely imagined. For it was Eaſtward in *Eden* (ſaith *Moſes*) Eaſtward, in reſpect of *Iudæa*, that God planted this Garden, which *Eden* wee finde in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in ſome part) remaineth to this day. A Riuer went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and from thence diuided it ſelfe into foure branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* ſwimming through *Eden*, doe ioyne in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, doe water *Chus* and *Hauilah* according to *Moſes*: the true ſeates of *Chus* and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Piſon* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reaſon, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was neuer ioyned, cannot be diuided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Riuers of *Eden*; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the ſame diſtance maketh the ſame impoſſibilitie, and this Riuer is a greater ſtranger to *Tigris* & *Euphrates*, then *Ganges* is: for although there are betwenne *Tigris* and *Ganges* aboue foure thouſand miles, yet they both riſe in the ſame quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountaines of the Moone, almoſt as farre off as the *Cape of good hope*, and falleth into the *Mediterran* Sea: and *Euphrates* diſtilleth out of the Mountaines of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulfe* of *Perſia*: the one riſeth in the South, and trauaileth North: the other riſeth in the North, and runneth South, three ſcore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I haue added a *Chorographicall* deſcription of this terreſtriall *Paradiſe*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceiue the preceding Diſcourſe; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labour may but receiue an allowance ſuſpended, vntill ſuch time as this deſcription of mine be reproued by a better.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradiſe.

§. I.

That the tree of Life was a materiall tree: and in what ſenſe it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made ſubiect to death.

FOr eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driuen out of *Paradiſe, in exilium vitæ temporalis, into the baniſhment of temporall life*, ſaith *Beda*. That theſe Trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Goſpell) it is not doubted by the moſt religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are ſo volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and ſo ſlipperie, as nothing can faſten them, haue in this alſo deliuered to the World, an imaginarie doctrine.

The Tree of Life (ſay the *Hebrewes*) hath a plurall conſtruction, and is to be vnderſtood, *Lignum vitarum*, *The Tree of liues*, becauſe the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preſerue both the growing, ſenſitiue, and rationall life of man; and not onely (but for *Adams* tranſgreſſion) had prolonged his owne dayes, but alſo giuen a durefull continuance to all poſteritie; and that, ſo long, as a body compounded of Elements could laſt.

Bart. ſept. 2. L1. 174.

And although it is hard to thinke, that fleſh and bloud could be immortall, but that it muſt once periſh and rot, by the vnchanged Law of God impoſed on his creatures,

Man

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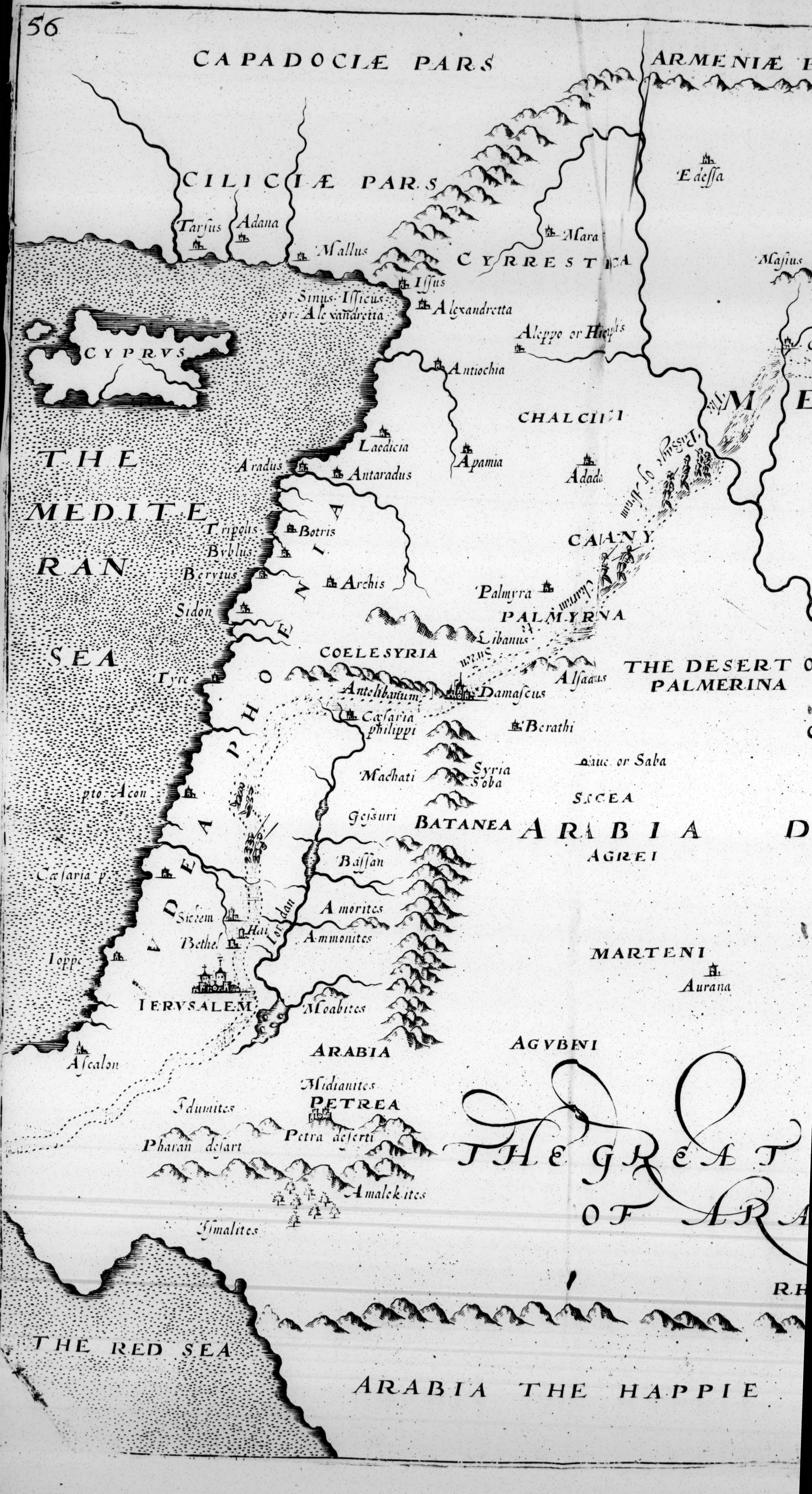
CAPADOCIÆ PARS
ARMENIÆ
CILICIÆ PARS
Tarſus
Adana
Mallus
Edeſſa
Mara
CYRRESTICA
Maſius
Iſſus
Sinus Iſſicus or Alexandretta
Alexandretta
Aleppo or Hierapolis
CYPRUS
Antiochia
M
E
CHALCIDI
Laodicia
Apamia
Adada
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Aradus
Antaradus
Paſſage of Abram
Tripolis
Botris
Byblus
Berytus
CAANY
Archis
Sidon
Palmyra
PALMYRNA
PHOENICIA
Libanus
COELESYRIA
Tyre
Alſadus
THE DESERT OF PALMERINA
Antelibanum
Damaſcus
Cæſaria philippi
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IUDEA
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Iordan
Bethel
Ammonites
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ARABIA
AGUBENI
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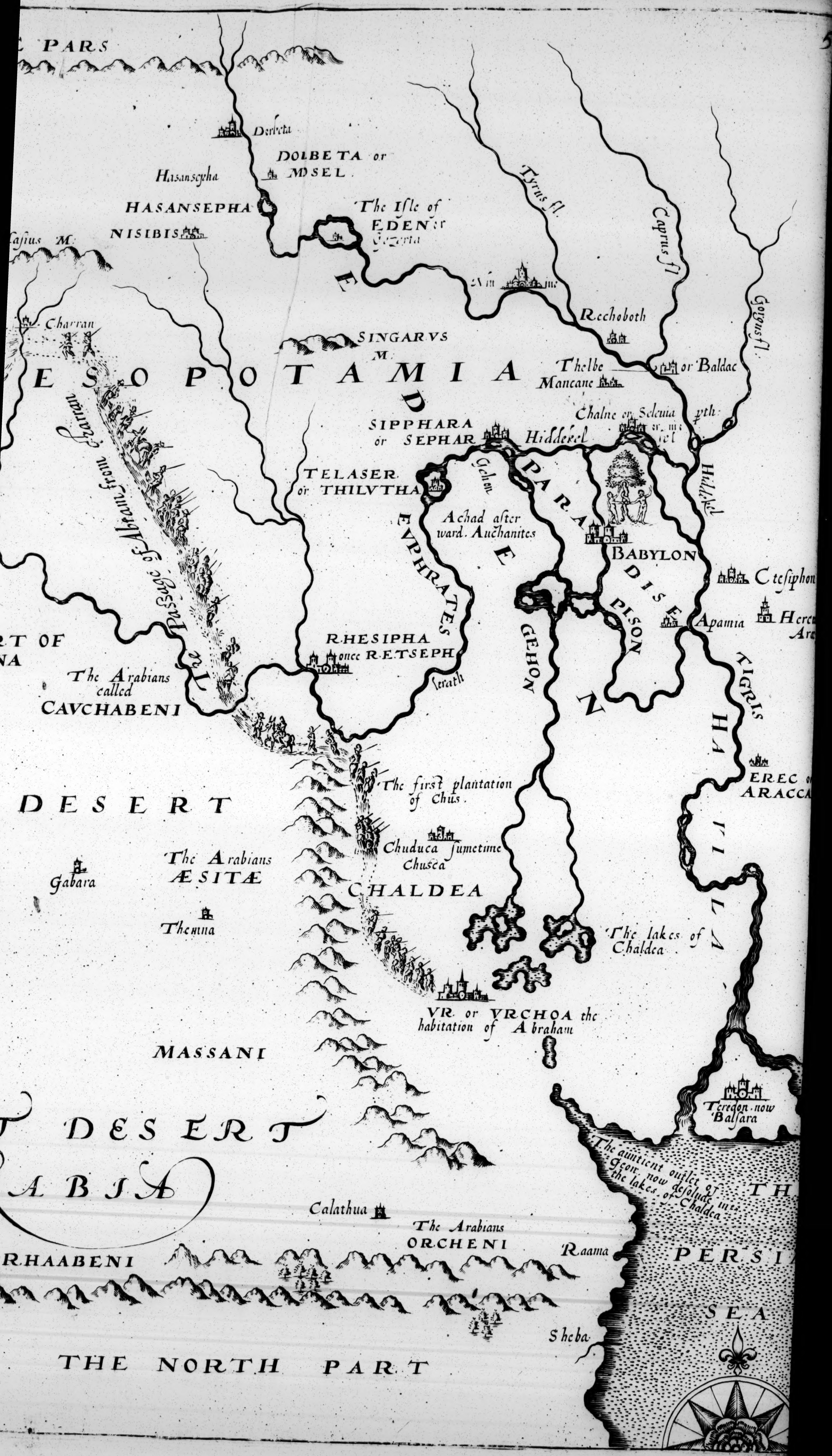
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Rechoboth
or Baldac
Thelbe Mancane
Chalne or Seleuia
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SINGARUS M.
SIPPHARA or SEPHAR
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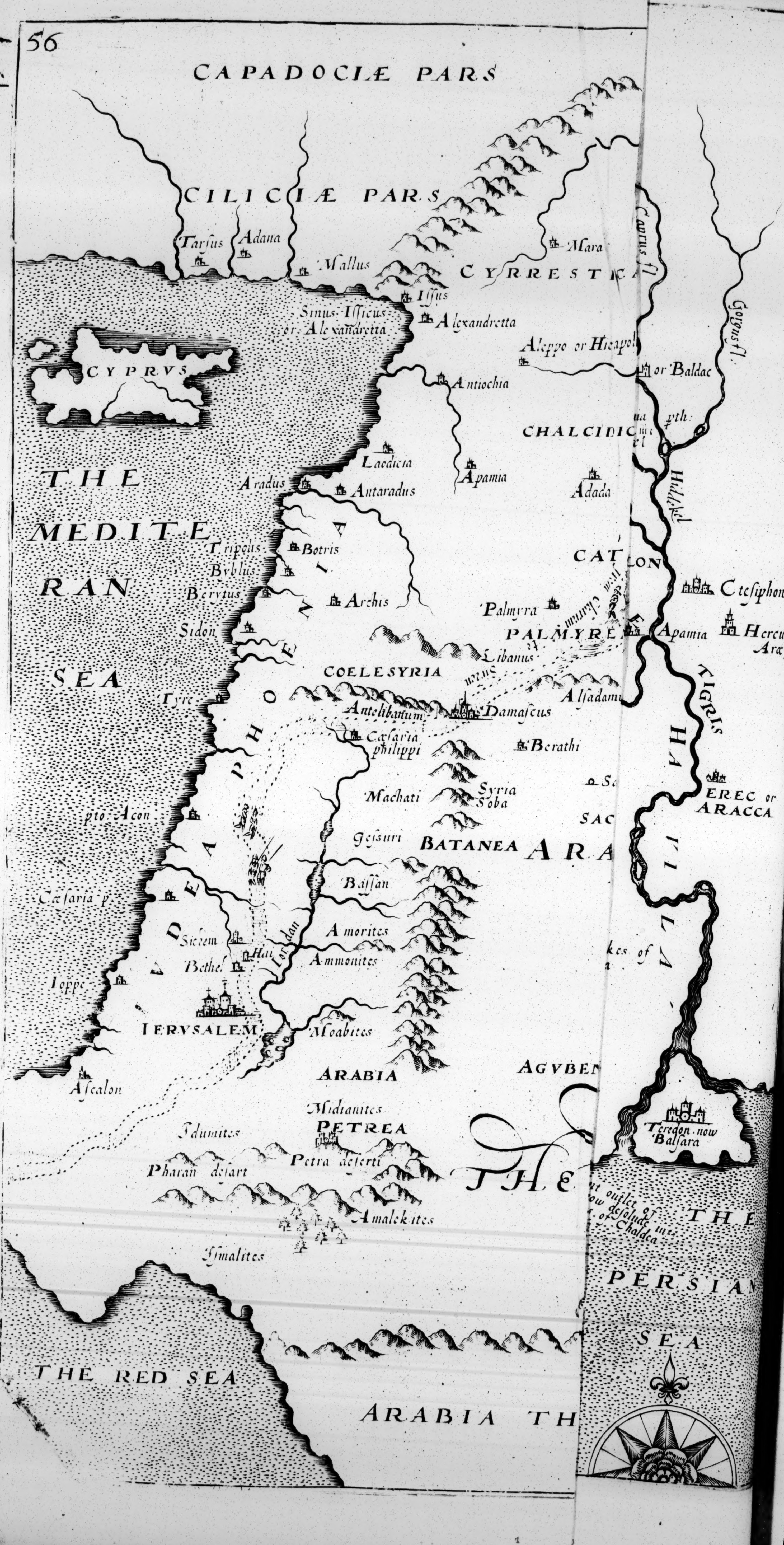
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CAPADOCIÆ PARS
CILICIÆ PARS
Tarſus
Adana
Mallus
Iſſus
Alexandretta
Sinus Iſſicus or Alexandretta
CYRRESTICA
Mara
Carrus fl.
Gorgus fl.
Aleppo or Hierapolis
or Baldac
CYPRUS
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Apamia
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THE MEDITERRAN SEA
Tripolis
Botris
Byblus
Berytus
Archis
PHOENICIA
CATALONIA
Ctesiphon
Palmyra
PALMYRENE
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Libanus
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ARABIA TH

Bart. ſep
174.

Man (notwithſtanding) ſhould haue enioyed thereby a long, healthfull, and vngrieued life: after which (according to the opinion of moſt Diuines) he ſhould haue beene tranſlated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the Floud, the dayes of men had the long meaſure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeeres; and ſoone after the floud, of two hundred yeeres and vpwards, euen to fiue hundred: ſo if *Adam* had not diſobeyed Gods firſt and eaſie Commandement, the liues of men on Earth might haue continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longeſt times of the firſt age, as many learned men haue conceiued. *Chryſoſtome, Rupertus, Toſtatus*, and others were of beleefe, that (but for *Adams* fall and tranſgreſſion) *Adam* and his Poſteritie had beene immortall. But ſuch is the infinite Wiſedome of God, as he foreſaw that the earth could not haue contained Mankind; or elſe, that millions of ſoules muſt haue beene vngenerated, and haue had no being, if the firſt number, wherewith the Earth was repleniſhed, had abode thereon for euer: and therefore that of *Chryſoſtome* muſt bee vnderſtood of immortalitie of bodies, which ſhould haue beene tranſlated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which reſpect many haue conceiued, that the ſame was not materiall, but a meere *Allegorie*, taking their ſtrength out of *Salomon*, where Wiſedome is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where alſo *Chriſt* is called the Tree of Life, and out of the *Apocalypſis*, *I will giue to him that ouercommeth, to eate of the Tree of Life, which is in the Paradiſe of God.* But to this place Saint *Auguſtines* amſwere may ſuffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terreſtriall *Paradiſe*, ſo there was a celeſtiall. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the *Old*, and *New Teſtament*, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the Maide and Wife of *Abraham*, were meere fooliſhneſſe. And ſo in this place the ſenſe of the Scripture is manifeſt. *For God brought out of the earth euery Tree faire to the ſight, and ſweete to taſte; the Tree alſo of Life in the midſt of the Garden:* which ſheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was alſo to be eaten. The report of this Tree was alſo brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigeſted matter or *Chaos*, *Heſiodus*, *Homer*, *Ouid*, and others, ſteale the inuention of the created World; ſo from the Garden of *Paradiſe* they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Heſperides*: and from the Tree of *Life*, their *Nectar* and *Ambroſia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas* ſignifieth *making yong*, and *Ambroſia*, *immortalitie*; and therefore ſaid to bee the meate and drinke of the gods.

Apocal.2.7.

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§. II.

Of BECANVS *his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledge was* Ficus Indica.

NOw for the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, ſome men haue preſumed farther, eſpecially *Goropius Becanus*, who giueth himſelfe the honour to haue found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could euer gheſſe at, whereat *Goropius* much maruaileth. But as hee had an inuentiue braine, ſo there neuer liued any man, that beleeued better thereof, and of himſelfe. Surely, howſoeuer his opinion may be valued, yet hee vſurpeth the praiſe due to others, at leaſt if the inuention bee at that price at which hee ſetteth it. For *Moſes Bar-cephas* faſtened on this coniecture aboue ſixe hundred yeeres before *Becanus* was borne: and *Bar-cephas* himſelfe referreth the inuention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Maburgenſis*, and others, whoſe very words *Goropius* vſeth, both concerning the Tree, and the reaſons wherewith hee would induce other men to that beleefe. For *Moſes Bar-cephas* in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe* (the firſt Part and *fol.* 48.) ſaith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*; *The Indian Fig-Tree*, of which the greateſt plentie (ſaith *Becanus*) are found vpon the bankes of *Aceſines*, one of the Riuers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleete of Gallies in, or neere the Kingdome of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigneſſe of a great Peaze, or (as *Plinie* reporteth) ſomewhat bigger, and that it is a tree, *ſe ſemper ſerens*; *Alwaies planting it ſelfe*; that it ſpreadeth it ſelfe ſo farre abroade, as that a troope of horſemen may hide themſelues vnder it. *Strabo* ſaith, that it hath branches bending downewards, & leaues no leſſe then a ſhield.

Plin.l.11.c.5.

Lib.1.cap.2.

Ariſtobulus affirmeth, that fiftie Horſemen may ſhadow themſelues vnder one of theſe Trees. *Oneſicritus* rayſeth this number to foure hundred. This tree (ſaith *Theophraſtus*) exceedeth all other in bigneſſe, which alſo *Plinie* and *Oneſicritus* confirme: to the trunke of which, theſe Authors giue ſuch a magnitude, as I ſhame to repeate. But it may bee, they all ſpeake by an ill-vnderſtood report. For this *Indian* Fig-tree is not ſo rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiueth, who becauſe hee found it no where elſe, would needes draw the Garden of *Paradiſe* to the Tree, and ſet it by the Riuer *Aceſines*. But many parts of the world haue them, and I my ſelfe haue ſeene twentie thouſand of them in one Valley, not farre from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moiſt grounds, and in this manner: After they are firſt ſhot vp ſome twentie or thirtie foot in length (ſome more, ſome leſſe, according to the ſoile) they ſpread a very large top, hauing no bough nor twigge in the trunke or ſtemme: for from the vtmoſt end of the head branches there iſſueth out a gummy iuyce, which hangeth downeward like a cord or ſinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no ſooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the top boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this cord maketh it ſelfe a Tree exceeding haſtily. From the vtmoſt boughes of theſe yong Trees there fall againe the like cords, which in one yeare and leſſe (in that World of a perpetuall Spring) become alſo trees of the bighneſſe of the neather part of a Lance, and as ſtraight, as arte or nature can make any thing, caſting ſuch a ſhade, and making ſuch a kind of Groue, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now, one of theſe Trees conſidered with all his yong ones, may (indeed) ſhrowd foure hundred or foure thouſand Horſemen, if they pleaſe; for they couer whole Vallies of ground where theſe Trees grow neare the Sea-banke, as they doe by thouſands in the inner part of *Trinidado*. The cordes which fall downe ouer the bankes into the Sea, ſhooting alway downeward to finde roote vnder water, are in thoſe Seas of the *Indies*, where Oyſters breede, intangled in their beds, ſo as by pulling vp one of theſe cordes out of the Sea, I haue ſeene fiue hundred Oyſters hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that Oyſters grew on Trees in *India*. But that they beare any ſuch huge leaues, or any ſuch delicate fruit, I could neuer finde, and yet I haue trauailed a dozen miles together vnder them: but to returne to *Goropius Becanus*. This Tree (ſaith hee) was good for meate and pleaſing to the ſight, as the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill is deſcribed to bee.

Secondly, this Tree hauing ſo huge a trunke (as the former Authors report, and *Becanus* beleeueth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eue* hid themſelues from the preſence of God, for no other tree (ſaith he) could contayne them. But firſt it is certayne, that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude, as touching the trunke or ſtemme, for among ten thouſand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger then the reſt, and theſe are all but of a meane ſize. Secondly, the words of *Moſes* tranſlated, *in medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters vnderſtood in the plurall number (that is) *in the middeſt of the Trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moſes Bar-cephas*, word for word) is, *Gen.3.7.* That when *Adam* and *Eue* found themſelues naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeed) that either the tree it ſelfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: becauſe *Adam* being poſſeſt with ſhame, did not run vp and downe the Garden to ſeeke out leaues to couer him, but found them in the place it ſelfe; and theſe leaues of all other were moſt commodious by reaſon of *Plin.l.12.c.5.* their largeneſſe, which *Plinie* auoweth in theſe words: *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet*; *The breadth of the leaues hath the ſhape of an Amazonian ſhield:* which alſo *Theophraſt* confirmeth; the forme of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Virg. Aen.l.1. 494.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
PENTHESILAEA *furens.*

The *Amazons* with Creſcent-formed ſhield
PENTHESILAEA leades into the field.

Here *Becanus* deſireth to bee beleeued, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him, to giue credit to this his borrowed diſcouerie, vſing this confident (or rather cholericke) ſpeech: *Quis erit tam impudenter obſtinatus, ſi hæc à nobis de ficu hac ex antiquis ſcriptoribus cum* MOSIS *narratione comparet, vt audeat dicere aliam arborem inueniri poſſe, quæ cum illa magis quadret? Who will be ſo impudently obſtinate, if he compare theſe things which* *we haue reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers deliuered, with the narration of* Moses, *as to dare to auow, that any other Tree can bee found, which doth more properly anſwer, or agree therewith?* But for my ſelfe, becauſe I neither find this Tree, ſorting in body, in largeneſſe of leaues, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: That the Earth neuer brought forth any of theſe trees neither before nor after; but I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kinde: onely thereby, and by the eaſie Commandement by God giuen to *Adam*, to forbeare to feede thereon, it pleaſed God to make triall of his obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quàm ad commendandum puræ ac ſimplicis Obedientiæ bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other reſpect, then thereby to commend the goodneſſe of pure and ſimple Obedience.*

Auguſt. de Ciuit. Dei, l. 13. c. 20.

§. III.

Of Becanvs *his not vnwitty allegorizing of the ſtory of his* Ficus Indica.

BVt in this I muſt doe *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his ſuppoſition of the Tree it ſelfe to bee true. The effects whereof, becauſe his diſcourſes are exceeding ample, I haue gathered in theſe few words. As this Tree (ſaith he) ſo did Man grow ſtraight and vpright towards God, vntill ſuch time as he had tranſgreſſed and broken the Commandement of his Creator; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, he began to bend downeward, and ſtooped toward the earth, which all the reſt of *Adams* poſteritie after him haue done, rooting themſelues therein, and faſtning themſelues to this corrupt world. The exceeding vmbragiouſneſſe of this tree, he compareth to the darke and ſhadowed life of man, through which the Sunne of iuſtice being not able to pierce, wee haue all remayned in the ſhaddow of death, till it pleaſed *Chriſt* to climbe the tree of the Croſſe for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among ſo many large leaues, may be compared (ſaith hee) to the little vertue, and vnperceiued knowledge among ſo large vanities, which obſcure and ſhadow it ouer. And as this fruit is exceeding ſweet, and delicate to the taſte and palate: ſo are the delights and pleaſures of the world moſt pleaſing, while they dure. But as all thoſe things which are moſt mellifluous, are ſooneſt changed into choller and bitterneſſe: ſo are our vanities and pleaſures conuerted into the bittereſt ſorrowes and repentances. That the leaues are ſo exceeding large, the fruit (for ſuch leaues) exceeding little, in this, by compariſon we behold (ſaith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their ſollicitude, their outward ſhewes, and publike oſtentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we ſeeke for the fruit, which ought to bee their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bigneſſe of the ſmalleſt peaze; glorie, to all the world apparent; goodneſſe, to all the world inuiſible. And furthermore, as the leaues, body, and boughes of this Tree, by ſo much exceed all other Plants, as the greateſt men of power and worldly abilitie ſurpaſſe the meaneſt: ſo is the little fruit of ſuch men, and ſuch trees, rather fitting and becomming the vnworthyeſt Shrub, and humbleſt Bryar, or the pooreſt and baſeſt Man, than ſuch a flouriſhing ſtatelineſſe, and magnitude. Laſtly, whereas *Adam*, after hee had diſobeyed God, and beheld his owne nakedneſſe and ſhame, ſought for leaues to couer himſelfe withall, this may ſerue to put vs in minde of his and our ſinnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintayne which, wee vſe ſo many vncharitable and cruell practices in this world.

§. IIII.

Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and euill: with ſome other notes touching the ſtorie of Adams *ſinne.*

NOw, as touching the ſenſe of this tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it ſelfe, *Moſes Bar-cephas* an ancient *Syrian* Doctor (tranſlated by *Maſius*) giueth this iudgement: That the fruit of this Tree had no ſuch vertue or qualitie, as that by the taſting thereof, there was any ſuch knowledge created in *Adam*, as if hee had beene ignorant before; but as *Iunius* alſo noteth: *Arbor ſcientiæ boni & mali (id eſt) experientiæ boni & mali ab euentu*; *The Tree of Knowledge of good and euill (that is) the experience of good and euill by the euent.* For thus much we may conceiue, that *Adam* being made (according to the *Hebrew* phraſe) by the workmanſhip of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection then euer any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whoſe ſeed, all men liuing, haue growne vp; and hauing receiued immortalitie from the breath or ſpirit of God, he could not (for theſe reſpects) bee ignorant, that the diſobeying of Gods Commandement was the fearefulleſt euill, and the obſeruation of his Precepts the happieſt good. But as men in perfect health doe (notwithſtanding) conceiue, that ſickneſſe is grieuous, and yet in no ſuch degree of torment, as by the ſuffering and experience in themſelues they afterwards witneſſe: ſo was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the puniſhments, due to neglect and diſobedience; and yet felt by the proofe thereof in himſelfe another terror then he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glaſſe of his owne guiltie ſoule, he beheld therein the horror of Gods iudgements, ſo as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchaſed euill, which could not be expreſt. He then ſaw himſelfe naked both in body and mind; that is, depriued of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not becauſe the fruit thereof had any ſuch operation, by any ſelfe qualitie or effect: for the ſame phraſe is vſed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are giuen to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In ſuch ſort as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, by cauſe of the euent (as is aforeſaid:) ſo was the Well of contention therefore called *Eſek*, and the Well of hatred *Sitnath*, becauſe the Heardſmen of *Iſaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the heape of Stones, called the *heape of witneſſe*, betweene *Iacob* and *Laban*, not that the ſtones bare witneſſe, but for a memorie of the Couenant. So *Iacob* called the houſe of God *Bethel*: and *Hagar*, the Well in the Deſart, *Viuentis, & videntis.*

Num.20.13.
Gen.26.20.21.
Cap.31.48.
Cap.28.19.
Cap.16.14.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and maſtered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge then he had perceiued in himſelfe, and looking but ſlightly (as all his iſſues doe) into the miſeries and ſorrowes incident, and greatly affecting the ſuppoſed glorie which he might obtayne by taſting the fruit forbidden, he was tranſported and blowne forward, by the gentle winde of pleaſing perſwaſions, vnawares; his progreſſion being ſtrengthened by the ſubtile arguments of Satan, who laboured to poyſon mankinde in the very roote, which he moyſtned with the liquor of the ſame ambition, by which himſelfe periſhed for euer.

But what meanes did the Deuill find out, or what inſtruments did his owne ſubtlety preſent him, as fitteſt and apteſt to worke this miſchiefe by? euen the vnquiet vanitie of the vvoman; ſo as by *Adams* harkning to the voice of his wife, contrary to the expreſſe commandement of the liuing God, Mankind by that her incantation became the ſubiect of labour, ſorrow, and death: the woman being giuen to man for a Comforter and Companion, but not for a Counſeller. *But becauſe thou haſt obeyed the voice of thy wife, &c.* (ſaid God himſelfe.) *Curſed is the earth for thy ſake, in ſorrow ſhalt thou eate of it all thy life.* It is alſo to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; euen by the moſt vgly and vnworthy of all beaſts, into whom the Deuill entred and perſwaded.

Bart.ſem.2.l.2.
Gen.3.17.

Secondly, vvhat was the motiue of her diſobedience? euen a deſire to know what was moſt vnfitting her knowledge, an affection which hath euer ſince remayned in all the poſteritie of her ſexe. Thirdly, vvhat was it that moued the man to yeeld to her perſwaſions? euen the ſame cauſe vvhich hath moued all men ſince to the like conſent, namely, an vnwillingneſſe to grieue her and make her ſad, leſt ſhee ſhould pine and be ouer-come vvith ſorrow. But if *Adam* in the ſtate of perfection, and *Salomon* the ſonne of *Dauid*, Gods choſen ſeruant, and himſelfe a man endued vvith the greateſt wiſedome, did both of them diſobey their Creator, by the perſwaſion and for the loue they bare to a Woman, it is not ſo wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in ſucceeding ages haue beene allured to ſo many inconuenient and wicked practices, by the perſwaſions of their wiues, or other beloued Darlings, who couer ouer and ſhadow many malicious purpoſes with a counterfeit paſſion of diſſimulate ſorrow and vnquietneſſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of diuers memorable things betweene the Fall of ADAM, *and the Floud of* NOAH.

§. I.

Of the cauſe and the reuenge of CAINS *ſinne: and of his going out from God.*

THe ſame Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward poſſeſt *Adam*, *Cain* alſo inherited: for *Cain* (enuious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) ſlue him, making himſelfe the firſt Man-ſlayer, and his Brother the firſt Martyr: the reuenge of which vnnaturall Murther, although, it pleaſed God to mitigate, when *Cain* cryed out that his puniſhment was greater then he could beare. For the ſame offence chiefly (wherewith the Sonnes of *Adam*, as it were, vrged and prouoked God) hee deſtroyed all Mankind, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth alſo was corrupt before God*: of which in the ſame place *Moſes* giueth a reaſon, for ſaith he, *The Earth was filled with crueltie*: and anon after, God himſelfe made the cauſe knowne vnto *Noah*, ſayng; *An end of all fleſh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with crueltie thorough them, and behold, I will deſtroy them with the Earth*, or *from the Earth*. Neither was this crueltie meant to haue beene in taking away the liues of men only, but in all ſorts of Iniuſtice and Oppreſſion. After this Murther of ABEL, CAIN *went out from the preſence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the Eaſt ſide of Eden*: in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the preſence of the Lord, is not to be vnderſtood after the literall ſenſe; God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in cœlo eſt, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, ſed vtrumq; ſimul*; *God* (ſaith Saint AVGVSTINE) *is wholly in Heauen, and wholly in Earth, not by enterchanged times, but all at once*; And that this is true, *Dauid* witneſſeth: *If I be in Heauen* (ſaith DAVID) *thou art there*; *in Hell, thou art there alſo*. But what is meant thereby? *Exijt à facie Dei* (ſaith CHRYSOSTOME) CAIN *went out from the preſence of the Lord* (that is) *he was left of God, diſfauoured and bereaued of his protection*.

Gen.6.v.11.13.

Gen.4.v.16.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.l.12.c.19.

Pſal.139.8.

Chryſoſt in Gen. Homil.2.

§. II.

Of CAINS *dwelling in the Land of Nod: and of his Citie Enoch.*

THis word *Nod* or *Naid*, S. *Hierome* and many others vnderſtand to ſignifie wandring or incertaine habitation: vexation or agitation, ſaith *Iunius*; but the Seuentie conuert it otherwiſe, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Countrey, and ſo doth *Ioſephus*. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, then any thing elſe, and that his thoughts and conſcience had no quiet or reſt, in regard of the Murther commited, iuſtly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence: *And whoſoeuer findeth me* (ſaith CAIN) *ſhall ſlay me*. Now that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherin *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word *(dwelt)* for dwelling ſignifieth an abiding: and wee call thoſe people Wanderers and Vagabonds that haue no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifeſt, *Moſes* teacheth in what part of the Earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the Eaſt ſide of *Eden*. Secondly, it is ſaid by *Moſes*, that after *Cain* departed from the preſence or fauour of God, he built a Citie, and called it by the name of his firſt-borne, *Enoch*; which ſheweth that he feared to wander, and rather ſought to fortifie himſelfe againſt reuenge. *Cyrillus* ſaith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of Chriſt, and of the *Iewes*; and that as *Cain* after that he had ſlaine *Abel* vniuſtly, had thence-forth no certaine abiding in the World: ſo the *Iewes*, after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnegates: and it is true, that the *Iewes* had neuer ſince any certaine Eſtate, Common-weale, or Prince of their owne vpon the Earth. Now this Land of *Nod*, *Iunius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deſerta*, a Region of *Nomades*; but *Arabia* the Deſert is not Eaſtward, or on the Eaſt part of *Eden*, neither are theſe *Nomades* any particular People or Nation. For all theſe, in what part of the World ſoeuer, which in old time liued by Paſtorage, and fed (as

Hieron. trad. Heb.

Ioſeph.l.1.c.3.

Gen.4.14.

Gen.4.16.

17.

we call it in *Ireland)* vpon white meate, without tilling of the ground, are called by the *Greekes*, *Nomades*, and by the *Latines*, *Paſtores vagi*; as the Northerne *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Brittans*, and the Northerne *Iriſh*: yea, ſuch were the Inhabitants of *Italie* it ſelfe, till ſuch time as *Italus* (who gaue them that name) taught them the Husbandry of tillage, vſed at this day. But the Region Eaſtward from *Eden* is that part of *Aſſyria*, called by *Ptolemie*, *Calena*, which alſo might be deriued of *Carena*, the country of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in thoſe parts it may be gathered by the firſt poſſeſſion of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, GEN. 3. *Therefore the Lord God ſent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence hee was taken*: and in the Verſe following: *Thus hee caſt out man, &c. and at the Eaſt ſide of the Garden of Eden he ſet the Cherubins*: which ſheweth that the entrie into Paradiſe was from the Eaſt, by which entrance *Adam* was caſt out, and therefore inhabiting on that ſide of Paradiſe which was Eaſtward, according to the Text, *Cain* alſo in the ſame Region ſought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe ſignifie *profugus*, that is, a fugitiue, we can giue no longer time to this vncertaine habitation of *Cain*, then till he built the Citie of *Enoch*, the firſt of the World, which hee incloſed either for his owne defence, or (as *Ioſephus* writeth) to oppreſſe others thereby. So as for mine own opinion, I am reſolued with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which *Cain* vſeth of himſelfe, it ſeemeth by the percloſe of the ſame Verſe, that (Vagabond) is therein vnderſtood for ſuch an one as trauaileth in feare of reuengement: *for whoſoeuer findeth me* (ſaith CAIN) *ſhall ſlay me*; or elſe (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and caſt out from the fauour of God.

Verſe 23.

24.

And becauſe theſe *Henochians*, ſo called of the Citie *Henoch*, were the firſt ſocietie and ciuill aſſembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of theſe people (either for crueltie, ſtrength, or other actions) liued in the memorie of *Noah* and his Sonnes; ſo that after the Floud (as there were of all ſorts of natures, ſome vertuouſly, ſome impiouſly diſpoſed, and euery actiue minde ſetting before it whom to follow or imitate) thoſe people, which delighted in crueltie and oppreſſion tooke on them their names whoſe natures they moſt liked and allowed; of whom theſe *Henochians* were not the leaſt. Perchance the place it ſelfe where *Henoch* ſtood before the Floud, and whereof the Monuments might remayne (as the Pillars or the foundation of *Ioppe* did) gaue occaſion to the Planters of that place to call themſelues by the ſame name: for of thoſe *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Sogdiana*, and *Bactria*, and of the ſame name many Mountaines, as thoſe which are otherwiſe called *Coraxici*. And ſeeing that it is hard to find out the truth of theſe things, which the moſt aged Time hath couered ouer or defaced, we may (according to the counſell of *Plato)* exceedingly reioyce, and therewith ſatisfie our ſelues, if of ſo great and almoſt worn-out Antiquity, if of the eldeſt peoples names & Nations there remain any print or foot-ſteps to Poſterity.

Quotidiè aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, noua vrbium fundamẽta iaciuntur, noua Gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus prioribus) oriuntur, Seneca ad Albinum.

In * *Plinie*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, wee finde thoſe *Henochei* deſcribed, though diuerſly written, as in *Plinie*, ſometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela Eniochi*, in *Flaccus Heniochi*, in *Lucan Enochij*, all which inhabit vpon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of theſe are on the Eaſt ſide of *Eden*, or (according to *Moſes* wordes) Eaſtward from *Eden*. For *Moſes*, in all places where he deſcribeth any Region, was ſo exceeding preciſe, as ſometime he vſeth the word Eaſt or South without borrowing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eaſtward or Southward, or towards the Eaſt or South. In the place of *Geneſis* the eleuenth hee writeth the word (Eaſt) ſimply and directly. *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar*, but in this of *Cain* he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the Land of Nod, towards the Eaſt ſide of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining ſome one point or two either to the North or to the South of the Eaſt.

* *Plin. l. 6. c. 9. 11. & 15. Mel. l. 1. c. vlt. Strabo lib. 11. Val. Flacc l. 6. Lucan. l. 3. v. 37.*

V. 2.

But as we may coniecture that theſe Nations tooke name of *Henoch* the Citie of *Cain*, or of the Region wherein it ſtood, when the ſame was repeopled after the Floud: ſo it is probable that theſe *Henochij* of *Colchis*, & other parts adioyning, were not the firſt of that name, after the Sonnes of *Noah* began to fill the World againe: becauſe, had this *Henoch* the City of *Cain* ſtood in any of theſe parts, it had then bin ſeated North, and not Eaſt or Eaſtward from *Eden*. But as *Plinie* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, ſo afterwards hee goeth on Eaſtward, till hee tracke them or trace them out to their originall. For hee calleth theſe of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolomie Zani*; beyond which

Plin. l. 6. c. 4. 5. Ptol. tab. Aſiæ 3.

an hundred and fifty mile Eaſtward hee findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond theſe he againe diſcouereth a third Nation, from whence all the reſt tooke beginning, which inhabited on the Weſt ſide of the Mountaines of *Paro-paniſus*, betweene them and the great Riuer of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North ſide; and theſe *Henochij* are due Eaſt from the Region of *Eden*, and Eaſtward from the very Garden it ſelfe.

And although wee cannot bee aſſured, rhat theſe *Henochij* tooke name from the memorie of the Citie of *Enoch* directly, yet becauſe they inhabited due Eaſt from Paradiſe, and afterwards ſpred themſelues Weſtward (as all *Noahs* Sonnes did that came into *Shinar*) the coniecture is farre more probable, then that of *Annius* the Frier, who ſets *Henoch* in *Phœnicia*, quite contrary to *Moſes* word: *Phœnicia* from all parts of *Eden* beeing directly Weſt.

And beſides theſe ſeuerall Nations of the *Henochij*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the ſame alſo in the Eaſt, with diuers Mountaines about *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, of the ſame name. Onely the *Græcians* (according to their fabulous inuentions of all things elſe) out of the word *(Heniochi)* which ſignifieth Carts or Coach-men; make theſe Nations to haue ſprung from the Waggoners of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprize of *Iaſon* into *Colchis*. And though I doe not deny, but that *Iaſon* with other *Greekes* ranged the Coaſts of *Aſia* the leſſe in an open Boat or kind of ſmall Galley, * of whom I ſhall ſpeake in his owne time: yet no man doubteth but that the Tale of the Golden Fleece was for the moſt part Poeticall; and withall that in ſuch an open Boat, which could hardly carry their owne Rowers, being 54. there was no place, and leſſe vſe of Coach-horſes or Waggoners.

Steph. de Vrb.

Nat. Comes calleth them *Rhecus.*

Nat Com. l. 8. c. 9. Strab. l. 11.

*In the ſecond Booke of this firſt Part, Cap. 13. §. 5.

§. III.

Of MOSES *his omitting ſundry things concerning* CAINS *Generation.*

BVt of the remembrance and teſtimonies of the name of the Citie of *Henoch* in prophane Storie, thus much may ſuffice; Now it followeth to anſwere ſome few Obiections againſt certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Geneſis*: againſt which for the firſt it is demanded, how it was poſſible for *Cain* (hauing no other aſſiſtance then his Sonne *Henoch*) to performe ſuch a Worke as the building of a Citie, ſeeing there is thereto required ſo many hands, and ſo great a maſſe of all ſorts of Materials? To which it is anſwered, that we are firſt to conſider, That of *Cain* (becauſe he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moſes* vſeth no ample declaration; and ſo it beſt agreeth with his diuine Reaſon, ſeeing that he containeth the whole Storie of the firſt Race, which waſted by the leaſt account, 1656. yeares, in fiue ſhort Chapters. Yet thus much may euery man borrow of his owne weakeſt reaſon, That ſeeing it pleaſed God to beſtow on the firſt Generations of mens liues ſo long a meaſure, as 800. and 900. yeares, that in ſuch a ſpace *Cain* had not want of leiſure and meanes to build many ſuch Cities as *Henoch*, be the capacitie anſwering to what other of the World ſoeuer: for in what Age of *Cains* life he built it, the Scriptures are ſilent: as of whoſe times, and the times of his Iſſues *Moſes* had the leaſt care. And as it was ſaid of *Cain*, that he built a City: ſo was it ſaid of *Noah*, that his three Sonnes peopled all the World, but in both, the proceſſe of time required to be vnderſtood: which aduice ſeeing *Moſes* vſeth where the ſpace leſſe requireth it, as knowing that hee writ the Scriptures to reaſonable men, wee may eaſily vnderſtand, that ſuch was his meaning alſo in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the Birth of *Abel*, and Oblation of *Cain*, he ſpake it in this ſort, *Fuit autem poſt dies multos* or *à fine dierum* (that is) in proceſſe of time, *it came to paſſe that* CAIN *brought an Oblation.* And therefore it is in like ſort to bee vnderſtood of *Cain*, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increaſed, he built the Citie of *Enoch* or *Henoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, ſo of *Salomon*, that hee built the Temple of *Hieruſalem*; yet it is well knowne of *Salomon*, that he employed in that Worke, 150000. Labourers: for this phraſe or ſpeech is common with our ſelues to ſay, The King inuaded; when he cauſed an inuaſion to be made: and he built, when he commanded ſuch a building. And therfore ſeeing we find that *Moſes* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cains* Iſſues, it is not to be maruailed at, why he alſo

2. Kin 56.

paſſeth ouer in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumſtance: for
Gen.4.17. of *Cain, Moſes*, writeth in this manner: Cain *alſo knew his Wife, who conceiued and bare* Henoch, *and he built a Citie, and called the name of the Citie after the name of his ſonne* Henoch. *And to* Henoch *was borne* Irad, *and* Irad *begat* Mehviael, *and*
18. Mehviael *begat* Methvsael, *and* Methvsael Lamech.

C.5.v.5. Now of *Seth, Moſes* writeth farre otherwiſe, and in this manner. *And* Seth *liued an hundred and fiue yeares, and begat* Enoch, *and* Seth *liued after he begat* Enoch 807. *yeare, and begat Sonnes and Daughters: ſo as all the dayes of* Seth *were* 912. *yeares, and he dyed:* as for the yeares & times of the wicked, they were not numbred *in libro viuentium*, ſaith *Cyril*. But in *Seth* was the Church of God eſtabliſhed, from whom Chriſt deſcended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke *Moſes* walked in, and finiſhed it with care, paſſing ouer the Reprobate Generation (as aforeſaid.) Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain, Moſes* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one, and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* alſo therein, as followeth:

I. Adam.

2 *Cain.*
3 *Henoch.*
4 *Irad.*
5 *Mahuiael.*
6 *Mathuſael.*
7 *Lamech*, who by *Ada* had
8 *Iubal* and *Tubal*, & by *Silla Tubalcain*, and *Noëma*.

2 *Seth*
3 *Enoſh.*
4 *Cainan:*
5 *Mahaleel.*
6 *Iarad.*
7 *Henoch.*
8 *Mathuſalem.*
9 *Lamech*, and
10. *Noah.*

Theſe be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Ioſephus* giueth vnto *Lamech* threeſcore and ſeuenteene Sonnes and Daughters, by his two Wiues *Ada* and *Silla*: and to theſe three Sonnes of *Lamech, Moſes* aſcribeth the Inuention of Paſtorage, of Muſicke, and the working in Metall; for it ſeemeth that *Iubal* firſt gathered together, and made familiar thoſe beaſts which formerly were vntamed, and
Gen.4.20.21,22 brought them into Heards and Droues: *Tubal* inuented Muſicke, and *Tubalcain* the working in Braſſe and Iron: the one being addicted to Huſbandry, the other was Mechanicall, the third giuen to Idleneſſe and Pleaſure. In whom beganne theſe three meaner degrees of Sheepheards, Handy-crafts-men, and Muſicians. And in the Iſſues of *Seth* began the Seruices of God, Diuinitie, Prophecie, and Aſtronomie: the Children of the one beheld the Heauens, the other the Earth.

§. IV.

Of the diuerſities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Second ſcruple hath beene made, How it came to paſſe that the Patriarchs begat their Children at ſo diuers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at ſeuentie yeares, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threeſcore and fiue yeares, whereas *Iared* begat not any of his vntill he was 162. yeares old: *Mathuſalem* begat at a 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. yeares. Now this difference hath bin the more enforced, becauſe it cannot bee coniectured, that either *Iared, Mathuſalem* or *Lamech* abſtained from Marriage out of the Religion of Abſtinence, ſeeing that *Enoch*, who was tranſlated by God for his ſingular Sanctities, begat children before he was threeſcore and ten yeares old.

The apparent difference hereof ariſeth in this, that *Moſes* did not number the Generations before the Floud preciſely, according to the firſt begotten and eldeſt ſonnes of the Patriarchs, but he drew downe the Line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Anceſtors, were they elder or younger as he found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldeſt of *Iarad*, nor *Lamech* the firſt-borne of *Mathuſalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrary, but that *Noah* might haue had many Sonnes before *Shem*, *Ham* and *Iaphet*, though theſe three were only named, and ſuruiuing, and which by God were reſerued to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to bee begotten by *Kenan* at threeſcore and ten yeares who was the firſt Sonne of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Mathuſalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. yeare of his life, the difference ſeemeth ſtrange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldeſt. But *Moſes* reiecteth all the other ſonnes of *Mathuſalem* but *Lamech* only, becauſe hee was the Father of *Noah* as aforeſaid. Of this

Saint *Auguſtine* hath ſomewhat elſe in his twentieth and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Ciuitate Dei*.

But as *Moſes* counted the Generations of the firſt Age, & ſo to *Abraham*, and the children of the Promiſe after him, ſo doth Saint *Matthew* recite the Genealogie of Chriſt, not by the eldeſt ſonnes, but from thoſe whom God had choſen and bleſſed, without reſpect of the firſt-borne, who haue hereby the prerogatiue in Eſtates, worldly and tranſitorie only; and therefore the Euangeliſt nameth *Iſaac*, and not *Iſmael*, though *Iſmael* were firſt in time: ſo doth he take *Iacob* the younger, and not *Eſau* the elder, neither is Chriſt deriued from any of the three eldeſt Patriarchs, *Reuben, Simeon,* or *Leui*, but from *Iuda* a fourth Brother, and ſo from *Dauid* a younger ſonne of *Ieſſai*; and laſtly, wee find, that the Kingdome it ſelfe of *Iuda* was not giuen to the Heire in Nature, but to the Heire of Grace, namely *Salomon*.

Mat.1.2.

1.Kings 2.

§. V.

Of the long liues of the Patriarchs: and ſome of late memorie.

The third Obiection is, that the great difference of yeares betweene thoſe of the firſt Age, whereof ſome of them had well-neere ſeene a thouſand yeares, makes it diſputable, whether the account of times were of the ſame meaſure as in after-ages, ſeeing, that ſoone after the Floud, men liued not a third part of that time, and in ſucceeding Ages and to this day, not the tenth.

They that haue hereon reſolued that thoſe yeares were but Lunarie yeares, (to wit) of a Moneth or thereabouts, or *Egyptian* yeares, are eaſily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enoſh* in the yeare of his life an hundred and fiue, if thoſe yeares bee taken but for Moneths, then had *Seth* liued but eight yeares, and one Moneth when hee begat *Enoſh*: & if the time of *Enoſh* haue the ſame allowance, when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enoſh* at that time haue beeene but ſixe yeares and fortie eight weekes old; and ſo it may bee gathered of the reſt excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and ſeed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to giue an abilitie of Generation at ſix, ſeuen or eight yeares, agreeth with the ſhort liues of the *Pigmies*, and not with the conſtitutions of our firſt Fathers, who being deſcended from *Adam*, the workmanſhip of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the ſtrong youth of the World, had length of dayes and abilitie of body agreeable. Againe, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunarie yeares, then there would follow this extremitie, that thoſe which liued longeſt, and vpwards of nine hundred yeares, had by that account but the time of foureſcore and ten and odde yeares; which were not only leſſe by farre then the Patriarchs liued after the Floud, but ſhort of many mens liues in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed foureſcore, & ſome a hundred yeares. Further (if need be) to diſproue this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen.25.* That *Abraham* dyed in a good Age, an old man, and of great yeares: all which (if the former account were of Lunary yeares) makes but ſeuenteene and an halfe of our yeares.

Solin.Pol.hiſt.c.3
Macrob.Satur. lib.1.cap.8.
Plin.l.7.c.48.

And if we ſeeke for a cauſe of this long life in Nature, then is it reaſonable, that the firſt man, created in higheſt perfection, ſhould alſo beget Children of equall ſtrength or little differing: for of the firſt and pureſt ſeed there muſt of neceſſitie ſpring vp the faireſt and fruitfulleſt Plants. Secondly, the Earth it ſelfe was then much leſſe corrupt, which yeelded her increaſe, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any ſuch mixture of harmefull qualitie, as ſince that time the Curſe of God for the crueltie of mans heart brought on it and Mankind: Neither had the Waters of the Floud infuſed ſuch an impuritie, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruits vpon the Earth receiued a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things vnder the Sunne haue one time of ſtrength, and another of weakneſſe, a youth & beautie, and then age and deformitie: ſo Time it ſelfe (vnder the deathfull ſhade of whoſe wings all things decay and wither) hath waſted and worne out that liuely vertue of Nature in Man, and Beaſts, and Plants; yea, the Heauens themſelues being of a moſt pure and clenſed matter, ſhall waxe old as a Garment; and then much more the power generatiue in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receiue operatiue Vertue from the ſuperiour.

Pſal.102.v.26.

But beſides the olde age of the World, how farre doth our education and ſimplitie of liuing differ from that old time? the tender bringing vp of Children, firſt fedde and nouriſhed with the Milke of a ſtrange Dugge; an vnnaturall curioſitie hauing taught all Women (but the Begger) to find out Nurſes, which neceſſitie only ought to commend vnto them: The haſtie Marriages in tender yeares, wherein, Nature being but yet greene and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her ſelfe hath not yet any root ſufficient to maintaine her owne top; and ſuch halfe-ripe Seeds (for the moſt part) in their growing vp wither in the bud, and wax old euen in their Infancie. But aboue all things the exceeding luxurioſneſſe of this gluttonous Age, wherein wee preſſe Nature with ouer-weightie burdens, and finding her ſtrength defectiue, wee take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of ſtrong Waters, hot Spices, and prouoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath theſe elegant Verſes:

Pharſal.4.

——————O prodiga rerum
Luxuries, nunquam paruo contenta paratu:
Et quæſitorum terra pelagoq; ciborum
Ambitioſa fames, & lautæ gloria menſæ,
Diſcite quàm paruo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum Natura petat.
Non auro myrrhâq; bibunt: ſed gurgite puro
Vita redit: ſatis eſt populis fluuiuſq; Cereſq;.

O waſtfull Riot, neuer well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea farre fetcht and ſent:
Vaine glorie of a Table ſumptuous,
Learne with how little life may be preſerued,
In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carouſe,
But with the Brooke the peoples thirſt is ſerued:
Who fed with Bread and Water are not ſterued.

Pier.Hierog.l.2.

The *Ægyptians* affirme, that the longeſt time of mans life is a hundred yeares, becauſe the heart in a perfect bodie waxeth and groweth to ſtrength fiftie yeares, and afterwards by the ſame degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philoſophie, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twentie yeares, and *Beroſus* to a hundred and ſeuenteene yeares. Theſe opinions *Plinie* repeateth and reproueth, producing many Examples to the contrarie. In the laſt taxation, number and reuiew of the eighth Region of *Italie*, there were found in the Roll (ſaith *Plinie*) foure and fiftie perſons of an hundred yeares of age: ſeuen & fiftie of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred and fiue and twentie: foure, of an hundred and thirtie: as many that were hundred and fiue & thirtie, or hundred and ſeuen and thirtie yeares old: & laſt of all three men of an hundred and fortie: and this ſearch was made in the times of *Veſpaſian* the Father and the Sonne.

Plin.l.7.c.29.

Ioſe.ant.l.13.c.8
Plin.l.7.c.48.

The ſimple dyet and temperate life of the *Eſſæans* gaue them long account of many yeares: ſo did it to the Secretaries of *Egyptian* Ceremonies, to the *Perſians Magicians* and *Indian Brachmans*. The *Greeks* affirme out of *Homer*, that *Neſtor* liued three Ages, and *Tireſias* ſix, *Sybilla* three hundred yeares, *Endymion* of the leſſe *Aſia* little leſſe: Alſo *Maſaniſſa* of *Numidia* liued very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia* many liued three hundred yeares (ſaith *Ephorus*.) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that ſome of them liue full two hundred yeare: and ſo doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*; and that theſe reports are not fabulous; *Ioſephus* bringeth many witneſſes with him ſelfe, as *Marethon, Beroſus, Mochus, Eſtius, Hieronymus Ægyptius, Hecatæus, Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume* an Hiſtorian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeare 1570. there was an *Indian* preſented to *Solyman*, Generall of the *Turkes* Armie, who had out-liued three hundred yeares. I my ſelfe knew the old Counteſſe of *Deſmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Mũſter*, who liued in the yeare 1589. and many yeares ſince, who was marryed in *Edward* the Fourths time, and held her Ioynture from all the Earles of *Deſmond* ſince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munſter* can witneſſe. *Strozzius Cicogna*, out of *Torquemada Maſſæus*, and the like Authors, telleth of ſome that haue not only far exceeded the terme preſcribed by *Epigenes*; but beene repayred from the withered eſtate of decrepit Age to freſh youth. But for length of life, if wee note but the difference betweene the abilitie of men in thoſe dayes wherein *Galen* the Phiſician liued, it may eaſily proue vnto vs what Reeds we are in reſpect of thoſe Cedars of the firſt Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let bloud ſix pound weight, whereas we (for the moſt part) ſtop at ſix Ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Conſtellations) which are the naturall cauſes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) ſtrong Parents, a pure and thin Ayre, and temperate vſe of dyet, pleaſure, and reſt: for thoſe which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring ſtone, cannot ſtand long vpright; on Ayre we feed alwayes and in euery inſtant, and on meates but at times: and yet the heauy load of abundance, wherewith we oppreſſe & ouercharge Nature, maketh her to ſinke vnawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good conſtitution, a pure Aire, and a temperate vſe of thoſe things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs deliuering their knowledge by Tradition: and that ENOCH *writ before the Floud.*

A Fourth ſcruple hath beene made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to *Moſes*, ſeeing there was no Storie thereof written, and if any ſuch had beene, yet it is conceiued, that all memorie of Antiquitie periſhed in the Vniuerſall Floud.

But if we conſider the curioſity and policie of elder ages, we ſhall find, that knowledge was the greateſt treaſure that men ſought for, and which they alſo couered and hid from the vulgar ſort, as Iewels of ineſtimable price, fearing the irreuerent conſtruction of the ignorant and irreligious: ſo as whatſoeuer was attained vnto concerning God, and his working in nature, the ſame was not left to publique diſpute, but deliuered ouer by heart and tradition from wiſe men to a poſteritie equally zealous; *Ex animo in animum ſine literis, medio intercedente verbo: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth.* And it was thought by *Eſdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius*, (as *Mirandula* conceiueth) that *Moſes* did not onely vpon the Mount receiue the Law from God, but withall, *ſecretiorem & veram legis enarrationem*; *a more ſecret and true explanation of the Law*; which (ſaith he, out of the ſame Authors,) he deliuered by mouth to *Ioſuah*, and *Ioſuah* to the Elders: For to teach theſe myſteries, which he called *ſecretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare ſanctum canibus, & inter porcos ſpargere Margaritas, then to giue holy things to Dogges, and to caſt Pearles before Swine.* In ſucceeding times this vnderſtanding and wiſedome began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the forme of beaſts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to ſuch as ſerued in their Temples, and to their Kings and Prieſts. Of the firſt the *Cabala* of the *Iewes* was an imitation: the inuention of the other is aſcribed to *Zoroaſter*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falſely.

Dion. Areop.

*Fol.*18.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, receiued by tradition and vnwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *receptio* in *Latine*, and a *receiuing* in Engliſh. And this cuſtome was alſo held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our ancient *Brittaines*, and of later times by the *Iriſh Chroniclers* called *Rymers*. If then ſuch as would ſeeme wiſeſt in the vſe of reaſon, will not acknowledge, that the ſtorie of the Creation or beginning of all things was written by inſpiration, the holy Ghoſt guiding the hand of *Moſes*; yet it is manifeſt, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then vſed) be deliuered vnto him by a more certaine preſumption, then any or all the teſtimonies which prophane antiquity had preſerued and left to their ſucceſſors: which their wiſe men (as they terme them) did lay vp and defend from the iniurie of the time and other hazzards. For, leauing to remember that *Adam* inſtructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and ſucceſſors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifeſt, that *Methuſalem* liued together with *Adam* himſelfe two hundred fortie and three yeares, and *Noah* with *Methuſalem* no leſſe then fiue hundred yeares: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fiftie and eight yeares old; from whence this knowledge by an eaſie and ordinarie way might come to *Iſrael*, and ſo to *Moſes*.

Cabala eſt ſcientia Theologiæ non reuelata, P. M. 82.

*Mirand.*110.*fol.*

But beſides this tradition, it is queſtionleſſe, that the vſe of letters was found out in the verie infancie of the World, proued by thoſe prophecies written on pillars of ſtone and bricke by *Enoch* of which *Ioſephus* affirmeth, that one of them remayned euen in his time (meaning belike ſome ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are aſcribed to *Seth*. But of theſe prophecies of *Enoch*, Saint *Iude* teſtifieth; and ſome part of his Bookes (which contained the courſe of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia fœlix*, in the Dominion of the Queene of *Saba* (ſaith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth that he had ſeene and read ſome whole Pages. It is not therefore ſtrange, that *Moſes* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and ſtorie of

Ioſ. l. 1.

Iud. Sp. v. 14.

Origen Homil. 1. *in Num.*

of the firſt Age, ſeeing he might receiue it both by tradition and letters, had not the ſpirit of God inſtructed and inſpired him as it did: which alſo his many and ſtrange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifeſt.

Orig. Homil. 28. in Num. & Comment. in Euang. Iohan.
Gelaſ. diſt. 15.

Now for the Bookes of *Enoch*, howſoeuer ſome men make queſtion of them, ſure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Auguſtine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazeus*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to proue them vnwritten traditions, alleageth that Pope *Gelaſius* among other the *Apocryphall* Scriptures (which he reiecteth) named not theſe of *Enoch*; but that whatſoeuer was remembred out of them, the ſame was deliuered by Tradition from the *Iewes*. But I rather thinke with *Pererius*, that ſuch a Booke there was, and that the ſame was corrupted after the death of the Apoſtles, and many things added thereunto by Heretikes, who tooke occaſion vpon the antiquitie thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Deuill about the bodie of *Moſes*, to frame and adde thereunto many inuentions of their owne. One of the greateſt arguments againſt theſe Bookes, is, that neyther *Philo*, nor *Ioſephus* (the moſt diligent ſearchers of Antiquitie) make mention thereof. But againſt it I will ſet this opinion of Saint AVGVSTINE, *Scripſiſſe quidem nonnulla diuina* ENOCH *illum ſeptimum ab* ADAM *negare non poſſumus: That* ENOCH *the ſeuenth from* ADAM *did write diuers diuine things we cannot denie.* Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were ſuſpected becauſe of the antiquitie, and of fables of Giants, ſuppoſed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by ſo much the more, becauſe no ſuch Booke was found amongſt thoſe *Canonicall Scriptures*, kept by the diligence of the *Hebrew* Prieſts in *Armario Iudaico* (ſaith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this Booke might be preſerued by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembred by *Iude*, no man can denie; how they were deliuered to poſteritie I know not, whether by the *Iewes Cabala*, or by what other meanes, the ſame is but mans coniecture. And (certainely) by the knowledge aſcribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heauens, and of the Natures and coniunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to ſome of his ſonnes, to *Zoroaſter*, and then to *Abraham*, it is verie probable that *Noah* had ſeene and might preſerue this Booke. For it is not likely, that ſo exquiſite knowledge therein (as theſe men had) was ſuddenly inuented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath beene ſaid before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* liued with *Methuſalem*, who liued with *Adam*, and *Abraham* liued with *Noah*, it is not ſtrange (I ſay) to conceiue how *Moſes* came to the knowledge of the firſt Age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* and tradition, had the vndoubted word of God need of any other proofe then ſelf-authority.

Tertul. de habit. mulierum.
Hebr. 11. 5.

§. VII.

Of the men of renowne before the Floud.

NOw let vs conſider the relation of *Moſes*, who nameth ſeuen deſcents of *Cains* children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being giuen by God in ſtead of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enoſh* begotten, in whoſe time men began to profeſſe Religion, and to offer ſacrifice in publique. For although *Adam* inſtructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the ſacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it ſeemeth that after the birth of *Enoſh* men began publiquely to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they ſerued and praiſed God by Communion and in publique manner, or calling vpon the name of the Lord, and thereby were the ſonnes of God or the godly diſtinguiſhed from the wicked. From the birth of *Enoſh* the ſonne of *Seth*, to the time of *Henoch* the ſonne of *Iared*, there is nothing remembred by *Moſes*, but their owne births, the births of their ſonnes, the length of their liues, and deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written, *That he walked with God, and he was no more ſeene*: for God tooke him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that he was a iuſt and vpright man, and that he feared, loued, and obayed God. For the ſame phraſe *Moſes* vſeth of *Noah*: NOAH *was a iuſt and vpright man in his time, and* NOAH *walked with God*. The Seuentie conuert it, ENOCH *placuit Deo*; HENOCH *pleaſed God*. And although *Aben-Ezra* and others vnderſtand this place, *(tulit eum Deus: ſcilicet, mortuus eſt; God tooke him away, (that is) he dyed*, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phraſe of the Scripture, and with our manner of ſpeech to this day, to ſay, God tooke him away, when he died; yet the difference which *Moſes* maketh betweene the pietie of *Henoch*, and the reſt of the *Patriarchs*,

Gen. 5. 24.
6. 9.

triarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he vſeth to all elſe, makes it manifeſt, that *Henoch* was not diſſolued as the reſt. For to all the reſt of the *Patriarchs*, *Moſes* vſeth theſe words, *And he dyed*; but of *Henoch* he ſpake otherwiſe, ſaying onely, *hee was miſsing*, or *he was not ſeene*. *Et non inueniebatur* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes) *quia Deus eum tranſtulit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away.* In the ſame place it is expreſly added, *that he ſaw not death.*

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the ſame kind of changing, which S. *Paul* promiſeth, when he ſaith, that *when the end ſhall come, we ſhall not all dye, but all ſhall be changed*, I leaue it to the learned Diuines. *1.Cor.15.51.*

After *Henoch*, *Moſes* paſſeth ouer to *Methuſalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the reſt) the times of their birth and death: ſauing that *Lamech* propheſied of his ſonne *Noah*, ſaying, *This ſame ſhall comfort vs concerning our worke, and ſorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath curſed.* *Gen.5.29.* Of *Noah*, *Moſes* writeth more amply, then of any of the reſt of *Adams* children by *Seth*, beeing the laſt of the ten generations of the firſt Age, whom God (with his Familie) preſerued, becauſe hee was an vpright man in his time, and feared God. *Gen.c.6.9.*

But of the warre, peace, gouernement, and policie of theſe ſtrong and mightie men, ſo able both in body and wit, there is no memorie remayning: whoſe ſtories if they had bin preſerued, and what elſe was then performed in that newneſſe of the World, there could nothing of more delight haue beene left to poſteritie. For the exceeding long liues of men (who to their ſtrength of body and naturall wits had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeares) how much of neceſſitie muſt the ſame adde of wiſedome and vndertakings? Likely it is, that their workes excelled all whatſoeuer can be told of aftertimes, eſpecially in reſpect of this old age of the World, when wee no ſooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to HIPPOCRATES: *Vita breuis, ars longa, tempus præceps*; (which is) *Life is ſhort, Art is long, and Time is headlong.* *Aphor.1.* And that thoſe people of the firſt age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of theſe words of MOSES; *Theſe were mightie men, which in old time were men of renowne.* *Gen.6.4.* But theſe men of renowne (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for ſtrength of body, and crueltie of mind) truſted ſo much to their owne abilities, as they forgat altogether the pietie of *Seth*, and the waies wherein *Henoch* walked: *for all the imaginations of their hearts were euill, onely euill, and continually euill.* *Verſ.5.* And this wickedneſſe was not only found in the iſſues of *Cain*, but it was then vniuerſal, when the children and ſonnes of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and miſ-led by their idolatrous wiues, the Daughters of *Cain*, or of thoſe other men, louing themſelues and the world only.

That theſe *ſonnes of God* were Angels, which being taken with the beautie of women, accompanied them and begat Giants, ſome of the Fathers ſuppoſed, namely, *Lactantius* and *Euſebius*, miſ-led by *Ioſephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. *Gen.6.v.4.* And of this miſtaking many Writers haue taken great aduantage, and haue troubled themſelues with large anſweres and very needleſſe: the queſtion being vncapable of diſpute, eſpecially ſince S. *Chryſoſtome* and S. *Auguſtine* haue anſwered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth euery where appeare in the Scripture; and on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as *Chriſt* witneſſeth) behold the face of God, (that is) alwaies attend his Commandements, ſhould after a ſeparatiou from the reſt which fel with *Lucifer*, forſake the glorious preſence of their Creator, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrarie both to Nature and Grace, were more then madneſſe to imagine.

§. VIII.

That the Giants by MOSES *ſo called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as alſo diuers in later times.*

OF theſe Giants which *Moſes* calleth mightie men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall then the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large diſcourſe, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and ſtrayned his braines to proue, that there were neuer any ſuch men: his reaſons (whoſoeuer deſires to loſe time) he may finde them in the Treatiſes before-named. It is true that *Cyrillus* reproues the *Grecians* Poets for their monſtrous fictions: who affirme ſhameleſly, That the Giants haue in elder times not onely caſt vp Mountaines vpon Mountaines, but remoued *Iſlands* out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that inuention of caſting vp Hils, and making warre with the Gods, no doubt but that the ſame was borrowed out of the ſtorie of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and euen out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God ſaw the Daughters of Men, of whom the firſt Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Heſiodus*, That Giants were the ſonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heauens the ſonnes of God, and by the Earth the Daughters of men: which verſes of *Orpheus* are by *Iohn Caſſam* (who hath written a wittie diſcourſe of this ſubiect) thus changed into Latine:

Nomine cœleſtes illos dixêre Gigantes,
Orti quòd terrâ fuerint & ſanguine cœli.

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, O heauen, they came,
Whom thereupon the Gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and ſelfe-beleeuing men diſpute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceiue that there were in the firſt Age ſuch kind of men; and of which there haue beene in all times ſince? Seeing the Scriptures auow the one manifeſtly, and common experience the other?

And for that ſuperlatiue ſtrayning of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was giuen to Oppreſſors and Tyrants, and not to ſtrength of body and eminent ſtature: ſuch men might with better reaſon call them Oppreſſors, becauſe they were Giants, and therfore had abilitie to oppreſſe; then ſay, That they were called Giants only, becauſe Oppreſſors. For firſt, *Moſes* himſelfe calleth them mightie men; which ſheweth a ſtrength ſurpaſſing others: and afterwards, men of renowne, (that is) of great vndertaking and aduenterous action. And if the ſame ſtature of body, and ability had not beene found among diuers Nations after the generall floud, then might this place of *Moſes* haue more willingly harkened to a diſpute, and yeelded to interpretation.

But, beſides all theſe famous Giants found in prophane Hiſtories (which I will reſerue to accompanie the Giants of *Albion*, in the ſtorie of *Britanie*) the Scriptures doe cleerely and without all allegoricall conſtruction auow, That, beſides *Nimrod*, there were found *Gen.*14.5. of theſe Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, of *Ioſua*, and of *Dauid*; namely, the *Num.*15.34. *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth*; the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims*, which *Deut.*2.*u.*21.20 dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moab*: whom *Moſes* (for ſtature) compareth with the *Anakims*, which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they alſo were taken for Giants as the *Anakims*: Likewiſe, *Verſ.*21. where *Moſes* ſpeaketh of the Land of *Ammon*, he vſeth theſe words: *That alſo was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times:* &, *whom the Ammonites call Zamzummins: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And theſe Giants called *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth* and *Karnaim*, and the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims*, *Chedorlaomer* *Amos c.*1. King of *Elam* ouer-threw, aſſiſted by other Kings his aſſociates. Alſo the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites* men of Giant-like ſtature, whom he compareth to the *Cedar*, *Bar.*3.*v.*26. and whoſe ſtrength to the *Okes*; and the Prophet BARVCH, *Theſe were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature, and ſo expert in warre.* Particularly it *Deut.*3.*v.*11. is written of *Og*, King of *Baſan*, that his bed of yron was nine cubits long, and foure cubits broad: for onely *Og* King of *Baſan* remained of the remnant of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of *Baſan*, foure hundred yeares after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreouer, thoſe Diſcouerers and Searchers of the Land of Promiſe (ſent by *Moſes* from *Cadesbarne* in *Paran*) made report at their returne of the great ſtature of thoſe *Num.*13.*v.* 34. people in generall, and eſpecially of the ſonnes of *Anak*, in theſe words: *All the people which we ſaw in it are men of great ſtature: for there we ſaw Giants, the ſonnes of* ANAK, *which come of the Giants, ſo that we ſeemed in our ſights like Graſſe-hoppers, and ſo wee were in their ſight,* (that is) the Searchers found in their owne iudgements a maruellous difference betweene the *Anakims* and themſelues: inſomuch that the *Iſraelites* were ſo ſtricken with *Cap.*14.4. feare, as they rather ſought and deſired to return againe into *Ægypt*, and were more willing to endure their former ſlauerie, then to fall by the ſtrokes of thoſe fearefull Nations. 1.*Sam.*17.4. Furthermore, the Scriptures put vs out of doubt, that *Goliah* the *Philiſtine* of *Gath*, was a Giant of ſixe cubits and a ſpan long: the Armour which he wore waighed fiue thouſand ſhickles of braſſe: the ſhaft of his ſpeare was like a Weauers beame, and his ſpeare-head 2.*Sam.*21.*v.*19. waighed ſixe hundred ſhickles of yron. Alſo in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath* of another *Goliah*, ſurnamed *Getheus*, becauſe he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the firſt was ſlaine by *Iehonathan*, *Dauids* Nephew, who had twelue fingers, and as many toes: a man of great ſtature, and his fingers were by ſixes, euen foure & twenty.

1.Chron.20.1.

Alſo that *Sampſon* was of ſurpaſſing ſtrength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had beene a Kid, and after ſlue thirtie of the *Philiſtines*, and (after that) a thouſand more of them with a Iaw-bone of an Aſſe: And laſtly, hee tooke the gates of *Azzah*, and the two Poſts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them vpon his ſhoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountaine before *Ebron*. If then it be approued by euery iudgement, that both Nature and the Heauens waxe old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it ſelfe) infeebled and almoſt worne out the vertue of all things, then I ſay, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increaſed the curſe and corruption) brought forth her young ones more ſtrong and beautifull, than it did in after-ages: ſo alſo thoſe Giants, thoſe mightie men, and men of renowne as farre exceeded the proportion, nature, and ſtrength of thoſe Giants, remembred by *Moſes* of his owne time, and after him their ſucceſſors, as the ordinarie proportion of all men in generall, ſoone after the floud and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the firſt flouriſhing youth and newneſſe of the world.

Iud.14.6.
14.19.
16.3.

But the wickedneſſe (eſpecially in crueltie and oppreſſion) of theſe men was ſuch, as God therefore by the floud gaue end to all fleſh, but to the iuſt *Noah* and his Family. *And God repented him that hee had made man*, which S. *Auguſtine* thus expoundeth: *Neq; enim ſicut hominem, ita Deum facti ſui pœnitet, cuius eſt de omnibus omninò rebus tam fixa ſententia, quàm certa præſcientia. Sed ſi non vtatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non ſe quodammodo familiarius inſinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult eſſe conſultum: vt & perterreat ſuperbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alat intelligentes*; *God* (ſaith he) *doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (as men vſe to doe) but if the Scripture did not vſe thoſe words or the like, it ſhould not (in a ſort) inſinuate it ſelfe familiarly to all ſorts of men, for whom it would prouide: that it might terrifie the proud, ſtir vp the negligent, exerciſe the ſearchers of truth, and nouriſh thoſe that vnderſtand.*

Gen.6.6.
De Ciuit.Dei, l.15.c.15.

CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly riſing, and hardly at length vaniſhing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching theſe ancient times, obſcurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

§. I.

That in old corruptions we may finde ſome ſignes of more ancient truth.

HEre before we proceed any further, the occaſion offereth it ſelfe for vs to conſider, how the *Greekes* and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inuentions, and by breaking into parts the Storie of the Creation, and by deliuering it ouer in a myſticall ſenſe, wrapping it vp mixed with other their owne trumperie, haue ſought to obſcure the truth thereof; and haue hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receiue thoſe inter-mixt diſcourſes of God and Nature, for the inuentions of Poets and Philoſophers, and not as any thing borrowed or ſtolne out of the Bookes of God. But as a ſkilfull and learned *Chymiſt* can aſwell by ſeparation of viſible elements draw helpfull medicines out of poyſon, as poyſon out of the moſt healthfull herbes and plants (all things hauing in themſelues both life and death) ſo, contrarie to the purpoſes and hopes of the *Heathen*, may thoſe which ſeeke after God and Truth finde out euery-where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philoſophers, the Storie of the firſt Age, with all the works and maruailes thereof, amply and liuely expreſt.

§. II.

§. II.

That the corruptions themſelues were verie ancient: as in the Family of NOAH, *and in the old Egyptians.*

BVt this defection and falling away from God, which was firſt found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one hauing erred but once, the other euer) as concerning mankind it tooke ſuch effect, that thereby (the liberall grace of God being with-drawne) all the poſteritie of our firſt Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, ſuffering a perpetuall Eclipſe of ſpirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of ſuch imperfection and harmefull qualitie, as the waters of the general floud could not ſo waſh out or depure, but that the ſame defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankind. Yea, euen among the few ſonnes of *Noah*, there were found ſtrong effects of the former poyſon. For as the children of *Sem* did inherite the vertues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; ſo the ſonnes of *Cham* did poſſeſſe the vices of the ſonnes of *Cain*, and of thoſe wicked Giants of the firſt Age. Whence the *Chaldæans* began ſoone after the floud to aſcribe diuine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creatour. Firſt, they worſhipped the Sunne, and then the fire. So the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* did not onely learne to leaue the true God, but created twelue ſeuerall gods, and diuine powers, whom they worſhipped; and vnto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* ſaith, *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Ægyptios in vſu habuiſſe, atque Græcos ab illis cepiſſe mutuatos, eoſq; prius aras, & imagines, & templa Dijs ſibi erexiſſe*; *The Egyptians* (ſaith he) *firſt deuiſed the names of the twelue gods, which the Greekes receyued from them, who firſt erected vnto themſelues Altars, Images, and Temples for the gods.*

Herod. in Euterpe.

§. III.

That in proceſſe of time theſe leſſer errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the groſſe Superſtitions of the Egyptians.

BVt as men once fallen away from vndoubted truth, doe then after wander for euermore in vices vnknowne, and daily trauaile towards their eternall perdition: ſo did theſe groſſe and blind Idolaters euery Age after other deſcend lower and lower, and ſhrinke and ſlide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worſhipping mortall men onely, but they gaue diuine reuerence, and had the ſame reſpect to Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, Fowles, Windes, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Euening, to Plants, Trees and Rootes, to Paſſions and Affections of the Minde, to Paleneſſe, Sickneſſe, Sorrowes, yea to the moſt vnworthy and baſeſt of all theſe. Which barbarous blaſphemie, *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner:

Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7.

Bouem colis, ego Deis macto bouem.
Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obſoniorum credidi ſuauiſſimum.
Carnes ſuillas tu caues, at gaudeo
Hijs maximè: canem colis, quem verbero
Edentem vbi deprehendo fortè obſonium.

I ſacrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore.
I broyle the *Egyptian* Eeles, which you (as god) implore:
You feare to eate the fleſh of Swine, I finde it ſweet.
You worſhip Dogges, to beate them I thinke meet,
When they my ſtore deuoure.

And in this manner IVVENAL.

Porrum aut cæpe nefas violare aut frangere morſu:
O ſanctas gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina!

The *Egyptians* thinke it ſinne to root vp, or to bite
Their Leekes or Onyons, which they ſerue with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their owne ſowing
Haue ſtore of gods in euerie Garden growing!

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

That from the religues of ancient Records among the Ægyptians and others, the firſt Idols & Fables were inuented: and that the firſt IVPITER *was* CAIN, VVLCAN, TVBALCAIN, *&c.*

BVt in ſo great a confuſion of vanities, where among the Heathens themſelues there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of theſe inuentions were borrowed, or after what ancient patterne they erected their building, were it not certayne, that the *Ægyptians* had knowledge of the firſt Age, and of whatſoeuer was done therein, partly from ſome inſcriptions vpon ſtone or metall remayning after the Floud; and partly from *Mizraim* the ſonne of *Cham*, who had learnt the ſame of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his father *Noah*. For all that the *Ægyptians* write of their ancient Kings, and date of times, cannot be fayned. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Iupiters* alſo, their *Saturnes*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries* with the reſt, which S. *Auguſtine* out of *Varro*; *Euſebius* out of many prophane Hiſtories; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more haue obſerued, to wit, the *Phœnicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greeks*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain* the ſonne of *Adam* (as ſome very learned men conceiue) called and reputed for the firſt and ancient *Iupiter*; and *Adam* for the firſt *Saturne*: for *Iupiter* was ſaid to haue inuented the founding of Cities; and the firſt Citie of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochij* before remembred. And ſo much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which alſo *Higinus* in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For, beſides that many Cities were founded by diuers men; *Tamen primam latiſſimam à primo & antiquiſſimo* IOVE *ædificatam: yet the firſt and largeſt was built by the firſt and moſt ancient* IVPITER, ſeated in the Eaſt parts, or in *India*, according to that of MOSES: *And* CAIN *dwelt towards the Eaſt ſide of Eden, &c.* where alſo the *Henochij* were found after the Floud. And therefore was *Iupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Polieus*, a Founder of Cities, and *Herceios*, an incloſer or ſtrengthener of Cities; (ſay *Phornutus* and *Pauſanias*) and that to *Iupiter Herceios* there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the Floud, *Plato* alſo witneſſeth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that ſoone after mankind began to increaſe, they built many Cities; which as his meaning he deliuereth in plaine termes, in his third Booke of Lawes: for he ſaith, that Cities were built an exceeding ſpace of time before the deſtruction by the great Floud.

Aug.l.19.c.22. De Ciuit.Dei.
Euſeb.l.1.Præp. Euang.c.7.&li. 2.c.23.
Cic.l.3.de nat. Deorum.
Arnob.4.contra Gent.
Gen.4,16.
Phorn.l.de natura Deorum.
Pauſan.l.4.5. & 10. in Protago.

This firſt *Iupiter* of the *Ethnickes* was then the ſame *Cain*, the ſonne of *Adam*, who marrying his owne Siſter (as alſo *Iupiter* is ſaid to haue done) inhabited the Eaſt, where *Stephanus de vrbibus* placeth the Citie *Henochia*. And beſides this Citie of *Henoch*, *Philo Iudæus* conceiueth that *Cain* built ſixe others, as *Maich*, *Iared*, *Tehe*, *Ieſca*, *Selet* and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this I know not. Now as *Cain* was the firſt *Iupiter*, and from whom alſo the *Ethnicks* had the inuention of Sacrifice: ſo were *Iubal*, *Tubal* and *Tubalcain* (inuentors of Paſtorage, Smiths-craft, and Muſick) the ſame, which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollo*; and as there is a likelyhood of name betweene *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: ſo doth *Auguſtine* expound the name of *Noema* or *Naamath*, the ſiſter of *Tubalcain*, to ſignifie *Venuſta*, or beautifull, *Voluptas*, or pleaſure; as the wife of *Vulcan* is ſaid to be *Venus*, the Ladie of pleaſure and beautie. And as *Adam* was the ancient and firſt *Saturne*, *Cain* the eldeſt *Iupiter*, *Eua*, *Rhea*, and *Noema* or *Naamah* the firſt *Venus*: ſo did the Fable of the diuiding of the World betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of *Saturne* ariſe, from the true Storie of the diuiding of the Earth betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of *Noah*: ſo alſo was the Fiction of thoſe Golden Aples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent, which tempted *Euah*: ſo was *Paradiſe* it ſelfe tranſported out of *Aſia* into *Africa*, and made the Garden of the *Heſperides*: the prophecies, that *Chriſt* ſhould breake the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occaſioned the Fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of *Heſperides*, and deſcending into Hell, and captiuating *Cerberus*: ſo out of the taking vp of *Henoch* by God, was borrowed the conuerſion of their *Heroes* (the inuentors of Religion, and ſuch Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Starres and Heauenly Signes, and (withall) that leauing of the World, and aſcenſion of *Aſtræa*; of which *Ouid*:

Gen.4.20.21.22
Lact.l.4.c.27.
Ouid.Met.l.1.

Vltima cœleſtum terras Aſtræa reliquit;
Aſtræa laſt of heauenly Wights the Earth did leaue:

Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 2. For although thereby the *Ethnicks* would vnderſtand Iuſtice it ſelfe to haue fayled, as it is a vertue abſtract, and may bee conſidered without a perſon; yet as it is vſuall among the ancient Poets to deſcribe Vertues and Vices by the perſons of men and women, as Deſire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beautie or Luſt by *Venus*, ſo doe they alſo the perſons of Men by like Vertues and Vices, and therefore by Iuſtice and *Aſtræa, Enoch*: the iuſtice and pietie of *Enoch* being in the ſame manner expreſt, as that of *Noah* was by *Moſes*, for *Noah* was ſaid to be a iuſt man; *And* NOAH *walked with God*. And of *Enoch* it is written, *That hee walked with God, and hee was no more ſeene: for God tooke him away.* *Verſ. 1. Gen. 7. Gen. 5. 22. 24.*

From this ſtorie alſo of the firſt Age, and from that part where *Moſes* remembreth the Giants begotten by the ſonnes of good men vpon the daughters of the wicked (whom *Moſes* calleth mightie men, and men of renowne) did they ſteale thoſe wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe their warre vndertaken againſt the gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as Saint *Auguſtine* termeth him. *L. de Ciuit. Dei.* Which warre of their Giants, *Cornelius Seuerus* thus deſcribeth:

Tentauère (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captiuiq; IOVIS *transferre Gigantes*
Imperium, & victo leges imponere cœlo.

The Giants did aduance their wicked hand
Againſt the Starres, to thruſt them headlong downe;
And robbing *Ioue* of his Imperiall Crowne,
On conquered Heauens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purpoſed to raiſe the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any coniunction of the ſtarres, ſhould bury them vnder the moyſture of a ſecond Floud, but that by this building (if they had beene herein victorious) they would haue giuen the Law to Heauen it ſelfe. Alſo the making of leagues, peace and couenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by ſacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eight and twelfth of his *Æneides* hath a touch, was (as it ſeemeth) borrowed from *Moſes*, *Exod.* 24. Who when he read the Booke of the Couenant, ſprinkled the people with bloud.

Ioſeph. l. 1. contra Appian. We find alſo many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternall Anceſtor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the ſame King of *Ægypt*, which reigned at ſuch time as *Moſes* carried thence the children of *Iſrael*, (as of late ſome learned men, miſtaking his time, ſuppoſed) called his ſonne and ſucceſſour *Setho*, of *Seth*; and of the ſame *Seth* (as many men of good iudgement haue granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Seuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. *Plut. in Iſide.* But herein was the memorie of *Seth* moſt manifeſtly preſerued, that the *Ægyptians* worſhipped *Seth*, as their moſt ancient parent, and of the firſt tradition: in honour of whom they called a principall Prouince *Setheitica*. *Strab. l. 17.* We alſo finde in *Bithynia* the Citie of *Sethia*, and others of the ſame name elſewhere. And ſure, from the *Ægyptians* did the *Græcians* borrow this kinde of Theologie, though they ſcorned to acknowledge any antiquitie preceding their owne; and that they might not ſeeme to learne elſewhere, they gaue the ſame names to their owne Idols, which the *Ægyptians* did to theirs.

§. V.

Of the three chiefeſt IVPITERS; *and the ſtrange ſtorie of the third.*

BVT of all thoſe armies of *Iupiters* remembred by the Ancients, *Cicero* maketh but three, becauſe thoſe were of moſt fame: which other Writers haue alſo done, who ſought out, and laboured in their originals.

The firſt was *Iupiter*, the ſonne of *Æther* and *Dies*, ſo called, becauſe the one had reference to his celeſtiall conditions (for *æther* is as much as ſhining or pure fire;) the other diſcouered his naturall vertues, which dayes and times make more perfect, and are the witneſſes of mens actions.

The ſecond was ſaid to be the ſonne of *Cœlum* or Heauen, for the ſame former reſpect; and this *Iupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The third of whom all the *Græcian* fables were deuiſed, was of *Creet* (now *Candie*) the ſonne of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name deriued from the Latine is taken of *Iuuans Pater*, from the *Greeke* word *Zeus*, it ſignifieth life, but ſomewhat ſtrayned. *Boccas* in his Genealogie of the gods, conceiueth, that his name was borrowed from *Iupiter* the Planet; but whether that ſtarre had ſuch a name, before the ſame was giuen to men, I know not. *Iupiter* is hot and moiſt, temperate, modeſt, honeſt, aduenturous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull, (that is) giuing theſe inclinations. And therefore thoſe ancient Kings beautified with theſe conditions, might be called thereafter *Iupiter*; but howſoeuer they were, or were not with thoſe vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all Kings in the eldeſt times aſſumed thoſe Titles and Sir-names: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world, (howſoeuer deſerued) as the worthyeſt, that euer were, acquired by their well deſeruings. *Ioues omnes Reges vocârunt antiqui*; *The Ancients called all Kings* IVPITERS, *as* TZETZES in his *Varia hiſtoria* confirmeth: *Reges olim* IOVES *vocârunt omnes*; *In old times all Nations called their Kings* IVPITERS. But where this laſt and moſt remembred *Iupiter* was borne, it is vncertayne. Some there are that make him of *Creet*: others, that he was but ſent thither by his mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to be foſtered and hidden from the furie of *Titan* his vncle: becauſe it was conditioned betweene *Saturne* and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a yonger brother, and reigning (for his owne life) by *Titans* permiſſion, hee ſhould put to death all his male children, leſt the *Titans* might be interrupted by any of them in their ſucceſſion; which agreement, becauſe *Saturne* performed in his firſt borne, it is fayned that *Saturne* deuoured his owne children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine;

Nat.Com.l.1.c.7

Haud ſit pinguior,	*Saturne* to be the fatter, is not knowne,
Crudis ſepulchrum quòd ſit ipſe filijs.	By being the graue and buriall of his owne.

This compoſition betweene *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Sybilla* alſo witneſſeth in theſe;

Conceptis verbis; TITAN *iurare coegit*
SATVRNVM, *de ſe natum ne nutriat vllum,*
Quo poſſint regnare ſenis poſt fata Nepotes.

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturne* ſweare
No ſonne to nouriſh; which by reigning might
Vſurpe the right of *Titans* lawfull heire.

But *Opis* the mother of *Iupiter*, being deliuered at once both of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, conueyed *Iupiter* (firſt called *Lyſanias*) into *Crete*, as ſhee did afterwards his two brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought vp in *Gnoſſus*, the chiefe Citie of that Iland, by *Creſta* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof.

Euſeb. in Temp.

Other challenge him to be of *Thebes*, and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Meſſena*. The like contention is found among the *Greeks* touching his education and firſt foſtering. Some affirme, that hee was fed by Hony-bees: in recompence whereof hee changed their blacke coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting ſuch a god: others, that he was nouriſhed by Beares: others, by Goats: and of all theſe the idle *Greekes* haue many pretty tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturne* had broken his faith, he ſet on him, and tooke him and his wife priſoners, whom *Iupiter* againe reſcued and deliuered.

But laſtly, the father and the ſonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturne* being the leſſe powerfull fled into *Italie*, and left his Kingdomes in *Greece* to his ſonne. And although this Prince at the firſt purchaſed great honour, and for his many vertues the name of *Iupiter* was giuen him; yet, after hee was once ſetled and became potent, he gaue himſelfe ouer wholly to palliardize and adulterie, without all reſpect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by ſuch as doe aſcribe the actions of many to one *Iupiter*, that not therewith ſatisfied, hee was afterwards knowne to offend in the ſinne of *Sodome* with *Ganimedes* and others; and did not onely begin with inceſt, marrying his owne ſiſter *Iuno*, but he rauiſhed, betrayed, ſtole away, and tooke by ſtrong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom theſe hereafter written were of greateſt fame, *Niobe*, *Laodemia*, and *Alcmena*, the wife of *Amphitryon*, by whom hee had *Pelaſgus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*; of whom the Mountayne *Taygetus* tooke name, with another ſonne called *Saon*, of whom *Sauona*:

by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Læda*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Helen* and *Clytemneſtra*: by *Danae*, *Perſeus*: by *Iordana*, *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protogenia*, he had *Athlius* the father of *Endymion*: and by *Iö* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Ægypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that Countrey tooke name, for ſo the *Greeks* afterward called *Africa*. Hee rauiſhed *Ægina*, the daughter of *Æſopus*, and carryed her into the Iland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Ægina*, on whom he begat *Æacus*: by *Torrhebia* hee had *Archeſilaus* and *Carbius*: by *Ora*, *Colaxes*: hee had alſo *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* and *Troy*. He begat the brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis*, *Hiarbas*. He had beſides theſe (if they belye not their chiefe God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inuenters of Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all theſe, who were borne in ages ſo farre differing. And of theſe his ſeuerall rauiſhments, betrayings, ſtealing away of mens wiues, daughters, and ſonnes, buying of virgins, and the like, came in all thoſe ancient fables of his transformations into ſhowres of gold, eagles, buls, birds, and beaſts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Græcian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* feare to entitle this Monſter, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his ſecond Booke, *de natura Deorum*, affirme, that hee deſerued uothing leſſe; and in his Oration, *pro domo ſua*, reprocheth *Clodius* for his inceſt, by the name of *Iupiter*. His buriall was in *Crete* (ſaith LVCIAN.) *Cretenſes non ſolùm natum apud ſe & ſepultum* IOVEM *teſtantur, ſed etiam ſepulchrum eius oſtendunt*; *The Cretians or Candians doe not onely auow that* IVPITER *was borne and buried among them, but they ſhew his graue and ſepulchre*: which *Epiphanius* alſo confirmeth, for in his time there remayned the monuments of his tombe in the Mountayne *Iaſius*. This *Callimachus* in his hymnes alſo witneſſeth, but as offended thereat, ſaith thus:

Luc. in Sacrif.

The *Cretians* euer lyars were, they care not what they ſay:
For they a tombe haue built for thee, O King, that liu'ſt alway.

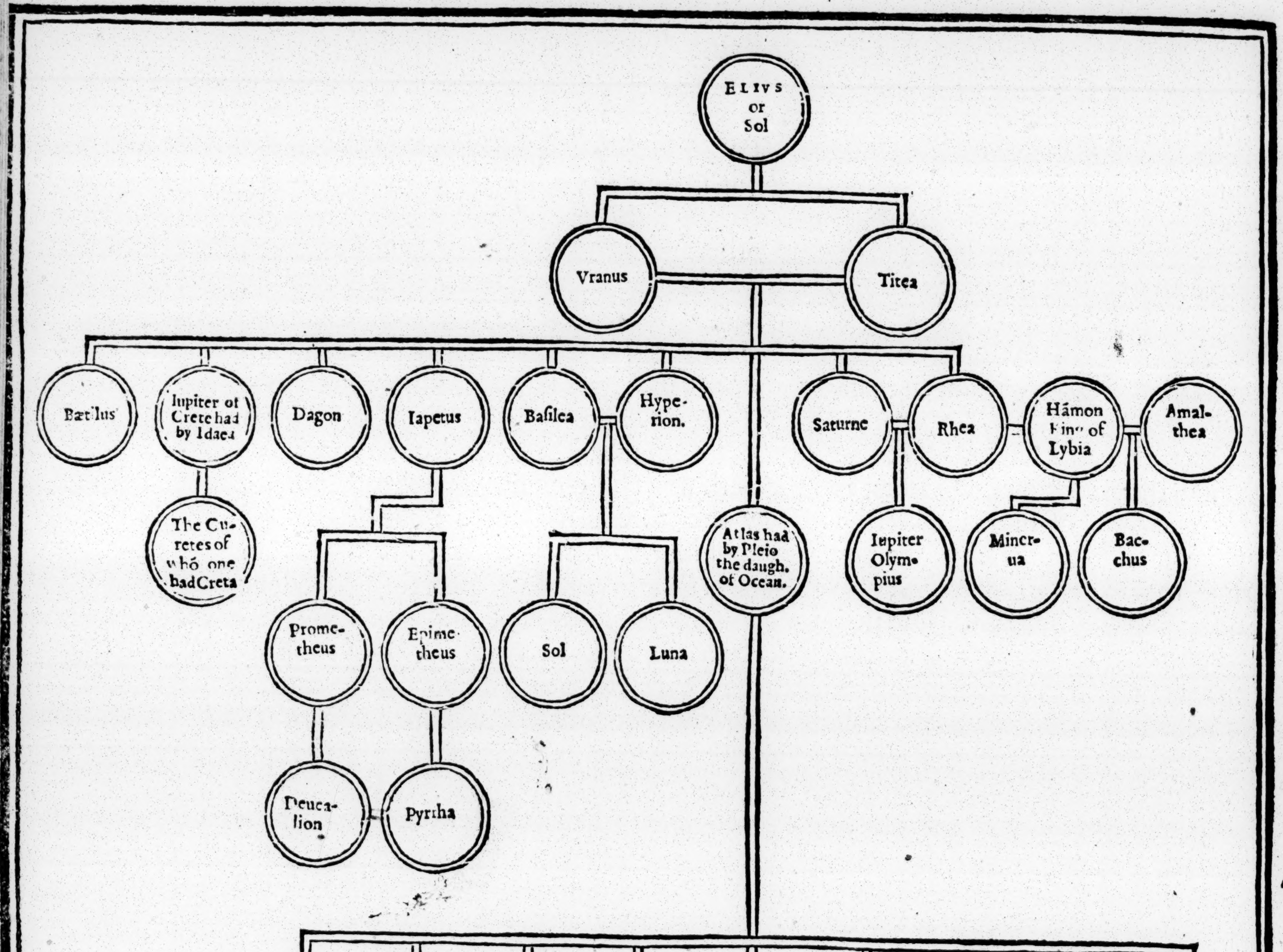
Diod. l. 2. c. 5.

Diodorus Siculus tels by way of report from the *Libyan* fables, confirmed (as hee ſaith) by ſome *Greeke* Writers, that the originall of theſe gods was from the Weſterne parts of *Africk*. For there among the *Atlantidæ* reigned one *Vranus* (which ſignifieth Heauen) called ſo for his great skill in *Aſtrologie*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a god after his death. He had by many wiues 45. ſons; but by his principall wife *Titea*, he had ſeuenteene ſonnes and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewiſe it is ſaid, that ſhee for her goodneſſe was canonized as a goddeſſe, being dead, and called the Earth, as her husband was ſtiled Heauen. But of all the children of *Titea*, her daughter *Baſilea* (which name ſounding as Queene in *Engliſh*, ſhee is by the Latine tranſlator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the reſt as farre in vertue as in yeares, was by generall conſent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as Queene after her fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. Shee tooke to husband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom ſhee bare a ſonne and a daughter, called *Sunne* and *Moone*. The beautie and towardlineſſe of theſe children mooued her brethren to enuy, and bred in them a feare of being excluded from the ſucceſſion: wherefore they tooke the boy and drowned him in the Riuer *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The loſſe of this child cauſed his ſiſter to breake her owne necke; and the loſſe of both her children made the mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wilde faſhion, in ſight of all the people, before whom ſhee is ſaid to haue vaniſhed away. Ere ſhee dyed, her ſonne (as the fable hath it) ſignified vnto her in a dreame, that hee and his ſiſter, by the prouidence of God, ſhould become immortall, that alſo the *Sunne* and *Moone* ſhould bee called by their names, and that their death ſhould bee reuenged vpon the murderers. According to which it is ſaid, that the people did ſo call thoſe two Planets, and vvithall held her ſelfe as a goddeſſe, and termed her the great Mother, vvhich name they had formerly giuen to her, for her motherly care in cheriſhing her brethren vvhileſt they vvere young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguiſhed, the other ſonnes of *Vranus* diuided the Kingdome. Of theſe *Atlas* and *Saturne* vvere chiefe. *Atlas* reigned ouer the countries lying about the Mountaynes, which afterward bare his name; a iuſt and wiſe Prince, deepely skilfull in *Aſtrologie*, and for inuention of the *Spheare*, ſaid to haue ſupported Heauen.

He had many ſonnes; but the principall of them called *Heſperus*, being of his fathers qualities and ſtudies, was ſaid to haue beene carried away by the winde, from the top of an high Hill in the midſt of his contemplations, and his name in honour of him, impoſed by the people vpon the morning ſtarre. The ſeuen daughters of *Atlas* were alſo ſaid to haue beene excellent Ladies, who accompanying ſuch as came to be Deified, or regiſtred among the Worthies, brought forth children, anſwerable in qualitie to thoſe that begat them. Of theſe it is held, that the ſeuen ſtarres called *Pleiades* tooke name. *Saturne*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italie*. *Iupiter*, another of the ſonnes of *Vranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten ſonnes which he called *Curetes*; he called that *Iland* after his wiues name, *Idea*; in which Ile hee dyed, and was buried. But this *Iupiter* muſt not haue beene that great one, but vncle to the great *Iupiter*, if theſe fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturne* (as theſe *Libyans* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified ſtrong places, the better to keepe his people in ſubiection. His ſiſter *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in ſome part of *Africk*. *Hammon* louing others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called *Minerua*, neare to the Riuer *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. Hee alſo begat on *Amalthea* a ſonne called *Bacchus*, whom hee cauſed ſecretly, for feare of his life, to be brought vp at *Nyſa*, an Iland in the Riuer *Triton*, vnder the tuition of his daughter *Minerua*, and certayne *Nymphs*. To *Amalthea* he gaue in reward a goodly Countrey, that lay on the Sea-coaſt, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea's* plentifull horne, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard theſe newes, ſhee fled from her husband to her brother *Saturne*, who not onely entertayned her as a ſiſter, but tooke her to wife, and at her inſtigation made warre vpon *Hammon*, vanquiſhed him by aſſiſtance of the *Titanes*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Iupiters* children before mentioned, held the Iland at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings daughter, whom hee tooke to wife, and had with her (women, as may ſeeme, being very gracious in thoſe times) the Kingdome. *Bacchus* was growne a proper yong man, had found out the making of wine, the arte of planting trees, and many things elſe commodious for mankinde, before the flight of his mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturne* was comming againſt him with the *Titanes*; hee leuyed an Armie, to which the *Amazons*, liuing not farre from *Nyſa*, added great forces, in loue of *Minerua*, who was entred into their profeſſion. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerua* the women, they ſet forward againſt *Saturne*, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the *Titanes* priſoners, returned to *Nyſa*; where pardoning the priſoners, that promiſed to become his true followers, he prepared for a ſecond Expedition. In the ſecond Expedition he behaued himſelfe ſo well, that he vvan the loue of all the people by vvhom he paſſed; inſomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturnes* rigorous gouernment, he was greatly ſtrengthened, and the enemie as much infeebled by daily reuolts. Comming to the Citie of *Hammon*, he wan a battaile of *Saturne*, before the very walls. After which, *Saturne* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, ſetting the Towne on fire to deſpight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturne* had a yong ſonne by *Rhea*, called *Iupiter*. This child, *Bacchus* tooke with him in a great Expedition that he made into the Eaſt Countries; and comming into *Egypt*, he left this *Iupiter*, being then a boy, Gouernour of the Countrey; but appointed vnto him as an Ouer-ſeer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Iupiter* grew to be called *Olympius*. Whileſt *Bacchus* trauailed through all Nations, as farre as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titanes* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to warre vpon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Iupiter* from *Egypt*, and his ſiſter *Minerua*, together with the reſt, that afterwards were held as gods, ioyning all their forces, went into *Crete*, ouerthrew the *Titanes*, chaſed them, tooke, and ſlue them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Iupiter*, the ſonne of *Saturne*, ſucceeding them, reigned Lord alone ouer all the world, hauing none of the *Titanes* left aliue, nor any other to diſturbe him. Betweene this tale of the *Libyan* gods, and the *Egyptian* fables of *Oſiris*, there is a rude reſemblance, that may cauſe them both to be taken for the crooked Images of ſome one true hiſtorie. For the Expeditions of *Oſiris*, and of

Euſeb. l. 1. c. 7.

Bacchus; the warres of the Giants in the one ſtorie, of the *Titanes* in the other; the Kingdome of *Egypt* giuen by *Hercules Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Iupiter*, the rattles of *Iſis*, and the cymbals of *Baſilea*, with many petty circumſtances, neerely enough reſemble each other, howſoeuer not alike fitted to the right perſons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Euſebius* cites him) would haue all theſe to be *Phœnicians*, and is earneſt in ſaying, That it is a true ſtorie, and no allegorie. Yet hee makes it ſeeme the more allegoricall, by giuing to *Vranus* or Heauen for daughters, *Fate* and *Beautie*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* haue enough. To the Genealogie he addes *Elius* or the *Sunne*, as father of *Vranus*, and among the children of *Vranus*, *Iapetus*, *Bætilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giuing withall to *Vranus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *Indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturne*, but omitting *Iupiter* of *Crete*. The Pedigree of them is this:


Elius or Sol
Vranus
Titea
Bætilus
Iupiter of Crete had by Idaea
The Curetes of whō one had Creta
Dagon
Iapetus
Prometheus
Epimetheus
Deucalion
Pyrrha
Baſilea
Hyperion.
Sol
Luna
Atlas had by Pleio the daugh. of Ocean.
Saturne
Rhea
Iupiter Olympius
Hāmon King of Lybia
Amalthea
Mineruа
Bacchus
Heſperus
Atlas
Alcyone
Merope
Electra
Celeno
Tayeta
Sterope.
Maia had by Iupiter
Mercurius

§. VI.

§. VI.

Of Cham, *and other wicked ones, whereof ſome gat, ſome affected the name of Gods.*

OF *Iupiter Belus*, the ſonne of *Saturnus Babylonicus*, otherwiſe *Nimrod*, it ſeemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at leaſt by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembred: for long after theſe times were the *Greekes* but Saluages, if they ſeeke no farther off for their Gods.

But the *Ægyptians*, euen after the floud, began (ſomewhat before this *Chaldæan Iupiter)* to intitle *Cham*, the parent of their owne *Mizraim*, *IupiterChammon*, or *Hammon.* For the Etymologie of this word *(Hammon)* which the *Greekes* deduce *ab arenis*, *from the ſands,* is ridiculous (ſaith *Peucer*;) neither yet is his owne much better, who brings it from *Hammath,* which ſignifieth heate: becauſe the ſaid Temple of *Iupiter Hammon* was ſeated in *Libya*, where the ayre is exceeding hot and ſcortching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter *Iupiter* (among the *Greekes* and *Romans* the moſt renowned) it is certaine that he was borne not long before the warre of *Troy*, as by many of his ſonnes is made manifeſt; namely, *Caſtor, Pollux, Hercules, Sarpedon*, and others, which liued in that age of *Priamus*, vnder whom, and with whom *Troy* was deſtroyed.

Peucer. de Oracul.

Now ſeeing that mortall men, and the moſt wicked, were eſteemed immortall among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon, Tyberius, Nero, Caligula*, and others, ſought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monſters as the reſt: For by what reaſon could the ſame *Deitie* be denied vnto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was giuen to *Venus?* ſeeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as ſhe was.

§. VII.

That the wiſer of the ancient Heathen had farre better opinions of God.

BVt that euer *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, beleeued in any of theſe fooleries, it cannot bee ſuſpected, though ſome of them (ouer-buſily) haue mixed their owne inuentions with the Scriptures: for, in puniſhment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Heſiodus* in hell, where he fained that they were perpetually ſtung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read ouer all the books of *Moſes*, as by places ſtolne thence, almoſt word for word, may appeare; of which *Iuſtine Martyr* remembreth many in that Treatiſe conuerted by *Mirandula.* As for *Plato*, though hee diſſembled in ſome things, for feare of the Inquiſition of the *Areopagites*, yet Saint *Auguſtine* hath already anſwered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirificè ijs delectatus eſt, quæ de vno Deo tradita fuerant*; *And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God*, ſaith *Iuſtine Martyr.* Now howſoeuer *Lactantius* pleaſed to reprehend *Plato*, becauſe (ſaith he) *Plato* ſought knowledge from the *Ægyptians*, and the *Chaldæans*, neglecting the *Iewes*, and bookes of *Moſes: Euſebius, Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, finde reaſon to beleeue the contrarie, thinking that from thence hee tooke the grounds of all by him written of God, or ſauouring of Diuinitie: and the ſame opinion had Saint *Ambroſe* of *Pythagoras*.

Euſeb.Prep. Euang. lib.11.
Cyril cont.Iulian.
Origen.cont. Celſum.
Ambr. ad Iren. Ep.6.lib.1

But whether it were out of the ſame vanitie, which poſſeſt all thoſe learned Philoſophers and Poets, that *Plato* alſo publiſhed (not vnder the right Authors names) thoſe things which hee had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the ſeueritie of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Maſter *Socrates*, by them put to death by poyſon, I cannot iudge. *Iuſtine Martyr* (as it ſeemeth) aſcribeth it wholly to *Platoes* feare, whoſe wordes among many other of the ſame effect, are theſe; PLATO MOSIS *mentionem facere, ob id, quod vnum ſolumq; Deum docuerat, ſibi apud Athenienſes tutum non putauit, veritus Areopagum*; PLATO *fearing the Areopagites thought it not ſafe for him among the Athenians to make mention of* MOSES, *that hee taught that there is but one God.* But for that Diuinitie which he hath written in TIMÆO; *id ipſum de Deo diſſeruit quod &* MOSES; *He diſcourſed and taught the ſame of God* (ſaith IVSTINE MARTYR) *which* MOSES *did.* For where it pleaſed God by his Angell to anſwere MOSES, *Ego ſum exiſtens* (which is) *I am*; and, *exiſtens miſit me ad vos*; *I am hath ſent me vnto you*, herein did *Plato* (ſaith *Iuſtine Martyr)* no otherwiſe differ then that *Moſes* vſed the word *(qui)* and *Plato* the word *quod:* MOSES *enim qui exiſtit (inquit,)* PLATO *quod*

Areopagus, or *domus ſeu mons Martis*, *Mars* his hill: a houſe wherein capitall matters were tryed: ſo called at firſt: becauſe *Mars* therein firſt pleaded his cauſe for the murder of *Hulirrothos.*
Pauſan.in Attic.
Nat.Com l.2.c.7
Iuſt.Mart.adm. Gent.fol.8. 14.vt ſup.
Exod.3.14.

In Timæo.

De Legib. 1. 10.

Laertius.

quod exiſtit; *For* MOSES *ſaith, He who is;* PLATO, *That which is.* Now of Gods incomprehenſible nature, and of the difficultie either to conceiue, or expreſſe the ſame, hee giueth this teſtimonie: *Genitorem Vniuerſitatis tam difficile eſt inuenire, quàm inuentum impoſsibile dignè profari; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Vniuerſall, as it is impoſsible, if he were found, to ſpeake of him worthily.* And what can be more agreeable to the Maieſtie of Gods Nature, then this propertie by *Plato* acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus cauſa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non cauſa; God is abſolutely good, and ſo (aſſuredly) the cauſe of all that is good: but of any thing that is euill he is no cauſe at all:* and againe, *Charitas Dei fuit cauſa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum; The loue of God was the cauſe of the worlds creating, and the originall of all things.* APVLEIVS the Platoniſt: *Summus Deus infinitus eſt, non ſolum loci excluſione, ſed etiam naturæ dignitate: Et nihil eſt Deo ſimilius & gratius, quàm vir animo perfecto bonus; The moſt high God is alſo an infinite God, not only by excluſion of place, but by the dignitie of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God then a man of a perfect heart.* THALES affirmed that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the moſt ancient: *Quia nunquam eſſe cœpit; Becauſe he neuer had any beginning.* ZENO, that God beheld euen the thoughts of men. *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, becauſe God was euery where preſent and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moſes* ſtorie of the Creation, then this opinion and deſcription of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholler of *Anaxagoras*?

Cœlum terraq́; vnius formæ fuit:
Sed cum fuiſſent abiuncta amplexu mutuo,
Emerſit omnis in lucem res progenita,
Arbores, aues, feræ, quaſq́; affert mare,
Genuſq́; mortalium.

Heauen and Earth one forme did beare:
But when diſioyned once they were
From mutuall embraces,
All things to light appeared then;
Of trees, birds, beaſts, fiſhes, and men
The ſtill-remayning races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: ſo we find the ſame excellent vnderſtanding in *Orpheus*, who euery-where expreſſed the infinite and ſole power of one God, though he vſe the name of *Iupiter*, thereby to auoide the enuie and danger of the time; but that hee could attribute thoſe things to the ſonnes of men, and mortall creatures, which hee doth to this *Iupiter*, there is no man who hath euer heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (ſaith MIRANDVLA) *quos* ORPHEVS *canit, non decipientium dæmonum, à quibus malum & non bonum prouenit; ſed naturalium virtutum diuinarumq́; ſunt nomina; The names of thoſe Gods whom* ORPHEVS *doth ſing, are not of deceiuing Deuils, from whom euill comes, and not goodneſſe; but they are the names of naturall & diuine vertues.* Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and ſpeaketh of God himſelfe, this his inſtruction to *Muſæus*, and the *Hymne* following teach vs: *Reſpiciens verò ad diuinum hunc ſermonem ei diligenter animum aduerte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem aſcende viam, & ſolum aſpice mundi Regem. Vnus eſt ex ſe genitus, ex eo omnia nata ſunt: ipſe verò in illis verſatur, nec quiſquam eum intueri poteſt mortalium, ſed ipſe nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my ſacred ſpeech, but truely lend
Thy heart, that's reaſons ſphere, and the right way aſcend,
And ſee the worlds ſole King. Firſt, he is ſimply one
Begotten of himſelfe, from whom is borne alone
All elſe; in which hee's ſtill, nor could it ere befall
A mortall eye to ſee him once, yet hee ſees all.

And againe the ſame Author,

IVPITER *omnipotens, & primus, & vltimus idem;*
IVPITER *eſt caput & medium:* IOVIS *omnia munus.*
IVPITER *eſt fundamen humi & ſtellantis Olympi.*
IVPITER *& mas eſt, & fœmina neſcia mortis.*
Spiritus eſt cunctis, validi vis IVPITER *ignis.*
Et pelagi radix, SOL, LVNA, *eſt* IVPITER *ipſe*
Rex & origo ſimul rerum eſt, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occuluit, magno poſt numine, ſacrum
Cor reſerans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.

The firſt of all is God, and the ſame laſt is he.
God is the head and midſt, yea from him all things be.
God is the Baſe of earth, and of the ſtarred skie.
He is the male and female too, ſhall neuer die.
The ſpirit of all is God, the Svnne and Moone, and what is higher.
The King, th'originall of all, of all the end.
For cloſe in holy breſt he all did comprehend,
Whence all to bleſſed light, his wondrous power did ſend.

Now beſides theſe former teſtimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not ſo ſtupid and ignorant, as the *Ægyptians*, *Græcians*, and other Nations by them infected were, I will onely repeate two or three other opinions, and leaue the Reader to thoſe large and learned Collections of *Iuſtine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, *Eugubinus*, *Peucer*, *Pleſsis*, *Danæus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, deſcribed him by theſe attributes and properties: *Bonus, iuſtus, ſanctus, ſeipſum poſsidens, vtilis, ſpecioſus, optimus, ſeuerus, liber, ſemper commodus, tutus, glorioſus, charitas, &c. Good, iuſt, holy, poſſeſsing himſelfe, profitable, beautifull, beſt, ſeuere, free, alwayes doing good, ſafe without feare, glorious and ſelfe-charitie.* Epicharmvs affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced euery nature, was onely and euery where powerfull: agreeing with Democritvs: *Rex omnium ipſe ſolus; Hee is the only King of Kings:* and with *Pindarus* the Poet, *Deus vnus, Pater, creator ſummus, atq; optimus artifex, qui progreſſus ſingulis diuerſos ſecundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the moſt high Creator, and beſt artificer, who giueth to euery thing diuers proceedings according to their deſerts. This God* (ſaith Antisthenes) *cannot bee reſembled to any thing, and therefore not elſewhere knowne; Niſi in patria illa perenni, cuius imaginem nullam habes: Saue onely in that euerlaſting Countrey, whoſe image thou haſt none at all.* Hereof alſo Xenophanes Colophonivs: *Vnus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus ſimilis; There is one God among gods and men moſt powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like vnto mortals:* and Xenophon, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quieſcere facit, magnus potenſq;, quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma ſit, nemini patet, niſi ipſi ſoli, qui luce ſua omnia perluſtrat; God who ſhaketh all things, and ſetteth all things at reſt, is great and mightie, as is manifeſt to all: but of what forme hee is, it is manifeſt to none, ſaue onely to himſelfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light.* Finally, *Plato* ſaith: *Totius rerum naturæ cauſa, & ratio, & origo Deus, ſummus animi genitor, æternus animantium ſoſpitator, aſsiduus mundi ſui opifex, ſine propagatione genitor, neq; loco, neq; tempore vllo comprehenſus, eoq; paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cauſe, ground, and originall of the whole nature of things, the moſt high Father of the ſoule, the eternall preſeruer of liuing creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceiue him in thought, none can expreſſe what hee is.* Therefore was it ſaid by S. Hierome, *Si enim cunctos Philoſophorum reuoluas libros, neceſſe eſt vt in eis reperias aliquam partem vaſorum Dei, vt apud* Platonem, *fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud* Zenonem *Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas &c. If thou conſider all the bookes of the Philoſophers, thou canſt not but find in them ſome part of the Veſſels of God, as in* Plato, *God the Creator of the world: In* Zeno *Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortall ſoules, &c.* And this is certaine, that if we looke into the wiſedome of all Ages, wee ſhall finde that there neuer was man of ſolid vnderſtanding or excellent iudgement: neuer any man whoſe minde the Arte of education hath not bended; whoſe eyes a fooliſh ſuperſtition hath not afterward blinded; whoſe apprehenſions are ſober, and by a penſiue inſpection aduiſed; but that he hath found by an vnreſiſtable neceſſitie, one true God, and euerlaſting being, all for euer cauſing, and all for euer ſuſtayning; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly expreſt, then that *Ægyptian Hermes*, howſoeuer it fayled afterward in his poſteritie: all being at length by deuilliſh policie of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts purpoſely obſcured; who inuented new gods, and thoſe innumerable, beſt ſorting (as the Deuill perſwaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fitteſt to keepe in awe and order their common people.

Hieron. in Com. in Dan. In princip.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

That Heatheniſme and Iudaiſme, after many wounds, were at length about the ſame time vnder IVLIAN *miraculouſly confounded.*

BVt all theſe are againe vaniſhed : for the inuentions of mortall men are no leſſe mortall then themſelues. The Fire, which the *Chaldæans* worſhipped for a God, is crept into euery mans chimney, which the lacke of fuell ſtarueth, water quencheth, and want of ayre ſuffocateth : *Iupiter* is no more vexed with *Iunoes* ielouſies; *Death* hath perſwaded him to chaſtitie, and her to patience ; and that *Time* which hath deuoured it ſelfe, hath alſo eaten vp both the Bodies and Images of him and his : yea, their ſtately Temples of ſtone and durefull Marble. The houſes and ſumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found vpon the Earth, nor any monument of that glorious Temple conſecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phœnicia*, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Libya, Creta, Theſſalia,* ot elſewhere, that can aske counſaile or helpe from *Iupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apolloes* Prieſts are become ſpeechleſſe ; and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Deuills telling mens fortunes therein, is taken vp by counterfait *Ægyptians*, and coozening *Aſtrologers*.

But it was long ere the Deuill gaue way to theſe his ouer-throwes and diſhonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chiefe Manſions) was many times robbed, burnt, and deſtroyed ; yet by his diligence the ſame was often enriched, repayred, and reedified againe, till by the hand of God himſelfe it receiued the laſt and vtter ſubuerſion. For it was firſt robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the *Eubæan Pyrates :* Secondly, by the *Phlegians* vtterly ſackt ; Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the ſonne of *Achilles :* Fourthly, by the Armie of *Xerxes :* Fiftly, by the Captaines of the *Phocenſes :* Sixtly, by *Nero*, who carried thence fiue hundred brazen Images : all which were new made, and therein againe ſet vp at the common charge. But whatſoeuer was gathered betweene the time of *Nero* and *Conſtantine*, the Chriſtian Armie made ſpoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them ; notwithſtanding all this it was againe gloriouſly rebuilt, and ſo remayned till ſuch time as *Iulian* the *Apoſtata* ſent thither to know the ſucceſſe of his *Parthian* enterpriſe, at which time it was vtterly burnt and conſumed with fire from Heauen ; and the Image of *Apollo* himſelfe, and all the reſt of the Idols therein molten downe and loſt in the earth.

The like ſucceſſe had the *Iewes* in the ſame *Iulians* time, when by his permiſſion they aſſembled themſelues to rebuild the Temple of *Hieruſalem :* for while they were buſied to lay the foundations, their buildings were ouerthrowne by an Earthquake, and many thouſands of the *Iewes* were ouerwhelmed with the ruines, and others ſlaine, and ſcattered by Tempeſt and Thunder : though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more fauourably for the *Iewes*, aſcribing this to the nature of that Element. For, ſaith hee, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the Prouince of *Iudæa*, being by *Iulian* buſied in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire iſſuing neere the foundation, and oft conſuming the Workemen, made the enterprize fruſtrate.

Am. Mar. l. 23. cap. 1.

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§. IX.

Of the laſt refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.

NOw the Deuill, becauſe hee cannot play vpon the open Stage of this World (as in thoſe dayes) and being ſtill as induſtrious as euer, findes it more for his aduantage to creepe into the mindes of men ; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effectuall adoration of himſelfe then euer. For whereas hee firſt taught them to ſacrifice to Monſters, to dead ſtones cut into faces of Beaſts, Birds, and other mixt Natures ; he now ſets before them the high and ſhining Idoll of glorie, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tels them that truth is the Goddeſſe of dangers and oppreſſions: that chaſtitie is the enemie of Nature; and laſtly, that as all vertue (in generall) is without taſte : ſo pleaſure ſatisfieth and delighteth euery ſenſe : for true wiſedome (ſaith he) is exerciſed in nothing elſe, then in the obtayning of power to oppreſſe, and of riches to maintayne plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-politician* find in his pupils any remorſe, any feeling or feare of Gods future Iudgement, he perſwades them that God hath ſo great neede of mens ſoules, that he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeuours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying thoſe great blockes of rugged pouertie, and deſpiſed contempt in the narrow paſſage leading to his diuine preſence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other deſolate and ouer-growne with graſſe, by which enter our charitable thoughts and diuine contemplations: ſo hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly miſerie paſſing by the one, worldly proſperitie by the other: at the entrance of the one wee find our ſufferings and patience to attend vs: (all which haue gone before vs to prepare our ioyes) at the other our cruelties, couetouſneſſe, licentiouſneſſe, iniuſtice, and oppreſſions (the Harbingers of moſt fearefull and terrible ſorrow) ſtaying for vs. And as the Deuill our moſt induſtrious enemie was euer moſt diligent: ſo is he now more laborious than euer: the long day of Mankind drawing faſt towards an euening, and the Worlds Tragedie and time neere at an end.

CHAP. VII.
Of NOAHS *Floud.*

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and ſome humane teſtimonies: and ſome doubting touching the truth of NOAHS *Floud.*

OF this deſtruction it pleaſed God to giue warning vnto *Noah:* who (ſaith *Ioſephus*) fearing to periſh among the reſt, *Secedens cum ſuis in aliam regionem migrauit: He departed with his children, and trauailed into another Region.* And of theſe Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himſelfe, *Beroſus* writeth in this manner; *That they exceeded in all ſorts of inhumane and vnnaturall wickedneſſe*, and that they were *contemptores & religionis & Deorum, contemners of religion and of the Gods:* among which mightie men (ſaith *Beroſus*) *vnus erat qui Deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat* NOAH, *There was one more wiſe and reuerencing the Gods then the reſt, whoſe name was* NOAH: who with his three ſonnes *Sem, Iaphetus*, and *Cham*, and with their Wiues, and the Wife of *Noah*, (namely, *Titea* the great, *Pandora, Noela*, and *Noegla)* preſerued themſelues in the *Arke*. This *Arke* God commanded *Noah* to prepare: *And God ſayd vnto* NOAH, *Make thee an Arke of Pine-trees: thou ſhalt make Cabines in the Arke, and ſhalt pitch it within, and without with Pitch.* For God made Noah to know that an end of all fleſh was at hand, and that the graues of the rebellious and cruell Generations were alreadie faſhioned in the Cloudes, which ſoone after ſhould ſwallow vp and couer all liuing creatures, which breathed in the Ayre: *Noah* and his family excepted.

Ioſeph. l. 1. c.

Gen. 6. 14. V. 13.

But this vniuerſall graue of waters, and generall Deluge hath not beene receiued by all: for diuine teſtimonies doe not perſwade all naturall men to thoſe things, to which their owne reaſon cannot reach: *Dum obuoluta in obſcuro veritas latet: Whilſt the truth lieth wrapt vp in obſcuritie.* Many there are who haue diſputed againſt the vniuerſalitie of this ouerflowing, and haue iudged that this Floud of *Noah* fell but in ſome particular places and Kingdomes: moued ſo to thinke, becauſe in elder ages there haue beene many other Flouds (as they ſuppoſe) of that nature. Hereof *Nicholaus Damaſcenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by IOSEPHVS. *Eſt ſuper Minyadam excelſus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes ſermo eſt diluuij tempore liberatos, & quendam ſimul in Arca deuectum in huius vertice hæſiſſe, lignorumq́; reliquias multo tempore conſeruatas, qui fortaſſe is fuit, de quo etiam* MOSES *Iudæorum Legiſlator ſcribit:* thus farre this Author. *There is* (ſaith he) *aboue Minyada* (or the Countrey of *Minyæ) an exceeding high Mountaine in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many hauing fled thither, were ſaued in the time of the Deluge: and that one was carried in an Arke, and reſted vpon the top of the Mountayne, whereon there remayned a long time after certayne pieces thereof; and this might bee the ſame, of which* MOSES *the Law-giuer of the Iewes maketh mention.* And of this opinion were the

Lact. in Præf. de falſa relig.

Ioſep. ant. l. 1. c. 4. Euſeb. de præp. l. 9. cap. 4.

Thalmudiſts (ſaith *Annius*) that many Giants ſaued themſelues vpon Mount *Sion*.

But *Beroſus* (who after *Moſes* was one of the moſt ancient, howſoeuer he haue beene ſince deformed and corrupted) doth in the ſubſtance of all agree with *Moſes* as touching the generall Floud, taking from thence the beginning of his Hiſtory in theſe words: *Ante aquarum cladem famoſam, qua vniuerſus perijt Orbis, &c. Before that famous deſtruction of Waters, by which the World vniuerſall periſhed:* witneſſing withall, that *Noah* with his wife *Titea*, and his three Sons with their wiues (in all eight perſons) were only ſaued.

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§. II.

Of the Floud in the time of OGYGES: *and that this was not* NOAHS *Floud.*

Rho.l.15.c.33.

BVt from the vanitie of the *Greeks*, the Corrupters of all truth, (ſaith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquitie, came the errour firſt of all: who therein flattering themſelues alſo, ſought to perſwade the world, that there was no Floud preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, King of the *Thebans* iu *Bœotia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (ſaith *Rhodoginus*;) OGYGVM *id appellant Poetæ, tanquàm peruetus dixeris; ab* OGYGE *vetuſtiſſimo: The Poets gaue the name of* OGYGIA *to things exceeding ancient, as of* OGYGES *the moſt aucient.*

Euſeb.de præp. Euang.l.10.c.3. Ca.22.

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as thoſe men can make him, yet it is manifeſt, that he liued but in *Iacobs* time (though *Euſebius* makes him later, and in *Moſes* time) and was borne 67. yeeres after him. There is alſo an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he farre later) as *Rhodoginus* in the ninth Booke of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnâſſe autument hunc: vnde ſit* CADMVS *qui in Græciam profectus Thebas condidit, à boue iugulato ſic nuncupatas; quoniam Syrorum lingua bos dicitur Thebe. There are* (ſaith he) *who thinke that this* OGYGES *did reigne in Ægypt, whereby he ſhould be* CADMVS, *who trauailing into Greece built Thebes, ſo named of a Beefe ſlaine: becauſe in the Syrian Language, a Beefe is called Thebe.*

But this Floud of *Ogyges* fell in the yeere of the World 3440. according to *Euſebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the Floud of *Noah* in the yeere 2242. after the ſame account; and ſo there came 1200. betweene theſe Flouds, wanting but two, though herein *Euſebius* was much miſtaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now although the very yeere and time of this ouerflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not preciſely ſet downe, but that there is a great difference among Writers, yet whoſoeuer makes it moſt ancient, finds aboue 500. yeeres difference betwene that and the generall Floud.

Lib.1.c.7.

For *Paulus Oroſius* affirmes, that this tempeſt fell vpon the *Athenians*, but 1040 yeeres before *Rome* built. *Bucholzerus* ſaith, it was 1043. elder then *Rome*; which was founded (according to the ſame *Bucholzerus*) in the worlds yeere 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will giue my reaſons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds yeere 3280. Now the generall Floud preceded the building of *Rome* (ſaith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. yeeres: and the Floud of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by eaſie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference betweene theſe two Flouds muſt be 520. yeeres, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the ſame of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges Priſcus*, as ſome doe) it appeares by this, that the Floud of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it ſelfe any further then the bankes of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Ægæan* Sea. For whereas *Mela*, *Plinie*, and *Solinus* witneſſe, that the Citie of *Ioppe* in *Iudæa* was founded before the Floud; and that (notwithſtanding the waight of Waters) there remayned on certayne Altars of ſtone the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: ſure, it is no where found among prophane Hiſtorians nor in the Scriptures, that euer the Floud of *Ogyges* ſpred it ſelfe ouer any part of *Syria*, much leſſe ouer all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponneſus*, it is very probable. For it ſeemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were ſwallowed vp (Cities ſeated on the North part of *Peloponneſus*) of which *Ouid*:

Xenophon.Annianus.

Mela.lib.3. Plin.lib.5. Sol.cap.47. *Ioppe oppidum antiquiſſimum orbe toto, vt potè ante inundationem terrarum conditum.* Solin.ibid.

Ouid.Metam. lib.15.303.

Si quæras Helicen, & Buran, Achaidos vrbes,
Inuenies ſub aquis.

Si quæras Helicæn, & Buran, Achaidos vrbes,
Inuenies ſub aquis.

Ouid.Metam. lib.15.303.

Bura and *Helice,* on *Achaian* ground
Are ſought in vaine, but vnder Sea are found.

Of this Floud of *Ogyges* was inuented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the daughter of *Cœus*, the ſonne of *Titan,* being beloued and forced by *Iupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Iuno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they ſay) no part of the Earth to be deliuerd on; and withall, cauſed the monſtrous Serpent *Python* to follow & affright her, whereſoeuer ſhe trauelled: till at length arriuing at the Ile of *Ortygia,* ſhe was there receiued; in which ſhe was deliuered, firſt of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins: whereof *Barlaam* makes this expoſition: That at ſuch time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reigne) ceaſed, out of the abundant moiſture of the Earth (heat by putrifaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled ſuch thick miſts and fogges, that in *Attica*, and along the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea, neyther the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by night, could pierce the ayre, or be perceiued by the inhabitants: ſo as when at length (the Earth being dryed, and theſe vapours diſſipated) the ayre began to be cleare, the people of *Ortygia* eſpyed the light of the Moone ſomewhat before day, and in the ſame morning the Sunne alſo appeared: fabulouſly (becauſe *Diana* repreſented the Moone, and *Apollo* the Sunne) they were reported to be borne in the Ile of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which ſignifieth manifeſtation.

Nat.Com.l.1.c.6.

Plin.l.4.c.11.

And ſurely it is not improbable, that the Floud of *Ogyges* being ſo great, as Hiſtories haue reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayre, ſenſibly diſcerned in thoſe parts, and ſome vnuſuall face of the Skyes. *Varro* in his Bookes *de gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by Saint *Auguſtine)* reporteth out of *Caſtor*, that ſo great a miracle happened in the Starre of *Venus,* as neuer was ſeene before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatneſſe, the figure, and the courſe of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adraſtus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous Mathematicians, affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei,l.21.cap.8.

Now concerning the courſe of that or any other Planet, I doe not remember, that I haue any where read of ſo good Aſtrologers flouriſhing among the *Greekes*, or elſewhere in thoſe dayes, as were likely to make any calculation of the reuolutions of the Planets ſo exact, that it ſhould need no reformation. Of the colour and magnitude. I ſee no reaſon, why the difference found in the Starre of *Venus*, ſhould be held miraculous; conſidering, that leſſer miſts and fogges than thoſe which couered *Greece* with ſo long darkneſſe, doe familiarly preſent our ſenſes with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure ſhould varie, queſtionleſſe it was very ſtrange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it ſtands well with good reaſon, that the ſide of *Venus* which the Sunne beholds, being enlightned by him, the oppoſite halfe ſhould remaine ſhadowed; whereby that Planet would, vnto our eyes, deſcrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to be horned, as the Moone doth ſeeme; if diſtance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehenſion of our ſenſes.

A worthy Aſtrologer now liuing, who by the helpe of perſpectiue Glaſſes hath found in the Starres many things vnknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth ſo much to haue beene diſcouered in *Venus*, by his late obſeruations. Whether ſome watrie diſpoſition of the ayre might preſent as much to them that liued with *Ogyges*, as *Galilæus* hath ſeene through his Inſtrument; I cannot tell: ſure I am, that the diſcouerie of a truth formerly vnknowne, doth rather conuince Man of ignorance, than Nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great but particular Floud of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of Saint *Auguſtine)* accompanied with ſuch vnuſuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) ſignes, teſtifying the concurrence of cauſes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of *Noah*, which was generall, and altogether miraculous, may ſeeme to haue had no other token, or fore-ſhewing, then the long preaching of *Noah* himſelfe, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Floud came ſuddenly, and tooke them all away.

Luke 17.v.27.

§. III.

Of DEVCALIONS *Floud: and that this was not* NOAHS *Floud: nor the Vmbri in Italie a remnant of any vniuerſall Floud.*

A Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of *Deucalion* in *Theſſalia*; of which, S. *Auguſtine* out of *Varro*: *His temporibus* (*vt* VARRO *ſcribit) regnante Athenienſibus* CRANAO, *ſucceſſore* CECROPIS (*vt autem noſtri,* EVSEBIVS *&* HIERONYMVS) *adhuc eodem* CECROPE *permanente, diluuium fuit, quod appellatum eſt* DEVCALIONIS: (that is) *In theſe times* (*as* VARRO *reporteth*) CRANAVS *the ſucceſſor of* CECROPS *gouerning the Athenians, or* (*as our* EVSEBIVS *and* HIEROME *ſay*) CECROPS *yet liuing, that Floud* (*called* DEVCALIONS) *happened.*

And in the beginning of the eleuenth Chapter of the ſame eighteenth Booke, he vſeth theſe words: *Eduxit ergo* MOSES *ex Ægypto populum Dei nouiſsimo tempore* CECROPIS *Athenienſium Regis, cum apud Aſſyrios regnaret* ASCATADES, *apud Sicyonios* MARATHVS, *apud Argiuos* TRIOPAS: MOSES *led the people of God out of Ægypt about the latter times of* CECROPS *King of the Athenians,* ASCATADES *raigning ouer the Aſſyrians, ouer the Sicyonians* MARATHVS, *and ouer the Argiues* TRIOPAS. So as leauing the curioſitie of a few yeeres, more or leſſe, it appeareth, that this Floud of *Deucalion* was eyther at the egreſſion of the children of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*, or neere it: and then after *Noah* 753. yeeres, according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to liue in the yeere of the World 2409. or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739. yeeres after *Noah*, and in the yeere of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were borne in the age of the World 2356. according to *Codoman*; then giuing vnto *Deucalion* 40. yeeres of age when this Floud happened, it falleth within one yeere of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion* by all approued Hiſtorians is ſaid to haue beene 82. yeeres old at that time. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Floud of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaëtons* time, by the reigne of *Crotopus*, King of the *Argiues*; but *Crotopus* liued King of the *Argiues* ſixe yeeres after *Iſrael* departed *Ægypt*, which makes twentie yeeres difference, according to *Functius*, who will haue this Floud and Burning to haue fallen 14. yeeres before *Moſes* left *Ægypt*: for he gaue of the Worlds yeeres to the Floud and Burning the yeere 2440. and to *Moſes* his egreſſion the yeere 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinkes that *Moſes* was more ancient, and liued with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the Floud of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaëton*, preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, which is denyed by all: for that of *Theſſalie* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at leaſt 250. yeeres, or thereabouts. *Euſebius* in his Chronologie makes it 230. and ſo doth *P. Oroſius*: *Euſebius* about the 50. yeere of *Moſes* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Noahs* Floud 770. yeeres: for theſe be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his words: *Fuit autem in Græcia tempore quidem* PHORONEI, *qui fuit poſt* INACHVM, *inundatio quæ fuit tempore* OGYGIS: *There happened in Greece in the time of* PHORNEVS, *who liued after* INACHVS, *the Floud of* OGYGES. Now if the Floud of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020. or 1016. yeeres before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*; (as before) then is it manifeſt, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it fals out, that *Ogyges* Floud happened before the *Hebrewes* left *Ægypt* 250. yeeres, or 260. yeeres, according to the difference betweene the opinions of *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*. And for my ſelfe (who rather follow thoſe Chronologers, which giue 60. yeeres more to *Abraham* after the Floud, then the reſt) I reckon the times which come betweene theſe Flouds in this ſort. The generall Floud was in the yeere of the World 1656. *Iacob* was borne in the yeere of the World 2169. ſo as from the beginning of the Floud to *Iacobs* birth, there were conſumed 513. yeeres. *Ogyges* Floud happened 100. yeeres after *Iacob* was borne; and therefore after the generall Floud 613. yeeres. Now *Deucalion* was borne in the yeere of the World 2356. and had liued 82. yeeres, when his Kingdome of *Theſſalie* was ouerwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his Floud was after *Noahs* Floud ended, 782. yeeres. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. yeeres betweene the generall Floud and *Deucalions* birth; to which adde 82. yeeres of his Age (as before) and then the Floud of *Theſſalie* followed the generall 782. yeeres. The words of that *Xenophon* are theſe: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum* DEVCALIONIS, *ſecundo anno* SPHAERI, *ſeptingenti ſupputantur anni, qui natus anno duos & octoginta Theſſaliam vidit inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of* DEVCALION, *in the ſecond*

Cedron.l.1.f.34.

Clem.Alex.1. ſtro. ex Cteſ.

Euſeb. in Chron.

yeere of SPHAERVS, *are numbred* 700. *yeeres, and when* DEVCALION *was* 82. *yeeres old, he ſaw Theſſalia drowned.* This Floud happened in the Winter time about *Parnaſſus:* witneſſe *Ariſtotle* in the firſt of his *Meteors.* And *Varro* (whom Saint *Auguſtine* ſo often citeth for his excellent Learning, eſpecially in Antiquities) findeth this Floud of *Deucalion* to haue happened in the time of *Cranaus,* who ſucceeded *Cecrops: Oroſius* thinkes it ſomewhat later, *Amphitryon* reigning in *Athens,* the third from *Cecrops.* Onely this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not onely ouer *Theſſalie* it ſelfe, and the Regions adioyning Weſtward, but it couered the greateſt part of *Italie:* and eyther the ſame, or ſome other particular Floud then happening, oppreſt *Ægypt,* ſayth *Euſebius.* And therefore did the *Greekes* eyther thinke it, or faine it to be vniuerſall; and *Deucalion* then King, ſauing himſelfe and ſome others on the Mountaine of *Theſſalie* (of all other the higheſt, ſayth *Solinus*) was by reaſon thereof (as *Strabo* witneſſeth) ſayd to be the preſeruer of Mankind. That this Floud couered a great part of *Italie, Plinie* and *Solinus* make it probable, who affirme, that the people then inhabiting *Italie,* were therefore called ὀμβειοι: *quia ab imbribus diluuij ſuperfuiſſent*; and therefore alſo were they eſteemed the moſt ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his firſt Booke, and *Trezenius* in his ſecond: which *Vmbri* theſe Authors make the Parents of the *Sabines,* and the *Sabines* to be the Parents of the *Samnites, Piceni, Lucani, Brutij,* and all others inhabiting anciently the bankes of the *Mediterrane* Sea. But that theſe *Vmbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italie* before the Floud of *Noah,* and ſo tooke name by ſauing themſelues vpon the *Appenine* Mountaines, the Scriptures teach vs; ſhewing who, and who onely then were preſerued: which is ſufficient. Report hath aduentured further, telling vs, that the firſt people which after the generall Floud inhabited *Italie,* were the *Cameſenes*; (ſo named from *Cameſe,* whom CATO *in origimibus,* another of *Annius* his Authors, names for a conſort of *Ianus*) which people liued altogether a ſauage life; till ſuch time as *Saturne* arriuing on thoſe Coaſts, deuiſed Lawes to gouerne them by: the memorie of whoſe Acts in that Region, *Diodor* and *Thallus* among the *Greekes, Nepos Caſſius* and *Varro* among the *Latines* haue preſerued; and of whom *Virgil:*

C. 14.

Solin. l. 14.
Strab. l. 9.
Plin. l. 3. *c.* 14.
Sol. c. 7.
Plin. ibid.

Athenæus dipnoſoph. l. 15. out of *Draco Corcyræus* ſayth, that *Cameſe* was the wife and ſiſter of *Ianus.*
Lact. l. 1. *c.* 13.

Primus ab æthereo venit SATVRNVS *Olympo,*
Arma IOVIS *fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis,*
Is genus indocile, ac diſperſum montibus altis
Compoſuit, Legeſq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari
Maluit.

Æn. l. 8. 319.

SATVRNE deſcending from the Heauens high,
Fearing the Armes of IVPITER his Sonne,
His Kingdome loſt, and baniſht thence, doth flie.
Rude people on the Mountayne tops he wonne
To liue together, and by Lawes: which done,
He choſe to call it *Latium.*

And afterward in the Verſes following he ſpeaketh of the *Auſones,* and after them, of the *Sicani:* Nations, which againe ſought to diſ-plant the ancient Inhabiters:

Tum manus Auſonia, & gentes venere Sicani,
Then came th' *Auſonian* Bands, and the *Sicanian* Tribes.

Virg. l. 8. *Aen.*

Of theſe *Sicani* (which left *Spaine,* and ſat downe in *Italie*) *Thucydides* and *Plinie* giue teſtimonie: who were againe expelled by the *Ligij,* ſaith *Thucydides.* After all theſe plantations and replantations came the *Vmbri,* deſcended of the *Gaules* (ſaith *Annius*) not of thoſe *Gaules* of *France,* but of thoſe of *Scythia,* who commanded a great part of *Italie,* euen all *Hetruria* and *Campania*; as *Herodotus, Plinie,* and *Dionyſius* haue aſſured vs: and therfore this Floud of *Deucalion* was long after that of *Noah.* For all thoſe Nations were planted in *Italie,* and diſpoſſeſt of *Italie* again, before the *Vmbri* were euer heard of, or had being. So that Kingdome was firſt called *Camaſene,* then *Latium* or *Saturnia,* then *Auſonia* then *Sicania*; before the *Vmbri* (in whoſe time *Deucalions* Floud happened) poſſeſt the ſame, about 306. yeeres before the Warre of *Troy: Lycaon* then gouerning *Arcadia*; who being the father of two and twentie ſonnes, the youngeſt called *Oenotrius* inuaded *Italie,* who gaue it the name of *Oenotria.* This name it held vntill *Italus* of the ſame Nation changed it into *Italie,* after his owne name, about 250. yeeres before the fall of *Troy.* After theſe, came

Thucyd. l. 6.
Plin. l. 3. *c.* 5.

Annius ex Samuele Thalmudiſta
Herod. l. 1.
Plin. l. 3. *c.* 5.
Dion. l. 1. *&* 2.

Pauſan. Arcad. lib. 8.
Ariſt. Pol. 7. *c.* 10.

Herod. l.2.
Plin.l.3.c.4.

came the *Pelaſgi*, of whom *Plinie* in his third Booke and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his ſixt, ſpeakes at large: and after them the *Lydi*, vnder *Tyrrhenus* their Captaine, that gaue name to the *Tyrrheni*; who caſting thence the *Vmbri*, tooke from them three hundred Caſtles, and built therein twelue Cities; to which (after they had poſſeſt and paſt ouer the *Appenine* Mountaines) they added diuers others, whereof *Telſina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently ſuch a Nation, as theſe *Vmbri*, in thoſe parts, I doe not affirme; hauing reſpect to the teſtimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinkes, that the name was deriued from the *Greeke* word *Ombros*; but that theſe *Vmbri* of *Italie* were deſcended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

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§. IIII.

Of ſome other Records teſtifying the vniuerſall Floud: and of two ancient Deluges in Ægypt: and of ſome elſewhere.

SAint *Auguſtine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greekes* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Vniuerſall Floud, becauſe they had nothing of Antiquitie foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus*, before remembred) were all things among the *Greekes* (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *Engliſh* commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were ſucceſſiuely planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the inſtant: ſo did euery Familie, which afterward became a great People, with whom the knowledge of diuine Letters was not receiued, finde no Parent of more antiquitie, than ſuch as they had themſelues, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the *Gracians*, ſo did others vaunt themſelues to be *Indigenæ*, and growing out of the Earth, or inuent ſome other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldæans* had certaine knowledge of *Noahs* Floud, as *Beroſus* witneſſeth; and *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforeſaid) though he alſo affirme by heare-ſay, that ſome Giants ſaued themſelues vpon the Mountaines *Baris* in *Armenia*, but ſpeaketh not thereof as from any authoritie approued: vſing the word *Sermo eſt*; *That ſuch a ſpeech there was*. And *Euſebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient Hiſtorian *Abydenus*: who writeth, that *Siſithrus*, to preſerue himſelfe from a Floud fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the Hils of *Armenia* by ſhip, *ad Armeniam nauigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the Waters were fallen) ſent forth birds, that finding no land to reſt on, returned againe; which hee alſo did a ſecond time, but at the third returne the birds feet were couered with mudde and ſlime. To this effect are *Euſebius* words out of *Abydenus*, which may ſeeme a true deſcription (though in other termes) of *Noahs* Floud.

Euſ. de præp. Euang. l.9.c.4.

Cyrillus alſo affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhiſtor* maketh mention of this generall Floud. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Ægyptian* Prieſt, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Bookes of *Ægypt*, the ſtorie of the Floud vniuerſall, which (ſaith he) happened long before the *Græcian* inundations. Fryer *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third Floud, which alſo *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, ſomewhat more ancient then that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the generall Floud for the firſt, which happened (ſaith he) vnder the old OGYGES, *Sub priſco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the ſecond *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Promotheus* then liuing, 44. yeeres before that of *Attica*, in the 34. yeere of *Belochus* King of the *Aſſyrians*, though I doe not beleeue him as touching the time. But this Floud couered a great part of the nether *Ægypt*, eſpecially all that Region ſubiect to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his Liuer, afterward ſlaine by *Hercules* of *Ægypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* deliuereth in theſe words: *Fluuium propter curſus velocitatem, profunditatemq; aquarum Aquilam tunc appellatum,* HERCVLEM *cum conſilij magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt è veſtigio compreſsiſſe, & aquarum impetum ad priorem curſum conuertiſſe: Vnde & Græci quidam Poetæ rem geſtam in fabulam vertentes,* HERCVLEM *tradunt Aquilam* PROMETHEI *iecur depaſcentem occidiſſe*; *This Floud* (meaning of *Nilus*) *for the ſwiftneſſe of his courſe, as alſo for the depth, was in thoſe dayes called the Eagle: but* HERCVLES *by his great iudgement and vertue did againe compreſſe and ſtraighten this Riuer, ſo farre extended and ouer-ſpred, turning it into the old channels: Whence certaine Greeke Poets (conuerting this labour and worke of* HERCVLES *into a*

Diod. l.1.
Nat.Com.l.4.c.6

fable) deuiſed, that HERCVLES *ſlew the Eagle which fed on* PROMETHEVS *Liuer*; meaning that he deliuered *Prometheus* of that ſorrow and torment, which for the loſſe of his People and Countrey (by the Waters deſtroyed and couered ouer) he ſuffered.

A fourth Floud chanced about *Pharus* in *Ægypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiueth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this briefe ſort writeth of all theſe Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuere: prima nouimeſtris inundatio terrarum ſub priſco* OGYGE: *ſecunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (ſaith this ſame *Xenophon:*) *the firſt, which was vniuerſall, of nine Moneths, and this happened vnder the firſt* OGYGES: *the ſecond was Niliaca*, and of one Moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, *Ægyptians*: a third of two Moneths, vnder *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three Moneths, in *Theſſalia*, vnder *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) vnder *Proteus* of *Ægypt*, about the time of *Helens* rape. *Diodorus* in his fifth Booke and eleuenth Chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his Authors, remembreth a Floud in *Aſia* the leſſe, and elſewhere, of no leſſe deſtruction then any of the other particular Inundations, ſaying, that the ſame happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Helleſpont* breaking in ouer the Land.

Xenop. de æquin. Comm. per Annium, fol. 37.

But there haue been many Flouds in diuers times, and ages, not inferior to any of theſe two laſt remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Ægypt*: as in the yeere of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the ſame yeere, *Gregorie* then being Biſhop of *Rome*, there happened a maruellous ouerflowing in *Italie*, and eſpecially in the *Venetian* Territorie, and in *Liguria*, accompanied with a moſt fearefull ſtorme of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reaſon of the many dead Serpents caſt vp and left vpon the Land, after the Waters decreaſed and returned. And in the yeere 1446. there periſhed 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordroch* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Floud to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, and in the yeere 1238. *Trithemius* ſpeaketh of an Earthquake, which ſwallowed many thouſands: and after that, of a Floud in *Friſeland*, in which there periſhed 100000. perſons. *Strozius Sigog.* in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italie*, in the time of Pope *Damaſus*, in which alſo many Cities of *Sicil* were ſwallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the ſixt: alſo in the yeere 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperor. He alſo remembreth a perillous ouer-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracouia*, by which many people periſhed. Likewiſe *Viginier* a *French* Hiſtorian ſpeaketh of a great Floud in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 1557. with ſo dreadfull a tempeſt, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Iudgement Day; ſaying, That by the violent deſcent of the Waters from the Mountaines, about *Niſmes* there were remoued diuers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne vp and rent: by which accident there was found both Coyne of Siluer and Gold, diuers pieces of Plate, and Veſſels of other Mettall, ſuppoſed to be hidden at ſuch time as the *Gothes* inuaded that Prouince, in the yeere 1156.

Munſter.

Eclypſis, & terræ motus continui multa hominum millia oppreſſerunt. Friſia quoq; per maritimos fluctus tota pœnè ſubmerſa fuit & perierunt pluſquam 100000.

§. V.

That the Floud of NOAH *was ſupernaturall, though ſome ſay it might haue beene fore-ſeene by the Starres.*

NOw howſoeuer all theſe Flouds, and many other, which haue couered at ſeuerall times ſeuerall Regions, not onely in theſe parts of the World, but in *America* alſo, (as I haue learned of ſome ancient Southſayers among them) may be aſcribed to naturall cauſes and accidents; yet that vniuerſall Floud (in the time of *Noah*) was powred ouer the whole face of the Earth by a power aboue Nature, and by the eſpeciall commandement of God himſelfe, who at that time gaue ſtrength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaines of the Deepe: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible, then any abilitie of Nature could effect, or any ſecond cauſes by whatſoeuer vnion could performe, without receiuing from the Fountaine of all power ſtrength, and faculties ſupernaturall. *Henricus Mechlinienſis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries vpon the great coniunctions of *Albu Maſar* obſerueth, that before the Floud of *Noah*, the like coniunction of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*, happened in the laſt degree of *Cancer*, againſt that conſtellation ſince called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Floud of *Noah* might be fore-told, becauſe *Cancer* is both a watrie Signe, and the Houſe of the *Moone*, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of Moyſture, according to the rules of *Aſtronomie*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* vpon *Geneſis* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this Floud by diuine reuelation, yet (this coniunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the ſecond cauſes thereof: for thoſe were not onely ſignes, but alſo working cauſes, by ſtrength receiued from the firſt cauſe, which is God himſelfe: and further, that by * *Catarractæ Cœli* (Engliſhed the Windores of Heauen) *Moſes* meant this great and watrie coniunction; the word (*Catarractæ*) ſignifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now (ſaith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleaſed God to ordaine by the courſe of the Heauens ſuch a conſtellation, by which all men might behold therein their deſtruction towards, and thereby forſake thoſe wicked wayes wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercy.

Alſo *de Concordia Theolog. & Aſtrolog.* *Gen.* 7.11.

* The word καταῤῥάκτης properly ſignifieth any place of ſtoppage, againſt which the force of the water being naturally carryed downwards, daſheth and breaketh; of ἀῤῥάσσω, *allido*, or *frango*. Hence, becauſe Windores doe not only open, but alſo ſhut, the word hath been expounded (*Windores*) for Barres or Floud-gates.

Of this iudgement was *Gul. Pariſienſis*, who vnderſtood, that the words *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windores of Heauen, were to be taken for the former coniunction, or for theſe watrie Signes, *Cancer*, *Piſces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Orion*; and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the *Moone*: which are the forcible cauſes of the greateſt Inundations. His owne words are theſe: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum Catarractas Cœli vocaſſe, niſi partes illas Cœli, quæ generatiuæ ſunt pluuiarum & inundationum aquarum, quales ſunt ſigna aquatica, vt Cancer, &c.* as aforeſaid. As yet (ſaith he) *I perceiue not what the Prophet of the Hebrewes meaneth by thoſe words (Catarractæ Cœli,* or Windores of Heauen) *vnleſſe he thereby vnderſtand thoſe Celeſtiall powers, by whoſe influences are engendred the Raine, and Inundations of Waters, ſuch as are the watrie Signes of Cancer, &c.*

But in a word, as it might pleaſe God, that in the courſe of his vnſearchable Wiſdome this coniunction ſhould at ſuch time be: ſo did he (as aforeſaid) adde vigor and faculty, and gaue to euery operation encreaſe of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountaynes, commanding them to caſt out the whole treaſure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the Clouds, and condenſing ayre into water by the miniſterie of his Angels, or howſoeuer elſe beſt pleaſed his All-powerfulneſſe.

§. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of Matter to make the vniuerſall Floud: And what are Catarractæ Cœli,

GEN. 7. VERS. 11.

NOw if it be obiected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God reſteth the ſeuenth day: (that is) he did not then after create any new *ſpecies*) which granted, it may ſeeme that then all the Earth and Ayre had not waters ſufficient to couer the habitable World fifteene Cubits aboue the higheſt Mountaines. Of this propoſition, whether God hath ſo reſtrayned himſelfe, or no, I will not diſpute; but for the conſequent (which is) that the World had want of water to ouer-couer the higheſt Mountaines, I take that conceit to be vnlearned and fooliſh: for it is written, that *the Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken vp* (that is) the waters forſooke the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatſoeuer was diſperſt therein, pierced and brake through the face thereof. Then let vs conſider, that the Earth had aboue one and twentie thouſand miles, the *Diameter* of the Earth according to that circle ſeuen thouſand mile, and then from the *Superficies* to the *Center* ſome three thouſand fiue hundred miles: Take then the higheſt Mountaine of the World, *Caucaſus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the Mountaines of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the higheſt) in *Tenuerif*, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh higheſt, ſtretcheth aboue thirtie miles vpright. It is not then impoſſible, anſwering reaſon with reaſon, that all thoſe waters mixed within the Earth three thouſand fiue hundred miles deepe, ſhould not well helpe to couer the ſpace of thirtie miles in height, this thirtie miles vpright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and ſixteene times: for *the Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken vp*, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we conſider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extenſion of the Ayre ouer and aboue it, wee ſhall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleaſed God to condenſe but ſo much of this Ayre, as euery where compaſſeth and embraceth the Earth, which condenſation is a conuerſion of Ayre into Water, a change familiar in thoſe Elements; it will not ſeeme ſtrange to men of iudgement, yea but of ordinarie vnderſtanding, that the Earth (God ſo pleaſing) was couered ouer with Waters, without any new Creation.

Laſtly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Pariſienſis*, and *Aliacenſis*, to which I may adde *Bercſus* and others, That ſuch a coniunction there was, fore-ſhewing that deſtruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windores of Heauen, was meant this coniunction; there needes no other anſwere then that obſeruation of *Ludouicus Viues*, who affirmeth, That by the graueſt *Aſtrologian* it was obſerued, that in the yeere 1524. there ſhould happen the like coniunction as at *Noahs* Floud; then which (ſaith he) there was neuer a more faire, drie, and ſeaſonable yeere: the like deſtruction was prophecied of the yeere 1588. But *Picus* Earle of *Mirandula* proueth, that there could not be any ſuch coniunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other myſterie in the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, then that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moſes* vſing the word *Windores of Heauen* (if that be the ſenſe of the word) to expreſſe the violence of the Raynes, and powring downe of Waters. For whoſoeuer hath ſeene thoſe fallings of water, which ſometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spowts, (where clouds doe not breake into drops, but fall with a reſiſtleſſe violence in one body) may properly vſe that manner of ſpeech which *Moſes* did; That the Windores or Floud-gates of Heauen opened: (which is) That waters fell contrarie to cuſtome, and that order which wee call naturall. God then looſened the power retentiue in the vppermoſt ayre, and the waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (ſayth IOB) *he which holdeth the Waters, and they drie vp*, or better in Latine, *Et omnia ſiccantur*; *And all things are dryed vp; but when he ſendeth them out, they deſtroy the Earth:* And in the 26. Chapter: *He bindeth the Waters in the Clouds.* But theſe Bonds God looſed at that time of the generall Floud, and called vp the Waters which ſlept in the great Deepe; and theſe ioyning together, couered the Earth, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, he then commanded them to returne into their darke and vaſt Caues, and the reſt (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condenſed into drops.

Iob c.12.v.15.

Gen.8.1.

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§. VII.

Of ſome remainder of the memorie of NOAH *among the Heathen.*

NOAH commanded by God, before the fall of thoſe Waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his owne Wife, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes Wiues, taking with them of euery Creature which tooke life by generation, ſeuen of the cleane, and of the vncleane, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, ſignifieth quietneſſe: after others, and according to the prophecie of his Father *Lamech*, ceſſation; to whom after-times gaue many Names, anſwering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, *The firſt Ogyges*, becauſe in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges* there was alſo a great Floud of *Achaia*: *Saturne* they called him, becauſe he was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was ſaid to ſteale away *Iupiters* fire; fire in that place being taken and vnderſtood for the knowledge of God and heauenly things. Others thinke, that he was ſo called for his excellent wiſedome and foreſight. He had alſo the Name of *Ianus, (id eſt) vinoſus*, becauſe *Iain* ſignifieth Wine in the *Hebrew*. And ſo *Tertullian* findes him written *in Libris Ritualibus, in the Bookes of Ceremonies*, preceding both *Saturne, Vranus*, and *Ioue*: which three enioyed an elder time then all the other ancienteſt fayned gods. And this Name *Iain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latine*: for it was in vſe before there was any *Latine* Nation, or any Kingdome by that Name knowne. Of the antiquitie of *Ianus*, *Fabius Pictor* giueth this teſtimonie: IANI *ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæſerat vlla regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & Far primus populus docuit* IANVS *ad ſacrificia: primus enim Aras & Pomœria & ſacra docuit*; *In the time of* IANVS (ſaith he) *there was no Monarchie: for the deſire of rule had not then folded it ſelfe about the hearts of men.* IANVS *firſt taught the people to ſacrifice Wine and Meale: he firſt ſet vp Altars, inſtituted Gardens and ſolitarie Groues, wherein they vſed to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies.* A greater teſtimonie then this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth ſo well with the Scriptures. For firſt, whileſt *Noah* flouriſhed, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the firſt that tooke on him ſoueraigne authority. Secondly, *Noah* after the Floud was the firſt that planted the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the Firſt-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, he was the firſt that rayſed an Altar, and offered ſacrifice to God; a thankſgiuing

Gen.9.20.

Gen.8.20.

for his mercifull goodneſſe towards him. *Noah* was alſo ſignified in the Name of *Bifrons* (which was giuen to *Ianus*) becauſe he beheld the times both before and after the Floud. *Quia præterita nouerit, & futura proſpexerit*, ſaith ARNOBIVS; *Becauſe he knew what was paſt, and prouided for what was to come.* He was alſo in the perſon of *Ianus* ſhadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis, The Seed of the World:* becauſe as out of that confuſed Heape was drawne all the kinds of Beaſts and Plants, ſo from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ouid* in the perſon of *Ianus:*

Arn.cont.Gent. ib.6.

Me Chaos antiqui (nam ſum res priſca) vocabant,
Aſpice quàm longi temporis acta cano.

Ouid.de Faſtis. lib.1.

The ancient call'd me *Chaos:* my great yeares
By thoſe old times, of which I ſing, appeares.

He was alſo intituled *Cælum* and *Sol, Heauen* and the *Sunne*, for his excellent knowledge in Aſtronomie: *Vertumnus, Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodiſeus* ſo call, becauſe he was the reſtorer of the *Greekes* to their former libertie, but in reſpect of the Floud. For the *Greekes* called *Liber* ὕης, and his Nurſes *Hyades*, of Rayne, becauſe *Noah* entred the Arke when the Sunne ioyned with the Starres *Hyades*, a conſtellation in the Brow or Necke of *Taurus*, and euer after a Monument of *Noahs* Floud. He was alſo by others ſurnamed *Triton*, a Marine god, the ſonne of *Neptune*; becauſe he liued in ſafetie on the Waters. So was he knowne by the name of *Dionyſus*, *quaſi* διανύσων, *mentem pungens*, *Bite-braine*, or *Wit-ſtinger*; though *Diodorus* conceiue otherwiſe, and deriue that name *à patre & loco*; *Of his Father, and the place of his Birth*, (to wit) of *Ioue*, and *Niſa*, a Towne of *Arabia fœlix*, ſaith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. Hee had alſo the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; becauſe hee firſt yoked Oxen, and tylled the ground: according to that of *Moſes*; *And* NOAH *became an Husbandman.* Now howſoeuer the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwiſe *Dionyſus*) it is certaine, that the Name was borrowed, and the Inuention ſtolne from *Noah*. But this Name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Boäcus*, was taken (ſaith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Noachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, becauſe it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the firſt planter of the Vine after the Floud: and of *Noah* (the firſt and ancient *Bacchus*) were all thoſe fables deuiſed, of which *Diodorus* complayneth in his fourth Booke and fifth Chapter. This firſt *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was ſurnamed *Nyſius*, of the Mountaine *Nyſa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* neuer came, whatſoeuer themſelues faine of his enterpriſes: and theſe Mountaines of *Nyſa* ioyne with thoſe of *Paropaniſus*, and thoſe other *Eaſterne* Mountaines, on which the Arke of *Noah* reſted after the Floud.

Nat.Com.l.5. c.13.

Cœlius.

Gen.9.20.

Stuck. in libris conuiualibus, & Danæus de prima mundi ætate.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this ſecond Parent of Mankind might the better be preſerued, there were founded by his Iſſues many great Cities, which bare his Name, with many Riuers and Mountaines; which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, becauſe the many Names giuen him brought the ſame confuſion to places as to himſelfe. Notwithſtanding all which, we find the Citie of *Noah* vpon the bankes of the red Sea, and elſewhere: the Riuer of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolomie, Danus*; diuiding *Illyria* from *Panonia*. Thus much for the Name.

Plin.l.6. Steph de Vrb. Herod.l.4. Strabo.l.7.

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§. VIII.

Of ſundry particulars touching the Arke: as the place where it was made, the matter, faſhion, and name.

NOw in what part of the World *Noah* built the *Arke*, it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neyther doe I finde any approued Author that hath written thereof: onely *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiueth, that *Noah* built his *Arke* neere the Mountaines of *Caucaſus* becauſe on thoſe Hils are found the goodlieſt Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the warre among a people, called *Nyſæi*, inhabiting the other ſide of *Caucaſus*, he found all their Burials and Sepulchers wrought ouer with Cedar. To this place (ſaith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to ſeparate himſelfe from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled againſt God and Nature, as alſo becauſe he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Arke*; to which alſo he addeth the conueniencie of Riuers, to tranſport the Timber which he vſed, without troubling any other Carriages.

Onely this we are ſure of,that the *Arke* was built in ſome part of the Eaſterne World; and to my vnderſtanding, not farre from the place where it reſted after the Floud. For *Noah* did not vſe any Maſt or Sayle (as in other Ships) and therefore did the *Arke* no otherwiſe moue,then the Hulke or Body of a Ship doth in a calme Sea. Alſo, becauſe it is not probable, that during theſe continuall and downe-right Raines there were any Windes at all,therefore was the *Arke* little moued from the place where it was faſhioned and ſet together: for it is written, *God made a Wind to paſſe vpon the Earth, and the Waters ceaſed.* And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters,there was not any Storme or forcible Winde at all, which could driue the *Arke* any great diſtance from the place where it was firſt by the Waters lifted vp. This is alſo the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true;as it is very likely, that the *Arke* had *fundum planum, a flat bottome,* and not rayſed in forme of a Ship,with a ſharpeneſſe forward, to cut the waues, for the better ſpeed.

Gen.8.1.

This kind of Veſſell the *Hebrewes* call *Thebet*, and the *Greekes Larnax*, for ſo they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and ſome ſay, that the Hill *Parnaſſus*, to which in eight dayes he arriued,was firſt called *Larnaſſus*,and by the change of *(L)* into *(P) Parnaſſus*; but *Pauſanias* thinkes that it tooke name of a Sonne of the Nymph *Cleodoræ*, called *Parnaſſus*, the Inuentor of *Auguration*.

Steph.de Vrb. fol.227.

Peucerus findes the word *(Parnaſſus)* to haue no affinitie with the *Greeke*,but thinkes it deriued from the *Hebrew* word *Nahas*, which ſignifieth *Auguration* and *Diuination*: or from *Har* or *Parai*,as in his Chapter of Oracles in the Leafe before cited.

De Oracul fol.94

Ioſephus calls the *Arke Machina*,by the generall name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew, Aron*: but herein lyeth the difference betweene *Aron* and *Theuet*,That *Aron* ſignifieth properly the *Arke* of the *Sanctuarie*,but *Thebet* ſuch a Veſſell,as ſwimmeth,and beareth it ſelfe vpon the Waters.

Epiph.in Ancor.

Laſtly, this *Arke* of *Noah* differed from the faſhion of a Ship in this,that it had a Couer and Roofe,with a Creſt in the middeſt thereof,and the ſides declining like the Roofe of an Houſe; to the end, both to caſt off the Waters,and that thereunder *Noah* himſelfe and his children might ſhelter, and ſeparate themſelues from the noyſomeneſſe of the many Beaſts,which filled the other roomes and parts of the *Arke*.

Gen.6.4.

Of what Wood the *Arke* was built, it is vncertaine. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once and in this place onely vſed, is diuerſly vnderſtood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneua* Tranſlation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbine*,Cedar; the *Seuentie*,ſquare Timber; the *Latine*,ſmooth Timber. Others will haue it Cypres Trees, as dedicated to the dead, becauſe Cypres is worne at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* ſignifie any ſpeciall kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voyce of God therein; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, hauing the promiſe of God, and his grace and mercie for his defence. For with *Noah* God promiſed *to eſtabliſh his couenant*. *Plinie* affirmeth, that in *Ægypt* it was the vſe to build ſhips of Cedar,which the wormes eate not; and he auoweth, that he ſaw in *Vtica*, in the Temple of *Apollo* Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Citie, and that they were ſtill ſound in his time, which was about 1188. yeares after: prouing thereby, that this kind of wood was not ſubiect to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is eaſie to cut, light to carie, and of a ſweete ſauour, laſting alſo better then any other wood, & becauſe neere the place where the *Arke* reſted, there are foūd great ſtore of theſe Cedars trees,as alſo in all the mountains of the Eaſt,beſides thoſe of *Libanus*,it is probable enough that the *Arke* might be of that wood: which hath beſides the other commodities the greateſt length of Timber, and therefore fitteſt to build ſhips withall. *Pererius* conceiueth, that the *Arke* had diuers ſorts of Timber, and that the bottome had of one ſort,the decke and partition of another; all which may be true or falſe, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will ſerue for all parts of a Ship, as well for the Body,as for Maſts and Yards. But *Noah* had moſt reſpect to the direction receiued from God: to the length,breadth,and height,and to the partitions of the *Arke*; and to pitch it, and to diuide it into Cabines: thereby to ſeuer the cleane beaſts from the vncleane, and to preſerue their ſeuerall ſorts of food; and that it might be capable of all kind of liuing creatures,according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, hee caſt his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels ſteered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it

V.18.
Plin.l.16.c.40.

Pererius.

without the helpe of a Compas, or the North ſtarre. The Pitch which *Noah* vſed, is by ſome ſuppoſed to haue beene a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of *Sodome* and *Gomorra*, now the dead Sea, or *Aſphaltes*, and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the Weſt *India*: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire onely, after the manner of hard Waxe.

§. IX.

That the Arke was of ſufficient capacitie.

De Ciuit. Dei, l.15. c.26.

THe *Arke*, according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred Cubites, fiftie of bredth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion, it had ſixe parts of length to one of bredth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. AVGVSTINE: *Proculdubio figura eſt peregrinantis in hoc ſeculo Ciuitatis Dei, (hoc eſt) Eccleſiæ, quæ fit ſalua per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Chriſtus Ieſus: nam & menſura ipſa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudiniſq; eius ſignificat corpus humanum, in cuius veritate ad homines prænunciatus eſt venturus, & venit, &c. Without doubt* (ſayth he) *it is a figure of the Citie of God, trauailing in this World as a ſtranger (that is) of the Church, ſaued by the Tree whereupon the Mediator betweene God and Man, the Man Ieſus Chriſt did hang: for euen the very meaſure of the length, height, and bredth, anſwereth the ſhape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the comming of Chriſt was fore-told and performed.*

By what kind of Cubite the *Arke* was meaſured, it hath beene a diſputed queſtion among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect theſe: The firſt kind of Cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, meaſured from the ſharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The ſecond (the Palme-Cubit) which taketh one handfull more then the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Perſian* Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three ynches. The fourth is the ſacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Laſtly, there is a fift Cubit, called Geometricall, which containeth ſixe common Cubits. But of all theſe ſorts, which were commonly meaſured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens ſtatures hath made the difference. For as there is now a leſſe proportion of bodies, ſo is the common Cubit, from the ſharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of leſſe length then it was in elder times.

Athen. dipnoſop. lib 4. Plutar. in vita Demetrij.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib.5. c.27.

S. *Auguſtine* conſidering the many ſorts of Beaſts and Birds which the *Arke* held, with their food and water, was ſometimes of opinion, that the *Arke* had proportion after the Geometricall Cubit, which contayneth almoſt ſixe of the Common: For meaſuring the *Arke* by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacitie of that Veſſell built by *Hiero* of *Syracuſe*, or the Ship of *Ptolomie Philo-pater*. But S. *Auguſtine* (who at the firſt was led by *Origen*) changed his iudgement as touching the Geometricall Cubit; and found, vpon better conſideration, that there needed not ſo huge a Body to preſerue all ſorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reſerued. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of Fiſhes into the *Arke*, becauſe they were kept liuing (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) in their owne element. *Non fuit neceſſe conſeruare in Arca quæ poſſent in aquis viuere; non ſolùm merſa ſicut Piſces, verùm ſuper-natantia, ſicut multæ alites: It was not needfull to conſerue thoſe Creatures in the Arke, which could liue in the Waters; and not onely Fiſhes which can liue vnder water, but alſo thoſe Fowles which ſit and ſwim on them.* And againe, *Terra, non aqua, maledicta, quia* ADAM *non huius, ſed illius fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, and not the Waters, which God curſed; for of the forbidden fruit of the Earth, and not of the Sea, did* ADAM *eat.* So as S. *Auguſtine* gathereth hereupon (as aforeſaid) that ſo huge a Frame needed not.

And if we looke with the eyes of iudgement hereunto, we ſhall finde nothing monſtrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the moſt part) haue more of miſchiefe and of ignorance, then of any reuerend reaſon, finde many impoſſibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifeſt, and vndoubtedly true, that many of the *Species*, which now ſeeme differing, and of ſeuerall kindes, were not then *in rerum natura*. For thoſe Beaſts which are of mixt natures, eyther they were not in that age, or elſe it was not needfull to preſerue them, ſeeing they might be generated againe by others: as the Mules, the *Hyæna's*, and the like; the one begotten by Aſſes and Mares, the other by Foxes and Wolues. And whereas by diſcouering of ſtrange Lands, wherein there are found diuers Beaſts and Birds differing in colour or ſtature from thoſe of theſe Northerne parts; it may be ſuppoſed by a ſuperficiall conſideration, that all thoſe which weare red and pyed Skinnes, or Feathers, are differing from thoſe that are leſſe painted, and were plaine ruſſet or blacke; they are much miſtaken that ſo thinke. And for my owne opinion, I find no difference, but onely in magnitude, betweene the Cat of *Europe*, and the Ownce of *India*; and euen thoſe Dogges which are become wilde in *Hiſpagniola*, with which the *Spaniards* vſed to deuoure the naked *Indians*, are now changed to Wolues, and begin to deſtroy the breed of their Cattell, and doe alſo oftentimes teare aſunder their owne Children. The common Crow and Rooke of *India* is full of red feathers in the drown'd and low Iſlands of *Caribana*; and the Black-bird and Thruſh hath his feathers mixt with blacke and carnation, in the North parts of *Virginia*. The Dog-fiſh of *England* is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of *Species*, then were the *Negro's*, which wee call the *Blacke-Mores*, *non animalia rationalia*, not Men, but ſome kind of ſtrange Beaſts: and ſo the Giants of the South *America* ſhould be of another kind, then the people of this part of the World. We alſo ſee it dayly, that the natures of Fruits are changed by tranſplantation, ſome to better, ſome to worſe, eſpecially with the change of Clymate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting, and the beſt Melons will change in a yeere or two to common Cowcummers, by being ſet in a barren Soyle. Therefore taking the kindes preciſely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the *Arke*, after the meaſure of the common Cubit, was ſufficiently capacious to contayne of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but halfe a foot of meaſure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantly ſtature (and leſſe allowance we cannot giue to the difference betweene them and vs) then did the *Arke* containe 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in bredth, and 60. foot deepe.

Acoſt.hiſt.India.

But firſt of all, to make it manifeſt that the Geometricall Cubit is not vſed in the Scripture, the ſtature of the Giants therein named may ſuffice. For if the Bed of *Og*, King of *Baſan*, had beene nine Geometricall Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliah*, who had the length of ſix Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull (a proportion credible) if theſe Cubites had beene Geometricall, then had beene 54. foot in height, and vpwards, which were monſtrous and moſt incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliah* beene nine foot long, and farre waightier and bigger then all *Dauids* bodie, who carried it away.

Deut.3.11.

1.Sam.17.4.

Againe, if the Geometricall Cubit had beene vſed for a Meaſure in the Scripture, as many Commenters haue obſerued, then had the Altar (appointed to containe fiue Cubites of length, fiue of bredth, and three of height) haue reached the length of 27. foot vpright, and ſo muſt their Prieſts haue aſcended by ſteps or Ladders to haue performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandement, giuen in theſe words: *Thou ſhalt not goe vp with ſteppes vnto mine Altar, that thy ſhame be not diſcouered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubites high, which make foure foot, that their Prieſts ſtanding thereby might execute their Office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometricall, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the meaſure of Giantly ſtature; which meaſure (doubtleſſe) might giue much the more capacitie to the *Arke*, although it be alſo probable, that as the Men were, ſo were the Horſes whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correſpondent ſize. And yet (as I take it) though by this meanes there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to conceiue, how all the diſtinct *Species* of *Animals*, whoſe liues cannot be preſerued in the Waters, might according to their preſent quantities be contained in a Veſſell of thoſe dimenſions which the *Arke* had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now vſuall meaſure: whence it followeth of neceſſitie, that thoſe large Bodyes which were in the dayes of *Noah* might haue roome ſufficient in the *Arke*, which was meaſured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

Exod.20.26.

How the appointed number of creatures to be ſaued, (that is) ſeuen of the cleane, two of the vncleane (with neceſſarie foode) might haue place in the *Arke*, *Butao* hath very learnedly declared: the briefe ſumme of whoſe diſcourſe to that purpoſe, is this. *The length of the Arke was three hundred Cubits, which multiplyed by the bredth, namely fiftie Cubits, and the product by the height of thirtie Cubits, ſheweth the whole Concauitie to haue beene* 450000. Now whereas the poſts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may ſeeme to haue taken vp a great part of the hollow: the height of the roofe, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500. cubicall Cubes, was a ſufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of ſuch greatneſſe we ſeeke roome for 89. diſtinct *Species* of Beaſts, or (leſt any ſhould be omitted) for 100. ſeuerall kinds, we ſhall eaſily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bigneſſe are no way anſwerable to them, and for meat to ſuſtaine them all. For there are three ſorts of Beaſts, whoſe bodies are of a quantitie beſt knowne; the Beefe, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe: to which the reſt may be reduced, by ſaying, (according to *Ariſtotle*) that one Elephant is anſwerable to foure Beeues, one Lyon to two Wolues, and ſo of the reſt. Of Beaſts, ſome feede on vegetables, others on fleſh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater ſort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the Law of *Moſes*, whereof ſeuen of a kind entred into the *Arke*, namely, three couples for breede, and one odde one for ſacrifice: the other eight and twentie kindes were taken by two of each kinde, ſo that in all there were in the *Arke* one and twentie great Beaſts cleane, and ſix and fiftie vncleane, eſtimable for largeneſſe as ninetie one Beeues; yet for a ſupplement (leſt perhaps any *Species* be omitted) let them be valued, as a hundred and twentie Beeues. Of the leſſer ſort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Arke* ſixe and twentie kinds, eſtimable with good allowance for ſupply, as foureſcore Sheepe. Of thoſe which deuoure fleſh were two and thirtie kinds, anſwerable to threeſcore and foure Wolues. All theſe two hundred and eightie Beaſts might be kept in one ſtorie or roome of the *Arke*, in their ſeuerall Cabbines; their Meat in a ſecond: the Birds and their prouiſion in a third, with place to ſpare for *Noah* and his family, and all their neceſſaries.

§. X.

That the Arke reſted vpon part of the Hill Taurus (or Caucaſus) betweene the Eaſt Indies, and Scythia.

†. I.

A preterition of ſome queſtions leſſe materiall: with a note of the vſe of this queſtion, to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

WHat time *Noah* tooke to build the *Arke*, I leaue to others to diſpute: but he receiued the Commandement from God a hundred yeeres before the waters fell; and had therefore choice of time and leyſure ſufficient. As for the number of Deckes and Partitions, which *Origen* diuides into foure, S. *Auguſtine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controuerſie: or whether thoſe creatures which ſometimes reſt on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the Sea-Cowes or Sea-Horſes, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thinke it a needleſſe curioſitie; and yet to this ſayth *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fiſh-poole might be made as well within the *Arke*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuſe*. Laſtly, to conſider or labour to diſproue the foolerie of the *Hebrewes*, who ſuppoſe that the *Arke* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windores of Cryſtall to receiue in Light, and keepe out Water, were but to reuiue the buried vanities of former times. But that which I ſeeke moſt to ſatisfie my ſelfe and others in, is in what part of the World the *Arke* reſted after the Floud: becauſe the true vnderſtanding of ſome of theſe places (as the Seat of the terreſtriall *Paradiſe*, and the reſting of the *Arke*) doe onely and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Floud; and all ſtorie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better vnderſtood.

†. II.

A propoſall of the common opinion, that the Arke reſted vpon ſome of the Hils of Armenia.

ANd firſt, for the true place where the *Arke* reſted after the Floud, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* trauailed to their firſt ſettlement and plantation, I am reſolued (without any preſumption) that therein the moſt writers were vtterly miſtaken. And I am not led ſo to thinke out of my Humour or newneſſe of opinion, or ſingularitie; but doe herein ground my ſelfe on the originall and firſt truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reaſon, and the moſt probable circumſtances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *that the Arke ſtaied vpon one of the mountaines of Ararat*, which the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* hath conuerted *Kardu*, meaning the hils *Gordæi* or *Gordiæi* in *Armenia* the greater: (as the words *Gordæi* and *Kardu*, ſeeme to be one and the ſame) of which opinion alſo the moſt of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reaſon which teacheth any ſuch thing: (to wit) that it reſted on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* cals this mountaine of *Ararat*, *Baris*, being the ſame which the *Chaldæan* nameth *Kardu*, to which mountaine the Fryer *Annius* (citing this place out of *Ioſephus*) makes him finde another adioyning, called *Ocila*, and to ſay that the *Arke* (of which *Moſes* the Lawgiuer of the Hebrewes wrote) did firſt take ground on this *Ocila*. But I doe not finde any ſuch mountaine in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Ioſephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontorie in *Arabia fœlix*, of that name, and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne ſo called in the ſame, which *Ptolomie* cals *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damaſcenus*, or rather of *Annius*, ſeemeth to bee one and a part of the *Armenian* mountaines. *Beroſus* calleth thoſe mountaines of *Armenia Gordiæi*, and *Curtius Cordæi*: *Ptolomie Gordæi* and *Gordiæi*: of which the Countrie next adioyning is by this *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* coniectures) for *Milyada* or rather *Minni*: which word is vſed for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Arminea* ſeemes to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we ſhould ſay *Minni* of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* alſo was a part of *Syria*, *Plinie* witneſſeth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about theſe mountaines, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are ſeated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the mountaines called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the plaines of *Armenia* the great, neere the Lake *Thoſpitis*: whence the Riuer of *Tigris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines *Gordiæi* (that which ſurmounteth the reſt) *Epiphanius* cals *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* ſignifieth a place of deſcent: but this out of *Ioſephus*; which name (ſaith *Iunius*) was of the euent, becauſe of *Noahs* comming downe with his children. But this alſo I take to be a ſuppoſed euent; ſeeing any hil, from whence on euery ſide we muſt deſcend, may thus be called: as *Iunius* corrects the place in *Ioſephus* λούβαρις (*Kubaris.*) That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, becauſe *Ioſep. l.1.c.4.* ſayes, the place is called ἀποβατήριον (as it were the deſcent or comming downe) and *Epiphan. l.1. contr. Hæreſ.* cals it λόφαρ: which word in the *Armenian* and *Ægyptian* tongue ſignifieth deſcent, of *Lubar*, which is to deſcend; whence alſo *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, becauſe it was commonly built on ſome high place: whereof alſo the Latine *Delubrum* may ſeeme to bee deriued; and *Act. 6.9.* they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Ægyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath beene embraced from age to age, receiuing a habit of ſtrength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwiſe rightly bee giuen, eſpecially to that mountaine, by reaſon that the paſſage was more faire, vp and downe vnto it, then to any of the reſt adioyning.

Gene.8.4.

Sec.c §.1.

Hierom.51.27.

Nat.hiſt.l.5. cap.12.

Ioſeph.de.Antiq. l.1.c.4.

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†. III.

The firſt argument againſt the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would haue come ſooner, had they come from ſo neere a place as Armenia.

BVt there are many arguments to perſwade me, that the *Arke* of *Noah* did not reſt it ſelfe in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountaine *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiæan* mountaines.

For firſt, it is agreed by all which follow *Beroſus*, that it was in the 130. yeere, or in the yeere 131. after the floud, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chuſh*, and *Chaldæa*. If then the *Arke* had firſt found land in *Armenia*, it is very vnprobable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that valley could haue ſpent ſo many yeeres in ſo ſhort a paſſage: ſeeing the Region of *Meſopotamia* was onely interiacent, which might by eaſie iourneies haue beene paſt ouer in

Beroſ.l.1.

twentie dayes; and to haſten and helpe which paſſage the nauigable riuer of *Tigris* offered it ſelfe, which is euery where tranſpaſſable by boates of great burden: ſo as where the Deſart on the one ſide reſiſted their expedition, the riuer on the contrary ſide ſerued to aduance it; the riuer riſing out of the ſame Ledge of mountaines, or at the foote of them, where the *Arke* of *Noah* was firſt ſuppoſed to ſettle it ſelfe; Then if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* ſtill doubted the ſurpriſe of a ſecond floud (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it ſoundeth ill to the eare of reaſon, that they would haue ſpent many yeeres in that low and ouerflowne Valley of *Meſopotamia*, ſo called of the many Riuers which imbroyder or compaſſe it: for the effects witneſſed their affections, and the workes, which they vndertooke, their vnbeliefe; being no ſooner arriued in *Shinar*, but they began to prouide themſelues of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) againſt any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdome, the firſt known Citie of the world founded after the floud, about 131. yeres, or (as others ſuppoſe) ten yeeres later: though (for my ſelfe) I rather thinke, that they vndertooke that worke in two reſpects, firſt, to make themſelues famous, *To get vs a name* (ſaith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to vſurpe dominion ouer the reſt.

Gene. 10.10.
Beroſ.l.1.

†. IIII.

The ſecond argument, That the Eaſterne people were moſt ancient in populoſitie, and in all humane glory.

FOr a ſecond Argument: The ciuilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the Eaſt parts of the world firſt abounded) hath more weight then any thing which hath beene, or can be ſaid for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the vſe of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the Eaſt had) may eaſily perſwade vs, that thoſe Sunne-riſing Nations were the moſt ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the Eaſt *Indians* (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordnance of batterie, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make vs now to vnderſtand, That the place of *Philoſtratus in vita Apollonij Tianæi.l.2.c.14.* is no fable, though expreſt in fabulous words: when he ſaith, that the wiſe men, which dwell betweene *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*, vſe not themſelues to goe forth into battaile: but that they driue away their enemies with thunder and lightning ſent from *Iupiter*. By which meanes there it is ſaid, that *Hercules Ægyptius* and *Bacchus*, ioyning their forces were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there caſt away his golden ſhield. For the inuention of letters was ignorantly aſcribed to *Cadmus*, becauſe hee brought them firſt into Greece: of which the people (then rude and ſauage) had reaſon to giue him the honour, from whome they receiued the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no leſſe ancient then *Seth* or *Henoch* were: for they are ſaid to haue written on pillars of ſtone (as before remembred) long before the floud. But from the Eaſterne world it was that *Iohn Cuthenberg* a *Germane*, brought the deuice of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being inſtructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicholaus Gerſon* a *Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and inuention. And notwithſtanding that this myſterie was then ſuppoſed to be but newly borne, the *Chinaos* had letters long before either the *Ægyptians* or *Phœnicians*; and alſo the Art of Printing, when as the Greekes had neither any ciuil knowledge, or any letters among them.

And that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* haue witneſſed, who about an hundred yeeres ſince diſcouered thoſe Kingdomes, and doe now enioy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinaos* account all other Nations but Saluages, in reſpect of themſelues.

And to adde ſtrength to this argument the conqueſt and ſtorie of *Alex. Macedon* may iuſtly be called to witneſſe, who found more Cities and ſumptuoſitie in that little Kingdome of *Porus*, which lay ſide by ſide to the Eaſt *India*, then in all his other trauails & vndertakings. For in *Alexanders* time learning and greatneſſe had not trauailed ſo far to the Weſt as *Rome*: *Alexander* eſteeming of *Italie* but as a barbarous Countrie, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that ſtood in his eye, and the fame of the Eaſt pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the Sun-riſing, and heare *Paulus Venetus* what hee reporteth of the vttermoſt Angle and *Iſland* thereof, wee ſhall finde that thoſe Nations haue ſent out, and not receiued, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the Weſt. For the farther Eaſt (to this day) the more ciuill, the farther Weſt the more ſaluage.

And of the *Iſle* of *Iapan* (now *Zipingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report: *Incolæ religioni, literis, & ſapientiæ ſunt addictiſsimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more noſtro) ſacris in delubris exercent: vnum cognoſcunt Principem, vnum Deum adorant, The Ilanders are exceedingly addicted to religoin, letters, and Philoſophie, and moſt diligent ſearchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they vſe in their Churches, after the manner of Chriſtians. They acknowldge one King, and worſhip one God.* The antiquitie, magnificence, ciuilitie, riches, ſumptuous buildings, and policie in gouernment, is reported to be ſuch by thoſe who haue beene employed into thoſe parts, as it ſeemeth to exceede (in thoſe formerly named, and deuers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.

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†. V.

The third argument, From the wonderfull reſiſtance which SEMIRAMIS *found in the Eaſt Indies.*

BVt for a third argument, and alſo of a treble ſtrength to the reſt, I lay the inuaſion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and aduiſed Reader: who may conſider in what age ſhee liued, and how ſoone after the worlds new birth ſhee gathered her Armie (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Cteſias* reporteth) of more then three Millions to inuade *India*, to which hee adioyned alſo 500000. Horſe, and 100000. Waggons: whereof if wee beleeue but a third part, it ſhall ſuffice to prooue that *India* was the firſt planted and peopled Countrie after the floud. Now as touching the time wherein ſhee liued: All Hiſtorians conſent, that ſhee was the wife of *Ninus*; and the moſt approued Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Sonne of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Sonne of *Cuſh*, *Cuſh* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at ſuch time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinar*, hee was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of *Babel* may appeare; and being then ſo multiplied and increaſed, the two deſcents caſt betweene *Nimrod* and *Semiramus*, brought forth in that time thoſe multitudes, whereof her Armie was compoſed. Let vs then ſee with whom ſhee encountred in that warre with this her powerfull Armie: euen with a multitnde, rather exceeding, then equalling her owne, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whoſe multitudes this is the witneſſe of *Diod. Siculus*. STAVROBATES, *auitis maioribus quàm quæ erant* SEMIRAMIDIS *copijs.* STAVROBATES *gathering together greater troupes then thoſe of* SEMIRAMIS. If then theſe numbers of *Indians* had beene encreaſed but by a *Colonie* ſent out from *Shinar*, (and that alſo after *Babel* was built, which no doubt tooke ſome time in the performance (this encreaſe in the Eaſt, and this Armie of *Staurobates* muſt haue been made of ſtone, or ſomewhat elſe by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might eaſily grow vp in that time, from ſo great a Troupe as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as ſhall bee demonſtrated hereafter in the Storie of *Iſrael*) ſo could not any ſuch time, by any multiplication naturall, produce ſo many bodies of men, as were in the *Indian* Armie victorious ouer *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* ſent thither had beene ſo late as *Babel* ouerturned, and the confuſion of Languages. For if, wee allow 65. yeeres time after the Floud, before *Nimrod* was borne: of which, thirty yeeres to *Cuſh* ere hee begat *Seba*, after whom hee had *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: Gen.10.7. and then thirtie yeeres to *Raamah*, ere hee begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and fiue yeeres to his fiue elder brothers, which make ſixtie fiue, and then twice thirtie yeeres for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their ſonnes; and that a third Generation might grow vp, which makes in all an hundred twenty fiue yeeres, there will then remaine ſixe yeeres to haue beene ſpent in trauailing from the Eaſt, ere they arriued in *Shinar* in the yeere after the Floud 131. And ſo the followers of *Nimrod* might bee of ſufficient multitude. But as for thoſe which make him to haue arriued at *Shinaar* in the yeere 101.: and the confuſion to haue beene at *Pelegs* birth, theſe men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time, and build *Nimrods* Towre in the Ayre; and not on thoſe low and mariſh grounds (which require ſound foundations) in the Plaines of *Shinaar*. For except that huge Towre were built in a day, there could bee no confuſion in that yeere 101. or at *Pelegs* birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that *Nimrod* vſurped Regall authority in the 131. yeere after the Floud, (according to *Beroſus*) and that the worke of *Babel* laſted forty yeeres (according to Glicas) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totis* 40. *annis incaſſum laborantibus, Men labouring in vaine* 40. *yeeres to finiſh it.* By which account it fals out, that it was 170. yeeres after the Floud, ere a *Colonie* was ſent into *Eaſt Indea*; which granted (the one being the maine body, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly be beleeued, that *Staurobates* could haue exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Empreſſe of all that part of the world, gathered the moſt of Nations into one bodie.

Glyc. in Gen. & de Turri c ex ſtructione. fol. 173.

†. VI.

The fourth Argument from diuers conſiderations in the perſons of Noah.

Fourthly, it is no way propable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the floud, and had liued therein the long time of 600. yeeres, was all that ſpace 130. yeeres after the floud, without any certaine habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reaſon, that *Nimrot* was but the conducter of thoſe people, by *Noah* deſtined and appointed to fill and inhabite that middle part of the earth and the Weſterne world; (which trauailes *Noah* put ouer to yong and able bodies) and that *Noah* himſelfe then couered with many yeeres, planted himſelfe in the ſame place which God had aſſigned him: which was where he firſt came downe out of the *Arke* from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came downe out of the *Arke* hee planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman: whoſe buſineſſe was to dreſſe and manure the earth; and not to range ouer ſo many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia fœlix*, where hee ſhould (if the tradition be ſound) haue left certaine *Colonies*: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*; then into *Spaine*, where they ſay he ſettled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his ſonnes wiues: from thence into *Italie*, where they ſay hee found his ſonne *Cham* the *Saturne* of *Ægypt*, who had corrupted the people and ſubiects of *Gomer* in his abſence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the ſtorie) had patience for three yeeres; but then finding no amendment, they ſay hee baniſht him out of *Italie*. Theſe be but the fancies of *Beroſus Annianus*, a plaine imitation of the Græcian fables. For let euery reaſonable man conceiue, what it was to trauaile farre in ſuch a forreſt as the World was, when after ſo great a rotting of the earth by the floud, the ſame lay waſte and ouer-growne for 130. or 140. yeeres, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or paſſage through which men were able to creepe for woods, buſhes and bryars that in thoſe yeeres were growne vp.

And there are ſo many reaſons, prouing that *Noah* neuer came into the valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not ſuſpect his paſſage into *Italie* or *Spaine*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all thoſe Nations, a man reuerenced both for his authority, knowledge, experience and pietie, would neuer haue permitted his children and iſſues to haue vndertaken that vnbeleeuing preſumptuous worke of *Babel*. Rather by his preſence and preualent perſwaſions he would haue bound their hands from ſo vaine labours, and by the authority which he receiued euen from God himſelfe, hee would haue held them in that awfull ſubiection, as whatſoeuer they had vainely conceiued or feared, yet they durſt not haue diſobeyed the perſonall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regall authority ouer his children and people. Certainely, *Noah* knew right well, that the former deſtruction of mankinde was by themſelues purchaſed through cruleltie and diſobedience; and that to diſtruſt God, and to raiſe vp building againſt his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a prouocation of God to lay on them the ſame, if not a more ſharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probabilitie, that euer he came ſo farre Weſt as *Babylonia*; but rather, that hee ſent thoſe numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greateſt troupe, becauſe they had the greateſt part of the world to plant) vnder *Nimrod*, or thoſe vpon whom he vſurped. *Nauclerus* and *Cæleſtinus* take the teſtimony of *Methodius* Biſhop of *Tyre* for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encreaſe (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Ioctan*: of which *Nimrod* commanded the iſſues of *Cham*, *Ioctan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Iaphet*. This opinion I cannot iudge of, although I wil not doubt, but that ſo great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the ſonnes of *Sem*: *Ioctan*, *Hauilah*, and *Ophir*, are eſpecially noted to haue dwelt in the *Eaſt India*. The reſt of *Sems* iſſues had alſo the Regions of *Perſia* and the other adioyning to *Indus*, and held alſo a part of *Chaldæa* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Vr*, till hee was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Ioctan*, or of all the reſt a certaine number (*Cham* and his iſſue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himſelfe, it cannot be knowen. Of which plantation I ſhall ſpeake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reaſon which mooues me to beleeue, that *Noah* ſtayed in the Eaſt far away from all thoſe that came into *Shinar*, is, that *Moſes* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the ſtorie of the Hebrewes, or among any of thoſe *Nations* which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all mankinde, and the choſen ſeruant of God, was too principall a perſon, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in reſpect of his age and weariſome experience of the world) withdrawne himſelfe, and reſted apart with his beſt beloued, giuing himſelfe to the ſeruice and contemplation of God and heauenly things, after he had directed his children to their deſtined portions. For he landed in a warme and fertile ſoile, where he planted his Vineyard, and dreſt the earth; after which, and his thankeſ-giuing to God by ſacrifice, he is not remembred in the Scriptures, becauſe he was ſo farre away from thoſe Nations of which *Moſes* wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

†. VII.

Of the ſenſeleſſe opinion of ANNIVS *the Commentor vpon* BEROSVS*: who finds diuers places where the Arke reſted; as the Caſpian and Gordiæan hils which are three hundred miles aſunder; and alſo ſome place of Scythia.*

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments & authorities of Frier *Annius*, who in his Commentaries vpon *Beroſus* and others, laboureth maruailouſly to proue, that the *Arke* of *Noah* reſted vpon the *Armenian* mountaines called *Caſpij*; which mountaines ſeparate *Armenia* from the vpper *Media*, and doe equally belong to both. And becauſe all his Authours ſpeake of the mountaines *Gordiæi*, hee hath no other ſhift to vnite theſe opinions, but by vniting thoſe farre-diſtant mountaines together. To effect which, he hath found no other inuention, then to charge thoſe men with errour, which haue carefully ouerſeene, printed, and publiſhed *Ptolimies* Geographie, in which they are Ptol.tab.Aſiæ.3. altogether diſſeuered. For that laſt edition of *Mercators*, ſets theſe hills fiue degrees (which makes three hundred Engliſh miles) aſunder. And certainely, if we looke into thoſe more ancient copies of *Villanouanus* and others, we ſhall finde nothing in them to helpe *Annius* withall: for in thoſe the mountaines *Caſpij* ſtand ſeuen degrees to the Eaſt of the *Cordiæi*, which make 420. miles. And for thoſe Authours by whoſe authoritie *Annius* ſtrengtheneth himſelfe, *Diodorus* whom he ſo much followeth, giueth this iudgment vpon the them in the like diſpute. Diod.l.c.3. *Aberrârunt verò omnes, non negligentiâ ſed regnorum ſitus ignorantia, They haue all erred* (ſaith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the ſituation of Kingdomes.* But for an induction, to proue that the *Arke* of *Noah* ſtood on the mountaines of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to proue the ſame hee citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who auoweth that 250. yeeres before *Ninus*, Cato de orig. pars prima. the earth was ouerflowne with waters, *& in Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus, and that in Scythia the flocke of mortall men was renewed.* The ſame Authour alſo teacheth that the *Vmbri* before remembred (who were ſo called, becauſe ſaued from *Deucalions* flood) were the Sonnes of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex hijs veniſſe* IANVM *cum* DYRIM *& Gallis progenitoribus Vmbrorum, From theſe Scythians,* he ſaith, *that* IANVS *came with* DYRIM *and with with the Gilli the progenitours of the Vmbri*; And againe, *Equidem principatus originis ſemper Scythis tribuitur, Certainely, the Prime antiquitie of off-ſpring is alway giuen to the Scythians.* And herein truely I agree with *Annius*, that thoſe Regions called *Scythia* and now *Tartaria*, and by ſome Writers *Sarmatia, Aſiatica*, were among the firſt peopled: and they held the greateſt part of *Aſia* vnder tribute till *Ninus* time. Plin.l.3.c.14. Alſo *Plinie* called the *Vmbri* which long ſince inhabited *Italie, Gens antiquiſſima, a moſt ancient Nation*, who deſcended of theſe *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius* laboureth, is to prooue that theſe ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephewes of *Noah*) did firſt inhabite that Region of the mountaines, on which the *Arke* reſted; and confeſſing that this great ſhip was grounded in *Armenia*, he faineth a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the mountaine *Ararat*, neere the Riuer of *Araxes*. And becauſe his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part

Beroſ.l.1.

Pto.Aſiæ.tab.7.

Gene.11.2.

(to wit, That in *Scythia* mankind was reſtored after the great floud, 250. yeares before *Ninus*) and in part vtterly deſtroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*, as in *Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus*; *In Scythia Saga mankind was reſtored*, he therefore in the *Proœme* of his Commentarie vpon *Beroſus*, leaueth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in Scythia ſaluatos.* For *Scythia Saga* or *Sacæ*, is vndoubtedly vnder the Mountaynes of *Paropaniſus*, on which, or neare which it is moſt probable that the *Arke* firſt tooke ground; and from thoſe Eaſt parts (according to *Moſes*) came all thoſe companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia.*

L.6.c.17.

Tab.Aſiæ.7.&8

But now the beſt authoritie which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where hee hath read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name *à Scytha Rege eorum*, *from Scytha their King*. But (in a word) wee may ſee his vanitie, or rather (indeede) his falſhood in citing this place. For *Diodorus* a moſt approoued and diligent Author beginneth in that place with theſe words: *Fabulantur Scythæ*, *The Scythians fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giueth this title to that very Chapter. *Scytharum origo & ſucceſſus, fabula*, *The originall and ſucceſſe of the Scythians, a fable.* And (indeede) there needs no great diſproofe hereof, ſince *Ptolomie* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga* or *Sacæ*, and ſets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Perſians* (ſaith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians*, *Sacæ* which *Plinie* confirmeth: for in reſpect that theſe *Sacæ* (ſaith *Plinie*) are the next *Scythians* to the *Perſians*, therefore they giue all the reſt that name. Now that any nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Perſians*, there is no man beleeueth. But this ſuppoſed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees diſtant from the *Sacæ*; and the Countrie about *Araxes Ptolomie* calleth *Colthene* and *Soducene* and *Sacapene* without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all thoſe which are or were reputed *Scythians* either within *Imaus* or without, to the number of 100. ſeuerall Nations are by *Ptolomie* preciſely ſet downe.

Rha now Wolga.

But to come to thoſe later Authors, whereof ſome haue written, others haue ſeene a great part of thoſe North-eaſt Regions, and ſearched their antiquities with great diligence: Firſt, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without theſe Mountaines is alſo beyond our purpoſe.) *Scythia intra Imaum montem ea eſt, quæ proprio vocabulo Gaſſaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occaſu Sarmatia Aſiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridiæ Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, vſque oſtia Oxæamnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipſius maris hinc vſq; ad Rha fluminis oſtia terminatur: Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus is that part of the World, which in their owne ſpeech is at this time called Gaſſaria; and the ſame is bounded on the Weſt ſide by Sarmatia Aſiatica*, (or of *Aſia*) *on the Eaſt by the Imaan Mountaines: on the North by vnknowne Lands: on the South by the Saccæ* (which are the *Sacæ*) *the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of the ſame Sea as farre as the mouth of Rha.*

Com.2.Aſiæ. fol.472.

Ad meridiem flexo Boſphoro pars ſeptentrionalis ponte Euxini vſq; in oſtiū Coracis fluvij: vnde relictis à parte dextra Colchis, Iberis, Albaniſq; in littus Hyrcani maris prouenit Spec.hiſt.l.30.

Now if *Niger* ſets all *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, to the Weſt of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (*quæ magna ſanè Regio eſt, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur*) *Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations* (ſaith *Niger*) much of it being betweene *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth ſufficiently warrant vs, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plaine, he diſſeuereth *Sarmatia* it ſelfe from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, which he leaueth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the Weſt bound of *Scythia.*

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scythian* Nations; neyther doth his fellow Frier *Iohn Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his deſcription of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neyther doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* borne, of the bloud of thoſe Kings (though afterward a Monke) euer acknowledge himſelfe for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* Races deſcended: though he write that ſtorie at large, gathered by *Nicholaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of Pope *Clement* the fifth) in the yeere 1307. publiſhed.

Neyther doth *Mathias a Michon* (a Canon of *Cracouia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* borne, and that trauailed a great part of *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, finde *Armenia* any way within the compaſſe of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whoſe Trauailes are extant) hath obſerued ſo much of thoſe Regions as he hath done: prouing and diſprouing many things, heretofore ſubiect to diſpute. And among others he burieth that ancient and receiued opinion, That out of the Mountaines *Riphæi*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, ſpring the Riuers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; prouing by vnanſwerable experience, that there are no ſuch Mountaines *in rerum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountaines of thoſe famous Riuers are now by the Trade of *Muſcouia* knowne to euery Merchant, and that they ariſe out of Lakes, low, wooddie, and mariſh grounds. The Riuer of *Tanois* or *Don*, ariſeth to the South of the Citie *Tulla*, ſome twentie *Engliſh* miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanoweſero*, in the great Wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Iepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riſeth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Vodkonzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Riuers flow of *Boryſthenes* (now *Neyper*) and *Dſuina* or *Diuidna*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this ſort bound the *Europæan Sarmatia*. *In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Ruſsians, Lithuanians, Muſcouians*, and thoſe adioyning, bounded on the West by the Riuer of *Viſſa*, the Name perchance miſ-printed *Viſſa* for *Viſtula*, a Riuer which parts *Germanie* and *Sarmatia*: and for the East border he nameth *Tanais* or *Don*. *Sarmatia Aſiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the ſame Riuer of *Tanais*, and the *Caſpian* Sea, to with-hold it from ſtretching farther East: this *Aſian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomie* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem: Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus*. And the ſame *Mathias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Aſiatica* it ſelfe aboue three hundred and a few odde yeers before his owne time: theſe be his words: *Conſtat eam eſſe gentem nouam, & aduentitiam à partibus Orientis (mutatis ſedibus) paulò plus abhinc trecentis annis Aſiæ Sarmatiam ingreſſam: It is manifeſt* (ſaith he, ſpeaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coaſts of the East: from whence they entred into Aſia, and gat new ſeates a little more then* 300. *yeeres ſince*: For (indeed) before that time the *Gothes* or *Pouloci* inhabited *Sarmatia*, *Aſiatica*. And this *Mathias* liued in the yeare 1511. and this his Diſcourſe of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Auguſta* in the yeare 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witneſſeth. Now theſe *Scythians* (ſaith he) came from the East, for in the East it was that the *Arke* of *Noah* reſted; and the *Scythæ Sacæ* were thoſe people which liued at the North foot of thoſe Mountaines of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mixe themſelues with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other teſtimony then the generall deſcription of the Earth now extant, and the witneſſe of *Ptolomie*, it is plaine, that betweene all parts of *Armenia* and *Schythia*, there are not only thoſe three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caſpian* Sea: on the East ſhore of which Sea, but not one the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) betweene *Iaxartus* and *Iactus*; but what are theſe *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more then the *Scythians* of *Europe*?

Sig. Herberſtein.

Crãzius calleth this Riuer *Wiſlaus*, *Niger Drauamanza.*

Pom. Mela. Viſula, & Plin. Viſtillus.

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†. VIII.

The fiſt Argument, The Vine muſt grow naturally neere the place where the Arke reſted.

To this if we adde the conſideration of this part of the Text, *That* Noah *planted a Vineyard*, we ſhall find that the fruit of the Vine or Rayſin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this reſting of the *Arke* was ſuppoſed: for if the Vine was a ſtranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* firſt brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at ſuch as *Brennus* and the *Gaules* inuaded *Italie*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camilus*) the *Gaules* remained betweene the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, neere vnto the *Senones*, where the continued a long time, vntill they drunke Wine, which was firſt brought them out of *Italie*; and after they taſted thereof they haſted to inhabite that Countrey, which brought forth ſuch pleaſant fruit: ſo as it appeared, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in *France*, but from *Italie* brought thither; as by *Saturne* from elſe where into *Italie*.

Gen. 9.20.

Seruius Aeneid.
Eutropius.

Now it is manifeſt, that *Noah* trauailed not farre to ſeeke out the Vine. For the Plantation therof is remembred, before there was any counſaile how to diſpoſe of the World among his children: and the firſt thing he did, was, to till the ground, and to plant a Vinyard, after the Sacrifice and Thankeſgiuing to God; and whereſoeuer the *Arke* reſted, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare, that he trauailed farre: for the Scriptures teach vs, that he was a Huſbandman, & not a Wanderer.

†. IX.

Anſwere to an obiection out of the words of the Text: The Lord ſcattered them from thence vpon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appeare, ſauing that it may be inferred out of theſe words (*from thence*) becauſe it is written: *So that the Lord ſcattered them from thence vpon all the earth*; which hath no other ſenſe, but that the Lord ſcattered them (to wit) thoſe that built this Towre: for thoſe were from thence diſperſed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Weſtward. And by theſe words of *Sybilla* (as they conuerted) it ſeemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*; for they haue this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem ædificarunt, altiſsimam, quaſi per eam cœlum eſſent aſcenſuri: Certaine of them built a moſt high Towre, as if they meant thereby to haue ſcaled the Heauens,*

†. X.

An anſwere to the obiection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the heighth of the Hils there.

Gen.8.14.

Ephip.l.1.contra Hæreſ.

BVt before I conclude this part, it is neceſſarie to ſee and conſider, what part of Scripture, and what reaſon may bee found out, to make it true or probable, that the *Arke* of *Noah* was forſaken by the waters on the Mountaines of *Armenia*. For the Text hath onely theſe words: *The Arke reſted on* (or vpon) *the Mountaines of Ararat*, or *Armenia*, ſaith the marginal note of the *Geneua*, the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* cals it *Kardu*; of which, the higheſt hath the name of *Lubar*, ſaith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* doe not conuert at all, but keepe the ſame word) is taken to bee a Mountaine of *Armenia*, becauſe *Armenia* it ſelfe had anciently that name: ſo as firſt out of the name, and ſecondly out of the heighth (which they ſuppoſe exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the *Arke* firſt ſate thereon.

But theſe ſuppoſitions haue no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of thoſe Mountaines of equall ſtature to many other Mountaines of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the *Arke* found the higheſt Mountaine of all other to reſt on: for the Plaines were alſo vncouered, before *Noah* came out of the *Arke*. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, wee might giue more credit to the conceit. For in the Bookes of the *Sybils* it is written, that the Mountaines of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, vpon which it was ſuppoſed that the *Arke* ſtayed after the Fould. And the better to particularize the place and ſeate of theſe Mountaines, and to prooue them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*, they are placed where the City of *Cœlenes* was afterward built. Likewiſe in the ſame diſcription ſhee maketh mention of *Marſyas*, a Riuer which runneth through part of *Phrygia*, and afterward ioyneth it ſelfe with the Riuer *Mœander*, which is farre from the *Gordiæan* Mountaines in *Armenia*. We may alſo find a great miſtaking in IOSEPHVS (though out of BEROSVS, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that IOSEPHVS ſets *Ararat* betweene ARMENIA and PARTHIA, toward ADIABENE, and affirmeth withall, that in the prouince of *Cæron* by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, ſo called by reaſon that the waters haue from thence no deſcent, nor iſſue out, the people vaunt that they had in thoſe dayes reſerued ſome pieces of *Noahs Arke*. But *Parthia* toucheth no where vpon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Prouince of *Aſſyria*: ſo that all *Media* and a part of *Aſſyria* is betweene *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the diſcouerie of the Mountaines *Cordiæi* was firſt borrowed out of *Beroſus* by *Ioſephus*; yet the Text which *Ioſephus* citeth out of *Beroſus*, differs far from the wordes of that *Beroſus*, which wandreth vp and downe in theſe dayes, ſet out by *Annius*. For *Beroſus* cited by *Ioſephus*, hath theſe words: *Fertur & nauigij huius pars in Armenia apud montem Cordiæorum ſupereſſe, & quoſdam bitumen inde abraſum ſecum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci huius homines vti ſolent:* (which is) *It is reported alſo that a part of this ſhip is yet remaining in Armenia vpon the Cordiæan Mountaines; and that diuers doe ſcrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they vſe it in ſtead of an amulet.* But *Annius* his

Edition of the Fragment of *Beroſus* vſeth theſe wordes: *Nam eleuata ab aquis in Gordiæ montis vertice quieuit, cuius adhuc dicitur aliqua pars eſſe, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maximè vtuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Arke being lifted vp by the waters, reſted on the top of the Gordiæan Mountaines, of which it is reported that ſome parts remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith*: ſo as in theſe two Texts (beſides the difference of wordes) the name is diuerſly written. The ancient *Beroſus* writes *Cordiæi* with a (*C.*) and the Fragment *Gordiæi* with a (*G.*) the one that the *Bitumen* is vſed for a preſeruatiue againſt Poyſon or Inchantment; the other in Sacrifice; And if it be ſaid that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approued Anthour: for one of them vſeth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*) the one, that ſo it is *reported*, the other, *that ſo it is ſayd*; and both but by heare-ſay, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is ſo infamous an Hiſtorian, as wiſe men neither report after it, nor giue credit to any thing they receiue from it.

Furthermore, theſe Mountaines which *Ptolomie* cals *Gordiæi*, are not thoſe Mountaines which himſelfe giueth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the Mountaines of *Armenia Moſchici*. Theſe be his owne wordes: *Montes Armeniæ nominantur ij, qui Moſchici appellantur, qui protenduntur vſq; ad ſuperiacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moſchici, ſtretch along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: alſo the Hill which is called Paryardes*; which Mountaines *Plinie* calleth *Pariedri*, and both which lye to the North of *Gordiæi* or *Baris*, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the *Gordiæan* Mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from the Northermoſt of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were firſt *Gordians* and then *Georgians*, who amidſt all the ſtrength of the greateſt Infidels of *Perſia* and *Turkie*, doe ſtill remaine *Chriſtians*. Concerning the other ſuppoſitions, that the Mountaines of *Gordiæi*, otherwiſe *Baris Kardu* or *Lubar*, (which *Ptolomie* calleth *Torgodiaion*) are the higheſt of the World, the ſame is abſolutly falſe.

Pto. Aſiæ. tab.

Plin. l. 6. c. 9.

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†. XI.

Of Caucaſus, and diuers farre higher hils then the Armenian.

FOr the beſt *Coſmographers* with other, that haue ſeene the Mountaines of *Armenia*, find them farre inferiour, and vnder-ſet to diuers other Mountaines euen in that part of the World, and elſe where: as the Mountaine *Athos* betweene *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolomie* cals *Olympus*, now called *Lacas*, (ſaith *Caſtaldus*) is farre ſurmounting any Mountaine that euer hath beene ſeene in *Armenia*: for it caſteth ſhade three hundred furlongs, which is ſeuen and thirtie miles and vpwards: of which *Plutarch*: *Athos adumbrat latera Lemniæ bouis: Athos ſhadoweth the Cow of Lemnos*. Alſo the Mount of *Olympus* in *Theſſalie*, is ſaid to be of that heighth, as neither the Windes, Cloudes or Raine ouertop it. Againe, the Mountaine of *Antandrus* in *Myſia*, not farre from *Ida*, whence the Riuer *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is alſo of a farre more admiration then any in *Armenia*; and may be ſeene from *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo in *Mauritania* neere the Sea, the famous Mountaines of *Atlas*, of which HERODOTVS: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita ſublimis eſſe dicitur, vt ad illius verticem oculi mortalium peruenire non poſſint: Vpon this Coaſt there is a Mountaine called Atlas, whoſe heighth is ſayd to be ſuch, as the eye of no mortall man can diſcerne the top thereof.* And if we may beleeue *Ariſtotle*, then are all theſe inferiour to *Caucaſus*, which he maketh the moſt notorious both for breath and heighth: *Caucaſus Mons omnium maximus, qui æſtiuum ad ortum ſunt, acumine atq; latitudine, cuius iuga à Sole radiantur vſq; ad conticinium ab ortu & iterum ab occaſu; Caucaſus* (ſaith ARISTOTLE) *is the greateſt Mountaine both for breadth and heighth of all thoſe in the North-eaſt, whoſe tops are lightned by the Sun-beames, vſq; ad conticinium* (which is ſaith *Macrobius*) *betweene the firſt crowing after mid-night and the breake of day*: Others affirme, that the top of this Mountaine holds the Sunne-beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot beleeue eyther: for the higheſt Mountaine of the World knowne is that of *Teneriſe* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Weſtward of it for 2000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enjoy the Sunnes company at any ſuch late hours, Beſides theſe Mountaines which *Ariſtotle* calleth *Caucaſi*, are thoſe which ſeparate *Colchis* from

Plut. Munſt. Coſm.

Ariſt. Meteor. l. 1. c. 13.

Iberia; though (indeed) *Caucaſus* doth diuide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for hee acknowledgeth that the Riuer of *Phaſis* riſeth in the ſame Mountayne, which himſelfe calleth *Caucaſus*, and that *Phaſis* ſpringeth from thoſe Hils which ſunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which Riuer (it is manifeſt) yeeldeth it ſelfe to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabeſunda*) howſoeuer *Mercator* bring it from *Peryardes*.

†. XII.

Of diuers incongruities if in this Storie we ſhould take Ararat for Armenia.

SO as it doth firſt appeare, that there is no certaintie what Mountaine *Ararat* was: for the Bookes of the *Sybils* ſet it in *Phrygia*, and *Beroſus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Beroſus* authoritie, thoſe men haue great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the higheſt Hill, and therefore moſt likely that the *Arke* grounded thereon, the eſſertion and ſuppoſition haue equall credit: for there are many Hils which exceed all thoſe of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *Arke* ſhould ſit on the higheſt.

Thirdly, it cannot be proued that there is any ſuch Hill in *Armenia*, or *in rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (ſayth *Hierome*) ſignifieth high Towres: and ſo may all high Hils be called indifferently; and therefore we may better giue the the name of *Baris* to the Hils of *Caucaſus* (out of which *Indus* riſeth) then to any Hils of *Armenia*. For thoſe of *Caucaſus* in the Eaſt, are vndoubtedly the higheſt of *Aſia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themſelues doe not agree in what Region the Mountaines *Gordiæi* ſtand: for *Ptolomie* diſtinguiſheth the Mountaines of *Armenia* from the *Gordiæan*, and calleth thoſe of *Armenia Moſchici* and *Paryardes*, as aforeſaid. Now *Paryardes* is ſeated neere the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the Weſt-ſide riſeth *Euphrates*, and out of the Eaſt-ſide *Araxis*: and the Mountaines *Moſchici* are thoſe Hils which diſioyne *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

†. XIII.

Of the contrary ſituation of Armenia to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no maruaile that the ſame Ledge of Hils running from Armenia to India, ſhould keepe the ſame name all along: and euen in India be called Ararat.

LAſtly, wee muſt blow vp this Mountaine *Ararat* it ſelfe, or elſe wee muſt digge it downe, and carry it out of *Armenia*; or find it elſe where, and in a warmer Country, and (withall) ſet it Eaſt from *Shinaar*: or elſe we ſhall wound the Truth it ſelfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the miſtaking open to euery eye, we muſt vnderſtand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moſes*.) is not any one Hill, ſo called, no more then any one Hill among thoſe Mountaines which diuide *Italie* from *France* is called the *Alpes*: or any one among thoſe which part *France* from *Spaine* is the *Pyrenian*; but as theſe being continuations of many Hils keepe one name in diuers Countries: ſo all that long Ledge of Mountaines, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomie* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, vntill they encounter and croſſe the Mountaines of the great *Imaus*, are of one generall name, and are called the Mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, becauſe from thence or thereabout they ſeeme to ariſe. So all theſe Mountaines of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caſpij* *Moſchici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diuerſly called by *Plinie* and others) *Ptolomie* cals by one name *Caucaſus*, lying betweene the Seas *Caſpium* and *Euxinus*: as all thoſe Mountaines which cut aſunder *America*, euen from the new Kingdome of *Granado*, to the ſtreight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as theſe Mountaines of *Ararat* runne Eaſt and Weſt, ſo doe thoſe maruailous Mountaines of *Imaus* ſtretch themſelues North and South; and being of like extent well-neere, are called by the name of *Imaus*, euen as *Plinie* calleth theſe former hils *Taurus*, and *Moſes* the hils of *Ararat*. The reaſon of ſeuerall names giuen by *Ptolomie* was, thereby the better to diſtinguiſh the great Regions and Kingdomes, which theſe great mountaines bound and diſſeuer; as *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Suſiana*, *Perſia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropaniſus*: hauing

Plinie in his deſcription of *Lycia*, l.5. c.27.

uing all theſe Kingdomes either on the North or South ſide of them. For all the mountaines of *Aſia* (both the leſſe and the greater) haue three generall names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucaſus*: and they receiue other titles, as they ſeuer and diuide particular places and regions. For theſe mountaines which ſunder *Cilicia* from the reſt of *Aſia* the leſſe on the North ſide, are called *Taurus*; and thoſe mountaines which part it from *Comagena* (a Prouince of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the mountaines called *Taurus* running Eaſt and Weſt, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Though *Taurus* the Riuer of *Euphrates* forceth her paſſage, leauing the name of *Amanus* to the mountaines on her Weſt banke; and on her Eaſt ſide the mountaines are ſometimes knowne by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomies* three tables of *Aſia*) and ſometimes *Niphates*: (as in the fourth) retaining that vncertaine appellation ſo long as they bound *Armenia* from *Meſopotamia*: and after the Riuer of *Tygris* cutteth them aſunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, vntill they ſeparate *Aſſyria* and *Media*, but then they call themſelues *Coatras*, though betweene the vpper and nether *Media*, they doe not appeare, but altogether diſcontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but runne through the Eaſterne *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themſelues *Orontes*, and towards the Eaſt part *Coronus*; out of the Southerne part whereof the Riuer of *Bagradus* riſeth, which diuideth the ancient *Perſia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their courſe Eaſtward by the name of *Coronus*, they giue to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themſelues into the mountaines of *Sariphi*, out of which riſeth the Reuer *Margus*, afterward yeelding her ſelfe to *Oxus*: (now *Abia*) and drawing now neere their wayes end, they firſt make themſelues the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropaniſus*; and laſtly of *Caucaſia*, euen were the famous Riuer of *Indus* with his principall companions *Hydaſpis* and *Zaradrus* ſpring forth, and take beginning. And here doe theſe Mountaines build themſelues exceeding high, to equall the ſtrong Hils called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35. 30. and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the Weſt parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the reſt *Nagracot*; and theſe Mountaines in this place onely are properly called *Caucaſi* (ſaith *Ptolomie*) Ptol.tab.Aſiæ.
that is, betweene *Paroponiſus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of *Caſpium* and *Pontus*.

†. XIIII.

Of the beſt Vine naturally growing on the South ſide of the Mountaines Caucaſi and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the ſoile

NOw in this part of the World it is, where the Mountaine and Riuer *Ianus*, and the Mountaine *Nyſeus* (ſo called of *Bacchus Niſeus* or *Noah*) are found: and on theſe higheſt Mountaines of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceiue that the *Arke* of *Noah* grounded after the Floud: of all his coniectures the moſt probable, and by beſt reaſon approued. In his *Indoſcythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantaſticall opinions of this ſubiect. And as the ſame *Becanus* alſo noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the beſt Vines: ſo it is as true, that in the ſame Line, and in 34. 35. and 36. degrees of Septentrionall Latitude are the moſt delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Iudæa*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewiſe in this Region of *Margiana*, and vnder theſe Mountaines, *Strabo* affirmeth, that the moſt excellent Vines of the World are found; the cluſters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, becauſe this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Paleſtina*, where the ſearchers of the land by *Moſes* direction found bunches of equal bignes at *Eſcol*. Numq 13.24.

The fruitfulneſſe of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of theſe Hils, *Curtius* witneſſeth. For in *Margiana* neere the Mountaines of *Meros* did *Alexander* feaſt himſelfe and his Armie ten dayes together, finding therein the moſt delicate Wine of all other.

†. XV.

The concluſion, with a briefe repeating of diuers chiefe points.

ANd therefore to conculde this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that thoſe Mountaines doe alſo trauerſe *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it ſelfe ſometime is knowne by the

L. 5.c.27. name of *Ararat*. But as *Plinie* giueth to this ledge of high Hils, euen from *Cilica* t
roponiſus and *Caucaſus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hils of *France* and *Germanie*
called the *Alpes*: and all betweene *France* and *Spaine* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America*
continuation of Hils for 3000. miles together, the *Andes*: ſo was *Ararat* the gen
name which *Moſes* gaue them; the diuerſitie of appellations no otherwiſe growing,
by their diuiding and bordering diuers Regions and diuers Countries. For in the
caſe doe we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterran* and inland
and yet where it waſheth the Coaſts of *Carthage*, and ouer againſt it, it is called *Tyr*
num: betweene *Italie* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*
tweene *Athens* and *Aſia*, *Ægeum*: betweene *Seſtus* and *Abydus*, *Helleſpont*: and afterv
Pontus, *Propontis*, and *Boſphorus*. And as in theſe, ſo is the Ocean to the North
part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonycum*: and on this ſide, the *Brittaine* Sea: to the
the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this queſtion we muſt appeale to that Iudge which cannot erre,
to the word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according t
plaine ſenſe: ſeeing it can admit neither diſtinction, nor other conſtruction the
words beare literally, becauſe they are vſed to the very ſame plaine purpoſe of a deſ
tion, and the making of a true and preciſe difference of places. Surely, where the ſe
plaine (and being ſo vnderſtood, it bringeth with it no ſubſequent inconuenien
contrarietie) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our ſelues any new or ſtrang
poſition; and (withall) to reſolue our ſelues, that euery word (as aforeſaid) hat
weight in Gods Booke. And therefore wee muſt reſpect and reuerence the teſtim
of the Scriptures throughout, in ſuch ſort as S. *Auguſtine* hath taught vs touchin
Goſpell of CHRIST IESVS (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus D*
pulis Chriſti) in Euangelio legerit, quàm ſi ipſam manum Dei, quam in proprio in co
geſtabat, conſpexerit; *That no man otherwiſe take or vnderſtand that which he readeth i*
Goſpel (the Diſciples of Chriſt hauing written it) then if he had ſeene the very hand of the
which he bare in his owne body, ſetting it downe.

Gen.c.11.v.2. The wordes then of *Moſes* which end this diſpute, are theſe: *And as they went*
the Eaſt, they found a Playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they obode: which proc
without controuerſie, that *Nimrod* and all with him came from the Eaſt into *Shi*
and therefore the *Arke* of *Noah* reſted and tooke land to the Eeſt-ward thereof. Fo
muſt remember, that in all places whereſoeuer *Moſes* maketh a difference of Coun
he alwayes preciſely nameth toward what quarters of the world the ſame were ſea
as where he teacheth the plantation of *Ioctan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mount in the
where he remembreth *Cains* departure from the preſence of God, he addeth: *And C*
Gen.10.30. *dwelt in the land of Nod towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden*: And when he deſcribeth the T
Gen.4.16. and Habitations of *Abraham* after hee departed from *Sechem*, hee vſeth theſe wor
Gen.12.8. *Afterwards remoouing thence vnto a Mountaine Eaſtward from Bethel, he pitched his T*
hauing Bethel on the Weſt-ſide, and Hai on the Eaſt: and afterward in the ninth Ve
the ſame Chapter it is written. *And* ABRAHAM *went forth iourneying towards the So*
Ezech.38.6. alſo when *Ezechiel* prophecied of *Gog* and *Magog*, he ſheweth that theſe Nations o
Matth.12.42. *gorma* were of the North quarters: and of the Queene of *Saba* it is wrirten, that *ſhe*
Matth.2.v.1. *from the South to viſit* SALOMON: And the *Magi (or wiſemen) came out of the Eaſt to*
preſents vnto Chirſt. And that all Regions, and theſe trauailes were preciſely ſet d
vpon the points of the Compaſſe and quarters of the world, it is moſt manifeſt
Eden was due Eaſt from *Iudæa*, *Saba* South from *Hieruſalem*: the way from *Bet*
Egypt directly South; and the *Cæleſyrians* the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabite
Regions directly North from *Paleſtina*, and ſo of the reſt. But *Armenia* anſwereth
to this diſcription of *Shinaar* by *Moſes*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arri
that Vally of *Babylonia*, is not a iournying from the Eaſt, nor ſo neere vnto the E
the North: for *Armenia* is to the Weſt of the North it ſelfe; and we muſt not ſay o
ſes (whoſe hands the holy Ghoſt directed) that he erred *toto cælo*, and that he kne
Eaſt from Weſt. For the body of *Armenia* ſtandeth in fortie three degrees Septen
nall, and the North part thereof in forty fiue; and thoſe *Gordiæan* Mountaines, w
on it was ſuppoſed that the *Arke* reſted, ſtand in fortie one. But *Babylonia*, and the V
of *Shinaar* are ſituated in thirtie fiue, and for the Longitude (which maketh the d
ence betweene Eaſt and Weſt) the *Gordiæan* Mountaines ſtand in 75. degrees,

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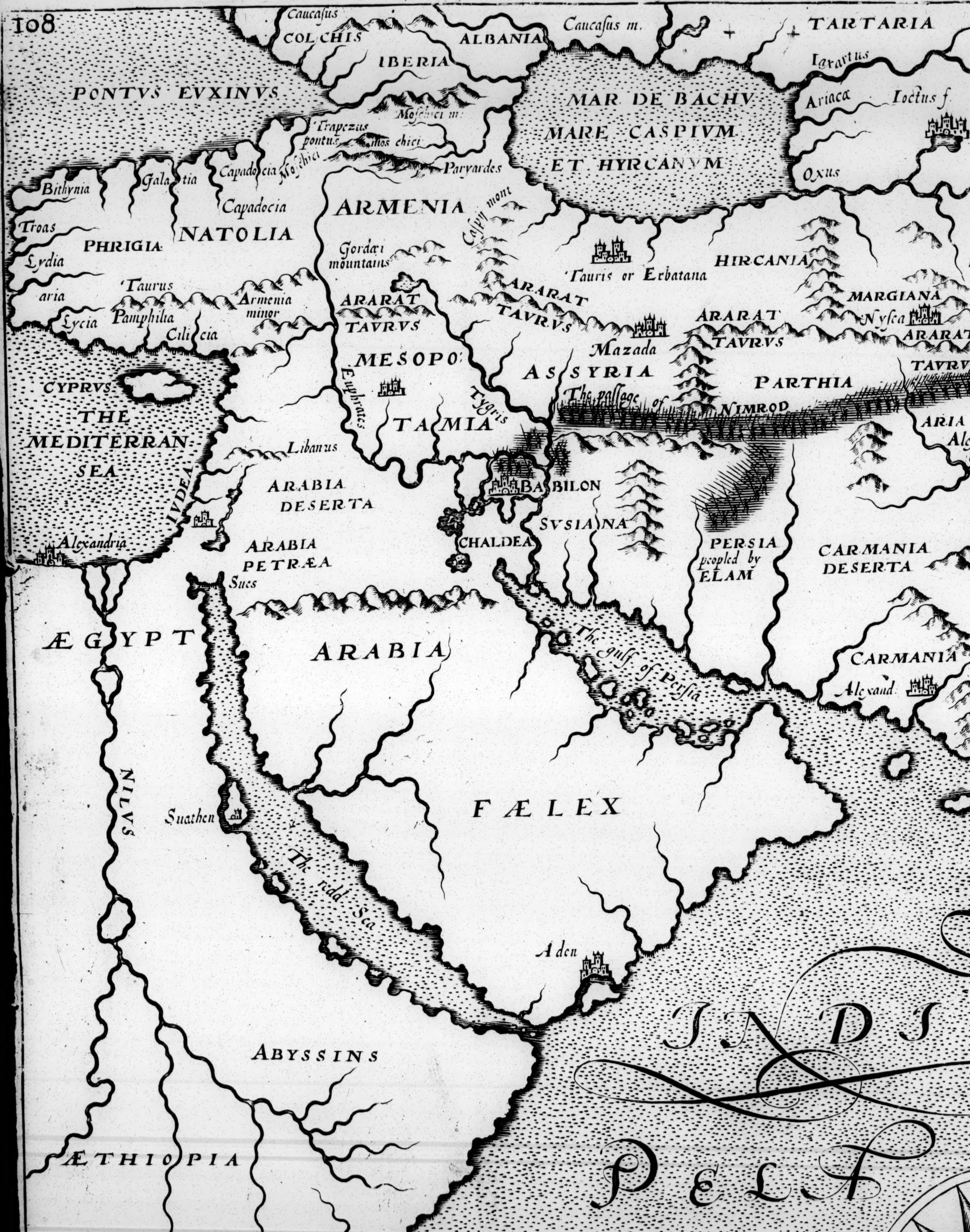
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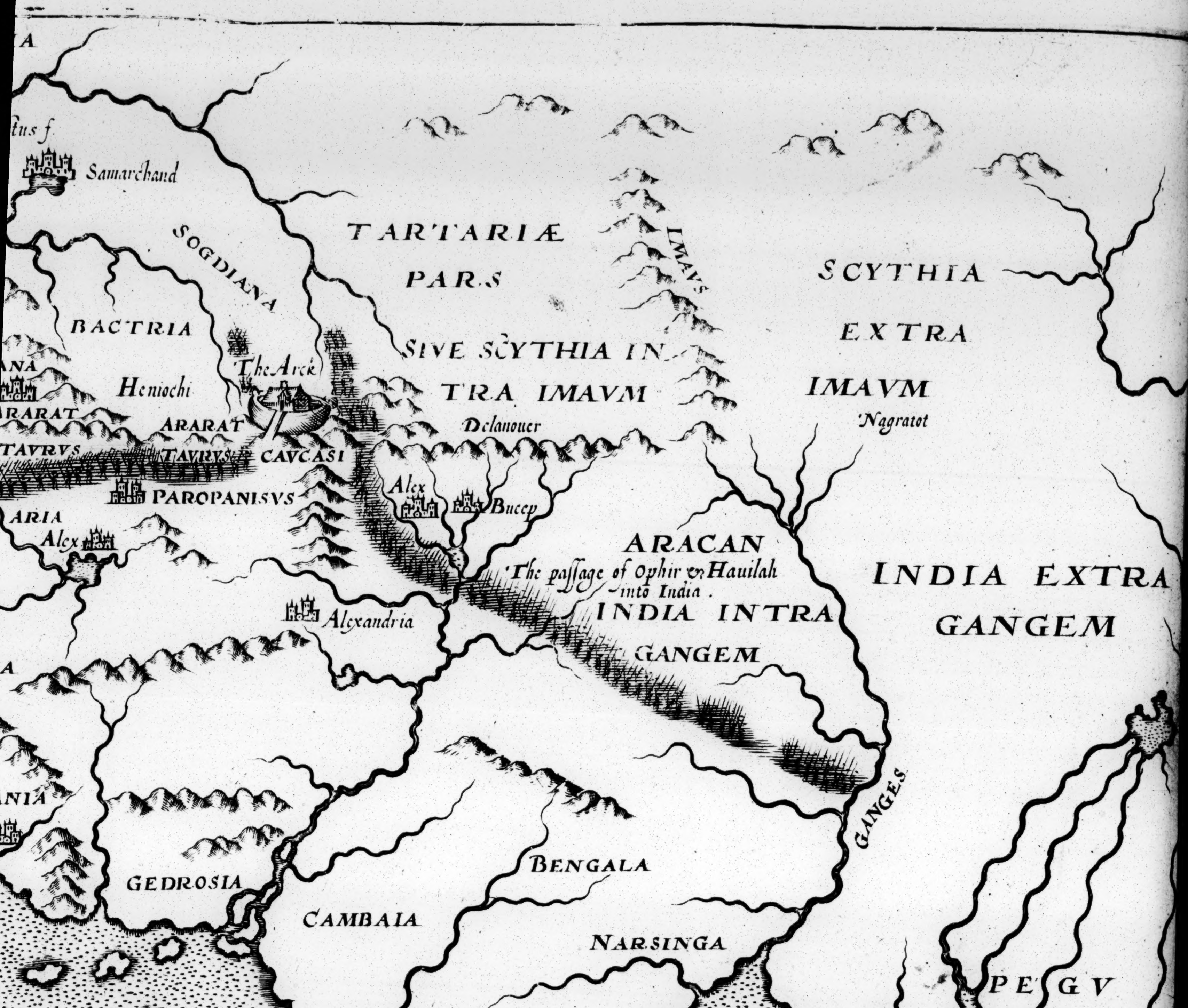
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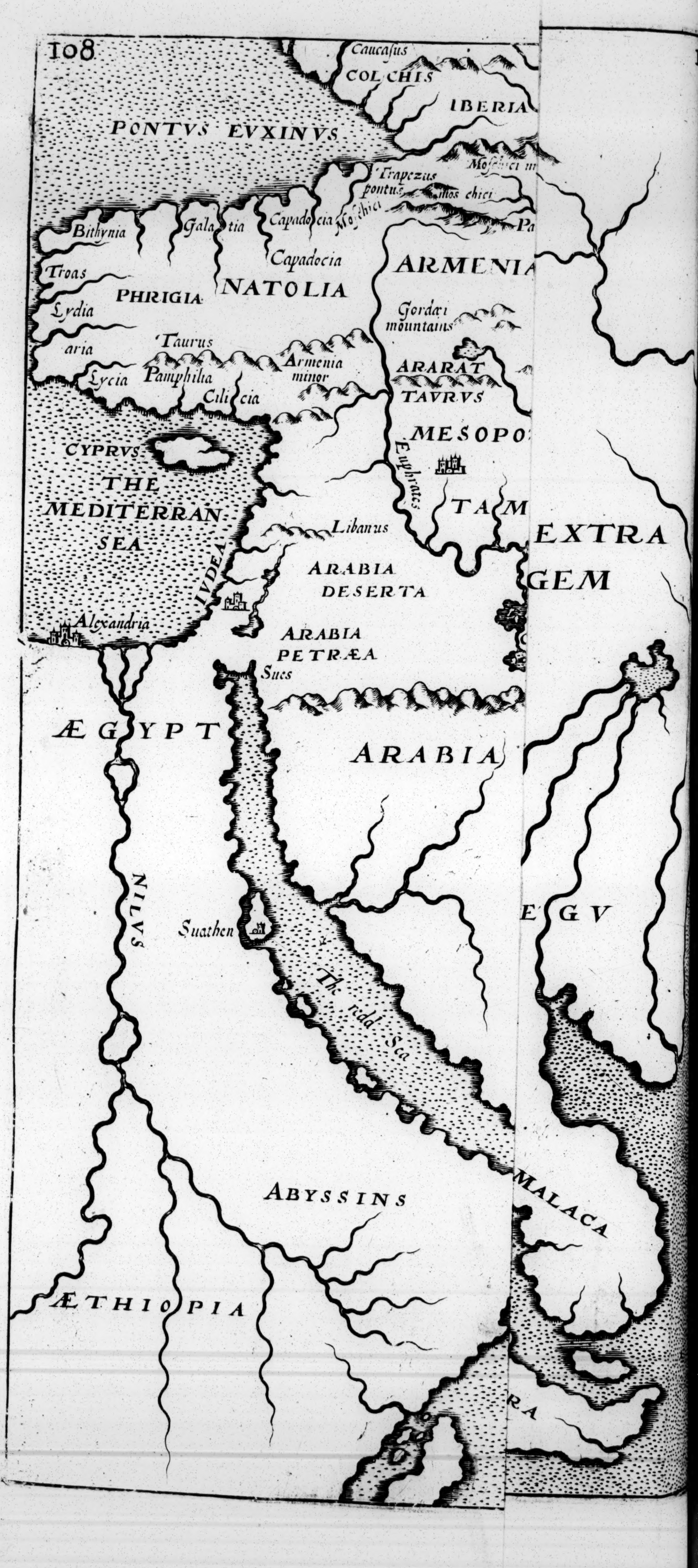
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e Valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lyeth from *Shinaar* North-eſt, ninetie fiue degrees from the Eaſt; and if *Armenia* had beene but North, yet it d differed from the Eaſt one whole quarter of the Compaſſe. But *Gregorie* and *Hie-me* warne vs, *In ſcripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam ſinguli ſermones, llabæ, apices, & puncta in diuina Scriptura plena ſunt ſenſibus; In the Scriptures the leaſt fference may not be omitted: for euery ſpeech, ſyllable, note, or accent, and point in diuine riptures are repleniſhed with their meanings.* And therefore ſeeing *Moſes* teacheth vs at the children of *Noah* came from the Eaſt, we may not beleeue Writers (of little au-ority) who alſo ſpeake by heare-ſay and by report, *vt fertur, & vt dicitur*, as *Beroſus* d *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at l ad-uenture. But this is infallible true, that *Shinaar* lyeth Weſt from the place where e *Arke* of *Noah* reſted after the floud; and therefore it firſt found ground in the Eaſt, om whence came the firſt knowledge of all things. The Eaſt parts were firſt ciuill, hich had *Noah* himſelfe for an Inſtructer: and directly Eaſt from *Shinaar* in the ſame egree of 35. are the greateſt grapes and the beſt Wine. The great Armies alſo which o-er-topped in number thoſe Millions of *Semiramis*, proue that thoſe parts were firſt plan-ed: And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reaſon ſufficient: for y ſelfe I build on his wordes who in plaine termes hath told vs, that the Sonnes of *oah* came out of the Eaſt into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *rke* reſt on thoſe Eaſterne Mountaines, called by one generall name *Taurus*, and by *oſes* the Mountaines of *Ararat*, and not on thoſe Mountaines of the Northweſt, as *Be-oſus* firſt fained, whom moſt part of the Writers haue followed therein. It was, I ſay the plentifull warme Eaſt where *Noah* reſted, where hee planted the Vine, where hee lled the ground and liued thereon. *Placuit vero* NOACHO *agriculturæ ſtudium, in quatra-tanda ipſe omnium peritiſſimus eſſe dicitur: ob eamq; rem ſua ipſius lingua* ISH-ADAMATH *hoc eſt) telluris vir appellatur celebratuſq; eſt; The ſtudie of Husbandrie pleaſed* NOAH ſaith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANVS) *in the knowledge and order of which t is ſaid, that* NOAH *excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his owne language a man xerciſed in the earth.* Which alſo ſhewth that he was no Wanderer: and that he trou-led not himſelfe with the contentions, beginning againe in the world, and among men, ut ſtayed in his deſtined places, and in that part of the world, where hee was firſt deli-ered out of priſon of the *Arke*, whereinto God had committed him, to preſerue him nd mankind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the firſt planting of Nations after the floud; and of the Sonnes of NOAH, SEM, HAM, *and* IAPHET, *by whom the earth was repeopled.*

§. I.

Whether SHEM *and* HAM *were elder then* IAPHET.

OF theſe Sonnes of *Noah*, which was the eldeſt, there is a queſtion made. S. *Auguſtine* eſteemed *Shem* for the eldeſt, *Ham* for the ſecond, and *Iaphet* for the yongeſt: and herein the oppinions of Writers are diuers. But this we finde euery where in the Scriptures, and eſpecially in *Moſes*, that there was neuer any reſpect giuen to the eldeſt in yeeres, but in vertue, as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Iacob*, and *Dauid*, is made manifeſt. In a few wordes this is the ground of the controuerſie; The *Latine* tranſlation, and ſo the *Geneua*, hath conuerted this Scripture of *Geneſis* the 10. *v.* 21. in theſe wordes: *Vnto* SHEM *alſo the Father of all the Sonnes of* HEBER, *and elder brother of* IAPHET, *were children borne.* But *Iunius* agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the ſame wordes in this manner: *To* SHEM *alſo the Father of all the Sons of* HEBER, *and brother of* IAPHET, *the eldeſt ſonne were children borne:* So the tranſpoſition of the word (*elder*) made this difference. For if the word (*elder*) had followed after *Iaphet*, as it is in the vulgar tranſlation placed before it, then had it beene as plaine for *Iaphet*, as it is by theſe tranſlations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwiſe indifferent) ſeeing Gods bleſſings are not tyed to firſt and laſt in

Auguſt. de Ciuit. Dei, l.16.c.3.

bloud, but to the eldeſt in pietie, yet the arguments are ſtronger for *Iaphet* then for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainely vnderſtood without any danger or inconuenince, it ſeemeth ſtrange why any man of iudgement ſhould make valuation of coniecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the fiue hundreth yeere of his life, begate the firſt of his three Sonnes, *Shem, Ham,* and *Iaphet*: and in the ſixe hundreth yeere (to wit) the hundreth yeere following, came the generall floud; two yeeres after *Gen.11.10.* which *Shem* begate *Arphaxad*, which was in the yeere 602. of *Noahs* life, and in the yeere of *Shems* life one hundred: ſo as *Shem* was but 100. yeeres old, two yeeres after the floud: and *Noah* begat his firſt borne being 500. yeeres old; and therefore, were *Shem* the elder, he had then beene a hundred yeeres old at the floud, and in the ſixe hundreth yeere of *Noahs* life, and not two yeeres after. Which ſeeing the Scriptures before re- *Gen.11.v.24.* membred hath denyed him, and that it is alſo written: *Then* NOAH *awoke from his wine, and knew what his yonger ſonne had done vnto him (to wit)* HAM; of neceſſitie the firſt place doth belong to *Iaphet*. This *yonger ſonne* ſo conuerted by the vulgar and *Geneua, Iunius* turnes it *filius minimus*; *His yongeſt ſonne*; but S. *Chryſoſtome* takes it otherwiſe, and findes *Cham* to bee the middle or ſecond brother, and *Iaphet* the yongeſt ſonne of all: which *Cham* for his diſobedience and the contempt of his Father (whoſe nakedneſſe he *In Gen.* derided) was diſinherited, and loſt the preeminencie of his birth, as *Eſau* and *Reuben* did. *Pererius* conceiueth that *Ham* was called the yonger in reſpect of *Shem* the eldeſt, but auoweth withall, that the *Hebrew* hath not that preciſe difference of *yonger* and *yongeſt*, becauſe it wanteth the comparatiue degree. It is true that *Shem* himſelfe was alwaies named in the firſt place, yet whereas in the firſt Verſe of the tenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Iaphet*: in the ſecond Verſe *Moſes* leaueth to begin with the iſſue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Iaphet* firſt. So the firſt place was giuen to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weightie reſpect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *Dauid*, and *Chriſt* our Sauiour were deſcended of him. And therefore, whether we ſhall follow the Vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Geneua*, who agree in this conuerſion, SHEM *Frater* IAPHET *maior*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Iunius*, and *Tremelius*, SHEM *fratri* IAPHET *maioris*; or with *Pererius*, SHEM *frater* IAPHET *ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Iaphet*, let the Reader iudge. But for ought that I haue ſeene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that *Iaphet* was the eldeſt. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the ſtrength of the former Argument, That *Shems* age at the time of the floud did not agree with the elderſhip (with a ſuppoſition that the Scriptures tooke no account of ſmaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scrip- *Gen.11.v.10.* tures any ſuch neglect at all: for it is written, that SHEM *was an hundred yeeres old, and begat* ARPHAXAD *two yeeres after the floud*; and againe in the 12. Verſe: *So* SHELA *liued after he begat* EBAR, *foure hundred and three yeeres, &c.* ſo as the number of two yeeres, of three yeeres, of fiue yeeres, and afterward of two yeeres were alwayes preciſely accounted.

§. II.

Of diuers things that all reaſon are to be preſumed, touching the firſt planting of the World, as that all Hiſtories muſt yeeld to MOSES *: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction : and that knowne great Lords of the firſt ages were of the iſſue of* HAM.

BVt let vs go vnto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly vnderſtood, we ſhall find that many Nations haue ſuppoſed or fayned themſelues thoſe Anceſtors and Fathers, which neuer ſaw or approached the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch deſcended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures how the ſonnes and iſſues of *Noah* wete diſtributed, and what Regions were firſt planted by them, from whence by degrees the reſt of the world was alſo peopled. And if any prophane Author may receiue allowance herein, the ſame muſt bee with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For ſo farre as the ſtorie of Nations is therein handled, we muſt know that both the truth and antiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or anthoritie. All record, memorie, and teſtimonie of antiquitie whatſoeuer, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the ſame hath beene borrowed thence, and therefore latter then it, as all carefull obſeruers of time haue noted: among which thus writeth *Euſebius* in the *Præme* of his Chronologie: Moses *is found more ancient then all thoſe whom the Grecians make moſt ancient, as* Homer, Hesiod, *and the Traian warre; and farre before* Hercvles, Mvsævs, Linvs, Chiron, Orphevs, Castor, Pollvx, Æscvlapivs, Bacchvs, Mercvrivs, *and* Apollo, *and the reſt of the gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of* Ivpiter, *whom the Greekes haue ſeated in the top and higheſt Turret of their Diuinitie.*

For of the three *Iupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the ancienteſt was the ſonne of *Æther*, whoſe three ſonnes begotten on *Proſerpina*, were borne at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the firſt King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moſes* bring the children of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*: *Eduxit* Moses *populum Dei ex Ægypto nouiſsimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſis Regis*; Moses *brought the children of Iſrael out of Ægypt, in the laſt dayes of* Cecrops, *King of the Athenians*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the Citie it ſelfe, but *Theſeus* long after him. But becauſe the truth hereof is diuerſly prooued, and by many learned Authors, I will nor cut aſunder the purpoſe in hand, by alleaging many authorities in a needleſſe queſtion, but leaue it to the proper place.

Cicero de Nat. Deorum, l. 3.

De Ciuit. Dei, l. 18. c. 11.

The Sonnes of Iaphet were,
- *Gomer,*
- *Magog,*
- *Madai,*
- *Iauan,*
- *Tubal,*
- *Meſhach,* and
- *Tiras.*

The Sonnes of Gomer were,
- *Askenaz,*
- *Riphath,*
- *Togorma.*

The Sonnes of Iavan were,
- *Eliſha,*
- *Tarſhis,*
- *Kittim,* and
- *Dodanim.*

Firſt, we are to conſider, that the world after the Floud not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings to flie from *Shinaar*, to the vttermoſt border of *Europe*, *Africa* and *Aſia* in haſte, but that theſe children were directed by a wiſe Father, who knew thoſe parts of the world before the Floud, to which he diſpoſed his children after it, and ſent them not as Diſcouerers, or at all-aduenture, but aſſigned and alloted to euery Sonne and their iſſues, their proper parts. And not to harken to fabulous Authours, who haue no other end then to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Auguſtus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or elſe to glorifie their owne Nations; Let vs build heerein vpon the Scriptures themſelues, and after them vpon Reaſon and Nature. Firſt therefore wee muſt call to minde and conſider, what manner of face the earth euery-where had in the 130. yeere after the great inundation, and by comparing thoſe fruitfulleſt Vallies, with our owne barren and cold ground, informe our ſelues thereby, what wonderfull Deſarts, what impaſſable faſtneſſe of woods, reeds, bryars, and rotten graſſe, what Lakes and ſtanding Pooles, and what Mariſhes, Fens, and Bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the Mountaines) was peſtered withall. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and deſtroying Winter depreſſeth all vegetatiue and growing Nature, for one halfe of the yeere in effect) yet in twenty or thirtie yeres, theſe our grounds would not all ouer-grow and be couered (according to the nature thereof) either with Woods, or with other offenſiue Thickets and Buſhments: much more did all ſorts of Plants, Reedes, and Trees, proſper in the moſt fruitfull Vallies, and in the Climate of a long & warme Summer, and hauing withall the ſtart of 130. yeeres, to raiſe themſelues without controlement.

This being conſidered, it will appeare that all theſe people which came into *Shinaar*, and ouer whom *Nimrod* either by order or ſtrength tooke the Dominion, did after the confuſion of Languages, and at ſuch time as they grew to be a mighty People, diſperſe themſelues into the Regions adioyning to the ſaid Vallie of *Shinaar*, which contained the beſt part of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: ſome of them towardes the South, others towards the Weſt and North. And although there were alloted to *Shem* many Regions, both Eaſt and Weſt from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Paleſtina*, which the *Canaanites* firſt poſſeſt; yet could he not enioy the lot of his inheritance on the ſuddaine, but by time and degrees. For wee finde, that *Abraham* the true ſucceſſour of *Shem*, dwelt in

Chaldæa at *Vr* ; and from thence (called by God) hee reſted at *Charran* in *Meſopotamia* : from whence after the death of *Thare* hee trauailed to *Sichem* in *Paleſtina* : and yet there had paſſed betweene *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neyther of themſelues) ſeuen Deſcents, before *Abraham* moued out of *Chaldæa* ; where, and in *Babylonia*, all thoſe people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many yeares, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Aſſyria*, and founded *Niniue*. Indeed the great Maſters of Nations (as farre as wee can know) were, in that Age of the Iſſues of *Ham*; the bleſſing of God giuen by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Iaphet* taking leſſe effect, vntill diuers yeares were conſumed; and vntill the time arriued, which by the wiſedome of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Ægypt*, for many Deſcents together.

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§. III.

Of the Iles of the Gentiles in IAPHETS *portion: of* BEROSVS *his too ſpeedie ſeating* GOMER *the ſonne of* IAPHET *in Italie; and another of* IAPHETS *ſonnes* TVBAL *in Spaine: and of the Antiquitie of Longinque Nauigation.*

TO beginne therefore (where *Moſes* beginneth) with the ſonnes of *Iapheth*, among whom the Iles of the *Gentiles* were diuided: which diuiſion, as well to *Iaphets* ſonnes as to the reſt which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the diuiſion were made at *Phalegs* birth) in the yeare of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the yeare after the Floud one hundred and one, of which queſtion elſewhere.

The habitations proper to the ſonnes of *Iaphet* were the Iles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe* with all the Ilands adioyning; and compaſſing it about: *Europe* being alſo taken for an Iland, both in reſpect that the Sea *Helleſpont* and *Ægeum*, *Boſphorus* and *Euxinus* cut is off from the great Continent of *Aſia*, as alſo becauſe *Europe* it ſelfe is (in effect) ſurrounded with water, ſauing that it is faſtned to *Aſia* by the North, for it hath thoſe Seas before named to the Eaſt, the *Mediterran* to the South and Southweſt, the Ocean to the Weſt, and *Brittiſh*, *Germane*, and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the North North-eaſt, and North-weſt. Beſides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or Iles lying betweene *Greece* and the leſſer *Aſia*, and the Iles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Creete*, or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Iles of *Brittanie* and *Zealand*, with their young-ones adiacent.

This partition and portion of *Iapheth*, with the part which hee held in *Aſia*, and the North, which was alſo very great, anſwereth to that bleſſing of God by *Noah*, *Dilatet Deus* IAPHETH; *Let God ſpread abroade* (or increaſe the Poſteritie of) IAPHETH, *and let him dwell in the Tents of* SHEM. For though *Iunius* heere vſeth the word (*alliciat*) and not *dilatet*: and the *Geneua perſuadeat*; yet the *Septuagint* haue *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and ſuch was the bleſſing giuen to our Fathers, which God promiſed to *Abraham* and his Seede for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a bleſſing by God to the Poſteritie of *Iapheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories; but that thereby they ſhould bee made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Iaphets* ſonnes, of whom *Gomer* is the eldeſt. This *Gomer* (if wee may beleeue *Beroſus* and *Annius*, whoſe authoritie the greateſt number of all our late Writers haue followed) did in the tenth yeare of *Nimrods* Reigne depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italie*: which alſo *Functius* confirmeth in theſe words *Anno decimo* NIMRODI, *&c. In the tenth yeare of* NIMRODS *Reigne*, GOMERVS GALLVS *planted a Colonie in that Land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeare of the ſame* NIMRODS *Reigne* TVBAL *ſeated himſelfe in Auſturia in Spaine (now called Biſcay) which was in the* 140. *and in the* 142. *yeares after the Floud, according to* BEROSVS. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confuſion of Tongues the children of *Noah* did not ſeparate themſelues, at leaſt ſo many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let vs therefore conſider with reaſon, what time the building ſuch a Citie and Towre required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie meanes to performe ſuch a worke as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himſelfe out of his Author *Beroſus* witneſſeth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium*; *To the heighth and magnitude of the Mountaines.* Sure that both this Citie and Towre was almoſt builded the Scriptures witneſſe: *But*

Gen.9.v.27.

Funct. Chronol.

the Lord came downe to ſee the Citie and Towre, which the Sonnes of men builded. Let vs then but allot a time ſufficient for the making of Bricke to ſuch a Worke, of the greateſt heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation anſwerable) that euer was. For where the vniuerſall Floud couered the higheſt Mountaines fifteene Cubits; *Let vs build vs a Citie and a Towre* (ſaith NIMROD) *whoſe top may reach vnto the Heauen:* meaning, that they would rayſe their Worke aboue fifteene Cubits higher then the higheſt Mountaine, otherwiſe they could not aſſure themſelues from the feare of a ſecond inundation: a great part whereof was finiſhed before it fell, and before they left the Worke. They alſo began this bulding vpon a ground, the moſt oppreſſed with Waters of all the World: as by the great ruine which theſe waters forcibly ouer-bearing and ouer-flowing, made in the time of the ſucceeding Emperours, is made manifeſt, approoued alſo by the Prophet *Hieremie,* ſpeaking of *Babylon* in theſe words: *Thou that dwelleſt vpon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a ſubſtantiall foundation, for ſo high a rayſed building on a mariſh ground: and to which, *Glycas* vpon *Geneſis* giueth fortie yeares. For it ſeemeth, that the Towre was neere finiſhed when God ouerthrew it: it being afterward written, *So the Lord ſcattered them from thence vpon all the Earth, and they left to build the Citie.* Out of which place it may bee gathered (becauſe the Towre is not then named) that they very neere had performed the Worke of their ſuppoſed defence, which was the Towre: and that afterward they went on with the Citie adioyning, wherein they inhabited. It is alſo to bee noted, that till ſuch time as this confuſion ſeized them (whereupon the Towre was throwne downe) theſe Nations did not diſperſe themſelues: for *from thence the Lord ſcattered them vpon all the Earth,* (that was) when they perceiued not one anothers ſpeech. Now to thinke that this Worke in the newneſſe of the World (wanting all inſtruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeares; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the ſame yeare could creepe through 3000. miles of Deſart, with Women, Children, and Cattell: let thoſe light Beleeuers, that neyther tye themſelues to the Scripture, nor to reaſon, appproue it, for I doe not. And if the *Arke* of *Noah* was 100. yeares in building, or but neere ſuch a time, (and then) when the World had ſtood 1556. yeares, it were more then fooliſhneſſe and madneſſe it ſelfe, to thinke that ſuch a Worke as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Floud to the arriuall at *Babel,* and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeares, and whereof they had ſpent ſome part in trauailing from the Eaſt. Againe, if all *Aſia* ſet to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana,* and yet they conſumed in that Worke 400. yeares (or be it but halfe that time) and in ſuch an Age as when the World flouriſhed in all ſorts of Artificers, and with abundant plentie of materials and carriages: This Worke of the Towre of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants ſuppoſed) be erected in thoſe few yeares remembred. And for concluſion, let all men of iudgement weigh with themſelues how impoſſible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wiues and Children, and Cattell, to trauaile 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Deſarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we ſhall find it rather a Worke of 100. yeares then of a 100. dayes. For in the Weſt *Indies* of which the *Spaniards* haue the experience, in thoſe places where they found neither Path nor Guide, they haue not entred the Countrey ten miles in ten yeares. And if *Nimrods* people ſpent many yeares by the account before remembred in paſſing from the Eaſt *India* or the higher part thereof, which ſtandeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, vntill they came into *Shinaar* which lyeth in 79 Degrees (the diſtance betweene thoſe places contayning 36. Degrees, which make 720. Leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keepe the Mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betweene *Babylon* and *Biſcay* is much more: for the bodie of *Biſcay* lyeth in ten Degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar*, (as aforeſaid) in 79. ſo the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Auſturia* or *Biſcay* is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* tooke diuers yeares to find *Shinaar,* which was but 2160. miles: or (ſuppoſing that the *Arke* reſted in *Armenia*) little aboue 400. miles: there is no cauſe to the contrary, but to allow as many yeares to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to trauaile 3000. miles to Countries leſſe knowne vnto them by farre; then the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod.* For *Paradiſe* was knowne to *Noah* before the Floud: and ſo was the Region of *Eden* by *Moſes* afterward remembred; but what hee vnderſtood of moſt part of the World elſe it is vnknowne. And therefore did *Annius* ill aduiſe himſelfe to plant *Gomer* in *Italie,* and *Tubal* in *Spaine,* in the tenth & twelfth of *Nimrods*

Gene.11.

Gen.11.

Plin.

rods Reigne: *Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or ſhall a Nation be borne at one?* But it may be obiected, That the Sonnes of *Iapheth* might come by Sea, and ſo ſaue this great trauaile through Deſarts by Land. But we neuer reade of any Nauigation in thoſe dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarke ſo great a people as we may iuſtly ſuppoſe thoſe Conductors carryed with them, will not eaſily beleeue, that there were any Veſſels in thoſe dayes to tranſport Armies, and (withall) their Cattell, by whoſe Milke they liued and fed their Children: For Milke and Fruit were the banquetting Diſhes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldeſt times, euen the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themſelues by the Heards and numbers of their Cattell: who had Flockes of Sheepe, and great Droues and Heards of their owne, and their own Sheep-heards and Heardſmen. Now if *Tubal* had paſt by Sea from any part of *Palæſtina, Syria,* or *Cilicia,* he might haue made good choice within the Streights, and not haue ouergone *Granado, Valentia,* and other Prouinces in that Tract: paſt the Streights of *Gibralter,* diſdayned all *Andaluſia* and *Portugal,* with all thoſe goodly Ports and Countries; and haue ſought out the yron, woody, and barren Countrey of the World (called *Biſcay*) by a long and dangerous Nauigation. But before the iourney of the *Argonautæ* there were ſcarce any Veſſels that durſt croſſe the Seas in that part of the world: and yet that which *Iaſon* had (if the Tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knowes) and perchance ſuch as they vſe this day in *Ireland*: which although it carryed but foure and fiftie Paſſengers, yet it was farre greater then any of the former times: *Erat enim antea paruarum nauicularum vſus: For in former times they vſed very ſmall Veſſels.* I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gaue themſelues of olde to farre-off Nauigations, whence *Tibullus* aſcribed the inuention of Ships vnto them:

Iſai.1.66.v.8.

Diod.Sicul.l.4.
c.4.fol.115.

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros,

Tyrus knew firſt how Ships might vſe the Wind.

Tibull.Eleg.7.
Strabo l.16.

And for thoſe Boates called *longæ naues* or Gallies, *Plinie* ſaith that *Ægeſias* aſcribeth the deuice to *Paralus*: and *Philoſtephanus* to *Iaſon*: *Cteſias* to *Samyras*; and *Saphanus* to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus* to *Ægeon*: to which inuention the *Erythræi* are ſaid to haue added certaine numbers of Oares: and then *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to haue increaſed them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to haue brought them to foure Bankes: the *Quinq́ Remi* firſt to haue beene vſed by *Neſichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which Veſſels in thoſe parts of the World, the *Romans* ſerued themſelues in the *Punicke* Warre. But theſe bee perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as conſtantly caſt the deuiſing of theſe Gallies on *Seſoſtris*, though *Semiramis* vſed them in the paſſage of her Armie ouer *Indus* in *Abrahams* time. So it is ſaid, that *Danaus* was the firſt that brought a Ship into *Greece*: and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the inuention; and yet *Terullian* (on the contrarie) giues it to *Minerua*: others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And ſo ignorant were the people of thoſe Ages, as the *Ægyptians* vſed to coaſt the Shores of the Read Sea vpon raffes, deuiſed by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Brittans* had a kind of Boat (with which they croſt the Seas) made of ſmall twigs, and couered ouer with Leather: of which kind I haue ſeene at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elſewhere. *Naues excorio circumſutæ in Oceano Britannico* (ſaith *Textor*:) of which *Lucan* the Poet:

Diod.Sicul.l.1.
Plin.l.7.c.56.

Thucyd.

Plin.l.7.c.56.
Euſeb.de præp.
Euang.c.1.
Tert.de Coron.
mil.

Primùm cana ſalix, madefacto vimine, paruam
Texitur in puppim, cæſoq́ induta iuuenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum ſuperenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus ſtagnante Pado, fuſoq́ Britannus
Nauigat Oceano.

The moyſtned Oſyer of the hoarie Willow
Is wouen firſt into a little Boat:
Then cloth'd in Bullockes Hide, vpon the billow
Of a proud Riuer, lightly doth it float
Vnder the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of ouer-ſwelling *Poe*
Sailes the *Venetian*: and the *Brittaine* ſo
On th' out-ſpred Ocean.

And although it cannot be denyed, when *Noah* by Gods inſpiration was inſtructed in ſo many particulars concerning the *Arke*, that then many things concerning Nauigation were firſt reuealed; yet it appeares that there was much difference betweene the *Arke* of *Noah*, and ſuch Ships as were for any long Nauigation. Yea, ancient Stories ſhew, that it was long after theſe times, ere any durſt preſume vpon any long Voyages to Sea at leaſt with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattell: as alſo common reaſon can tell vs, that euen now when this Arte is come to her perfection, ſuch Vioages are very troubleſome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or vſe of Ships fit for any long Nauigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had paſſed themſelues and their people by Sea; the exerciſe of Nauigation would not haue beene dead for ſo many hundred yeares after. Leauing therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men elſe to their fancies, who haue caſt Nations into Countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moſes* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is ioyned both Nature, Reaſon, Policie, and neceſſitie: and to the reſt, neither probabilitie, nor poſſibilitie.

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§. IIII.

Of GOG *and* MAGOG, TVBAL, *and* MESHECH, *ſeated firſt about Aſia the leſſe, out of* EZECHIEL, CAP. 38. 39.

NOw although many Learned and Reuerend men haue formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which alſo hath beene and is receiued: yet I hope I may be excuſed, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Mountanus* was alſo in ſome things much miſtaken: and for *Ioſephus* as hee hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall, ſo was he in this Plantation of the World very groſſe and fabulous, whereby both *Euſebius*, *Hieroſolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that haue taken his teſtimonies for currant, haue beene by him farre miſſe-led. But the better to conceiue what Regions of the World *Gomer* the firſt ſonne of *Iaphet* poſſeſt, as alſo *Tubal*, it is needfull to begin with *Magog*: becauſe the Scriptures take moſt knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*, which two names haue troubled many Commentators, ſaith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that euer I read) I find moſt iudicious in the examination of this Plantation. Hee takes authoritie from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapter directeth vs, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was Prince or Chiefe Conductor in their Attempts againſt *Iſrael*. For beſides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-eaſt parts of the greater *Aſia*, which *Iapheths* Iſſus poſſeſt, all *Aſia* the leſſe was peopled by them. And that thoſe of the Iſſue of *Iapheth* (whom *Ezechiel* ſpeakes of) were ſeated hereabout, it may beſt appeare, if we conſider the circumſtances of the place, and the dependencie vpon the former Propheſie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, *Ezechiel* propheſieth of the vniting of the two Kingdomes of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, after their deliuerie from captiuitie.

C.37.v.19.

By which Propheſie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purpoſed to gather together his people, to giue life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpoſe it is written; *And* DAVID *my Seruant ſhall bee King ouer them, and they ſhall haue one Sheepheard*, (that is) they ſhall be vnited as they were in *Dauids* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter *Ezechiel* propheſieth againſt thoſe Nations, which ſhould ſeeke to impeach this Vnion, and diſturbe the people of *Iſrael*, whom God purpoſed to receiue to grace, and promiſed to reſtore. And ſo in the ſame Chapter are thoſe Nations coupled together, which infeſted the *Iſraelites* after their returne, and ſought to ſubiect them: all which were the Subiects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cœleſyrians*, next bordering *Palæſtina*, or the holy Land, followed alſo by the reſt of the Nations of *Aſia* the leſſe, which lay North from *Iudæa*. The words of *Ezechiel* are theſe: *Sonne of man, ſet thy face againſt* GOG, *and againſt the Land of* MAGOG, *the chiefe Princes of* MESECH (or MOSOCH *and* TVBAL: and afterward; *Behold, I come againſt the chiefe Prince of* MESECH *and* TVBAL: and in the ſixth verſe; GOMER *and all his Bands, and the Houſe of* TOGORMA *of the North quarters.* Herein *Ezechiel* hauing firſt deliuered the

C.38.v.2.

the purpoſe of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that ſhould in vaine aſſayle *Iſrael.* He ioyneth them together vnder their Prince *Gog*, and ſheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Iuda*, and how ſeated and ioyned together. *Gog* ſignifieth in the *Hebrew* (ſaith Saint *Hierome*) *tectum* or *couering of a houſe:* and *Pintus* vpon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichriſt:* for (ſayth hee) *Antichriſtus erit Diaboli tegumentum ſub ſpecie humana: That Antichriſt ſhall be the couering of the* In Ezek. *Deuill vnder humane forme.* He addeth that *Magog* is as much to ſay as *Gog:* the Letter (*M*) being an *Hebrew* Prepoſition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from:* ſo hee taketh *Magog* for thoſe people which follow *Antichriſt.* So farre *Pintus*; at leaſt in this not amiſſe, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one perſon, but for a Nation, with which agreeth this obſeruation of *Beroaldus. Magog* (ſaith he) in *Hebrew* is written *Ham-Magog*, which ſheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter *(He)* which is vſed but for an *Emphaſis* (which the *Hebrewes* call *Heliaiedia)* is neuer added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called eyther *Magog*, or according to others, the people of *Gog)* alſo Prince of *Meſhech*, (or *Moſoch)* and of *Tubal:* as by the firſt Verſe of the 39. Chapter is made manifeſt: *Behold I come againſt thee* GOG *the chiefe Prince of* MESHECH *and* TUBAL. This muſt needs bee meant by the Succeſſours of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) ſeeke to make the *Iewes* their Tributaries onely, but endeuoured by all meanes, and by all kind of violence to extinguiſh the Religion it ſelfe (which the *Hebrewes* profeſt) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worſhip and ſerue the mortall and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remayned but the very name, and dead L.2.de Fide. Images. Saint *Ambroſe* and *Iſidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths:* belike becauſe they inuaded *Europe*, and ſacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* deriues the *Turkes* from the *Scythians*, eſteemed *Magogians* of *Gog.* Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: other of a Region: others for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Iunius*, who ſayes that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the *Greeke* Stories call *Gyges:* who in former time hauing ſlaine *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gaue his owne name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades:* and thereof alſo the *Gygean* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* alſo Strab.l.13. findeth in *Lydia*, (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis. Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum ſtagnum. Herodotus* and *Nicander* ſet it about the Riuers of *Hyllus*, and *Mæander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia:* who after hee had ſubdued the Countrey about the Riuer *Rhodius* which runneth into the *Helleſpont*, called the Promontorie *Trapeſe* after his owne name Suid.col.207. *Gyges.* Theſe Opinions doe alſo ſeeme to ſtrengthen that of *Iunius.* For *Magog*, ſaith hee, is that part of *Aſia* the leſſe, which *Halyattes* obtayned, and after him his Sonne Iun.in Ezech.38 *Cræſus*; who (as *Iunius* further notes) hauing maſtred all thoſe Regions as farre South as *Libanus* in that Border built the Citie *Gigarta* or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* ſignifieth the Citie of *Gog)* ſeated in *Cœleſyria*, whoſe people were the ancient Enemies of the *Iewes.*

Now that *Magog* is found in *Cœleſyria*, *Plinie* affirmeth, ſaying; *Cœleſyria habet Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris verò Magog. Cœleſyria hath in it Bambyce, which by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrians Magog.* Hee further telleth vs that the monſtrous Idoll *Atergatis* called by the *Greekes Derceto*, was here worſhipped, *Lucian* makes mention hereof, ſaying that the Citie had anciently another name, which Strab.l.16. yet hee expreſſeth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as ſounding nothing elegantly in the *Greeke.* But if we may beleeue *Strabo*, then was *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia* the ſame *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the ſame Idoll was worſhipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of theſe Authours did not miſtake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis.* It may well enough bee that the ſame name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from *Paleſtina*, and were both ſubiect vnto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus.* Now I doe not condemne the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Ioſephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might alſo bee the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithſtanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Cœleſyria* and the North parts adioyning bee meant by *Magog:* for by a latter Plantation from theſe parts they might bee propagated into *Scythia.* Yet it is not to bee denyed, that the *Scythians* in old times comming out of the Northeaſt waſted the better part of *Aſia* the leſſe, and poſſeſt *Cœleſyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plaine: for this Citie *Hierapolis* or *Magog* ſtandeth due North from *Iudæa*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North quarters thoſe Nations ſhould come. For as the Kings of the South which infeſted the *Iſraelites* were the *Ptolomies* Kings of *Ægypt*: ſo thoſe of the North were the Kings of *Aſia* and *Syria*, the Succeſſours of *Seleucus*, the Succeſſour of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrius* thinkes that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the Storie of *Tobias*. *Plinie* takes it not onely to haue beene called *Bambyce*, as we haue ſaid, but alſo *Edeſſa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the ſame name; now the knowne name is *Allepo*: for ſo *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This Citie had the Title of Sacred, as the Sacred Citie, (for ſo the word *Hierapolis* ſignifieth) yet was it a place of moſt deteſted Idolatry, and wherein was worſhipped the Idoll of the Mermayde *Atergatis*, or *Atirgitis*, according to *Plinie*, which the *Greekes* call *Derceto*.

Lib.4.cap.de bello.Sacro.

If then we conferre the words of *Ezechiel* in the third verſe of the thirtie eight Chapter, wherein he ioyneth together *Gog Meſech*, and *Tubal*: and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the Citie of *Magog*, which alſo is ſeated directly North from *Iudæa*: with whom alſo *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; wee may (as I conceiue) ſafely conclude, that theſe Followers aud Vaſſals of *Gog* (which were Northerne Nations in reſpect of *Iudæa*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spaine*, but a people of the leſſer *Aſia*, and *Cœleſyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Beroſus*, *Ioſephus*, and whoſoeuer elſe hath followed them therein are to be reiected. But if *Ioſephus* referre himſelfe to later times, and thinke that ſome *Colonie* of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Aſia* paſſe into *Spaine* (to wit, from that piece of Land betweene *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*: (moſt part poſſeſt by the *Georgians*) then is his iudgement of better allowance. For without any repugnancie of opinions, it may be granted, that in proceſſe of time theſe people might from their firſt habitation paſſe into the Countries neere the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into *Spaine*.

Ioſephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, ſaying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (ſaith *Iuſtine*) *they paſſed into Spaine to ſearch out the Mines of that Region*: hauing belike vnderſtood that it was a Southerly Countrie and Mountaynous. For it ſeemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes* liued altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witneſſeth in theſe following Verſes, telling how the *Argonautes* did viſit them;

Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas ſcindit ſub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta miniſtrant:

The *Calybes* plough not their barren ſoyle
But vndermine high Hils for Iron Veines:
Changing the purchaſe of their endleſſe toyle
For Marchandize, which their poore liues ſuſtaynes.

But it is more probable, that *Spaine* was firſt peopled by the *Africans*, who had euer ſince an affection to returne thither, and to repeople it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were eaſily drawne to paſſe ouer the Streights into that Countrey; and after by the *Moores* who held *Granado*, and the South parts eight hundred yeares, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*. And either of theſe opinions are more probable, then that in the twelfth yeare of *Nimrods* Raigne, *Tubal* paſt into *Spaine*, and therein built Saint *Vual*: a poore Towne, and a poore deuice, God knowes. Certaine it is that we muſt finde *Moſoch* or *Meſech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not farre off, or elſe we ſhall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Meſech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togarma* their Aſſiſtants. And that *Meſech* inhabited *Aſia*, *Functius* (though he followed *Beroſus*) confeſſeth, for theſe bee his words: MESACVS, *qui à* MOSE MESECH, *priſcos Meſios ab Adula monte vſq; ad Ponticam regionem poſuit: hæc regio poſteà Cappadocia dicta eſt, in qua vrbs Mazica, &c. hæc eſt terra* MAGOG *principalis* MESACVS, *whom* MOSES *calleth* MESECH, *placed the ancient Meſians*

Meſians from the Mount Adulas, vnto the Coaſt of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Mazica, &c. this is the principall Country of MAGOG. And this doth *Annius* alſo auow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Meſech* and *Tubal*: and therefore, that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spaine* lying directly Weſt, and not North from *Iudæa*. Alſo *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the deſtruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Meſech* and *Tubal* ioyntly. And for a finall proofe, that theſe Nations were of a Northerne Neighbour Land (how farre ſoeuer ſtretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horſemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all ſhall ride vpon Horſes, euen a great multitude and a mightie.* Then if any man beleeue that theſe troupes came out of *Spaine ouer the Pyrenes*, and firſt paſſed ouer a part of *France, Italie, Hungarie*, and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued againe about the *Helleſpont*, or elſe compaſſed all *Pontus, Euxinus*, to come into the leſſer *Aſia*, which is halfe the length or compaſſe of the then knowne World, he may be called a ſtrong beleeuer, but hee ſhall neuer bee iuſtified thereby. But on the contrarie it is knowne, that *Seleucis* was a Prouince neighbouring *Paleſtina* or *Iudæa*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) ioyned vnto it: whoſe Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Aſia* the leſſe, (namely the *Seleucidæ*) and held it, till *Scipio Aſiaticus* ouerthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which they yet poſſeſt *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Meſhech* be in *Cappadocia*, or vnder *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the ſame Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be ſaid. Firſt, he ſeated himſelfe with *Togorma*, not farre from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward hee proceeded further into *Aſia* the leſſe; and in long tract of time his valiant Iſſue filled all *Germanie*, reſted long in *France* and *Brittaine*, and poſſeſſed the vtmoſt borders of the earth, accompliſhing (as *Melancton* well notes) the ſignification of their parents name, which is *Vtmoſt bordering*. But when theſe borderers wanted further place, whereinto they might exonerate their ſwelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they returne vpon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly paſſed, oppreſſing firſt their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy reſtorer of our Antiquities, *M. William Cambden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their olde Language doth ſignifie Robbers; neceſſitie inforcing them to ſpoyle their Neighbours, to whom in their originall they were as neere ioyned, as afterwards in the ſeates which they poſſeſſed. For that the Warlike Nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accuſtomed to be beaten by the *Gaules*, the authoritie of *Cæſar* affirming it is proofe ſufficient. But in times following they purſued richer Conqueſts, and more eaſie though further diſtant, by which (to omit their other enterprizes not here to be ſpoken of) they were drawne at length into *Aſia* the leſſe, and occupyed thoſe parts, which had formerly beene held by their Progenitours. I ſay not that they claymed thoſe Lands as theirs by Deſcent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne Pedigree. Neyther can any man therefore denye, that they were of olde ſeated in *Aſia*, becauſe in late Ages they returned thither; vnleſſe hee will thinke, that all thoſe Nations which from farre parts haue inuaded and conquered the Land of *Shinaar*, may by that Argument bee proued not to haue iſſued from thence at the firſt.

Now concerning *Samothes* for his excellent wiſedome ſirnamed *Dis*, whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother *Moſes* neuer heard of, who ſpake his knowledge of *Iaphets* ſonnes) they muſt finde him in ſome olde Poet: for *Functius*, a great *Beroſian*, confeſſeth: *Quis hic* SAMOTHES *fuerit incertum eſt*; *Who this* SAMOTHES *was it is vncertaine*; neyther is there any proofe that he was that ſame *Dis*, whom *Cæſar* ſayth the *Gaules* ſuppoſe to bee their Anceſter; yea, and *Vignier* confeſſeth with FVNCTIVS: *Mais on ne ſcayt qui il eſtoit*; *No man knowes who he was.*

In Chron.

Cæſar Comment.
Vigni. pars 1.
Chron.

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§. V.

Againſt the fabulous BEROSVS *his fiction, That the Italian* IANVS *was* NOAH.

BVt before I goe on with *Noah* his Sonnes, I thinke it neceſſarie to diſproue the fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himſelfe: an inuention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as hee hath wreſted) by thoſe Authours of whom himſelfe hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Beroſus, Fabius, Pictor, Cato, Lauinius* and others. For *Annius* ſeekes to perſwade vs, that *Noah* (ſurnamed *Ianus*) was the ſame which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italie*, wherein hee liued 92. yeares. This to diſproue, by *Moſes* ſilence, is a ſufficient argument to mee, if there were nothing elſe to diſproue it. For if he vouchſafed to remember the building of *Babel, Erec, Achad, Chalne* and *Niniue* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great marke to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. yeares. But it were a needleſſe labour for me to diſproue the authoritie of that *Beroſus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, ſeeing ſo many learned men haue ſo demouſtratiuely proued that Fragment to be counterfeit. Beſides that, *Tatianus* the *Aſſyrian* in his Oration againſt the *Greekes* auoweth, that the ancient and true *Beroſus* wrote onely three Bookes, dedicated to *Antiochus* the ſucceſſor of *Seleucus Nicanor*: but *Annius* hath deuiſed fiue Bookes, wherewith he honoureth *Beroſus*. And whereas *Beroſus* handled only the eſtate of the *Chaldæans* and *Aſſyrians Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the buſineſſe of all the World And if we may beleeue *Euſebius* better then *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latines* (before *Æneas*) conſumed but 150. yeares: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas* ariuall into *Italie* there paſt 1126. (after the leaſt rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Ianus* (who was the firſt of their Kings) liued at once with *Ruth*, who marryed *Booz*, in the Worlds yeare (as ſome reckon) 2717. after the Floud 1064. and *Noah* dyed 350. yeares after the Floud: and ſo there paſt betweene *Ianus* of *Italie* and *Noah* ſurnamed *Ianus* 704. yeares. For *Saturnus* ſucceeded *Ianus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Faunus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Faunus*: which *Latinus* liued at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Aſſyria*; with *Pelaſgus* of *Peloponneſus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampſon* Iudge of *Iſrael*. Now all theſe fiue Kings of the *Latines* hauing conſumed but one hundred & fiftie yeares, and the laſt of them in the time of *Sampſon*: then reckoning vpwards for one hundred and fiftie yeares, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Ianus* liued.

Ann. de Hetruſ.
Pict. de aur. ſæculo
Cato de origin.
Lauin. illuſt. de Gall.

Ioſeph. l. 1.

True it is, that the *Greekes* had their *Ianus*; but this was not *Noah*: ſo had they *Ion* the ſonne of *Xuthus*, the ſonne of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Iauan*, the fourth ſonne of *Iapheth*. For the vulgar Tranſlation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Iauan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Hellas*; which is the ſame. So had they *Medus* the ſonne of *Madea*, whom they make the Parent of the *Medes*, though they were deſcended of a far more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third ſonne of *Iapheth*.

Ezech. 27. 19. 13 & ſo the place of *Eſay* 66. 19. (for *Iauan*) *Hellada*: and (for the plurall *Iauamin*) *Hellenes*.

Laſtly, we ſee by a true experience, that the *Brittiſh* Language hath remayned among vs aboue 2000. yeares, and the *Engliſh* ſpeech euer ſince the inuaſion of the *Angles*, and the ſame continuance haue all Nations obſerued among themſelues though with ſome corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is ſtrange if either *Noah* (by them called *Ianus*) had left in *Italie* his grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spaine*, that no plaine reſemblance of the *Hebrew, Syrian,* or *Scythian* (which no time could haue quite extinguiſhed) ſhould haue beene found in the Languages of thoſe Countries. For which reaſons we doubt not but theſe perſonall Plantations of *Ianus, Gomer, Tubal, &c.* in *Italie, Spaine*, or *France*, are meerly fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themſelues with the *Græcian Ianus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. yeares (ſaith *Euſebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus* the fift King: which alſo Saint *Auguſtine* and *Iuſtine* confirme: and this agreeth with reaſon, time, and poſſibilitie. And if this be not ſufficient to diſproue this vanitie, I may out of themſelues adde thus much: That whereas ſome of them make *Veſta* (others *Camaſena*) the wife of this *Ianus*, who inſtituted the holy Fire of the *Veſtal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Ianus* all their Idolatrous and Heatheniſh Ceremonies) there is no man ſo impious, as to beleeue that *Noah* himſelfe (who is ſaid by *Moſes* to *haue walked with God*, to be a iuſt man, and whom God of all Mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or ſo wicked and vngratefull, to ſet vp or deuiſe any Heathen ſaluage, or Idolatrous adoration, or haue inſtituted any Ceremonie, contrarie to that which he knew beſt pleaſing to God himſelfe.

§. VI.

§. VI.

That GOMER *alſo and his ſonne* TOGORMA *of the Poſteritie of* IAPHETH *were firſt ſeated about Aſia the leſſe: and that from thence they ſpred Weſtward into Europe: and Northward into Sarmatia.*

TO turne now to the ſonnes of *Noah*, and the Worlds Plantation after the Floud: therein I obſerue, that as both reaſon and neceſſitie taught them; ſo, when they multiplyed in great numbers, and diſperſed themſelues into the next Countries bordering to their firſt habitations, and from thence ſent forth *Colonies* elſewhere, it was in ſuch a manner as that they might repayre to each other, and keepe intelligence by Riuer: becauſe the Land was yet Deſart and ouer-preſt with Woods, Reeds, Bogs, and rotten Mariſhes. As when *Nimrod* ſeated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* tooke the South part of *Chaldæa*, downe the Riuer of *Gehon*, by which he might paſſe to & fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: thoſe alſo, which were of the Race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Vr* or *Orchoa* neere the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, might by the ſame Riuer get vp to *Babylon*, and receiue ſuccour from thence. All which Tract of Land vpon *Gehon* Southward, *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe* calleth the Land of *Chuſh*: becauſe the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Chuſite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and ſtayed not in the Eaſt) were for awhile oppreſt, till God afterward by the ſeed of *Abraham* made them his owne Nation and victorious. *Hauilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and ſonne of *Cuſh*, tooke both bankes of *Tigris*, eſpecially on the Eaſt ſide of the Riuer: by which Riuer his people might alſo paſſe to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperiall ſeat of which Region of *Hauilah* or *Suſian*, was anciently called *Chuſian* or *Chuſan*, afterward *Suſa*. *Cuſh* himſelfe tooke the Bankes of *Gehon*, and planted thoſe Countries Weſtward, and Southweſt-ward towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Deſart, where *Ptolemie* placeth the Citie of *Chuſidia*, firſt *Chuſia*. *Ptol. Aſiæ, tab. 4.*

Seba, and *Sheba* with the reſt that planted *Arabia fœlix*, had *Tigris* to conuey them into the *Perſian gulfe*, which waſheth the bankes of *Arabia fœlix* on the Eaſt ſide: ſo as thoſe ſonnes of *Cuſh* might take Land downe the Riuer as they pleaſed. Alſo the Citie of *Niniue* was by *Nimrod* founded on the ſaid Riuer of *Tigris*; and from thence a *Colonie* paſt to *Charran*, ſtanding alſo vpon a nauigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Iapheths* ſonnes ſettle themſelues together, and tooke their ſeates in *Aſia* the leſſe: from whence they might indifferently ſtretch themſelues Northward, and Weſtward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the Iſles of the *Gentiles*. And it ſeemeth very agreeable to reaſon, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, ſate downe firſt of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Paleſtina* and *Phœnicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his children paſt on into *Aſia* the leſſe, as thoſe of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* ſpred themſelues into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatia*. The firſt *Gomerians*, and firſt Planters in *Aſia* the leſſe, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (witneſſe *Herodotus*) *Lib. 4.* the ſame Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-greekes* called *Galatia*, to whom Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle ſo intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the inuincible *Scythians* afterwards diſperſed, and forced from their firſt Plantations) gaue names to diuers places; as to the Mountaynes aboue *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the Citie of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: alſo *Boſphorus Cymmerius* tooke appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was alſo a Citie of that name, called *Cymmerian*: which *Plinie* ſaith (miſtaking the place) had ſometime the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a Towne in *Campania*, ſo called of the vnhealthfull waters, ſauouring of Brimſtone, which *Auguſtus* cauſed to be cleanſed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucrinus*.

The children of *Tubal* ranged as farre as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moſchici* were Neighbours, which others write *Meſhech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meſchech* and *Tubal*. For theſe *Meſchi* (which *Ptolemie* calleth *Moſchi*) inhabit *Syracena* a Prouince of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountaynes *Moſchici*, in the Valley betweene the Mountaines *Moſchici*, and the Mountaynes *Paryardes*: out of whoſe North part ſprinketh the Riuer *Phaſis*; from the Eaſt part *Araxis*; and from the Weſt *Euphrates*: and of this *Meſchech* are deſcended alſo the *Moſcouians* (ſaith *Melanchton*) and it may bee, that in proceſſe of time ſome of them inhabited thoſe Regions alſo: For *Meſhech* (ſaith *Melanchton*) ſignifieth *extendens*, *enlarging* or *ſtretching forth*.

forth. Togorma alſo at firſt did inhabite amongſt his parents & kindred. The *Togormians* were alſo called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchie* of *Phænicia*, the ſame which *Plinie* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Salomon* had his moſt excellent Maſons, which hewed ſtones for the Temple of *Hieruſalem*. Thence the *Togormians* ſtretched into the leſſe *Armenia*, whoſe Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokartæ*: of which Cities *Tigranes* ſubdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hieroſolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbarie*: forgetting the prophecie of *Ezekiel* againſt the *Tyrians*. *They of the houſe of Togorma, brought to thy Fayres horſes, and horſe-men, and mules*, which could not well bee driuen ouer the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Ioſephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I doe not denie, but they might be in the enſuing ages: and ſo might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred yeeres after the twelfth of *Nimrods* reigne. The *Iewes* conceiue that the *Turkes* came of thoſe *Togormians*, becauſe their Emperor is called *Togar*. The *Chaldæans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laonicus* affirmes, that the *Turkes* deſcended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muſcouia*. But for theſe ſubderiuations it were infinit to examine them. Onely of the firſt and ſecond plantation, and of the firſt Nations after the floud is the matter which I labour to diſcouer; and therein to open the ignorance of ſome, and the corruption of other fabulous VVriters. And this we muſt *Note*, that thoſe grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of leſſe vnderſtanding, and had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* ſent out, their proper habitations could bee hardlie knowne: onely reaſon hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the reſt, and were couered with the fame of others, who tooke on them the Conduction and Dominion ouer the reſt.

1 Kin.5 18.

Iun: in Gen:10 verſ:3.

Iu.c.27.14.

Note.

From *Madai* the third ſonne of *Iapheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Græcians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the ſonne of *Medea*.

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§. VII.

Of Iauan *the fourth ſon of* Iapheth: *and of* Meſch, *of* Aram, *and* Meſhech *of* Iapheth.

OF *Iauan* the fourth ſonne of *Iapheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greekes*: and ſo the *Latine* and *Greeke* Interpreters for *Iauan* write *Greece*, as in *Eſay*: *Et mittam ex ijs qui ſaluati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam; And I will ſend thoſe that eſcape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italie and in Greece*. The *Geneua* here vſeth the word (*Tarſhiſh*) for *Tarſus*, a Citie in *Cilicia*, though *Tarſis* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneua* vſe the names *Tubal* and *Iauan*, and not *Italie* and *Greece*: keeping the ſame *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themſelues dreame that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Anceſters, and growing (as it were) out of the ſoile it ſelfe: who abounding in people ſent Colonies into *Aſia* the leſſe, of whom came the *Iones* of thoſe parts. Others deriue the *Athenians* from *Ion* the ſonne of *Xuthus*, the ſon of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Iauan* marres the faſhion of that ſuppoſition, who ſo many yeres preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion*, or *Deucalion*. *Pauſanias* tels vs that *Xuthus* ſtole out of *Theſſalie* with all his Fathers treaſure, and his Brothers portions, and arriuing at *Athens*, hee was graciouſly receiued by *Erictheus*, who gaue him his Daughter in marriage; of whom hee receiued two ſonnes, *Ion*, and *Achæus*, the ſuppoſed Anceſters of the *Athenians*: (For *Attica* was called *Ionia*, ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theſeus*;) who, when he had ioyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a piller in that *Iſthmos* or *Strait*, which faſtneth *Peloponneſus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the Eaſt, theſe words: *Hæc non ſunt Peloponneſus, aſt Ionia; Theſe Countries are not of Peloponneſus, but of Ionia*: and on the other ſide which looked towards the South, and into *Peloponneſus*, this: *Theſe parts are Peloponneſus, and not Ionia*.

Thucyd.

Strabo out of *Hecatæus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, which is contrarie to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* tranſporting certain companies into *Aſia* the leſſe, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof then hee learned of the *Greekes* themſelues, yet I finde this coniecture of *Hecatæus* reaſonable enough. For though it were to him vnknowne, yet ſure I am that *Aſia* the leſſe had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Iauan* did not flie from

Babylonia into *Greece*, but tooke *Aſia* the leſſe in his paſſage; and from thence paſt ouer the neereſt way, leauing his owne name to ſome maritimate Prouince on that ſide, as he did to that part of *Grecce* ſo called. But yet *Strabo* himſelfe beleeued, that *Ionia* took the name from *Ion* the ſon of *Xanthus*: for ſo much he had learned from themſelues; which was alſo the opinion of *Pauſanias*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times caſt themſelues into that part of *Aſia* the leſſe, oppoſite vnto thē, which they held for diuers yeres. And howſoeuer the *Greekes* vaunt themſelues to be Fathers of Nations, and the moſt ancient; yet all approued Hiſtorians (not their owne) deride and diſproue their pride, and vanitie therein. For this diſpute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) reſted betweene the *Scythians* and the *Ægyptians*, as *Iuſtine* out of *Trogus*, in the war between *Vexoris* of *Ægypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witneſſeth: which preceded farre the reigne of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was euer heard of. And it is alſo manifeſt, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greekes* were all ſaluages without law or religion, li-*Lib.18. de Ciu. Dei, c.10.* uing like brute beaſts in all reſpects: and *Cecrops* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) liued together with *Moſes*.

The ſixth ſonne of *Iapheth* was *Meſhech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Moſoch*: (a part of thoſe Nations commanded by *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meſhech* and *Tubal*.) But this we muſt remember, that betweene *Meſech* the ſonne of *Aram*, and *Meſhech* (or *Moſech*) the ſonne of *Iapheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by diuers Interpreters diuerſly written. *Montanus* with the Vulgar writeth *Meſch*, the ſonne of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneua*, *Maſh*, *Iunius*, *Meſch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Pſalme*, that either *Meſhech* the ſonne of *Iapheth*, was the parent of thoſe people, or gaue name to that Prouince wherein *Dauid* hid himſelfe: or elſe (which may rather ſeeme) that it tooke name from *Meſch* the ſonne of *Aram*. For *Dauid* bewayling his exile (while he liued among a barbarous and irreligious People) vſeth theſe words: *Woe is me that I remaine in Meſech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Iunius* conuerteth thus: *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diù: habito tanquàm Scenitæ Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* giues it this ſenſe: *Woe is me be-*Pſal.120.v.5.* *cauſe my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar*; with which this of the *Latine* agreeth: *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt, habitaui cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldæan* otherwiſe, and in theſe words: *O me miſerum, quia peregrinatus ſum Aſianis, habitaui cum tabernaculis Arabum*; *O wretch, that I am, for I haue trauailed among thoſe of Aſia: I haue dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians.* But howſoeuer or which ſoeuer conuerſion be taken for the beſt, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Prouince of *Arabia Petræa*; and the *Chaldæan* putteth *Aſia* in ſtead of *Meſech*, but the *Hebrew* it ſelf hath *Meſech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is moſt likely, becauſe it anſwers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) ſeeing *Meſh* the ſonne of *Aram*, 1. *Chron.* 17. is called *Meſhec*, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from *Meſhech* or *Meſh*, both bordering *Iudæa*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for ſo *Ezechiel* makes *Meſech* and *Tubal*. But as for thoſe that take *Meſech* out of the word *Moſoch* (giuen by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muſcouian*: ſure they preſume much vpon the affinitie of names, as aforeſaid. And ſure I am that *Dauid* neuer trauelled ſo farre North; (for to him *Muſcouia* was vtterly vnknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his perſecution: the ſame being a Citie on the Mountaines of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Moſoch* the father of the *Muſcouians*: and herein alſo *Melanchton* runnes with the tide of common opinion, and ſets *Meſech* in *Muſcouia*, though with ſome better aduice of iudgement; as, firſt ſeated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence trauelling Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Pſalme*, (*Hei mihi quòd exulo in Meſech*) to ſignifie, *Gentis eius feritatem inſignem eſſe*; *That the feritie of that Nation exceeded*: which fierceneſſe or brutalitie of the *Muſcouians*, *Dauid* neuer proued, or (perchance) neuer heard of. But the ſame feritie or crueltie which thoſe Northerne *Muſcouians* had, may aſwell bee aſcribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this *Gen 25.13.* Countrie tooke name of *Kedar* the ſecond ſonne of *Iſmael*, of whom a people of equall fierceneſſe to any of the world were begotten, both in thoſe times and long after, euen to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Iſmaelites*, and *Saracens*, may bee accounted one people:) the ſame being foreſhewed by the ſpeech of the Angell to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16. *v.* 12. *And he ſhall be a wilde man: his hand ſhall be againſt euery man, and euery mans hand againſt him.* Now *Arabia* the *Deſart* (ſaith *Plinie*) confronteth the *Arabians Cochlei* on the Eaſt, and the *Cedræi* Southward, both which ioyne together vpon the *Nabathæi*. So it appeareth (as before) that *Meſech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Iſrael*, and that *Kedar* alſo did ioyne to *Meſech*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Aſia* the leſſe, commanded by the Succeſſors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-eſtabliſhment of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*. But (as I haue alreadie ſaid) it might well be, that long after the firſt plantation the iſſue of *Meſech* (or *Moſoch*) might paſſe into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and giue names, both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the Mountaines *Moſchici* in the other, and from thence might ſend people more Northerly into *Muſcouia*, and ſo al opinions ſaued. But all ſaluage Nations ouer-growne and vncultiuated, doe (for the moſt part) ſhew a late plantation, euen as Ciuilitie, Letters, and magnificent Building, witneſſe antiquitie.

Tiras, the ſeuenth ſonne of *Iapheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the ſons of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthie the examination) affirme. *Ioſephus* was the firſt that determined heereof: and becauſe the Scriptures are altogether ſilent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the coniectures are indifferent, and giue no ground at all of diſpute. It followeth now to ſpeake of the ſonnes of *Gomer*, which were three,

Montā. in Chr.

Aſcanez, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

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§. VIII.

Of Aſcanez *and* Riphath, *the two elder Sonnes of* Gomer.

Aſcanez was the Father of thoſe which the *Greeks* call *Regini*, (ſaith *Ioſephus*) but he giues no reaſon why.

Euſebius makes *Aſcanez* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Iewes* in their *Thargum* make him the roote of the *Germane Nation*, but their expoſitions are commonly very idle. *Plinie* findeth *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, neere the Riuers of *Hylas* and *Cios*: *Melanchton* being of the ſame opinion, that the *Tuiſcones* were deſcended of the *Aſcanez*, (for *Tuiſcones*, ſaith he, is as much to ſay, as of the *Aſcanez*, *præpoſito articulo die Aſcanez*) and that the word ſignifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient ſuperſtition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombes of Martyrs. Not farre from *Phrygia* was the lake *Aſcania*, knowne by that name in the *Romanes* time. And among the Kings which came to the ſuccor of *Troy*, was *Aſcanius* (*Deo ſimilis*, ſaith *Homer*) *like vnto God*: becauſe he was beautifull and ſtrong: for in the ſame manner doth *Virgil* grace *Æneas*, *Os humeroſq́; Deo ſimilis*, *in face and bodie like one of the Gods*. *Virgil* alſo remembreth ſuch a Riuer, together with the Hils *Gargara*: as, *Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, tranſq́; ſonantem* Aſcanium, *Appetite leades them both ouer the Mountains Gargara, and the roring* Aſcanius. But this *Pliny* maketh more plaine in the deſcription of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillion* vpon the Riuer *Aſcanius*, which is adioyning to *Myſia*, and is neere the border of the *Troian Empire*: and the Lake *Aſcanez* he directs vs to finde by the deſcription of *Pruſia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lieth far within the Countries of *Bithynia*: and then from *Pruſia* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles, in which way this Lake lyeth, euen betweene *Pruſia* and *Nicea*. And ſo *Iunius* (as I conceiue him) takes them of *Aſcanez*, to be the inhabitants of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and thoſe North parts of *Aſia*. *Stephanus de Vrbibus* makes it a Citie of *Troâs*, built by *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*: ſaying, that there was another of that name in *Myſia*. Of *Aſcania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolomie* witneſſeth: and *Strabo* giueth *Aſcania* both a Lake, a Riuer, and a Towne in *Myſia*, neere vnto *Cio*; which alſo agreeth with *Plinie*. For *Plinie* findeth *Pruſia* (before ſpoken of) neere *Cio*, and calleth the Iſlands before *Troy* *Aſcanes*.

Melā. in car. l. 1

Hom. Iliad. 2.

Virg. Georg. l. 3

Now, whether theſe places tooke name of *Aſcanez* the ſon of *Gomer*, or of *Aſcanius* the ſonne of *Æneas*, it might be queſtioned: ſure it is, that *Aſcanius* which brought ſuccour to the *Troians*, could not take his name from *Æneas* ſonne, who was then eyther exceeding yong, or rather vnborne: and it ſeemeth that the Countries whence thoſe ſuccours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia* or *Myſia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Aſia* the leſſe, which by *Hieremie* is called *Aſcanez*, by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Iunius* thinketh. Out of thoſe teſtimonies therfore which deceiue not, we may confidentlie determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremie* wee ſhall learne of what Nation the *Aſcenez* were, whoſe words are theſe: *Set vp a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nation againſt her, call vp the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Aſcanez*

C. 51. v. 27.

againſt her, &c. meaning againſt the *Babylonians.* *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as moſt Interpreters conſent, ſo called of the Mountaines of *Ararat* which runne through it: *Minni* the leſſer *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni.* For *Minni* was the ancient name: (ſayth *Iunius* and others before him,) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coaſts of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæſtina*; and therefore *Meſopotamia* being in elder times but a Prouince of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the ſtorie of *Iacob* and *Eſau*, and call it *Aram-padan.* Then if theſe two Nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Aſcanez* ioyned with them (who altogether vnited vnder *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the ſpoyle of the *Babylonian Empire*) we ſhall erre much to call *Askenaz Germanie* or *Almaine*, for we heare of no ſwart *Ruttiers* at that ſiege. But the *Askenaz* were of thoſe Nations which were either ſubiect or allied to the *Medes*: of which, if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the diſperſion of Nations was in aftertimes without account. But for the opinion of *Euſebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Ioſephus*, who cals them *Rhegini*; or of the *Iewes*, who will haue them to be *Almaines*; when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reaſon, I will thinke as they doe.

Of *Riphath* the ſecond ſonne of *Gomer* there is mention in the firſt of *Chronicles.* *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* thinke that he wandered farre off from the reſt of his Brothers, and therefore no memorie of his plantation. But I ſee nothing to the contrary, but that hee might ſeate himſelfe with the reſt of his Family: for there wanted no roome or ſoile in thoſe dayes for all the ſonnes and Grand-children of *Noah.* Therefore I take it to be well vnderſtood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath*, which the *Greekes* afterwards (according to *Ioſephus*) called the *Paphlagones*: and *Riphei* (ſaith *Melanchton*) ſignifieth Giants. Theſe people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the moſt of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*, *The greateſt number of the Sarmatians were the Heneti*; who ſpake the ancient *Polac*: which being firſt called *Riphei* (for the loue of ſome of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a cuſtome exceeding common in thoſe times) and dwelt firſt in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witneſſeth, and ſo doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when theſe *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) ſought new Regions, they came along the ſhores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Ruſsia*, *Lituania*, and *Polonia.* From thence they croſt thwart the Land, and peopled *Illyria*, deſirous (ſaith *Melanchton*) of a warmer ſoile of fruit and Wine. Theſe *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled all that Land betweene the *Baltick* and *Adriaticke* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulfe *Venedicus* is found in *Ruſsia.* This Nation, after they were poſſeſt of *Lituania* and *Polonia*, diſturbed the plantation of the *Boij* and *Hermondurij.* Therefore, it ſeemeth to me, that of *Riphath*, came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and ſo thinketh *Arias Montanus*, firſt ſeated in *Paphlagonia*, but in courſe of time Lords of *Sarmatia*, and thoſe other parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Riuers of *Viſtula* and *Albis.* The name (ſaith *Melanchton*) ſignifieth Wandering or Wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which liued by White-meates and fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the firſt Ages.

Melanch. in Carion.

Of the third ſonne of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I haue ſpoken already; now therefore of *Iauans* children, which were foure:

Eliſa, *Tharſis*, *Cethim*, *Dodanim.*

§. IX.

Of the foure ſonnes of Iauan: *and of the double ſignification of Tharſis, either for a proper name, or for the Sea.*

OF *Eliſa* or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles*: and of this *Eliſa*, all the *Greekes* were called *Hellenes*, ſaith *Montanus.* *Melanchton* makes *Eliſa* the Father of the *Æoles* in *Aſia* ſide: others of *Elis* in *Peloponneſus*; or of both. And ſeeing the *Greekes* were deſcended in generall of *Iauan*, it is probable that the *Æoles* and the *Elei*, took name of *Eliſa*, his eldeſt Sonne. *Ezechiel* in the 27. ſpeaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Iſles of *Eliſa.* *Hyacinthus & purpura de inſulis Eliſæ facta ſunt operimentum tuum: Blue Silke and Purple, brought from the Iſles of Eliſa, was thy couering*: The *Chaldæans* for *Eliſa* write *Italia*: but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneua*, and *Iunius*, keepe the word *Eliſa*: and ſo I thinke they might doe with reaſon. For there was not found any ſuch Purple Dye in *Italie*

V. 7.

in thoſe dayes, nor ſince, that I can reade of: but thoſe *Iſles* of *Eliſa*, were by a better coniecture the *Iſles* of *Greece*; and the beſt Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it ſelfe: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the coaſt of *Getulia*.

Tharſis, the ſecond Sonne of *Iauan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharſis* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*, vnderſtands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reſeruing the reſpect due to ſo learned a man) he was much miſtaken in that coniecture. The *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* puts *Carthage* for *Tharſis*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reaſon therein. So likewiſe, where it is written, that the Ships of *Salomon* went euery three yeeres to *Tharſis*, and brought thence Gold, Siluer, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* tranſlates *Tharſis* (*Africa*.) But *Salomons* Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at *Eſion Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, neere vnto *Madian*, where *Iethro* (*Moſes* Father in Law) inhabited; a Prouince of *Arabia Petræa*, *Idumæa*, or of the *Chuſites*; and they ſayled to the higher part of the Eaſt *India*. For it had beene a ſtrange Nauigation to haue ſpent three yeeres in the paſſage betweene *Iudæa* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might haue been ſayled in ſixe or ten daies. And if ſo great riches might haue bin found within the bounds of the *Mediterran* Sea, al the other neighbouring Princes would ſoon haue entertained that Trade alſo. But this enterprize of *Salomon* is in this ſort written of in the firſt of Kings: *Alſo King* Salomon *made a Nauie of Ships in Eſion Gaber, which is beſide Elath and the brinke of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom: and* Hyram *ſent with the Nauie his ſeruants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the ſeruants of* Salomon: *and they came to Ophir, and ſet from thence* 420. *Talents of Gold, &c.* But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the world like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely: (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word vſed for the Sea in generall) ſo, becauſe the *Iſraelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew no other Sea then that of the *Mediterran* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharſis* had the greateſt Shippes, and were the firſt Nauigators in thoſe parts with ſuch Veſſels, they were thefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharſis* vſed often for the Sea. And whereas it is ſaid that the Shippes of *Salomon* went euery three yeeres to *Tharſis*, that phraſe is not ſtrange at all; for we vſe it ordinarily whereſoeuer we nauigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are ſet out euery yeere, or euery three yeere to the Sea, and therefore *Tharſis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but vſed for the Sea it ſelfe. But in this place *Tharſis* is truely taken for *Tharſis*, the chiefe Citie in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharſis* the ſecond ſonne of *Iauan*, or by his Succeſſors in memorie of their firſt parent. To this Citie arriued *Alex. Macedon*, before he gaue the firſt ouerthrow to *Darius*, and caſting himſelfe into the Riuer to bathe and waſhe his bodie, hee fell into an extreame Feuer, and great danger of death: and in this Citie of *Tharſis* was S. *Paul* borne. Now this agreeth with the reaſon and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other ſonnes inhabiting *Aſia* the leſſe, and that part of *Syria* adioyning) *Iauan*, who was to paſſe ouer the Sea into *Greece*, tooke the edge of the ſame Coaſt, and firſt planted the *Iones* on that ſhore: gaue the Iſlands betweene *Aſia* the leſſe and *Greece*, to *Eliſa*, and left *Tharſis* vpon the Sea-ſide in *Cilicia*; of whom that Citie tooke name.

The third ſonne of *Iauan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romanes* and *Italians*, ſaith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plurall (ſaith he) and ſignifieth *percuſſores*, though in that reſpect it may be meant by either. But it ſeemeth more probable, that the place of *Eſai.* 23. (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hæc clamitas ab* Eſai *prædicta eſt, qui capite viceſsimo tertio inquit, venturos eſſe euerſores Tyri ex terra Cittim, This calamitie* (ſaith Melanchton) *was foreſhewed by* Eſai *the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the Deſtroyers of Tyre were to come out of Cittim.* And although the children of *Iſrael* eſteemed all men Iſlanders, which came to them by Sea, and ſeparate from that Continent; (and ſo alſo *Cittim* might be taken for *Italie*, ſaith *Beroaldus*) yet wee muſt take the firſt performance of the former Propheſie, which tooke effect by the deſtruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*, who after 7. Moneths ſiege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces ſeauen thouſand principall Citizens; ſtrangled two thouſand, and changed the freedome of 13. thouſand others into bondage and ſlauerie. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it doth appeare plainelie in the firſt of the *Macchabees*, in theſe words: *After that* Alexander *the Macedonian*, *the*

the ſonne of Philip, *went forth of the Land of Cethim, and ſlew* Darius *King of the Perſians, and Medes. Ioſephus* ſets *Cethim* in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, in which (ſaith hee) there remaineth the Citie *Citium*, the Countrey of *Zeno* the Philoſopher (witneſſe *Laertius*) which Citie *Pintus* vpon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that it ſtood in Saint *Hieromes* time. So it may bee that all the Iſlands in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the Iſlands of *Cethim*: and in that ſenſe might *Cyprus* be ſo called alſo; and yet becauſe *Tharſis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly ouer againſt it, it is alſo very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharſis*: and finding that Iſland too ſtreight for his people after they were increaſed, & that the reſt of the Coaſts, both on *Aſia* ſide and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he ſent *Colonies* ouer the *Ægæan* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodanim the fourth ſonne of *Iauan*, and the yongeſt Brother (by the moſt opinions) ſate downe at *Rhodes*, as neere *Cethim*, *Tharſis*, and *Eliſa*, as he could. For *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* are vſed indifferently by many Tranſlators: the *Hebrew (D)* and the *Hebrew (R)* are ſo like, as the one may eaſily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirm. There is alſo found in *Epirus* the Citie of *Dodona*, in the Prouince of *Moloſſia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted ſoile in *Cyprus*: ſo *Dodanim* (ſeated in a far leſſe Iſland) did of neceſſitie ſend his people farther off; and keeping alongſt the Coaſt, and finding *Peloponneſus* in the poſſeſſion of *Eliſa*, he paſſed a little further on the Weſtward, and planted in *Epirus*. And though the Citie of *Dodona*, was not then built, or (perchance) not ſo ancient as *Dodanim* himſelfe, yet his Poſteritie might giue it that name in the memorie of their firſt parent, as it hapned all the World ouer. For names were giuen to Cities, Mountaines, Riuers, and Prouinces, after the names of *Noahs* children, and grand-children; not in all places by themſelues, but by their ſucceſſors many yeeres after: euery of their Families being deſirous to retain among them by thoſe memories, out of what branch themſelues were taken, and grafted elſewhere. And becauſe great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greateſt Cities often fired and demoliſhed: therefore thoſe that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gaue their owne names, or the names of their Anceſtors, to Mountaines and Riuers, as to things (after their iudgements) freeſt from any alteration.

Thus then did *Iauan* ſettle himſelfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of *Aſia* the leſſe, towards the Sea-ſhore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Iſlands, and neighbor Prouinces thereof, as *Iapheth* their Father had done in the body of the leſſer *Aſia*, together with *Iauans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Meſech*, and the reſt round about him. And in like ſort did *Chuſh* (the ſonne of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, and the borders thereof towards the Weſt and South-weſt: and the ſonnes of *Chuſh* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it ſelfe) trauelled Southward in *Arabia fœlix*, and Southweſtward into *Arabia petræa*: the reſt of his children holding the Regions adioyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chuſh* in like manner tooke the way of *Ægypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Paleſtina* adioyning. The Sonnes of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all thoſe Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to thoſe of the ſons of *Shem*, which ſpred themſelues towards the Weſt, and the borders of the *Mediterran* Sea: of which I ſhall ſpeake hereafter. But firſt of the ſonnes of *Cham* or *Ham*, which were foure:

Chuſh, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.

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§. X.

That the ſeat of Chuſh *the eldeſt ſon of* Ham, *was in Arabia, not in Æthiopia: and of ſtrange Fables, and ill Tranſlations of Scripture, grounded on the miſtaking of this point.*

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†. I.

Of Ioſephus *his Tale of an Æthiopeſſe wife of* Moſes, *grounded on the miſtaking of the ſeate of* Chuſh.

THat *Ham* was the Father of the *Ægyptians*, it is made manifeſt in many Scriptures, as in the 105. *Pſalme verſe* 51. *Then* Iſrael *came to Ægypt, and* Iacob *was a ſtranger in the land of* Ham: and in the 78. Pſalme, *Hee ſlew all the firſt-borne in Ægypt, euen the beginning of their ſtrength, in the Tabernacles of* Ham. There is alſo found a great Citie in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramis*: (as it were the Citie of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* alſo diſcouers an Iland in the ſame Region. *Herod. in Euterpe.* But becauſe *Chuſh* is the elder ſonne of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to ſpeake firſt of him. Now though I haue already in the deſcription of *Paradiſe* handled this queſtion, and (I hope) proued that *Chuſh* could not be *Æthiopia*: yet ſeeing it commeth now to his turne to ſpeake for himſelfe, I will adde ſome farther proofe to the former. For the manifeſtation hereof, ſets many things ſtraight, which had otherwiſe very crooked conſtructions, and ſenceleſſe interpretations. Surely, howſoeuer the *Septuagint* and *Ioſephus* haue herein failed, that *Chuſh* could not be *Æthiopia*, but *Arabia*: (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happie and the Deſart: which Regions *Chuſh* and the *Chuſites* preſently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they firſt ſate downe altogether. And there is nothing which ſo well cleereth this Controuerſie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. where *Moſes* his Wife is called a *Chuſite*; together with ſome places which ſpeake of *Nabuchodonoſors* Conqueſts. For whereas *Ioſephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place, *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. as alſo elſewhere, vnderſtand *Chuſh* for *Æthiopia*, we muſt giue credit to *Moſes* himſelfe herein; and then it will appeare that *Ioſephus* was groſly miſtaken, or vainely led by his owne inuention. For *Ioſephus* preſuming that *Chuſh* was *Æthiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moſes* (which in Scripture, *Num.* 12. *verſ.* 1. is called a woman of *Cuſh*) was a woman of the land of *Æthiopia*, faineth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Æthiopia*, fell in loue with the perſon and fame of *Moſes*, while he beſieged *Saba* her Fathers Citie; and to the end, to obtaine *Moſes* for her Husband, ſhe practiſed to betray both her Parents, Countrie, and friends, with the Citie it ſelfe, and to deliuer it into *Moſes* hands. The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lyeth thus in *Ioſephus*. After he had deſcribed the ſtrength of the *Æthiopian* Citie *Meroe*, which he ſaith at length *Cambyſes* called ſo from the name of his Siſter, (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in theſe words: *Hic cùm* Moſes *deſidere exercitum otioſum ægrè* *Antiq. l. 2. c. 5.* *ferret, hoſte non audente manus conſerere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum Regi filia, nomine* Tharbis, *&c.* which Tale hath this ſenſe in Engliſh: *When* Moſes *was grieued that his Armie lay idle, becauſe the Enemy beſieged, durſt not ſally and come to handy ſtrokes, there happened this accident in the meane while. The Æthiopian King had a Daughter called* Tharbis, *who at ſome aſſaults giuen, beheld the perſon of* Moſes, *and withall admired his valour. And knowing that* Moſes *had not onely vp-held and reſtored the falling eſtate of the Egyptians, but had alſo brought the conquering Æthiopians to the very brinke of ſubuerſion: theſe things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daily increaſed, ſhee made meanes to ſend vnto him by one of her truſtieſt ſeruants to offer her ſelfe vnto him, and become his wife; which* Moſes *on this condition entertained, that ſhe ſhould firſt deliuer the Citie into his poſſeſſion; whereunto ſhe condeſcending, and* Moſes *hauing taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were inſtantly performed.*

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†. II.

A diſpute againſt the Tale of Ioſephus.

THis Tale (whereof *Moſes* hath not a word) hath *Ioſephus* faſhioned, and therein alſo vtterly miſtaken himſelfe, in naming a Citie of *Arabia* for a Citie of *Æthiopia*: as he names *Æthiopia* it ſelfe to haue beene the Countrie of *Moſes* his Wife, when (indeede) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Æthiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne teach vs, ſaying that the *Sabæans* are *Arabians* and not *Æthiopians*; except *Ioſephus* can perſwade vs, that the Queene of *Saba* which came from the South to heare the wiſedome of *Salomon*, were a *Negro*, or *Blacke-Moore*. And though *Damianus à Goes* ſpeake of certaine Letters to the King of *Portugall* from *Preſter Iohn*, of the *Abiſſines*: wherein that *Æthiopian* King would perſwade the *Portugals* that he was deſcended of the Queene of *Saba*, and of *Salomon*; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that *Salomon* had any Sonne by that great Princeſſe: which had it been true, it is likely that when *Siſhac* King of *Egypt* inuaded *Roboam*, and ſackt *Hieruſalem*, his Brother (the Sonne of *Saba* and *Salomon*) who ioyned vpon *Egypt*, would both haue impeached that enterprize, as alſo giuen aide and ſuccour to *Roboam* againſt *Ieroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it any thing againſt our opinion of *Moſes* his Wife, to haue beene an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach

vs;

V.15.

Exod.2.

vs, that *Moſes* married the daughter of *Iethro* Prieſt of *Midian* or *Madian*: which ſtanding on the North Coaſt of the Red Sea, ouer againſt the body of *Egypt*, and neere *Eſion Gaber*, where *Salomon* prouided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumæa* ioyneth to the Tribe of *Iuda* by the North, to *Arabia Petræa* by the Eaſt, to the *Mediterran* by the Weſt, and to the Red Sea by the South-eaſt. And if wee marke the way which *Moſes* tooke when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Iſrael* thence, it will appeare that he was no ſtranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it ſelfe, he had formerly liued fortie yeeres; where it ſeemeth, that beſides his carefull bringing vp in *Egypt*, he was inſtructed by *Iethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Ioſephus* confeſſeth, and Saint *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wiſedome of the *Egyptians*. But on the other ſide this Text makes much againſt *Ioſephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the ſecond, *Therefore* Moſes *fled from* Pharao, *and dwelt in the Land of Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Æthiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as words can expreſſe, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, *when* Moſes *kept the ſheepe of* Iethro *his Father in Law, Prieſt of Madian, and draue the Flocke to the Deſart, and came to the Mountaine of* God *in Horeb*. Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Æthiopia*, euery Infant knoweth. And if we may beleeue *Moſes* himſelfe, then was not the Wife of *Moſes* purchaſed in that manner which *Ioſephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and Friends) neither had ſhee the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was ſhee a *Negro*, but a *Madianitiſh*. And as God worketh the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt meanes: ſo it pleaſed him from a Shepheard to call *Moſes*, and after him *Dauid*, and by them to deliuer his people firſt and laſt. For *Moſes* ſitting by a Well (as diſconſolate and a ſtranger) defended the daughters of *Reguel* from the other ſhepheards, and drew them Water to water their ſheepe: vpon which occaſion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Iethro*, whoſe Daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries.

From hence alſo came *Iethro* to *Moſes* at *Rephidim*, not farre from *Idumæa*, and finding the inſupportable gouernement of ſuch a multitude, he aduiſed him to diſtribute this weightie charge, and to make Gouernours and Iudges of euery Tribe and Familie. And if *Iethro* had beene an *Æthiopian*, it had beene a farre progreſſe for him to haue paſſed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moſes*, and to haue found *Moſes* in the border of *Idumæa*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moſes* and all that fauoured him. But the paſſing of *Moſes* through *Arabia Petræa* (which ioyneth to *Madian*) proueth that *Moſes* was well acquainted in thoſe parts, in which the ſecond time he wandred fortie yeeres, and did by theſe late trauailes of his, ſeeke to inſtruct the children of *Iſrael* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plentie and reſt. For he found them nouriſhed vp with the milke of Idolatry, and obſtinate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, and finding that thoſe ſtiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perſwaſion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deſarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from thoſe hee might receiue fruit, agreeable to his owne deſire, and Gods Commandements.

Sixt.Senenſ. Bibl.

Laſtly, this opinion of *Ioſephus* is condemned by *Auguſtinus Chriſamenſis*, where alſo he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who auowed that *Moſes* had marryed both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His owne words haue this beginning: *Mentitur etiam* Apollinaris *duas vxores habuiſſe* Moſes, *&c.* Apollinaris *alſo lyeth, in affirming that* Moſes *had two wiues: and who doth not perceiue theſe things fained by them? for it is manifeſt that the wife of* Moſes *was* Zephora, *Daughter to the Prieſt or Preſident of Madian: and that Madian cannot be taken for Æthiopia beyond Egypt; being the ſame that ioyneth to Arabia*: ſo farre *Chriſamenſis*.

†. III.

Chuſh ill expounded for Æthiopia. Ezech.29.10.

Ezech.29.10.

NOw as *Chuſh* is by the *Septuagint* conuerted *Æthiopia*, and the wife of *Moſes* therefore called *Æthiopiſſa*: ſo in the conqueſt of *Nabuchodonoſor* is *Æthiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifeſt that *Nabuchodonoſor* was neuer in *Æthiopia*. *Behold* (ſaith *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the perſon of this great *Aſſyrian*) *I come* *vpon thee and vpon thy Riuers, and I will make the Land of Egypt vtterly waſte and deſolate; from the Towre of Seueneh, euen to the borders of the blacke-Moores:* which laſt words ſhould haue beene thus conuerted: *From the Towre of Seueneh to the borders of the Chuſites* or *Arabians:* betweene which two is ſituated all *Egypt*. For to ſay, from the borders of *Seueneh* to the *Æthiopians*, hath no ſenſe at all. *Seueneh* it ſelfe being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and ioyning to *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the black-Moores. So as if *Nabuchodonoſors* conqueſt had beene but betweene *Seueneh* and the border of *Æthiopia*, it were as much to ſay, and did expreſſe no other victory then the conqueſt of all that Land and Countrie, lying betweene *Middleſex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries ioyne together; or all the North parts of *England*, betweene *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the ſame ſenſe with the former, if any man ſought to expreſſe by theſe two bounds, the Conqueſt of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seueneh* or *Syene* is the South bound of *Ægypt*, ſeated in *Thebaida* which toucheth *Æthiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonoſor* neuer entred into any part of *Æthiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneua*, and all other (in effect) haue written *Æthiopia* for *Chuſh*.

†. IIII.

Another place of Ezechiel, *cap. 30. verſ. 9. in the like manner miſtaken.*

AND as the former, ſo is this place of *Ezechiel* miſtaken, by being in this ſort conuerted: *In die illa egredientur nuncij à facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Æthiopiæ confidentiam:* Which place is thus turned in *Engliſh* by the *Geneuians*: *In that day ſhall there Meſſengers goe forth from me in ſhips to make the careleſſe Moores afraid.* Now the *Latine* for (ſhips) hath the *Greeke* word *Trieres* for *Triremes* which are Gallyes of three bankes, and not ſhips. But that in this place the Tranſlation ſhould haue beene (as in the former) amended by vſing the word *Chuſh* or *Arabia* for *Æthiopia* or the blacke *Moores*, euery man may ſee which meanely vnderſtandeth the *Geographie* of the World, knowing, that to paſſe out of *Egypt* into *Æthiopia* there neede no Gallies nor ſhips, no more then to paſſe out of *Northampton* into *Leiceſterſhire*: *Æthiopia* being the conterminate Region with *Egypt*, and not diuided ſo much as by a Riuer. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt*, *Nabuchodonoſor* ſhould ſend Gallies alongſt the coaſt of the Red Sea, by which an Armie might be tranſported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stonie* (ſparing the long weariſome march ouer all *Egypt*, and the Deſart of *Pharan*) which Armie might thereby ſurpriſe them vnawares in their ſecuritie and confidence. For when *Nabuchodonoſor* was at *Seueneh* within a mile of *Æthiopia*, he needed neither Galley nor Ship to paſſe into it: being all one large and firme Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwiſe parted from it, then one In-land ſhire is parted from another; and if hee had a fancie to haue rowed vp the Riuer but for pleaſure, he could not haue done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling ouer high and ſteepie Mountaines) called *Catadupa Nili*, were at hand.

Laſtly, as I haue already obſerued, the ſonnes of euery father ſeated themſelues as neere together as poſſibly they could, *Gomer* and his ſonnes in *Aſia* the leſſe; *Iauan* and his ſons in *Greece*, and the Ilands adioyning; *Shem* in *Perſia* and Eaſtward. So the Sons and Grandchildren of *Chuſh* from the Riuer of *Gehon* (their Fathers firſt ſeat) inhabited vpon the ſame, or vpon ſome other contiguat vnto it, as *Nimrod* and *Hauilah* on the one ſide, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the reſt) did on the other ſide. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrews* had neuer any acquaintance or fellowſhip, any war, treatie of peace, or other intelligence with the *Æthiopian* blacke *Moores*, as is already remembred in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*.

†. V.

A place, Eſay 18. v. 1. *in like manner corrupted, by taking Chuſh for Æthiopia.*

AND as in theſe places before remembred, ſo in diuers other is the word *Æthiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chuſh*, which puts the ſtorie (where it is ſo vnderſtood) quite out of ſquare; one Kingdome thereby being taken for another. For what ſenſe hath this part of Scripture, *Eſay* 18. *Væ terræ Cymbalorum alarum quæ eſt trans flumina Æthiopiæ*, or according to the *Septuagint* in theſe words: *Væ terræ nauium alarum quæ eſt trans fluuios Æthiopiæ? Woe to the land ſhaddowing with wings, which is beyond the Riuers of Æthiopia, ſending Embaſſadors by ſea, euen the veſſels of reeds vpon the waters. Væ terræ vmbroſæ oræ; woe to the Land of the ſhadie coaſt*, ſaith *Iunius*. The former Tranſlators vnderſtand it in this ſenſe; That the waters are ſhaddowed with the ſailes, which are ſignificatiuely called the wings of the ſhips, the other, that the Coaſt of the Sea was ſhaddowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpoſe: That this Land here ſpoken of by the Prophet *Eſay*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that ſent this meſſage to the *Iſraelites* which *Eſay* repeateth, and by the former tranſlation euery man may ſee the tranſpoſition of Kingdomes: for hereby *Egypt* is tranſported vnto the other ſide of *Æthiopia*, and *Æthiopia* ſet next vnto *Iudæa*, when it is the Land of *Chuſh* and *Arabia* indeede that lyeth betweene *Iudæa* and *Egypt*, and not *Æthiopia*, which is ſeated vnder the *Equinoctiall* line. And of this *Beroaldus* asketh a materiall queſtion, (to wit) what Region that ſhould be, of which the Prophet ſpeaketh, and placeth it beyond the Riuers of *Æthiopia*: *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit; For it cannot be ſaid that he treateth of an vnknowne Region.* Now if *Æthiopia* it ſelfe be vnder the *Equinoctiall* line, with whom the *Iewes* had neuer any acquaintance, why ſhould any man dreame that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it againe, and beyond the Riuers of *Æthiopia?* except we ſhall impiouſly thinke that the Prophet ſpake he knew not what, or vſed an impertinent diſcourſe of thoſe nations, which were not diſcouered in 2000. yeeres after, inhabiting as farre South as the *Cape of good Hope*, commonly knowne by the name of *Bona eſperanza*.

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†. VI.

That vpon the like miſtaking, both Terrhaca *in the ſtorie of* Senacherib, *and* Zera *in the ſtorie* Aſa *are vnaduiſedly made Æthiopians.*

AND by this tranſlation is the ſtorie of *Senacherib* vtterly miſtaken in the cauſe of his retrait. For *Senacherib* was firſt repulſed at *Peluſium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Iudæa*: when hauing certaine knowledge that *Thirrhaca*, (which all the Interpreters call King of *Æthiopia*) was on the way to ſet on him, he began to with-draw himſelfe: and fearing to leaue his Armie in two parts, hee ſent threatning Meſſengers to *Ezechia* King of *Iuda*, perſwading him to ſubmit himſelfe: the Tenor whereof is ſet downe in the ſecond of *Kings* in theſe words: *Haue any of the gods of the Nations deliuered his Land out of the hands of the King of Aſhur? where is the god of Hamah?* &c. By which proud Embaſſage, if he had obtained entrance into *Hieruſalem*, he then meant to haue vnited that great Armie before *Hieruſalem*, commanded by *Rabſekeh*, with the other which lay before *Peluſium*, a great Citie vpon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already maſtered the moſt part of all thoſe Cities in *Iudæa* and *Beniamin* with a third Armie, (which himſelfe commanded) being then at the ſiege of *Lebna*. But vpon the rumor of that *Arabian* Armie led by their King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Ioſephus* cals *Tharſices*) *Rabſakeh* haſted from the ſiege of *Hieruſalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis* and ſet downe before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthoropolis*, as ſome haue ſuppoſed. But while he had ill ſucceſſe at *Peluſium* and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himſelfe whom hee leaſt feared, ſtrook his Army before *Hieruſalem* by the Angel of his power, ſo as 158000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Armie of *Tirrakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Ioſephus* himſelfe makes it plaine, For he confeſſeth in the tenth Booke the firſt Chapter of the *Iewes* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacheribs* knowledge, that the Armie which was a foot (both to releeue the *Ægyptians* and the *Iewes*) marched towards him by the way of the *Deſart*: Now the *Deſart* which lay indifferent betweene *Hieruſalem* and *Peluſium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which alſo toucheth on the three *Arabiaes*, to wit, the *Stonie*, of which it is a part, the *Deſart*, and the *Happy*; and by no other way indeede could the *Arabians* come on to ſuccour either *Peluſium* or *Hieruſalem*. But that there is any Deſart betweene *Peluſium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath neuer yet beene heard of, or deſcribed by any *Coſmographer* or *Hiſtorian*. So then this Scripture of the ſecond of Kings, Verſe the ninth, hath the ſame miſtaking as the reſt. For here the word (*Chuſh*) is alſo tranſlated *Æthiopia*; and in this ſenſe haue all the Interpreters, (but *Iunius*) expreſſed the beginning of the ninth Verſe:

Ioſ.p.l.10.c.1.

Kings 2.19.

Antiq.l.10.
Kings 2.19.

Lib.10.cap.1.

He heard alſo men ſay of Thirrhakeh *King of Æthiopia &c.* whereas it ſhould haue beene thus conuerted with *Iunius: Audiens autem de* Thirrhakeh *Rege Chuſhi*; *Hee heard alſo of* Thirrhakeh *King of the Chuſhites.* For they were the *Chuſites* and *Arabians*, whoſe Houſes and Cities were next the fire, and vpon whom the very ſmoake of *Iuda* flaming was blowne, being their neereſt Neighbours: and ſo were not the *Æthiopian* black-Moores vnder the *Equinoctiall*, whom neither war nor peace (which diſcouereth all Regions) euer found out, ſaith *Plinie*. For this King was no more King of *Æthiopia* then *Zerah* was, who inuaded *Aſia* King of *Iuda*, with an Armie of a Million, and three thouſand Charriots. Indeed, how ſuch an Armie & thoſe Charriots ſhould paſſe through all *Egypt*, (the Kings of *Egypt* being mightie Kings) let all men that know how theſe Regions are ſeated, and how farre diſtant, iudge. For Princes doe not eaſily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there euer ſuch ſtrength of Black-Moores heard of in that part of the World, or elſewhere. Neither are theſe *Æthiopians* ſuch trauailers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* alſo called King of *Æthiopia.* But the word *Chuſh* being firſt ſo conuerted for *Æthiopia*, the reſt of the Interpreters (not looking into the ſeates of Kingdomes, or the poſſibilities of attempts, or inuaſions) followed one another in the former miſtakings.

Plin.l.5.c.9.

2.Chron.c.14.

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†. VII.

A farther expoſition of the place, Eſay 18.1.

COncerning theſe words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay*, *Nauium alarum*; *Winged ſhips*, (ſo the *Septuagint* turne it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*) *ſayles whiſtling in the windes*, or *terræ vmbroſæ oræ* (after *Iunius*) *the Land of a ſhaddowed coaſt*, or *the Land ſhaddowing with wings*, as our *Engliſh Geneua* hath it. The two firſt interpretations of the *Septuagint* and S.*Hierome* haue one ſenſe in effect. For the ſailes are commonly called the wings of a ſhip; and we vſe to ſay ordinarily when our ſhips ſaile ſlowly, that ſhe wanteth wings: (that is) when her ſailes are either worne or too narrow; and we alſo vſe the ſame phraſe of the winde whiſtling in the ſailes. And it may be that the *Egyptians* employed ſo many of thoſe ſmall ſhips, as their ſails were ſaid to giue a ſhaddow ouer the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (vpon *Eſay*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth ſignifie both to ſhaddow and to gingle (which is) to make a kinde of *Cymbaline* ſound: ſo as the meaning of this place (ſaith *Pintus*) is this: *Woe to thee, O Egypt, which doeſt promiſe to others ſafeguard, vnder the ſhaddow of thy wings*, which (indeede) ſeemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay*: and this phraſe is often elſewhere vſed, as in the ſixteenth Pſalme: *Sub vmbra alarum tuarum protege me*; *Defend me vnder the ſhaddow of thy wings.* The Boates of reede ſpoken of are of two kindes; either of basket-willow couered with hides (as anciently in *Brittaine*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built vpon both ſides with Canes. Of the one ſort I haue ſeene in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

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§. XI.

Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.

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†. I.

That Mizraim *the chiefe planter of Egypt, and the reſt of the ſonnes of* Ham, *were ſeated in order, one by another.*

THe ſecond ſonne of *Ham* was *Mizraim*, (who according to the place of a ſecond brother) was ſent ſomewhat farther off to inhabite. For *Chuſh* firſt poſſeſt *Chaldæa* on the Weſt ſide of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increaſed in people, ſo he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the South-eaſt-ſide of *Iudæa*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) paſt ouer into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thruſt farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* tooke the Sea-coaſt, and held the ſide of *Paleſtina*: and theſe foure brothers poſſeſt all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldæa*, as farre to the Weſt as the *Mediterrane* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deſerta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Iudæa*; with the two *Egypts*, whereof the nether is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterrane* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the vpper *Egypt*) ſtretcheth it ſelfe toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Æthiopians* or black-*Moors*. All the reſt of the coaſt of *Africa* Weſtward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt betweene them. And in the ſame manner did all their ſons againe, and all the ſons of the reſt of *Noahs* children, ſort themſelues.

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†. II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt *began to be knowne: and of the* Egyptians *Lunarie yeeres, which made their antiquities ſeeme more fabulous.*

THis flouriſhing Kingdome poſſeſt by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Egypt*, at ſuch time as *Ægyptus* (otherwiſe *Rameſſes*, as ſome thinke) the ſonne of *Belus*, chaſed thence his elder brother *Danaus*, ſhifting him into that part of *Greece* now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argiues* were made *Danai*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. yeeres after the floud, in the time of *Ioſua*, as S. *Auguſtine* coniectureth out of *Euſebius*. But in *Homers Odyſſes* it appeareth that the *Ægyptians* were ſo called at the time of the *Troian* Warre. And before this, *Egypt* was knowne by diuers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Oſiriana*, *&c.* And *Manethon* (whom *Ioſephus* citeth in his firſt booke againſt *Appion*) numbreth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moſes* departure, who conſumed 393. yeeres. By which other men coniecture, that the *Ægyptians* tooke on them that name 330. yeeres after *Ioſua*, and about 1000. yeeres after the floud. But where *Ioſephus* in the ſame booke taketh *Iſrael* to be thoſe *Hycſos*, which he alſo calleth *Paſtores* or Shepherds, which are ſaid to haue reigned in *Egypt* 511. yeeres: whom alſo he calleth his Anceſtors, (meaning the Anceſtors of the *Iewes*) in this I am ſure he was groſly deceiued, or that he vainly boaſted: for the *Iſraelites* had no ſuch Dominion as *Manethon* fayneth: nor abode in *Egypt* ſo long a time by many yeeres.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirme (ſaith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amaſis*, who was contemporarie with *Cyrus*; and that they had memory and ſtory of 13000. yeeres; and that the Stars had foure times changed their courſe, and the Sunne twice ſet in the Eaſt. Theſe Riddles are alſo rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirme, that they are more ancient then *Iupiter* and the *Moone*, whereof *Ouid*:

Ante Iouem *genitum terras habuiſſe feruntur*
Arcades: *&* Luna *gens prior illa fuit.*

The Arcadians the earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moone* did ſhine, or *Ioue* was bred.

But for thoſe 13000. yeeres it may well be true: ſeeing it is certaine that the *Ægyptians* reckon their yeeres by Moneths, which makes after that account not aboue 1000. or 1100. yeers, whether we take their Moneths or Lunarie yeeres to haue beene of the firſt kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres; or otherwiſe 29. dayes and twelue houres; or after any other of thoſe fiue diuerſities of their Lunarie yeeres.

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†. III.

Of certaine vaine aſſertions of the Antiquitie of the Ægyptians.

G*Erardus Mercator* in his *Chronologie*, reaſoneth for the *Ægyptians* Antiquitie in this manner: That the ſixteenth *Dynaſtie* (where *Euſebius* begins to reckon the *Ægyptians* times) had beginning with the generall floud: and that therefore the firſt of the other fifteene reached the Creation, or ſoone after it. To which coniecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this anſwere. That therein *Mercator* was firſt deceiued, becauſe he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the ſixteenth *Dynaſtie* was at once with the generall floud: which *Euſebius* maketh 292. yeeres after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the ſhepherds *Dynaſtia* (being in number 17.) in the time of their firſt King, *Saltis*, to haue beene in the yeere of the World 1846. which

Euſebius findeth in the Worlds age 2140. For the 16. *Dynaſtia* was begun but in the 292. yeeres after the floud, as they account, and continued 190. yeeres. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh euery *Dynaſtia* to endure 115. yeres, *Euſebius* reckoneth many of them at leſſe then 100. yeeres: for the 28. had but ſixe yeeres; the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. yeeres.

Now *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all theſe 15. *Dynaſties* laſted but 162. yeeres: and that the firſt of the 15. began but in the 131. yeere after the floud: ſo as where *Mercator* makes all the 15. to precede the floud, and the 16. to haue beene then in being at the time of the floud, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrarietie of falſhood cannot be hidden, though diſguiſed. For **Annius** had forgotten his former Opinion and Aſſertion, that it was in the 131. yeere that *Nimrod* with the ſonnes of *Noah* came into the Valley of *Shinaar*: ſo he forgets the time which was conſumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confuſion of Speech there was no diſperſion, nor farre-off plantation at all. And though he haſtily conueyed *Gomer* into *Italy*, and *Tubal* into *Spaine*, in the tenth yeere of *Nimrods* reigne: (which was ten yeeres after his arriual into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more vnaduiſed. For he makes *Ægypt* poſſeſt, and a gouernment eſtabliſhed in the very firſt yeere of the arriuall of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition farre off or neere in queſtion: for *from thence* (that is, *from Babel*) *did the Lord ſcatter them vpon all the earth.*

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†. IIII.

Againſt Pererius: *that it is not vnlikely, but that Ægypt was peopled within* 200. *yeeres after the Creation; at leaſt, that both it, and the moſt parts of the World were peopled before the Floud.*

BVt whereas *Pererius* ſeeketh to ouerthrow this Antiquitie of the *Ægyptians* touching their *Dynaſties*, (which *Euſebius* doth not altogether deſtroy, but leſſen) I doe not find any great ſtrength in this opinion of *Pererius*; (to wit) that it was either vnlikely or impoſſible that *Ægypt* ſhould be peopled within 100. or 200. yeeres after *Adam*, in the firſt Age. And whereas he ſuppoſeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall Floud, I doe verily beleeue the contrary: and that not onely of *Ægypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are theſe: *Quomodò enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos* Adami *proles adeò multiplicari potuit, vt ad Ægyptum vſq; habitandum & complendum propagata ſit, &c. For how could the children of* Adam *be ſo multiplied in the firſt two hundred, or in the firſt hundred yeeres of the World, and ſo propagated as to inhabite and fill Ægypt?* for allowing this (ſaith *Pererius*) we muſt alſo confeſſe, that there were then both the *Aſſyrians*, and other Nations.

Now ſeeing that the Scriptures are ſilent herein, and that it is no point of our ſauing beleefe, it is lawfull for euery man to be guided in this and the like queſtions by the beſt reaſon, circumſtance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the reſt, I proteſt that I doe not gainſay any mans opinion out of any croſſing or cauilling humour: for I thinke it the part of euery Chriſtian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is poſſibilitie of vnion, then out of froward ſubtletie, and preiudicate reſoluedneſſe, to maintaine factions needeleſſe, and dangerous contentions.

Firſt therefore, to this opinion, that *Ægypt* was not planted ſo ſoone after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Floud, I ſay that there is no reaſon why wee ſhould giue a leſſe increaſe to the ſonnes of *Adam*, then to the ſonnes of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded thoſe which came after the Floud double; & (after a few yeeres) treble, is an infallible proofe of their ſtrength and abilitie, to beget many Children: and at that time they obſerued no degrees of kindred, nor conſanguinitie. And that there was a ſpeedie increaſe of people, and in great numbers, it may in ſome ſort appeare by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearefull that the death of *Abel* would haue beene reuenged on him) withdrew himſelfe from the reſt, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the helpe of his owne iſſues built a Citie, (called **Enoch**) after the name of his firſt borne. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinaar* with ſo many multitudes, as ſufficed to build the Citie and Towre of *Babel*: and that to this increaſe there was giuen but 130. yeeres by *Beroſus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly vnderſtood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah, Heber*, and *Phalegh*) but one hundred and one yeere: I ſee no cauſe to doubt, but that in the infancie of the firſt age, when the bodies of men were moſt perfect, euen within 130. yeeres, the ſame (if not a greater) number might be increaſed; and ſo within 70. yeeres after (that is, by ſuch time as the World had ſtood 200. yeeres) aſwell *Aſſyria, Syria*, and *Ægypt* might be poſſeſt before the Floud, as they were within the ſame or leſſe time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumſtance or true Storie of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian Empire*, that all thoſe people, which were increaſed in the firſt hundred or 130. yeeres after the Floud, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For that euer *Noah* himſelfe came out of the Eaſt, as there is no Scripture or Authoritie to proue it, ſo all probable coniecture and reaſon it ſelfe denies it. Againe, thoſe multitudes and powerfull numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, conſidered with her owne Armie of three Millions, (and ſhe left not all her Kingdomes emptie) doe well proue, that if the World had ſuch plentie of people in ſo few yeeres after the Floud, it might alſo be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account *Ninus* gouerned *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* but 292. yeeres after the Floud of *Noah*. And theſe Troupes of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all thoſe Eaſterne Kingdomes, from *Media* to the *Mediterran* Sea; when there had now paſt from the Floud to the time of this her inuaſion, ſomewhat leſſe or more then 360. yeeres: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confeſſe, that in reſpect of the ſtrange greatneſſe of *Semiramis* Armie, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as ſhort a time as can well be giuen. And if but one halfe be true of that which is ſaid, That her Armie conſiſted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000. Horſemen, it muſt needes be, that long before *Semiramis* Reigne, the greateſt part of *Aſia* (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it ſelfe (much part whereof is barren) muſt long before this time of *Semiramis* haue beene plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* hauing a determination to make himſelfe Maſter of all Nations, entred (notwithſtanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or ſought his aſſiſtance. And if *Arabia* were then ſo well repleniſhed, I ſee no cauſe but *Ægypt* might alſo be peopled. Now if we may beleeue *Trogus Pompeius* (*Epitomiz'd* by *Iuſtine*) *Ægypt* was a moſt flouriſhing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was borne. For theſe be his owne words, ſpeaking of *Ninus*. *Fuêre quidem temporibus antiquioribus* Vexoris *Rex Ægypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient* Vexoris *King of Ægypt, and* Tanais *King of the Scythians*: of which the one inuaded *Pontus*, the other *Ægypt*. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conqueſts of *Ninus* witneſſe, who ſubdued with no ſmall force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterwards the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole body of *Aſia* on this ſide *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Cteſias* numbreth the Armies wherewith *Ninus* inuaded *Zoroaſter*, at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horſemen: and the Stories generally ſhew, that though *Zoroaſtres* Armie was farre ſhort of this, yet it was greater then any that thoſe parts of the World euer ſince beheld. But to what end ſhould I ſeeke for forreigne authoritie? for no man doubteth but that *Ægypt* was poſſeſt by *Mizraim*, the ſonne of *Ham*; and that it was an eſtabliſhed Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell vs. And ſure to prepare and cultiue a deſolate and ouergrowne ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, cannot be eſteemed a labour of a few dayes: and therefore it muſt be inhabited in a leſſe time then 200. yeeres after the Floud; and in the ſame time (if not in a ſhorter) before the Floud. For if ſo many Millions of men were found within 300. yeeres after the generall Floud; ſo as not onely *Babylon*, and *Aſſyria, Bactria, Armenia, Media, Arabia, Ægypt, Palæſtina*, yea the farre-off *Lybia* on the one ſide, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what ſmall corners could then all thoſe Nations be compreſt, which *1656*. yeeres brought forth before the Floud? euen neceſſitie, which cannot be reſiſted, caſt the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne World; eſpecially, where Death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheld liuing Nations of his owne body.

†. V.

Of ſome other reaſons againſt the opinion of Pererius.

For what a ſtrange increaſe did the long liues of the firſt Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. yeeres? Surely, we haue reaſon to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather then that they were not ſpred ouer the World. For let vs now reckon the date of our liues in this Age of the World: wherein if one exceede 50. yeeres, ten for one are cut off in that paſſage, and yet we finde no want of people; nay, we know the multitude ſuch, as if by warres or peſtilence they were not ſometimes taken off by many thouſands, the earth with all the induſtry of man could not giue them food. What ſtrange heapes then of ſoules had the firſt Ages, who enioyed 800. or 900. yeeres, as aforeſaid? Theſe numbers, I ſay, cannot be counted nor conceiued. For it would come to the ſame reckoning in effect, as if all thoſe which haue beene borne in *Brittaine* ſince 3. or 4, hundred yeeres before the *Norman Conqueſt* (ſauing ſuch as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now aliue; and if to theſe there were added as many as by *Polygamie* might haue beene increaſed. For (to omit, that the Giants and mighty ones of the firſt Age obſerued no law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that thoſe Louers of the world and of pleaſure, when they knew the long and liberall time which Nature had giuen them, would not willingly or haſtily preſent themſelues to any danger which they could flye from or eſchew. For what humane argument hath better perſwaſion to make men careleſſe of life, and feareleſſe of death, then the little time which keepes them aſunder, and that ſhort time alſo accompanied with ſo many paines and diſeaſes, which this enuious old Age of the World mingleth together, and ſoweth with the ſeeds of Mankinde?

Now if that *Beroſus* or *Annius* may be alleadged for ſufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himſelfe in this queſtion citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Ioſephus* confirmed, that the Citie of *Enoch* was ſeated neere *Lybanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I ſee no cauſe why *Palæſtina* (which is alſo a Prouince of *Syria*) and *Ægypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left deſolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all thoſe times betweene his death and the Floud, which were by eſtimation 700. or 800. yeeres. And ſure though this Fragment of *Beroſus* with *Annius* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or loſt) yet all things in *Beroſus* are not to be reiected. Therefore Saint *Hierome* for ſuch Authours giues a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria*; *Let vs chooſe what is good in them, and reiect the reſt.* And certainely in the very beginning of the firſt Booke, *Beroſus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moſes*, touching the generall Floud: and in that firſt part *Beroſus* affirmeth, that thoſe mighty men and Gyants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded ouer all Nations, and ſubiected the vniuerſall World: and though that phraſe (*of all the World*) be often vſed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the ſecond of the *Acts*, *That there were dwelling at Hieruſalem Iewes: men that feared God of euery Nation vnder Heauen*: yet by words which follow in *Beroſus*, it is plaine that his words and ſenſe were the ſame: for he addeth from the Sunnes riſing to the Sunnes ſetting, which cannot be taken for any ſmall part thereof. Againe, we may ſafely coniecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his ſonnes at aduenture, or left them as Diſcouerers, but directed them to thoſe Regions which he formerly knew had beene inhabited. And it cannot be denyed that the earth was more paſſable and eaſie to trauaile ouer before the Floud, then after it. For *Pererius* himſelfe confeſſeth, that *Attica* (by reaſon of mud and ſlime which the water left vpon the Earth) was vninhabited 200. yeeres after *Ogyges* Floud; whereby we may gather that there was no great pleaſure in paſſing into farre Countries, after the generall Deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) incopſed for 100. or 130. yeeres together. And therefore was the face thereof in all coniecture more beautifull, and leſſe cumberſome to walke ouer, in the firſt Age, then after the generall ouerflowing.

†. VI.

Of the words of Moſes, Gen. 10. v. *vltimo, whereupon* Pererius *grounded his opinion.*

Laſtly, whereas *Pererius* drawes this Argument out of the laſt Verſe of the tenth of *Geneſis*, *And out of theſe were the Nations diuided after the floud: Quo ſignificatur talem diuiſionem non fuiſſe ante diluuium*, *By which it appeareth* (ſaith *Pererius*) *that there was no ſuch diuiſion before the Floud*; which he alſo ſeeketh to confirme out of the eleuenth of *Geneſis*, becauſe the diuiſion of tongues was cauſe of the diſperſion of the people. This conſequence, *quo ſignificatur, &c.* ſeemeth to me very weake: the Text it ſelfe rather teacheth the contrary: *for out of theſe* (ſaith Moſes) *were the Nations diuided in the earth after the Floud*; inferring, that before the Floud the Nations were diuided out of others, though after the Floud out of theſe onely. But whatſoeuer ſenſe may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the Floud, or to any Plantation or diuiſion in that Age: for if there were none elſe among whom the earth could be diuided after the Floud, but *Noahs* Sonnes, wherein doth that neceſſary diuiſion controule the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alleaged that the confuſion of ſpeech was the cauſe of this diſperſion; it is true, that it was ſo for that preſent; but if *Babel* had neuer beene built, nor any confuſion of Languages at all, yet increaſe of people and time would haue enforced a farther-off and generall Plantation: as *Beroſus* ſayes well, that when Mankinde were exceedingly multiplyed, *Ad comparandas nouas ſedes neceſſitas compellebat*, *They were driuen by neceſſitie to ſeeke new Habitations*. For we finde (as it is before ſaid) that within 300. yeeres after the Floud, there were gathered together into two Armies, ſuch multitudes as the Valley about *Babylon* could not haue ſuſtained thoſe numbers with their increaſe for any long time: all *Aſia* the greater and the leſſer; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palæſtina*, and *Ægypt*, with *Greece*, and the Iſlands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Lybia* being alſo at that time fully peopled. And if wee beleeue *Beroſus*, then not onely thoſe parts of the World, but (within 140. yeares after the Floud) *Spaine*, *Italie* and *France* were alſo planted: much more then may we thinke, that within 1656. yeeres before the Floud, in the time of the chiefe ſtrength of Mankind, they were repleniſhed with people. And certainly ſeeing all the World was ouerflowne, there were people in all the World which offended.

Lib. 3.

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†. VII.

A concluſion, reſoluing of that which is moſt likely, touching the Ægyptian Antiquities: with ſomewhat of Phut *(another Sonne of* Ham*) which peopled Lybia.*

Therefore, for the Antiquitie of the *Ægyptians*, as I doe not agree with *Mercator*, nor iudge with the *Vulgar*, which giue too much credit to the *Ægyptians* Antiquities: ſo I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities ſo fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceiue it. But I rather incline to this, That *Ægypt* being peopled before the Floud, and 200. or 300. yeeres, more or leſſe after *Adam*, there might remaine vnto the Sonnes of *Mizraim* ſome Monuments in Pillers or Altars (of ſtone or mettall) of their former Kings or Gouernours: which the *Ægyptians* hauing added to the liſt and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in ſucceeding time (out of the vanitie of glory or by ſome corruption in their Prieſts) ſomething beyond the truth might be inſerted. And that the memory of Antiquitie was in ſuch ſort preſerued, *Beroſus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldæans*, and ſo doth *Epigenes*. For they both write that the vſe of Letters and the Art of Aſtronomie was knowne to the *Babylonians* 3634. yeeres before *Alexanders* Conqueſt: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was borne 1034. yeeres before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds deſtruction, both by Water and Fire; as alſo of *Chriſt* his comming in iudgement, as Saint *Iude* hath witneſſed. But leauing theſe Antiquities to other mens iudgements, and euery man to his owne reaſon, I will conclude this Plantation of *Ægypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it tooke the name of *Ægypt* from *Ægyptus* the ſonne of *Belus*, as aforeſaid. Being diuided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterran* Sea, was called the inferiour *Ægypt*; ſurnamed alſo *Delta*: becauſe the ſeuerall branches of *Nilus* breaking aſunder from one body of the Riuer, gaue it the forme of the *Greeke* letter *Delta*, which is the forme of a *Triangle*. That branch, which ran toward the North-eaſt and imbraced the Sea, next vnto the Deſarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the Citie of *Peluſium*, where *Senacherib* was repulſed : The other branch, which yeelded it ſelfe to the Salt-water towards the North-eaſt, is beautified by that famous Citie of *Alexandria*: The vpper part of *Ægypt* is bounded betweene *Memphis* and *Syene* neere *Æthiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient Citie of *Thebes*, which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Ciuitas centum portarum*; and by the *Greeks Dioſpolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which ſignifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. *Ioſephus* cals *Ægypt Merſin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirmes that it had once the name of *Thebais*. *Ioſ.l.1.Ant.c.7 Hero.Euterpe.*

Phut the third ſonne of *Ham* tooke the next portion of Land to his brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whoſe people were anciently called *Phutei*, (ſaith *Ioſephus*) and *Plinie* mentioneth the Riuer *Fut* in *Mauritania*: which Riuer from the Mountain *Atlas* (known *L.5.c.1.* to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be diſtant the ſpace of two hundred miles. It alſo appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chuſh* and *Lud* were *contermini* and Aſſociates with the *Ægyptians*.

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§. XII.

Of the eleuen ſonnes of Canaan, *the fourth ſonne of* Ham.

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†. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: with the names of his eleuen ſonnes.

Canaan (the fourth ſonne of *Ham*) poſſeſt all that Region called by the *Romanes Palæſtina*; in the Scriptures *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Iudæa*; in the latter times known by the name of the Holy Land and *Iurie*: the limits whereof are preciſely ſet downe by *Moſes*, *Geneſis* the tenth *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goeſt to Gerar vntill Azzah, and as thou goeſt vnto Sodome and Gomorha, and Admah, and Zeboim, euen vnto Laſha.* Now howſoeuer theſe words of the *Hebrew* Text (*as thou goeſt*) be conuerted, *Moſes* meaning was that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan* and *Zidon* the North; *Sodome* and *Gomorha* the Eaſt, and the other Cities named ſtood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* ſtandeth in a right Line from *Gaza* in the way of *Ægypt*, the vttermoſt Territorie of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now the ſonnes of *Canaan* which poſſeſt this Countrie, and inhabited ſome part of the borders thereof, were in number eleuen:

1. *Zidon*.
2. *Heth* or *Chethus*.
3. *Iebuſi* or *Iebuſæus*.
4. *Emori* or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*.
5. *Girgeſhi* or *Girgeſeus*.
6. *Heui* or *Chiueus*.
7. *Arki* or *Harkeus*.
8. *Seni* or *Sinæus*.
9. *Araadi* or *Aruadæus*.
10. *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus*.
11. *Hamathi* or *Hamatheus*, or *Chamathæus*.

Of which the moſt renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergeſites*, *Amorites*, *Heuites*, *Iebuſites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were deſcended of *Zamari* or *Samareus*, or from ſome of his.

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†. II.

Of the portions of Zidon *and* Heth.

Zidon the firſt borne of *Canaan*, built the famous Citie of *Zidon* in *Phœnicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Aſſer*: for *Aſſer*, *Zabulon*, and *Nephtali* had a great part of the ancient *Phœnicia* diſtributed among them; but the *Aſſerites* could neuer obtaine *Zidon* it ſelfe.

The ſecond ſonne of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of thoſe ſeuen principall Nations (Commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergeſites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, and *Heuites*, and the *Iebuſites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Berſabe*, and towards *Hebron* neere the Torrent *Beſor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moſes* maketh the vttermoſt limit of *Canaan*, hauing the Deſart of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Berſabe* (otherwiſe *Puteus iuramenti*) foure miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his Poſterity, as far to the Northeaſt as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarahs* buriall. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her ſelfe to *Iſaac*, ſaying, *That ſhe was weary of her life for the Daughters of* Heth. The Giants *Anakim* were of theſe *Hittites*, a ſtrong and fierce Nation, whoſe entertainment by the Kings of *Iſrael* againſt them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the fourth of the Kings; *Iſrael hath hired againſt vs the Kings of the Hittites.*

Gen.10.v.19.
Gen.23.
Gen.27.v.46.
4 Kin.c.7.v.6

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†. III.

Of the Iebuſites and Amorites.

Iebuſæus, the third ſonne of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Iebuſites*, and whoſe principall ſeat was *Iebus*, (afterward *Hieruſalem*) were alſo a valiant and ſtubborne Nation, and held their Citie and the Countrie neere it, till ſuch time as *Dauid* by Gods aſſiſtance recouered both: yet were not the *Iebuſites* extinguiſhed, but were Tributaries to *Salomon.*

Amoreus was the fourth ſonne of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* tooke name, who inhabited that Land to the Eaſt of *Iordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, hauing *Arnon* and the Mountaines of *Galaad* on the Eaſt, and *Iordan* on the Weſt: of whom *Og* (King of *Baſan*) and *Sihon* (ouerthrowne by *Moſes*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had alſo many other habitations diſperſed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behinde *Libanus* in the edge of *Cœleſyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had alſo their being in the Mountaines of *Iuda*, and in *Idumæa* neere the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were ſometime called *Amorites*: as in *Geneſis* the fifteenth: *For the wickedneſſe of the Amorites is not yet full* And that this was alſo a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet *Amos*: *Yet deſtroyed I the Amorite before them, whoſe heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar, and he was ſtrong as the Oake.*

Deut.1.
Num.13.
Amos 2.

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†. IIII.

Of the Gergeſites, Heuites, and Harkites.

THe fift ſonne of *Canaan* was *Gergeſeus* or *Gergeſion*, (otherwiſe *Girgaſi*) who inhabited on the Eaſt ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolomie* ſets the Citie *Geraſa*, which *Ioſephus* cals *Geſera* in the Territorie of *Decapolis*. Here it was that *Chriſt* diſpoſſeſt the poſſeſſed with Diuels; and the *Gergeſites* deſired him to depart their Coaſts: becauſe their Swine filled with the euill ſpirits, drowned themſelues in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergeſeus* alſo built *Berytus* (ſometime *Geris*) afterward *Fœlix Iulia*, three miles from the Riuer *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garriſon: and to which *Auguſtus* gaue many large priuiledges.

Heueus the ſixth ſonne; and Father of the *Heuites*, inhabited vnder *Libanus* neere *Emath*. Theſe *Heuites*, howſoeuer the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomie* the ſecond is remembred) yet many of them remained all the warre of *Ioſua*, and afterward to the time of *Salomon*. For God was not pleaſed vtterly to roote out theſe Nations, but they were ſometimes made Tributaries to the *Iſraelites*, and at other times ſerued (in their falling away from the true worſhip of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Iudges* the third: *They remained to proue* Iſræl *by them, whether they would obey the Commandements of God.*

The ſeuenth ſonne was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who betweene the foote of *Libanus* and the *Mediterran* Sea, (ouer againſt *Tripolis*) built the Citie of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis.*

†. V.
Of Sini *and* Aruadi.

SIneus the eight ſon, *Hieroſolymitanus* ſets at *Caparorſa*, which *Ptolomie* findes in *Iudæa*, not farre from *Iebus*; to the South thereof, ſaith *Iunius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which S. *Hierome* calls *Sim*; *Ptolemie*, *Simyra*: *Mela* and *Plinie*, *Simyrus*: *Brochard*, *Sycon*, (called *Synochis*) neere *Arca*. *Pererius* thinkes that *Sineus* inhabited the Deſarts of *Sinai*, or thereabout; but heereof there is no other certaintie then the report of *Brochard*, who tooke view of all theſe places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is alſo another Nation of *Cini* (written with the letter *C*. otherwiſe *Kenei*) who deſcended of *Hobab* the ſon of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who aſſiſted the *Iſraelites* in their conduction through the Wildernes of *Pharan*. But theſe *Cinæi* were admitted among the *Iſraelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephtalims*, beſide their habitations with the *Amalekites*: againſt theſe *Cinæi*, *Balaam* prophecied, that they ſhould be deſtroyed by the *Aſſyrians*.

Iudg 4.
Ioſua 19.33.

The ninth ſonne was *Aradeus* or *Aruadeus*, who in the Ile of *Aradus* built the Citie *Arados*: oppoſite againſt which Iland on the Maine of *Phœnicia*, they founded another Citie of that name, which for oppoſition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this City came S. *Peter* (ſaith *Clement*) & in this Ile preached the Goſpell, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but wee finde no ſuch worke of his in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles. Both theſe two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his prophecies againſt the *Tyrians*: *The inhabitants of Zidon and Aruad were thy Mariners.*

Gul Tyr. Vitr.
Cap 27.v 8.

†. VI.
Of Zemari.

OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth ſonne, there are diuers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Cœleſyria* at *Edeſſa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Ioſua* is placed in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. There is alſo *Samaraijm* (of the ſame Orthographie) vpon the Mountains of *Ephraim* (ſaith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the ſecond of *Chronicles c.13.v.4.* which the *Latine* conuerteth amiſſe (ſaith he) by *Semeron*. The *Hieroſolymitan Paraphraſt* makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emiſſani*, which *Plinie* calls the *Hemiſſeni*, in *Cœleſyria*; and it may be that it was their firſt habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited thoſe other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the Hebrew Orthographie, and this place in the firſt of Kings (ſpeaking of *Omri*) diſproueth: *And he bought the Mountayne Samaria or Shemeron of one* Shemer, *for two talents of ſilver, and built in the Mountayne: and called the name of the Citie which hee built, after the name of* Shemer, *Lord of the Mountaine, Samaria.* But of all theſe places I ſhall ſpeake more at large in the conqueſt of the holy Land, by the children of *Iſrael*. Of whomſoeuer the *Samaritanes* were deſcended, ſure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and baſe: for as long as the ſtate of the *Iewes* ſtood vp, they alwaies called themſelues *Iewes*: when it ſuffered or ſanke, they then vtterly denied to be of that Nation or Familie; for at ſuch time as they were returned from their firſt captiuitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Aſſyrians*; and partly of the naturalls.

Beroal.in Chr. lib.4.
1 Kin.16.28.

†. VII.
Of Hamathi.

THe laſt of *Canaans* ſonnes was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*: (ſaith *Beroaldus*,) of which (the aſpiration taken away) the ſame is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was preſent. *Ioſephus* and Saint *Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*, not that *Antioch* with ſtandeth on the Riuer *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*: betweene the Mountayne *Caſius* and the Prouince of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which Saint *Peter* was Biſhop, and in which Saint *Luke* and *Ignatius* were borne: but *Antioch*, ſurnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* ſuppoſeth, which ſtandeth betweene

Apamea and *Emeſa* in *Caſſiotis*: Yet, indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* vpon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emeſa*, are farther off ſeated from *Canaan*, than euer any of thoſe Nations ſtraggled. And whereas S. *Hierome* ſetteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephtali*; it is manifeſt, that *Epiphania*, which ſtandeth to the North of *Emeſa*, hath all the Prouince of *Laodicea*, betweene it and any part of the Land diuided. And if *Libanon* it ſelfe were not ſhared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong vnto them: for both the Prouinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica*, are betweene *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land: and therefore *Emath* ſo taken could not be a part of *Nephtali*, as in the thirteenth of *Ioſua* is directlie proued. For *Ioſua* counting the lands that remained vnpoſſeſt, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sunne-riſing, from *Baalgad* vnder mount *Hermon*, vntill we come to *Hamath*. And this reaſon (among others) is vſed, that *Emath* was not in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Iſrael*: becauſe *Dauid* accepted the preſents of 2. Sam. 8. 9. *Tohu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which hee would not haue done, if that Territorie had euer belonged to the children of *Iſrael*, but would haue recouered it without compoſition, and by ſtrong hand, as he did the reſt. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great waight. For if the promiſe which God made, be conſidered as Cap. 11. v. 24. it is written in *Deuteronomie*, then might *Emath* bee comprehended, though ſeated altogether without the bounds of the Land promiſed, according to the deſcription of *Moſes* and *Ioſua*: for *Emath* is indeede ſituate on the other ſide of the Mountaine of *Hermon*, which ioyneth to *Libanus*: and is otherwiſe called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Ioſua* the 19. *v.* 35. and written in the *Latine* conuerſion *Emath*, therein (ſaith *Beroaldus*) was S. *Hierome* miſtaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that ouer the Mountaines, and the Citie in *Nephtalim* ſhould be written *Hamath*: and ſo the *Septuagint* (vnderſtanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the ſame which indeede belonged to the *Nephtalims*, ſeated on the South ſide of *Libanus*, to the Eaſt of *Aſſedim*: which Citie S. *Hierome* writes *Emath*; *Ioſephus*, *Hamath*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people Cap. 18. & 19. *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabſakeh* vanteth in the ſecond of *Kings*: *Where is the god of Hamath?*

§. XIII.

Of the ſonnes of Chuſh (*excepting* Nimrod) *of whom hereafter.*

The ſonnes of *Chuſh* were,
- *Seba,*
- *Hauila,*
- *Sabta,*
- *Raama,*
- *Sabteca,*
- *Nimrod.*

And the ſonnes of *Raama* were,
- *Sheba,*
- and
- *Dedan.*

†. I.

That moſt of the ſonnes of Chuſh *were ſeated in Arabia the Happy: and of the Sabæans that robbed* Iob: *and of the Queene that came to* Salomon.

SEba or *Saba* was the eldeſt ſonne of *Chuſh*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Ham*, to make a difference betweene Him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the ſon of his brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*:) his name is written with a ſingle (*S*) *Samech*, and *Sheba* the ſonne of *Regma* with an (*S*) aſperate, which is the *Hebrew Schin*. *Seba* the eldeſt ſonne of *Chuſh*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the ſonne of *Regma* poſſeſt both the ſhores of *Arabia Fœlix* *Saba* tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as neereſt his Father *Chuſh*, and the Land of the *Chuſites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the Eaſt coaſt of the ſame *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Perſia*; of which *Plinie*: *Sabæi Arabum populi propter thura clariſsimi ad vtraq; maria porrectis gentibus habitant*; *The Sabæans people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincenſe, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas*, (to witte) the *Perſian, and the Arabian*, or *Red Sea*. This Countrie was afterwards called *Arabia, à populi mixtione*, ſaith *Poſtellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolomie*, who ſetteth the Citie of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or *Red Sea*, and the City *Rhegama* towards the *Perſian*, with whom alſo we may leaue *Sabta*: for ſo much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolomie*, becauſe he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabæi*) neere the *Perſian* Sea; and *Maſſabathæ* which deſcended of them. But *Montanus* hath ſent *Regma*, or (as he calls him) *Rhama* into *Carmania*, for which I ſee no reaſon. *Ioſephus*, who onely attended his owne fancies, hath baniſhed *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Æthiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinkes it ſtrange, that the *Sabæi*, which ſtole away *Iobs* Cattle, ſhould runne through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petræa*, and finde out *Iob* in *Traconitis*, betweene *Palæſtina* and *Cœleſyria* 1200. miles off. Now, as this coniecture was more then ridiculous, ſo do I thinke, that neither the *Sabæi* on the Red Sea, nor thoſe toward the *Perſian* Sea, could by any meanes execute the ſtealth vpon *Iob*, which ſoeuer *Beroaldus* ſhall take for neereſt. But theſe were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia* the Deſart, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Citie *Saba* is ſeated: the ſame which *Ptolomie* calls *Saue*, now *Semiſcaſac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the Deſart, came thoſe *Magi* or *Wiſe men* which worſhipped *Chriſt*, ſaith *Melchior*, whoſe words are theſe: *The Magi came neither out of Meſopotamia* (as *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome*, and *Ambroſe* ſuppoſed) *nor out of Arabia the Happie, as many wiſe men doe beleeue, but out of Saba in Arabia the Deſart: which Citie when my ſelfe was there, was (as I iudged it) called Semiſcaſac* And to approue this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that theſe *Sabei* were neighbours to *Iob*, and lay fit to inuade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well thoſe on the *Perſian* Sea, as thoſe on the Red Sea) are ſo disioyned with large Deſarts, as there is no poſſibilitie for ſtrangers to paſſe them, eſpecially with any numbers of Cattell, both in reſpect of the Mountaines, of the ſands, and of the extreame want of water in thoſe parts: *Vbi nec homines, nec beſtiæ videntur, nec aues, imò nec arbores, nec germen aliquod, ſed non niſi montes ſaxoſi, altiſſimi, aſperrimi; Where there are found neither men, nor beaſts, no not ſo much as birds, or trees, nor any paſture or graſſe, but onely ſharpe, and high ſtonie, and craggie mountaines.* *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceiue, that the Queene of *Saba* which came to viſit *Salomon*, was of the *Sabæi* on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia Fœlix*; but the contrarie ſeemeth more probable, and that ſhe was Queene of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Salomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, twixt *Idumæa* and the Red Sea, as farre downe as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this Queene of *Saba* which inhabited the Weſt part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might without any farre trauaile enter his Territories, free from all danger of ſurpriſe by any other Prince or Nation.

But to auoid tediouſneſſe, it is manifeſt that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sonnes *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the poſſeſſors of *Arabia* the Happy, and the Deſart: onely *Hauilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the Eaſt ſide *Chuſh*, who held *Arabia Petræa* Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the Citie of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the ſame *Arabia*: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptolomie*; who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there were ſometimes found ſixtie Temples. *Ezekiel* ioyneth the Father and the Sonne together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants*. And that they were the Eaſterne *Arabians* their merchandiſe witneſſeth, formerlie repeated in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*. For *Ioſephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the parent of the *Æthiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Æthiopians Aſtabari*, they be not worthie any farther anſwere then hath already beene giuen: eſpecially ſeeing theſe Citties preſeruing the memorie of the names of *Saba*, and of *Sabta* in *Arabia* were yet remaining in *Ptolomies* time, though in ſome letters changed. As alſo in the coaſts adioyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of *Cuſh*, with little alterations are preſerued. In *Arabia* the Deſart is found the Citie *Sabæ* or *Saue*, (now *Semiſcaſac*) with the Cittie of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolomie* himſelfe called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the happie is found the Citie of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which alſo keepeth the ſound of *Rhegma*, the Cittie of *Saptha* or *Saptah*, not farre from the Eaſt-coaſt of *Arabia*: as alſo the *Metropolis* and chiefe Citie in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the Weſt of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea the great Citie of *Saba*; and the Nation adioyning, *Sabai*: and to the South thereof againe toward the ſtreight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Sabe*. To all theſe his Brothers and Nephewes which were ſeated on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia*, *Hauilah* by the paſſage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom hee might paſſe by Boate euen vnto *Rhegma* the Citie of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, ſet neere the Riuer of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Perſian* Sea, which ſtood in *Ptolomies* time.

Plin l.12.c 14.
Ptol. tab. 6. Aſiæ.
Ezech. 27.22.

†. II.

†. II.

Ioſephus *his opinion of* Dedan, *one of the iſſue of* Chuſh *to haue beene ſeated in the Weſt Æthiopia, diſproued out of* Ezech: *and* Hieremie.

And whereas *Ioſephus* (whom in this S. *Hierome* followeth, as not curious heerein) ſent *Dedan* the ſonne of *Raamah* into Weſt *Æthiopia*, it is ſtrange that *Ezechiel* ſhould couple *Sheba*, *Raamah* and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. Verſe, and *Sheba*, and *Raamah* in the 22. Verſes, to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in Weſt *Æthiopia*, which is diſtant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) aboue foure thouſand miles. Beſides which, the merchandiſe that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked Blacke-moores. For they of *Dedan* (ſaith *Ezekiel*) were thy Merchants in precious clothes for thy Charriots; and theſe Weſterne *Æthiopians* neuer ſaw cloth, till the *Portugalls* ſeeking thoſe Coaſts, traded with them: the merchandiſe of the Countrie being Hides, Elephants teeth, ſome Gold and Amber, Ciuet Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all theſe they exchanged for linnen, or yron chiefly.

But in thoſe dayes the Weſt part of *Africa* within the body of the land was knowne onely by imagination: and, being vnder the burnt *Zone*, was held vninhabitable. And therefore that the *Negros* of the Weſt *Æthiopia*, which inhabite about *Serra Liona*, or *Niger*, could either paſſe by Sea or Land to *Tyre*, in the bottome of the *Mediterran* Sea, were a ſtrange, or rather a fooliſh fancie. Now to put it out of diſpute that *Dedan* alſo dwelt by the reſt of the children of *Chuſh*, which ſeates they held by that name in the time of *Hieremie* the Prophet, let vs heare *Hieremie* his owne words: *Fly, yee Inhabitants of* Dedan, *for I haue brought the deſtruction of* Eſaw *vpon him.* Hereby it appeareth that *Dedan* was a Neighbour to the *Idumæans*: and *Idumæa* is a Prouince of *Arabia Petræa*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Fœlix*, ioyned in that part to *Petræa*, the ſeat of his Grand-father *Chuſh*; which neighbourhood and fellowſhip of *Dedan* and the *Idumæans*, is alſo confirmed by *Ezechiel*: *I will ſtretch out my hand vpon Edom, and deſtroy Man and Beaſt out of it, and I will make it deſolate from Teman: and they of* Dedan *ſhall fall by the ſword.*

Ezech.cap.15: verſ.15.

§. XIII.

Of the iſſue of Mizraim: *and of the place of* Hieremie, *Chap. 9. Verſ. 7.*

After *Chuſh* it followeth to ſpeake of *Mizraims* ſonnes, whoſe names (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) were plurall, to ſignifie the Nations, which came of them. *Ludim*, the elder ſonne of *Mizraim*, was the father of the *Lybians* in *Africa*: and the reſt of his brothers diſperſed themſelues into all the Regions adioyning. Among the ſons of *Shem* there is alſo *Lud*; but hee is differenced from *Lud* the ſonne of *Mizraim* by the ſingular number: the ſonne of *Shem* beeing written *Lud*, the ſonne of *Mizraim*, *Ludim*: and yet theſe Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithſtanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For that *Ludim* the ſonne of *Mizraim* was the parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that he was ſeated not farre from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremie*, who ioyneth them in this ſort together: *Come vp ye Horſes, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moores, and the Lybians which beare the ſhield*: for thoſe Nations aſſiſted the *Ægyptians* being of one parent deſcended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* & *Lud* are ioyned together. *Æthiopia* (or *Chuſh*) ſaith *Ezechiel*, *c.* 30. *v.* 3. *And Phut and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league ſhall fall with them by the ſword*: which is as much to ſay, as the ſons of *Chuſh*; (which were the *Chuſites*) the ſonnes of *Mizraim*, (which were the *Ægyptians*) and the *Lybians* (deſcended of his ſonne *Lud*) with other the inhabitants of *Ægypt* and *Africa* ſhall fall together. *Hieroſolymitanus* findes alſo in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lydians*. And I beleeue it: becauſe *Hieremie* ioyneth the *Lybians*, and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Lybia* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrewes* called *Ludim* (ſaith *Arias Montanus*) though 2. *Chron.* 12. 3. they ſeeme to bee called *Lubim* or *Lubai*, a name ſomewhat neerer the word *Lybies*, and by which it may ſeeme that the truer

The termination *im* in the *Hebrew*, is commonly a ſigne of the plurall number, as *aim* of the *dual*.

Cap.46.v.9.

writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it heere to be omitted, that *Pintus* (vpon the thirtieth of *Ezechiel*) vnderſtandeth that which is ſpoken in the third Verſe of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Lybians* at all: for he will haue this threatning to be meant againſt the people of *Lyda*, a Citie (ſaith he) between *Ægypt* and *Palæſtina*, which opinion I could not miſlike if the Citie of *Lyda* were ſo ſeated. But *Lyda* (which ſhould be written *Lydda* with a double *D*, and is the ſame Citie which was afterward *Doiſpolis*, in which S. *Peter* cured *Æneas* of the palſey) ſtandeth neere the Torrent *Gaas*, not farre from *Ioppe* the Port of *Hieruſalem*. Yet is it not impoſſible but that this Citie might haue *Lud* for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and farre aſunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, manie Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*, ſo of diuers others. S. *Hierome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the Father of *Libya*, who was the third ſonne of *Mizraim*: and ſo doth *Poſtellus*; and either opinion may be true.

The reſt of *Mizraims* ſonnes haue no proper Countries giuen them in the Scriptures, ſauing *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim*, of whom came the *Philiſtims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peleſet*.

Theſe *Caſluhim* inhabited *Caſiotis*, a Region lying in the entrance of *Ægypt* from *Palæſtina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountaine *Caſsius* are found: not farre from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphtorim ſeated neere *Caſluhim* in that Tract of *Ægypt* called *Sethrotis*, not farre from *Peluſium*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethrotis*; *Stephanus* and *Plinie*, *Sethroitis*, of the Citie *Sethron*: which *Ortelius* takes to be the ſame which *Ptolemie* calls *Hercules parua*. Of the *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim* came the *Philiſtims*, which are called by the *Septuagint Allophyli* (which is) *Alienigenæ*, Strangers, or of a ſtrange kindred. Theſe *Philiſtims* inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards *Ægypt*, of whom *Palæſtina* took name. For the *Hebrews* (ſaith *Iſidore*) doe not vſe the letter (*P*) but in ſtead of it *(ph.)* Their principall Cities were *Gaza*, *Aſcalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gaſæi*, *Aſcalonitæ*, *Azotij*, *Gethæi*, and *Accaronitæ*: *Iſidore* affirmes, that *Aſcalon* was firſt called *Philiſtim*: and of that Citie the Countrie adioyning. But where *Iſidore* had it, I know not.

The firſt knowne King of the *Philiſtims* was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abrahams* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a couenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written that hee was alſo King of the *Philiſtims*, in theſe words: *Wherefore Iſaac went to Abimelech King of the Philiſtims vnto Gerar*. Now in regard that this or ſome ancienter *Abimelech* gouerned the commonwealth greatly to his glorie, the reſt of his ſucceſſors called themſelues by the ſame name. The *Philiſtims* commanded that Tract of land vpon the *Mediterran* Sea to the Northward, from the Caſtle of *Pilgrims* (otherwiſe *Cæſarea Paleſtinæ*, or *Stratons* Towre) which was the South-border of *Phœnicia*, to *Gaſa*, or to the Riuer of *Ægypt*. The *Anakims* or ſtrong Gyants were of theſe *Philiſtims*: and *Goliah* was of *Geth* one of the fiue Cities aboue named. They had ſometimes fiue Kings, ſaith *Lyranus*. They maſtered the *Iſraelites* at ſeuerall times aboue 150. yeeres, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampſon* and *Samuel*, but in the end this yoke was taken off by *Dauid*, and laid on themſelues.

Baſil vpon the 33. Pſalme.
Hierome vpon the 29. *of Ezechiel.*

It is obiected, that becauſe theſe Cities and the Countries adioyning, were held by the ſonnes of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Iſraelites* diſpoſſeſſe the ſonnes of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing thoſe places.

To this ſaith *Pererius*, that although the *Palæſtines* or *Philiſtims* held it in the time of *Ioſua*, yet at the time of the promiſe it was poſſeſt by the *Canaanites*; as in the ſecond of *Deuteronomie*. The *Heuites* dwelt in the Villages vnto *Gaza*. And what maruaile, if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philiſtims* were of *Caphtor*, and ſo of *Mizraim* and not of *Canaan*, beſides *Moſes*, the Prophet *Hieremie* witneſſeth: *The Lord will deſtroy the Philiſtims: the remnant of the iſſue of Caphtor*: and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philiſtims* are ſaid to be the reliques of *Caphtorim*; *Haue not I brought vp* Iſrael *out of the land of Ægypt, and the Philiſtims from Caphtor, and* Aram *from Kir?* ſo I reade this place with diuers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, *& Palæſtinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene*, this conuerſion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphtor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a Citie directly Weſt from *Ægypt*, betweene *Ptolemais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*: but *Kir* in *Aſia* vnder the *Aſſyrians*: *Iunius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*: and ſo hath the *Geneua*.

Hierem. 47.4.
Amos c. 9. *v.* 7.

But *Pererius* calls *Caphtorim Cappadocia*, according to the Vulgar tranſlation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he meane *Cappadocia* in *Palæſtina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Aſia* the leſſe. For whether they inhabited *Sethreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palæſtina*, it is not certainly knowne. And ſure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the ſecond of *Kings*, that *Teglatphalaſſer* King of the *Aſſyrians* carried away the Inhabitants of *Damaſcus* into *Kir*: and ſo *Ioſephus* ſeemes to vnderſtand this *Kir*, for *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene*, *Media ſuperior*: for it was the manner and policie of the *Aſſyrians* to tranſplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Iſraelites*, and other Nations. And heereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media*: becauſe the *Syrians* by the *Aſſyrians* were therein captiued.

Of which ſee in the ſecond Book, Chap. 7 §. 3. †. 5.

Cap. 16. v. 9.

§. XV.
Of the iſſue of Sem.

†. I.
Of Elim, Aſſur, Arphaxad, *and* Lud.

It remaineth laſtly to ſpeake of the Sonnes of *Sem*, who are theſe:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Aſhur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THe poſteritie of *Sem*, *Moſes* recounteth after the reſt: becauſe from them hee proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Storie of the *Hebrewes*: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* deſcended.)

Of theſe fiue ſonnes the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him & *Aram*, the reſt are barely ſpoken of by rehearſall of their names, ſauing that it may be gathered, that *Aſſur* (who was ſuppoſed to found *Niniueh*) was alſo ſaid to be the Father of the *Aſſyrians*, whoſe iſſues, and the iſſues of *Cham*, inſtantly contended for the Empire of the Eaſt: which ſometimes the *Aſſyrians*, ſometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which alſo teacheth vs, that all the Eaſt parts of the World were peopled by *Aſſur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (ſauing *India*) which I beleeue *Noah* himſelfe firſt inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the ſonnes of *Ioctan* afterward repayred. *Hij filij* Sem *ab Euphrate fluuio partem Aſiæ vſq; ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*; *Theſe ſons of* Sem (ſaith S. Hierome) *held all thoſe Regions from Euphrates to the Indian Ocean.*

Ioſ. Ant. l. 1. c. 7

Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred *Acts* 2. *verſ.* 9. and the Princes of *Perſia*; which name then began to bee out of vſe and loſt, when the *Perſians* became Maſters of *Babylonia*: the Eaſt Monarchie being eſtabliſhed in them. Some prophane Writers diſtinguiſh *Elam* from *Perſia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Suſa* (which the Scriptures call *Suſan*) in *Elam* was the Kings ſeat of *Perſia* (witneſſe *Daniel*:) *And I ſaw* (ſaith he) *in a viſion, and when I ſaw it, I was in the Palace of Suſan, which is in the Prouince of Elam.* This Citie is embraced by the Riuer *Eulæus* (according to *Ptolomie*) in *Daniel*, *Vlai*: and ſeated in the border of *Suſiana*.

Cap. 8. verſ. 2.

Ptol. Aſia tab. 5. Dan. 8. 2.

Aſhur (as moſt Hiſtorians beleeue) the ſecond ſonne of *Sem*, was Father of the *Aſſyrians*, who diſdayning the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Niniueh*, of equall beautie and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we ſhall in due place diſproue that opinion. Euery mans hand hath beene in this Storie, and therefore I ſhall not need herein to ſpeake much: for the *Aſſyrians* ſo often inuaded and ſpoyled the *Iſraelites*, deſtroyed their Cities, and led them Captiues, as both in Diuine and Humane letters there is large and often mention of this Nation.

But howſoeuer *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honor this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the ſtate of the *Aſſyrians* of any ſuch power, after ſuch time as *Sardanapalus* loſt the Empire. For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfulleſt Princes among them, had yet the Mountaine *Taurus* for the vtmoſt of his Dominion toward the North-eaſt, and *Syria* bounded him toward the Weſt, notwithſtanding theſe vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Eſay* the 37. *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them* Verſ.11. *whom my Fathers haue deſtroyed? as* Gozan, *and* Haran, *and* Reſeph, *and the children of* Eden *which were at Telaſſar. Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and the King of the Citie Sepharuaim, Hena and Iuah?* All theſe were indeede but pettie Kings of Cities, and ſmall Countries, as *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*: *Reſeph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Ituræa*, vnder *Libanus*: the Ile of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this ſort. Yea, *Nabuchodonoſor*, who was moſt powerfull, before the conqueſt of *Ægypt* had but *Chaldæa*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palæſtina* and *Phœnicia* parts thereof. But in this queſtion of *Aſſur*, I will ſpeake my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whoſe plantation I haue omitted among the reſt of the *Chuſites*, becauſe he eſtabliſhed the firſt Empire: from whom the moſt memorable ſtorie of the World taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldæans*, ſaith Saint *Hierome*, and *Ioſephus*, but it muſt bee thoſe *Chaldæans* about *Vr*: for the ſonnes of *Cham* poſſeſt the reſt. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrewes*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*; and *Shela*, *Heber*; of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth Sonne of *Shem*, gaue name to the *Lydians* in *Aſia* the leſſe, is the common opinion, taken from *Ioſephus* and S. *Hierome*; but I ſee not by what reaſon he was moued to ſtraggle thither from his friends.

†. II.

Of Aram, *and his Sonnes.*

ARam the fift and laſt Sonne of *Shem* was the parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damaſcus* was head. Eſay 7. v.8. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Ioſephus*) Euſe. p.10.6. which *Syrus* liued before *Moſes* was borne; the ſame which others call the ſonne of *Apollo*. *Meſopotamia* alſo being but a *Prouince* of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Naharaijm*, which is as much to ſay, as *Syria duorum fluuiorum*, *Syria compaſſed with two Riuers*: (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the *Greekes Meſopotamia* ſimply.

Ariſe and get thee to Padan Aram (ſaith *Iſaac* to *Iacob*) *to the houſe of Bethuel thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wiſe.* Gen.28.2. ſee Gen.25.10. alſo Deut.23,4. Iudg. 3. Paral. 1.19. Pſal. 59. *Strabo* alſo remembreth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as theſe his owne words conuerted witneſſe: *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipſi Syri Aramenos & Arameos vocant*; *Thoſe which we call Syrians* (ſaith he) themſelues call *Aramenians* and *Arameans.* Strabo l. 1.

Againſt this opinion, that *Aram* the ſonne of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in generall; (and not onely of thoſe in *Syria Inter-amnis*, which is *Meſopotamia*) ſome reade, *Geneſ*.22.21. *Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where other out of the originall read *Kemuel*, the ſonne of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconuenience for vs to vnderſtand the word (*Aram*) heere, not for the Nation, but for the name of ſome one of note; the rather, becauſe in the Hiſtorie of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuels* Poſteritie could be famous) we finde *Meſopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: ſometimes with *Naharaijm*, and ſometimes of *Padan*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Aram*, which (as it ſeemes) then alſo was called *Aram*. For whereas *Iunius* thinkes in his note vpon *Gen*.25.20. that *Padan Aram* ought to be reſtrained to ſome part of *Meſopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolomie* calls *Ancobaritis* (ſo called from the *Riuer Chaboras*, which diuiding it runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiſcuous vſe of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharaijm* (which latter appellation queſtionleſſe comprehends the whole *Meſopotamia*) may ſeeme to refute this opinion: eſpecially ſeeing the ſignification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it ſignifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this Region: becauſe the two Riuers, (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appeare in the name of two Cities in *Ptolomie*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Iunius* hath well noted) the one vpon *Chaboras*, the other vpon *Euphrates*.

The Sonnes of *Aram* were,
- *Vz* or *Hus*,
- *Hul*,
- *Gether*, and
- *Meſch* or *Mes*.

Hieron.in trad. Hebraic.

Vz or *Hus* inhabited about *Damaſcus*, and built that Citie, ſaith *Ioſephus* and S. *Hierome*. But *Toſtatus* miſtaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who alſo followeth *Ioſephus*, affirmeth that *Abrahams* Steward *Eliezer* was the Founder therof; though it were likely that *Hus* the eldeſt ſonne of *Aram* dwelt neere vnto his father, who inhabited the bodie of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the ſame, adioyning to *Arabia* the Deſart, and to *Batanea* or *Traconitis*: whereof the Prophet *Hieremie*: *Reioyce and be glad O Daughter of Edom that dwelleſt in the Land of Hus*. *Hus* therefore is ſeated beyond *Iordan*, in the Eaſt Region of *Traconitis*, adioyning to *Baſan*, hauing *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountaine *Seir* to the Eaſt, *Edrai* to the South, *Damaſcus* North, and *Iordan* Weſt: hauing in it many Cities and people, as may alſo be gathered out of *Hieremie*: *And all ſorts of people: and all the Kings of the Land of Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Iob*, deſcended of *Hus*, the ſonne of *Nahor*, the brother of *Abraham* (ſaith S. *Hierome*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Iacob*, ſaith *Philo*.

Hierem. Lam. cap: 4.ver.21.

C. 25. v. 20.

Hul the ſecond ſonne of *Aram*, S. *Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the third ſonne, parent to the *Acarnanians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (becauſe I finde not where to ſet him) I do not diſproue, though I ſee no reaſon why *Gether* ſhould leaue the fellowſhip of his owne brethren, and dwell among Strangers in *Aſia* the leſſe. *Iunius* giues *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Deſart of *Palmyrena*, as farre as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolomy* ſetteth the Citie of *Cholle*.

Gether (ſaith *Ioſephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Ioſephus* gaue all *Noahs* children feathers, to carrie them farre away in all haſte. For mine owne opinion I alwaies keepe the rule of Neighbourhood, and thinke with *Iunius*: (to wit) That *Gether* ſeated himſelfe neere his brothers, in the bodie of *Syria*, and in the Prouince of *Caſſiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolomie* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Plinie* called *Gindareni*.

Iunius alſo giueth to *Mes* or *Meſch* the North part of *Syria*, betweene *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia*, neere the Mountaine *Maſius*. The certaintie of thoſe Plantations can no otherwiſe be knowne then by this probabilitie, that *Aram* the father (of whom that great Region tooke name) planted his ſonnes in the ſame Land about him: for hee wanted no ſcope of Territorie for himſelfe and them; neyther then when the World was newlie planted, nor in many hundred yeres after: and therefore there is no reaſon to caſt them in the Deſart parts of the World, ſo farre aſunder. And as neceſſitie and policie held them together for a while: ſo Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, ſet them aſunder. For although theſe ſonnes of *Aram*, and the ſons of the reſt of *Noahs* children, kept themſelues within the bounds of ſome one large Kingdome; yet therein euery one alſo ſought a Prouince apart, and to themſelues; giuing to the Cities therein built their owne names, thereby to leaue their memorie to their Poſteritie: the vſe of Letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this ſort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* caſt them into ſo many Prouinces: euery one emulating and diſdaining the greatneſſe of other, as they are thereby to this day ſubiect to inuaſion, expulſion, and deſtruction: ſo as (*Noua Hiſpania* and *Peru* excepted, becauſe thoſe Countries are vnacceſſible to Strangers) an eaſie force will caſt them out of all the reſt.

Chap. 8. §. 7.

Mes the fourth ſonne is made the parent of the *Mæonians*: of whom ſomething hath beene ſpoken alreadie. *Arphaxad* the third ſonne of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two ſonnes, *Phaleg* and *Ioctan*: and in *Phalegs* time was the Earth diuided.

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†. III.

Of the diuiſion of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, *one of the ſonnes of* Heber, *of the iſſue of* Sem.

THe many people which at the diuiſion (at *Phaleghs* birth) were then liuing, and the through Plantation of all the Eaſt part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were diuided at eyther. The *Hebrewes* (ſaith *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the yeere after the Floud 101. and liued in all 239. yeeres, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it ſo many yeeres after the Floud, ere the children of *Noah* ſeuered themſelues. But to this opinion of the *Hebrewes*, and the doubt they make how in ſo few yeres as 101. (the time of *Phalegs* birth) ſo many people could be increaſed, *Pererius* giues this anſwere, that if 70. perſons of the Familie of *Iacob* increaſed to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeeres, (beſides women, children, and impotent perſons) how much more is it likely, that ſo ſoone after the Floud the children of *Noah* might in a ſhorter time bring forth many multitudes, hauing receiued the bleſſing of God, *Increaſe and multiplie, and fill the earth?* What ſtrength this anſwere hath, let others iudge: for the children of *Iſrael* were 70. and had 215. yeres time: and the ſonnes of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeres of time, to the birth of *Phalegh*.

Others conceiue that *Phalegh* tooke that name after the diuiſion, in memorie thereof: as *Ioſephus* and Saint *Auguſtine*, who reaſon in this manner. If the diuiſion were at *Phalegs* death (which hapned in the yeere, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12. yeeres before his birth) then was the diuiſion 38. yeres after *Ninus*, who gouerned 52. yeres: in the 43. yeere of whoſe reigne *Abraham* was borne. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Aſſyrians*, 80. yeres before this diuiſion (as this diuiſion is placed by the *Hebrewes*, *Hierome* and *Chryſoſtome*) then was the earth ſo peopled in all the Eaſt and Northerne parts, as greater numbers haue not beene found at any time ſince. For *Ninus* aſſociating to himſelfe *Ariæus* King of *Arabia* a people who at that time (ſaith *Diod. Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atq; armis præſtabant*; *Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men*, ſubdued many Cities in *Armenia*; receiued *Barzanis* into grace; then inuaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and ſeuen Children; vanquiſhed all thoſe Regions betweene *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Ægyptians*, *Phœnicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Perſia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembred out of *Cteſias*) againſt *Zoroaſter* and others: and *Zoroaſter* on the other ſide, who made reſiſtance with 400000. proue it ſufficiently, that if the diuiſion had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diuiſion at that time at all. For ſome of them were ſo ill ſatisfied with their partitions, as they ſought to be maſters of all, and greater Armies were there neuer gathered then by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

Ioſeph.l.1.Ant.
Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.l.16.c.11.
Per. in Gen.l.15.c.10.

But for that conceit that if the diuiſion had beene made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then ſufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was neuer meant that the earth could be filled euery where at the verie inſtant, but by times and degrees. And ſurely whatſoeuer mens opinions haue beene heerein, yet it is certaine, that the diuiſion of tongues and of men muſt goe neere together with the ceaſing of the worke at *Babel*: and that the enterprize of *Babel* was left off inſtantly vpon the confuſion of Languages, where followed the execution of the diuiſion; and ſo neyther at the birth nor death of *Pheleg*: for *Pheleg* was borne in the yeere 101. after the Floud, which was the yeere that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or tenne yeeres afrer hee arriued, ſaith *Beroſus*.

Now if it be obiected that *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whoſe name ſignifieth diuiſion) muſt haue liued without a name, except the name had beene giuen him at the time of this confuſion and partition: to this obiection it may be anſwered, That the change of names vpon diuers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Iacob* was called *Iſrael* after he had wreſtled with the Angell; *Abraham* was firſt *Abram*; and *Edom Eſau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principall man in this diuiſion had his firſt name vpon this accident changed, it is moſt probable.

And laſtly, whereas the *Hebrewes*, Saint *Hierome* and *Chryſoſtome* account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giuing his ſonne the name of *Phaleg*, hee fore-told the diuiſion which followed: to this I ſay, I doe not finde that *Heber* deſerued any ſuch honour, if hee had thereupon ſo called his ſonne: for diuiſion and diſperſion followeth increaſe of people of neceſſitie; and this Propheſie (if any ſuch had beene) might alſo haue reference to the diuiſion, which afterwards fell amongſt the *Hebrewes* themſelues.

But if we giue a reaſonable time to the building of the Towre and Citie of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reaſon and by demonſtratiue proofe) might be increaſed: and that vpon the fall thereof the confuſion and diuiſion followed (whereupon *Phaleg* tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monſtrous.

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†. IIII.
Of the ſonnes of Ioctan, *the other ſonne of* Heber.

The ſonnes of *Ioctan* were
1. *Elmodad*.
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph*.
3. *Aſamath*, or *Chatzar*.
4. *Iare*, or *Iaraah*, or *Ierath*.
5. *Hadoram*.
6. *Vzal*, or *Vxal*.
7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla*.
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal*.
9. *Abimael*.
10. *Sheba* or *Seba*.
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir*.
12. *Hauilah*, or *Chauila*, and
13. *Iobab*.

ALl thoſe ſonnes of *Ioctan* (according to Saint *Hierome*) dwelled in the Eaſt parts of the world, or *India*, euen from the Riuer *Cophe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certaine places of thoſe thirteen Sonnes cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moſes* being generall: *And their dwelling was from Meſha as thou goeſt vnto Separ a Mount in the Eaſt*. Of all theſe thirteene Sonnes, there were only three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*. Concerning whoſe names, to auoid confuſion, it is to be obſerued, that among the ſonnes of *Chuſh*, two of them had alſo the names of *Sheba* and *Hauilah*. *Abraham* had alſo a third *Saba* or *Sheba*, his grand-childe by his wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the ſonne of *Chuſh*, and *Sheba* the ſonne of *Rhegma* his Nephew, we haue left in *Arabia Fœlix*: and *Hauilah* the ſon of *Chuſh* vpon *Tigris*. *Saba* the grand-childe of *Abraham* was (as ſome haue thought) the Father of the *Sabæans* in *Perſia*: of which Nations *Dionyſius de Orbis ſitu*, maketh mention. *Primùm Sabæi; poſt hos ſunt Paſſagardæ; prope verò hos ſunt Taſci, The firſt are Sabæans: after theſe be Paſſagardæ; and neere theſe the Taſci*. And whereas it is written: *But vnto the Sonnes of the Concubines which* Abraham *had*, Abraham *gaue gifts, and ſent them away from* Iſaac *his ſonne (while he yet liued) Eaſtward to the Eaſt-Countrey*: heereupon it is ſuppoſed, that this *Saba* the ſonne of *Abraham* wandered into *Perſia*: for *Perſia* was accounted the furthermoſt Eaſt-Countrey in reſpect of *Iudæa*; which alſo *Ouid* ſetteth vnder the Sun-riſing. Yet ſeeing the reſt of *Abrahams* ſonnes ſeated themſelues on the borders of *Iudæa*, I rather chooſe to leaue *Saba* the ſonne of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Deſart, where *Ptolomie* ſetteth a Citie of that name.

Gen. 10. v. 30.

Gen. 25. v. 6.

Metam. lib. 1.

But *Saba* the ſonne of *Ioctan*, the ſon of *Heber*, (as I conceiue) inhabited *India* it ſelfe. For *Dionyſius Afer* in his *Periegeſis*, (or deſcription of the World) which hee wrote in *Greeke* Verſe, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi*. *Taxilis hos inter medios habitatq́; Sabæus: In the middeſt of theſe dwell the Sabæi, and the Taxili*, ſayth this *Dionyſius*.

τῶνδὲ μέσοι ναίουσι σαβαὶ καὶ ταξίλοι ἄνδρες.

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†. V.
Of Ophir *one of* Ioctans *ſonnes, and of Peru, and of that voyage of* Salomon.

OPhir alſo was an Inhabitant of the Eaſt *India*, and (as Saint *Hierome* vnderſtands it) in one of the Ilands plentifull with gold, which are now knowne by the name of *Moluccæ*. *Ioſephus* vnderſtands *Ophir* to be one of thoſe great head-lands in *India*, which by a generall name are called *Cherſoneſi*, or *Peninſulæ*: of which there are two very notorious; *Callecut*, and *Malacon*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Iland, as Saint *Hierome* doth, but he ſets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther Eaſt.

Arias Montanus out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and ſixth Verſe, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the Weſt Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others *Mare pacificum*. The words in the ſecond of the *Chronicles* are theſe: *And hee ouer-layed the houſe with precious ſtones for beautie; and the gold was gold of Paruaim.* *Iunius* takes this gold to bee the gold of *Hauilah*, remembred by *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*: *And the gold of that Land is good:* finding a Towne in *Characene* a Prouince of *Suſiana* called *Barbatia*; ſo called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Paruaim*: from whence thoſe Kings ſubiected by *Dauid*, brought this gold, with which they preſented him; and which *Dauid* preſerued for the enriching of the Temple.

Gen. 2.11. & 12
Plin. li. 6 c. 28.

But this fancie of *Peru* hath deceiued many men, before *Montanus*, and *Pleſſis*, who alſo tooke *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this queſtion may be a ſubiect of no further diſpute; it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: ſure I am that at leaſt *America* hath none, no not any Citie, Village, or Mountaine ſo called. But when *Francus Piſarro* firſt diſcouered thoſe Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriuing in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, Riches and Dominion inferior to none) ſome of the *Spaniards* vtterly ignorant of that language, demanding by ſignes (as they could) the name of the Countrie, and pointing with their hand athwart a Riuer, or Torrent, or Brooke that ranne by, the *Indians* anſwered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brooke, or of water in generall. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiuing that the people had rightly vnderſtood them, ſet it downe in the *Diurnall* of their enterpriſe, and ſo in the firſt deſcription made, and ſent ouer to *Charles* the Emperor, all that Weſt part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued euer ſince as diuers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me; which alſo *Acoſta* the *Ieſuite* in his naturall and morall Hiſtorie of the *Indies confirmeth*. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Iucatan*) tooke that name of *Ioctan*, who as hee ſuppoſeth nauigated from the vtmoſt Eaſt of *India* to *America*: it is moſt true, that *Iucatan* is nothing elſe in the language of that Countrie, but [*what is that*] or [*What ſay you?*] For when the *Spaniards* ask'd the name of that place (no man conceiuing their meaning) one of the Saluages anſwered *Iucatan* (which is) *what aske you*, or *What ſay you?* The like hapned touching *Paria*, a mountaynous Country on the South ſide of *Trinidado* & *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men doe) the names of thoſe new Regions which they diſcouered, pointed to the Hills a farre off, one of the people anſwered, *Paria*, which is as much to ſay; as *high Hills* or *Mountaynes*. For at *Paria* begins that maruailous ledge of Mountaines, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*: from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South, and ſo hath that Countrie euer ſince retained the name of *Paria*.

The ſame hapned among the *Engliſh*, which I ſent vnder Sir *Richard Greeneuile* to inhabite *Virginia*. For when ſome of my people asked the name of that Countrie, one of the Saluages anſwered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to ſay, as, *You weare good clothes*, or gay clothes. The ſame hapned to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Iland *Trinidado*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that ſelfe place which the Sea incompaſſed, they anſwered, *Caeri*, which ſignifieth an Iland. And in this manner haue many places newlie diſcouered beene intituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore wee muſt leaue *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout ſuch an Iland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in *Arabia* it ſelfe (towards *Perſia*) in *Hauilah*, now *Suſiana*, and all alongſt that Eaſt *Indian* ſhore; yet the greateſt plentie is taken vp at the *Philippines*, certayne Ilands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the Eaſt *India*. And by the length of the paſſage which *Salomons* ſhips made from the Red Sea, (which was three yeeres in going and comming) it ſeemeth they went to the vttermoſt Eaſt, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeede theſe that now goe from *Portugal*, or from hence, finiſh that nauigation in two yeeres, and ſometimes leſſe: and *Salomons* ſhips went not aboue a tenth part of this our courſe from hence. But wee muſt conſider, that they euermore kept the coaſt, and crept by the ſhores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vſe of the Compaſſe was knowne, it was impoſſible to nauigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomons* ſhips could not finde *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themſelues (had it not beene for the plentie of gold in the Eaſt *India* Ilands, farre aboue the mines of any one place of *America*) to ſaile euery yeere from the Weſt part of *America* thither, and there to haue ſtrongly planted, and inhabited the richeſt of thoſe Ilands: wherein they haue built a Citie called *Manilia*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to haue gone farther off then *Ophir* in the Eaſt, to haue ſped worſe: neither could he nauigate from the Eaſt to the Weſt in thoſe dayes, whereas hee had no coaſt to haue guided him.

Toſtatus alſo gathereth a fantaſticall opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Countrie, whoſe Mountaines of gold are kept by *Griffins*: which Mountaynes *Solinus* affirmeth to bee in *Scythia Aſiatica*, in theſe wordes: *Nam cùm auro & gemmis affluant, Griphes tenent vniuerſa, alites ferociſsimæ, Arimaſpi cum his dimicant, &c. For whereas theſe Countries abound in gold, and rich ſtone, the Griffins defend the one and the other: a kinde of Fowle the fierceſt of all other; with which Griffins a Nation of people called Arimaſpi make warre.* Theſe *Arimaſpi* are ſaid to haue beene men with one eye onely, like vnto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes*, *Herodotus* and *Ariſteus* make mention: and ſo doth *Lucan* in his third Booke: and *Valerius Flaccus*: & *D.Siculus* in the ſtory of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine owne opinion) I beleeue none of them. And for theſe *Arimaſpi*, I take it that this name ſignifying *One-eyed*, was firſt giuen them by reaſon that they vſed to weare a vizzard of defence, with one ſight in the middle to ſerue both eyes; and not that they had by nature any ſuch defect. But *Solinus* borroweth theſe things out of *Plinie*, who ſpeakes of ſuch a Nation in the extreame North, at a place called *Giſolitron*, or the Caue of the Northeaſt winde. For the reſt, as all fables were commonly grounded vpon ſome true ſtories or other things done: ſo might theſe tales of the *Griffins* receiue this Morall: That if thoſe men which fight againſt ſo many dangerous paſſages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect ſenſes, and were not depriued of halfe their eye-ſight (at leaſt of the eye of right reaſon and vnderſtanding) they would content themſelues with a quiet and moderate eſtate; and not ſubiect themſelues to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all ſorts of miſerable diſeaſes. And though this fable be fained in this place, yet if ſuch a tale were told of ſome other places of the World, where wilde Beaſts or Serpents defend Mountaines of gold, it might be auowed. For there are in many places of the world, eſpecially in *America*, many high and impaſſable Mountains which are very rich & full of gold, inhabited onely with Tygres, Lyons, and other rauenous and cruell beaſts: vnto which if any man aſcend (except his ſtrength bee very great) he ſhall be ſure to finde the ſame warre, which the *Arimaſpi* make againſt the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any ſenſe of the gold, or ſeeke to defend that mettall, but being diſquieted, or made afraid of themſelues or their yong-ones, they grow inraged and aduenturous. In like ſort it may be ſaid that the *Alegartos*, (which the *Ægyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend thoſe Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore *Indians* are eaten vp by them, when they diue for the pearle. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearle, yet they finde ſauour in the fleſh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they deuoure.

Flaccus, lib. 6.
Diod.Sicul.l.16

†. VI.

Of Hauilah *the ſonne of* Ioctan, *who alſo paſſed into the Eaſt Indies: and of* Meſha *and* Sepher *named in the bordering of the Families of* Ioctan: *with a Conclusion of this diſcourſe touching the plantation of the World.*

OF *Hauilah* the ſonne of *Ioctan*, there is nothing elſe to be ſaid, but that the generall opinion is, that he alſo inhabited in the Eaſt India in the Continent, from which *Ophir* paſt into the Ilands adioyning. And whereas *Ganges* is ſaid to water *Hauilah*, it is meant by *Hauilah* in the Eaſt India, which tooke name of *Hauilah* the ſonne of *Ioctan*: but *Hauilah*, which *Piſon* compaſſeth, was ſo called of *Hauilah*, the ſonne of *Chuſh*, as is formerly proued by this place of Scripture: *Saul ſmote the Amalekites from Hauilah, as thou commeſt to Shur, which is before Ægypt*. But that *Saul* euer made Warre in the Eaſt India, no man hath ſuſpected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteene ſonnes of *Ioctan*, theſe three, *Saba*, *Hauilah*, & *Ophir*; though at the firſt ſeated by their brethren about the hill *Maſius* or *Meſh*, *Gen*.10.30. (to wit) betweene *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia*; yet at length either themſelues or their iſſues remooued into the Eaſt India, leauing the

1.Sam.15.7.

other Families of *Ioctan*, to fill the Countries of their firſt plantation, which the Scripture defines to haue beene from *Meſh* vnto *Sephar*. And although S. *Hierome* take *Meſh* to be a Region of the Eaſt India, and *Sephar* a Mountaine of the ſame (which Mountaine, *Montanus* would haue to be the *Andes* in *America*) thoſe fancies are farre beyond my vnderſtanding. For the word (*Eaſt*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Iudæa*, is neuer farther extended then into *Perſia*. But *Meſch* is that part of the Mountaine of *Maſius* in the North of *Meſopotamia*, out of which the Riuer *Chaboras* ſpringeth which runneth by *Charran*: and in the ſame Region we alſo finde for *Sephar* (remembred by *Moſes*, *Sipphara* by *Ptolomie*, ſtanding to the Eaſt of the Mountaine *Maſius*; from whence *Ioctan* hauing many ſonnes, ſome of them might paſſe into *India*, hearing of the beautie and riches thereof. But this was in proceſſe of time.

The other faſhion of planting I vnderſtand not, being grounded but vpon mens imaginations, contrary to reaſon and poſſibilitie. And that this Mountaine in the Eaſt was no farther off then in thoſe Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the ſame phraſe is vſed: as in *Numbers* 23. Balac *the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountaine of the Eaſt*; which was from the Eaſt part of *Meſopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Meſopotamia*, (witneſſe this place of Deuteronomie:) *Becauſe they hyred* Balaam *the ſonne of* Beor, *of Pethor in Aram Naharaijm, to curſe thee:* for *Aram Naharaijm* was *Syria fluuiorum*, which is *Meſopotamia*, as aforeſaid.

Verſe 7.

Cap.23.*ver*.4.

This plantation of the World after the floud doth beſt agree (as to me it ſeemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And theſe be the reports of Reaſon and probable coniecture; the Guides which I haue followed herein, and which I haue choſen to goe after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither haue I any end herein, priuate, or publike, other then the diſcouery of truth. For as the partialitie of man to himſelfe hath diſguiſed all things: ſo the factious and hireling Hiſtorians of all Ages (eſpecially of theſe latter times) haue by their many Volumes of vntrue reports left *Honor* without a Monument, and *Vertue* without Memorie: and (in ſtead thereof) haue erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to thoſe, whom the darkeſt forgetfulneſſe ought to haue buryed, and couered ouer for euermore. And although the length and diſſoluing Nature of Time, hath worne out or changed the Names and memory of the Worlds firſt planters after the floud (I meane the greateſt number and moſt part of them) yet all the foot ſteps of Antiquitie (as appeares by that which hath beene ſpoken) are not quite worne out nor ouer-growne: for *Babylon* hath to this day the ſound of *Babel*; *Phœnicia* hath *Zidon*, to which Citie the eldeſt Sonne of *Canaan* gaue name; ſo hath *Cilicia Tharſis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumæans*, *Libyans*, *Moores*, and other Nations, haue preſerued from the death of forgetfulneſſe ſome ſignes of their firſt Founders and true Parents.

CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and eſtabliſhing of Gouernment.

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the firſt Gouernment vnder the eldeſt of Families to Regall, and from regall abſolute, to Regall tempered with Lawes.

IT followeth now to entreate how the World began to receiue Rule and Gouernment, which (while it had ſcarcitie of People) vnder-went no other Dominion then Paternitie and Elderſhip. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldeſt of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was alwayes vſed both for the Magiſtrate, and for thoſe of Age and Grauitie: the ſame bearing one ſignification almoſt in all languages. For in the eleuenth of *Numbers* God commanded *Moſes* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and

Gouernour ouer them: the *Hebrew* bearing the ſame ſenſe, which the *Latine* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Suſanna, Then the Aſſembly beleeued them as thoſe that were the Elders and Iudges of the People.* And ſo in the words of thoſe falſe Iudges and witneſſes to *Daniel, Shew it vnto vs, ſeeing God hath giuen thee the office of an Elder. Demoſthenes* vſeth the ſame word for the Magiſtrate among the *Græcians. Cicero* in *Cato* giueth two other reaſons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedæmonios qui ampliſſimum Magiſtratum gerunt, vt ſunt, ſic etiam appellantur Senes; Among the Lacedæmonians the chiefe Magiſtrates, as they were, ſo are they called Eldermen*: and againe, *Ratio & prudentia niſi eſſent in ſenibus, non ſummum Concilium Maiores noſtri appellâſſent Senatum; If reaſon and aduiſement were not in old men, our Anceſters had neuer called the higheſt Councell by the name of a Senate.*

But though theſe reaſons may well be giuen, yet wee doubt not but in this name of *(Elders)* for Gouernors or Counſailers of State, there is a ſigne that the firſt Gouernors were the Fathers of Families; and vnder them the eldeſt Sonnes. And from thence did the *French, Italian*, and *Spaniard* take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordſhip and Dominion: ſignifying (according to *Loyſeau*) puiſſance in proprietie, or proper power. The kindes of this *Seignourie, Seneca* makes two: the one, *Poteſtas aut imperium; Power or command*: the other, *Proprietas aut dominium; Proprietie or Maſterſhip*: the correlatiue of the one is the ſubiect, of the other the ſlaue. *Ad Cæſarem* (ſaith he) *poteſtas omnium pertinet, ad ſingulos proprietas; Cæſar hath power ouer all; and euery man proprietie in his owne*: and againe, *Cæſar omnia imperio poſſidet, ſinguli dominio; Cæſar holdeth all in his power, and euery man poſſeſſeth his owne.* But as men and vice began abundantly to increaſe: ſo obedience, (the fruit of naturall reuerence, which but from excellent ſeede ſeldome ripeneth) being exceedingly ouer-ſhadowed with pride, and ill examples, vtterly withered and fell away. And the ſoft weapons of paternall perſwaſions (after mankinde began to neglect and forget the originall and firſt giuer of life) became in all ouer-weake, either to reſiſt the firſt inclination of euill, or after (when it became habituall) to conſtraine it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and ſteered by their owne fancies, and toſt to and fro on the tempeſtuous Seas of the world, while wiſedome was ſeuered from power, and ſtrength from charitie: Neceſſitie (which bindeth euery nature but the immortall) made both the Wiſe & Fooliſh vnderſtand at once, that the eſtate of reaſonable men would become far more miſerable then that of beaſts, and that a generall floud of confuſion would a ſecond time ouer-flow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion preuent it. For the mightie, who truſted in their owne ſtrengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mighty then themſelues: the feeble fell vnder the forcible; and the equall from equall receiued equall harmes. In ſo much that licentious diſorder (which ſeemed to promiſe a libertie vpon the firſt acquaintance) proued vpon a better tryall, no leſſe perilous then an vnindurable bondage.

Neceſſitas eſt firmum iudicium & immutabilis prouidentiæ poteſtas.

Theſe Arguments by Neceſſitie propounded, and by Reaſon maintained and confirmed, perſwaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to ſubiect themſelues to a Maſter, and to Magiſtracie in ſome degree. Vnder which Gouernment, as the change (which brought with it leſſe euill, then the former miſchiefes) was generally pleaſing: ſo time (making all men wiſe that obſerue it) found ſome imperfection and corroſiue in this cure. And therefore the ſame Neceſſitie which inuented, and the ſame Reaſon which approued ſoueraigne power, bethought it ſelfe of certaine equall rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundleſſe) might alſo diſcerne her owne limits. For before the inuention of Lawes, priuate affections in ſupreme Rulers made their owne fancies both their Treaſurers and Hangmen: meaſuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance both good and euill.

For as wiſedome in Elderſhip preceded the rule of Kings; ſo the will of Kings forewent the inuentions of Lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant; The people were not gouerned by any other lawes then the wils of Princes:* Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did thoſe mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor thoſe mens vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt; Loue ſees one while too much, another while ſtarke nothing.* Hence it came to paſſe, that after a few yeeres (for direction and reſtraint of Royall power) Lawes were eſtabliſhed: and that gouernment which

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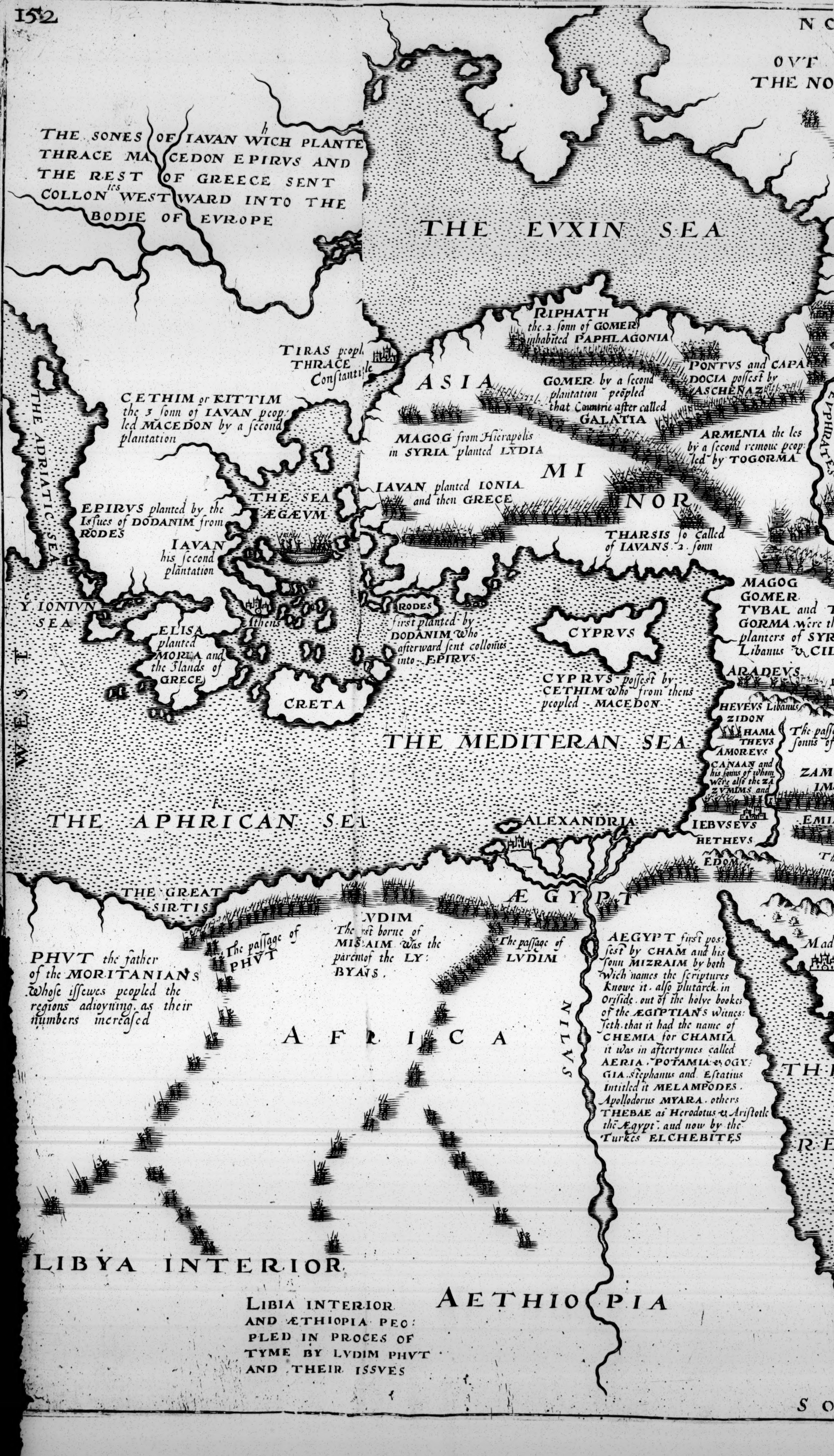
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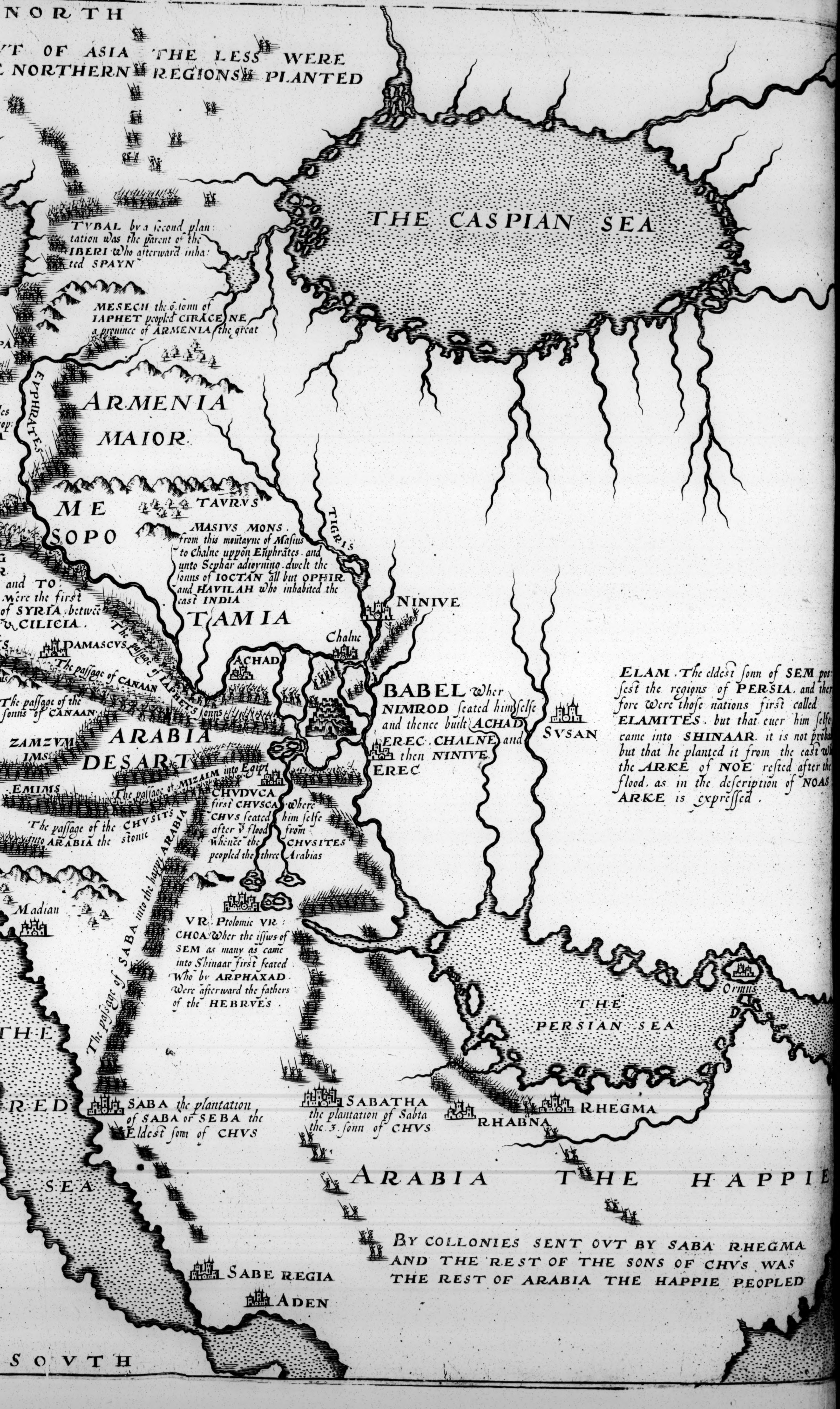
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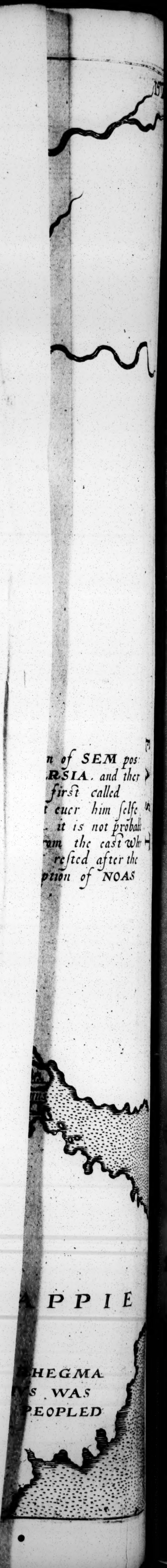
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this mixture of equalitie (holding in an euen ballance ſupreme power and common t) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Ty- nicall: the one God eſtabliſhed in fauour of his people: the other he permitted for r affliction.

n the infancie of this Regall authoritie, Princes as they were choſen for their vertues ly, ſo did they meaſure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore th *Fabius Pictor) Principes, quia iuſti erant, & religionibus dediti, iure habiti Dij & dicti;* *nces, becauſe they were iuſt and religious, were rightly accounted and called gods.* *De aureo ſæculo part.1.*

And though (ſpeaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be aſcribed to Rea- and Neceſſitie; yet it was God himſelfe that firſt kindled this light in the mindes of n, whereby they ſaw that they could not liue and be preſerued without a Ruler and nducter: God himſelfe by his eternall prouidence hauing ordained Kings; and the of Nature Leaders, and Rulers ouer others. For the very Bees haue their Prince; the ere their Leaders; and Cranes (by order impoſed) watch for their owne ſafetie. *The ſt High beareth rule ouer the Kingdomes of Men; and appointeth ouer it whomſoeuer hee aſeth.* By me (ſaith *Wiſedome*, ſpoken by the Sonne of God) *Kings reigne; By me Princes e*, and *it is God* (ſaith Daniel) *that ſetteth vp Kings, and taketh away Kings:* and that this wer is giuen from God, *Chriſt* himſelfe witneſſeth, ſpeaking to *Pilate*; *Thou couldeſt haue power at all againſt me, except it were giuen thee from aboue.* *Dan.5.21.* *Prou.8.v.15.* *Dan.2.v.21.* *Iohn 19.v.11.*

It was therefore by a threefold Iuſtice that the world hath beene gouerned from the ginning, (to wit) by a Iuſtice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of Families uerned their Children, and Nephewes, and Families, in which gouernment the O-bedience was called naturall Pietie: Againe, by a Iuſtice diuine, drawne from the Lawes d Ordinances of God: and the Obedience hereunto was called Conſcience: And ſtly, by a Iuſtice ciuill, begotten by both the former: and the Obedience to this we call utie. That by theſe three thoſe of the eldeſt times were commanded: and that the rule generall was Paternall, it is moſt euident: for *Adam* being Lord ouer his owne Chil-ren, inſtructed them in the ſeruice of God his Creator; as we reade, *Cain* and *Abel* rought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of ankinde.

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§. II.

f the three commendable ſorts of Gouernment with their oppoſites: and of the degrees of humane ſocietie.

WHat other Policie was exerciſed, or State founded after ſuch time as mankinde was greatly multiplyed before the floud, it cannot be certainly knowne, though it ſeeme by probable coniecture, that the ſame was not without Kings in that irſt age: it being poſſible that many Princes of the *Ægyptians* (remembred among their ntiquities) were before the generall floud: and very likely, that the cruell Oppreſſions in hat Age proceeded from ſome tyrannie in Gouernment, or from ſome rougher forme f Rule, then the Paternall.

Beroſus aſcribeth the rule of the World in thoſe dayes to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who maſtred (ſaith he) all Nations from the Sun-riſing to the Sun-ſet. But in the ſecond Age f the World, and after ſuch time as the rule of Elderſhip failed, three ſeuerall ſorts of Gouernment were in ſeuerall times eſtabliſhed among men, according to the diuers na-ures of Places and People. *Beroſ.lib.1.*

The firſt, the moſt ancient, moſt generall, and moſt approued, was the Gouernment of one, ruling by iuſt Lawes, called *Monarchie*: to which *Tyrannie* is oppoſed, being alſo a ole and abſolute Rule, exerciſed according to the will of the Commander, without reſpect or obſeruation of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magiſtrate aith *Ariſtotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equitie: and of this condition ought euery Magiſtrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: *Iudges and Officers ſhalt thou make thee n thy Cities: And theſe ſhall iudge the people with righteous iudgement.* *Deut.16.v.18*

The ſecond Gouernment is of diuers principall Perſons eſtabliſhed by order, and ruling by Lawes, called *Ariſtocracie*, or *Optimatum poteſtas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and vſurpation of a few great-ones) is oppoſed: as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Gouernment of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is oppoſed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent vniuſt ruling of the confuſed multitude, ſeditiouſly ſwaying the State: contrary to their owne Lawes and Ordinances. Theſe three kindes of Gouernment are briefly expreſt by *Tholoſanus*; *vnius, paucorum, & multorum*, *of one, of few, of many*.

Now as touching the beginning and order of policie ſince the ſecond increaſe of Mankinde, the ſame grew in this ſort: Firſt of all, euery Father, or eldeſt of the Family, gaue Lawes to his owne iſſues, and to the people from him and them increaſed. Theſe as they were multiplied into many Houſholds (man by nature louing ſocietie) ioyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call *Vicus*; of the *Greeke* οἶκος, which ſignifieth a Houſe, or of the word (*Via*) becauſe it hath diuers waies and paths leading to it. And as the firſt Houſe grew into a Village, ſo the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a ſocietie of diuers Villages) ſo called of the *Greeke* πηγὴ, which ſignifieth a Fountaine: becauſe many people (hauing their habitations not far aſunder) dranke of one Spring or Streame of water. To this word the *Engliſh* Hundreds, or (as ſome think) Shires anſwereth not vnfitly.

But as men and impietie began to gather ſtrength, and as emulation and pride betweene the Races of the one and the other daily increaſed: ſo both to defend themſelues from outrage, and to preſerue ſuch goods as they had gathered, they began to ioyne and ſet together diuers of their Villages, inuironing them firſt with bankes and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being ſo compaſſed were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponendo ſe hoſtibus*, *Becauſe wals were oppoſed againſt Enemies*, or *ab opibus*, *becauſe thither they gathered their riches for ſaftie and defence*: as alſo they were called *Vrbes*, *ab orbe*; becauſe when they were to build a Citie, they made a Circle with a Plough (ſaith *Varro*) therewith meaſuring and compaſſing the ground which they went to incloſe or fortifie. And although *Vrbs* and *Ciuitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Vrbs* ſignified no other then the very wals and buildings, and *Ciuitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: ſo called of *Ciuis*, and that, *ab eo quòd multitudo coiuit*, *of comming together*. But all inhabitants within theſe wals are not properly Citizens, but onely ſuch as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the Citie, may by turnes become Officers and Magiſtrates thereof: the reſt goe vnder the name of Subiects, though Citizens by the ſame generall name of Subiects are alſo knowne. For euery Citizen is alſo a Subiect, but not euery Subiect a Citizen: perhaps alſo ſome Citizen (as the chiefe Magiſtrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens) is no ſubiect; but of this we neede not ſtand to inquire. The word (Magiſtrate) is taken *à Magiſtro*, *from a Maſter*, and the word (Maſter) from the Aduerbe *Magis* (as alſo *Magiſteria*, *Precepts of Art*) or elſe from the *Greeke* word (*Megiſtos*:) and ſo the *Greekes* call them *Megiſtanes*, whom the *Latines* call *Magnates*, or *Magiſtratus*.

Ethic. 5. The office and dutie of euery Magiſtrate *Ariſtotle* hath written in few words. *A Magiſtrate or Prince* (ſaith he) *is the keeper of right and equitie*; but the ſame is beſt taught by Saint *Paul*, who expreſſeth both the cauſe efficient, and finall, (that is) by whom Magiſtrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices. *A Magiſtrate is* *Rom. 13. 4.* *the Miniſter of God for thy wealth; but if thou doe euill, feare: for he beareth not the ſword for nought. For he is the Miniſter of God, to take vengeance on him that doth euill.* Hee alſo *Ver. 1.* teacheth in the ſame place; *That euery ſoule ought to be ſubiect to the higher powers, becauſe* *2.* *they are by God ordained*; and that *whoſoeuer reſiſteth that power, reſiſteth God*, the giuer and fountaine thereof: and ſhall not onely be therefore ſubiect to the iudgement and con- *Ibid. v. 5.* demnation of Man, but of God: *For ye muſt be ſubiect* (ſaith he) *not becauſe of wrath onely, but alſo for conſcience ſake.*

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods puniſhments vpon thoſe that haue reſiſted Authoritie, by God ordained and eſtabliſhed. Neither ought any ſubiect therefore to reſiſt the power of Kings, becauſe they may be taxed with iniuſtice or crueltie: for it pleaſeth God ſometimes to puniſh his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without diſtinction. The *Prophets* and *Chriſt* himſelfe ſubiected themſelues to the power of Magiſtracie. *Chriſt* commanded that all due to *Cæſar* ſhould *Ierem. 29. 7.* be giuen vnto him: and he payed Tribute for himſelfe and *Peter*. *Hieremie* commanded *Gen. 20. & 17.* the *Iſraelites* (euen thoſe that were Captiues vnder Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and *27. v. 10.* for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Iacob* bleſſed the King of *Ægypt*: And *it is acceptable in the ſight of our Sauiour* (ſaith *Paul*) *that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authoritie:* and if for ſuch Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Chriſtian Kings and Magiſtrates. And ſo much did Saint *Chryſoſtome* in his Homily to the people preferre *Monarchicall* Gouernment, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) then that they ſhould be wanting: *Præſtat Regem tyrannum habere, quàm nullum*; *Better a tyrannous King, then no King*: to which alſo *Tacitus* ſubſcribeth: *Præſtat* (ſaith *Tacitus* in the firſt of his Hiſtorie) *ſub malo principe eſſe quàm nullo*; *It is better to haue a bad Prince then none at all.* And be they good Kings (which is generally preſuppoſed) then is there no libertie more ſafe, then to ſerue them: *Neq; enim libertas tutior vlla eſt* (ſaith *Claudian*) *quàm Domino ſeruire bono*: *No libertie* (ſaith he) *more ſafe for vs then to be ſeruants to the vertuous*. And certainly howſoeuer it may be diſputed, yet is it ſafer to liue vnder one Tyrant, then vnder 100000. Tyrants: vnder a wiſe man that is cruell, then vnder the fooliſh and barbarous crueltie of the multitude. For as *Ageſilaus* anſwered a Citizen of *Sparta* that deſired an alteration of the Gouernment, That kinde of rule which a man would diſdaine in his owne houſe, were very vnfit to gouerne great Regions by.

Laſtly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reaſon before remembred) many Houſholds ioyned themſelues together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: ſo when theſe Cities and Citizens ioyned together, and eſtabliſhed Lawes by conſent, aſſociating themſelues vnder one Gouernour, and Gouernment, they ſo ioyned, were called a Commonwealth: the ſame being ſometimes gouerned by Kings; ſometimes by Magiſtrates; ſometimes by the people themſelues.

§. III.

Of the good Gouernment of the firſt Kings.

NOw this firſt Age after the Floud, and after ſuch time as the people were increaſed, and the Families became ſtrong and diſperſed into ſeuerall parts of the World, was by ancient Hiſtorians called Golden: Ambition and Couetouſneſſe being as then but greene, and newly growne vp, the ſeeds and effects whereof were as yet but potentiall, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then ſought for no larger Territorie then themſelues could compaſſe and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, then ſufficient to defend them from cold and tempeſt: they cared for no other delicacie of fare, or curioſitie of dyet, then to maintaine life: nor for any other apparell then to couer them from the cold, the Raine and the Sunne.

And ſure if we vnderſtand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient ſimplicitie of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truely be caſt vpon thoſe elder times: but if it be taken otherwiſe, then, whether the ſame may be attributed more to any one time then to another, (I meane to one limited time and none elſe) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times haue brought forth of both ſorts. And as the infancy of Empirie, (when Princes plaied their Prizes, and did then onely woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age: ſo may the beginning of all Princes times be truely called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then beſt purchaſed; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deſeruings haue commonly the leaſt impediments: and if euer Liberality ouerflow her banks & bounds, the ſame is then beſt warranted both by policie and example. But Age and Time doe not onely harden and ſhrinke the openeſt and moſt *Iouiall* hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torne eſtates before their eyes, and (withall) perſwadeth them to compaſſionate themſeues. And although there be no Kings vnder the Sunne whoſe meanes are anſwerable vnto other mens deſires; yet ſuch as value all things by their owne reſpects, doe no ſooner finde their appetites vnanſwered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times iniurious and yron. And as this falleth out in the Reigne of euery King, ſo doth it in the life of euery man, if his dayes be many: for our yonger yeeres are our Golden Age; which being eaten vp by time, wee praiſe thoſe ſeaſons which our youth accompanied: and (indeede) the grieuous alterations in our ſelues, and the paines and diſeaſes which neuer part from vs but at the graue, make the times ſeeme ſo differing and diſpleaſing: eſpecially the qualitie of mans nature being alſo ſuch, as it adoreth and extolleth the paſſages of the former, and condemneth the preſent ſtate how iuſt ſoeuer: *Fit humanæ malignitatis vitio, vt ſemper vetera in laude, præſentia in faſtidio ſint*; *It comes to paſſe* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *by the vice of our malignitie, that we alwayes extoll the time paſt, and hold the preſent faſtidious*: For it is one of the errours of wayward Age: *Quod ſint laudatores temporis acti*; *That they are praiſers of fore-paſſed times*, forgetting this aduice of *Salomon*: *Say not then, Why is it that the former dayes were better then theſe? for thou doeſt not inquire wiſely of this thing*: to which purpoſe *Seneca*; *Maiores noſtri queſti ſunt, & nos querimur, poſteri querentur, euerſos eſſe mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi*: *Our Anceſters haue complained, we doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickedneſſe doth reigne, and all things grow worſe and worſe, and fall into all euill.* Theſe are the vſuall diſcourſes of Age and misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of *Arnobius*? *Noua res quandoq; vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus, quibus cœpit noua fuit & repentina*: *whatſoeuer is new, in time ſhall be made old: and the ancienteſt things when they tooke beginning were alſo new and ſodaine.* Wherefore not to ſtand in much admiration of theſe firſt times, which the diſcontentments of preſent times haue made Golden, this we may ſet downe for certaine, That as it was the vertue of the firſt Kings, which (after God) gaue them Crowns: ſo the loue of their people thereby purchaſed, held the ſame Crownes on their heads. And as God gaue the obedience of Subiects to Princes: ſo (relatiuely) he gaue the care and iuſtice of Kings to the Subiects; hauing reſpect, not onely to the Kings themſelues, but euen to the meaneſt of his Creatures: *Nunquàm particulari bono ſeruit omne bonum*; *The infinite goodneſſe of God doth not attend any one onely*: for he that made the ſmall and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings haue of all theirs, which makes them beloued of all theirs; and by a generall loue it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience: For *Poteſtas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum*: *All humane power is rooted in the will or diſpoſitions of men.*

Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.

Eccleſ.7.

Arnob.lib.2.

Wiſd.6.7.

§. IIII.

Of the beginning of Nobilitie: and of the vaine vaunt thereof without vertue.

ANd with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authoritie began alſo other degrees and differences among Subiects. For Princes made election of others by the ſame Rule, by which themſelues were choſen; vnto whom they gaue place, truſt, and power. From which imployments and Offices ſprung thoſe Titles, and thoſe degrees of Honour, which haue continued from Age to Age to theſe dayes. But this Nobilitie, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning giuen to the Succeſſion of Bloud, but to Succeſſion of Vertue, as hereafter may be proued. Though at length it was ſufficient for thoſe whoſe Parents were aduanced, to be knowne for the Sonnes of ſuch Fathers: and ſo there needed then no endeuour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, vpon whom glory or worldly Nobilitie neceſſarily deſcended. Yet hereof had Nobilitie denomination in the beginning; That ſuch as excelled others in vertue: were ſo called: *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quaſi virtute præ alijs notabilis.* But after ſuch time as the deſerued Honour of the Father was giuen in reward to his Poſteritie, Saint *Hierome* iudged of the Succeſſion in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, niſi quod Nobiles quadam neceſſitate conſtringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent*; *I ſee no other thing to be affected in Nobilitie, then that Noblemen are by a kinde of neceſſitie bound, not to degenerate from the vertue of their Anceſters.* For if Nobilitie be *Virtus & antiquæ diuitiæ*; *Vertue and ancient riches*, then to exceede in all thoſe things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, doe no otherwiſe define Nobilitie, then the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reaſonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Viues*) be a witneſſe of vertue and well-doing: and Nobilitie (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of vertue in a Race or Linage: then are thoſe in whom Vertue is extinguiſhed, but like vnto painted and printed Papers, which ignorant men worſhip in ſtead of *Chriſt*, our *Ladie*, and other *Saints*: men, in whom there remaine but the dregs and vices of ancient Vertue: Flowers, and Herbes, which by change of ſoile and want of manuring are turned to Weedes. For what is found praiſe-worthy in thoſe waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountaines,

Vertus nobilis non naſcitur ſed fit.

if in all the reſt of their courſe they run foule, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertile producitur aliquando Cicuta venenoſa, & ex terra ſterili pretioſum aurum; Out of fruitfull ground ariſeth ſometimes poyſoning Henbane: and out of barren ſoile precious Gold.* For as all things conſiſt of matter and forme, ſo doth *Charron* (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which giues life and perfect being) he maketh to be Vertue, and Qualitie, profitable to the Common-weale. For he is truely and entirely Noble, who maketh a ſingular profeſſion of publike Vertue, ſeruing his Prince and Countrie, and being deſcended of Parents and Anceſters that haue done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the ſame Authour calleth perſonall, (the ſame which our ſelues acquire by our Vertue and well deſeruings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both naturall by Deſcent, and alſo perſonall; yet if Vertue be wanting to the naturall, then is the perſonall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (ſaith *Charron*) this Honour (to wit) by Deſcent, may light vpon ſuch a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is alſo a third Nobilitie which hee calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with Siluer or fauour: and theſe be indeede but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies wiſh they knew well how to wipe off againe. But ſurely, if we had as much ſenſe of our degenerating in worthineſſe, as we haue of vanitie in deriuing our ſelues of ſuch and ſuch Parents, we ſhould rather know ſuch Nobilitie (without Vertue) to be ſhame and diſhonour, then Nobleneſſe, and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamitie is wanting* (ſaith *Bernard*) *to him that is borne in ſinne, of a Potſhare body and barren minde?* for (according to the ſame Father:) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris huius, & male coronatæ nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou maieſt conſider thy ſelfe nakedly: for thou cameſt naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Cameſt thou thence with thy Mytre, or gliſtering with Iewels, or garniſhed with Silkes, or adorned with Feathers, or ſtuffed with Gold? If thou ſcatter and blow away all theſe by thy conſideration as certaine morning cloudes, which doe or will ſoone paſſe ouer, thou ſhalt meet with a naked, and poore, and wretched and miſerable man, and bluſhing, becauſe he is naked, and weeping becauſe he is borne, and repining, becauſe he is borne to labour, and not to honour.*

Pint.in Ezech.

Bernar. l.2.de Conſider. ad Eugen.Pap.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betweene it and duſt: which if *thou doeſt not beleeue* (ſaith S.Chryſoſtome) *looke into the Sepulchres & Monuments of thy Anceſters, and they ſhall eaſily perſwade thee by their owne example, that thou art duſt and dirt: ſo that if man ſeeme more Noble and beautifull then duſt, this proceedeth not from the diuerſitie of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.*

Chryſ.hom 2. de incompoſita Dei natura. con.5.

For true Nobilitie ſtandeth in the Trade
Of vertuous life; not in the fleſhly Line:
For bloud is brute, but Gentrie is Diuine.

Phaer.

And howſoeuer the cuſtome of the World haue made it good, that Honors be caſt by birth vpon vnworthy Iſſues: yet *Salomon* (as wiſe as any King) reprehendeth the ſame in his Fellow-Princes: *There is an euill* (ſaith he) *that I haue ſeene vnder the Sun, as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Folly is ſet in great excellencie.*

Eccleſ.10.

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus: *and of memorable things about thoſe times.*

§. I.

That Nimrod *was the firſt after the Flood that reigned like Soueraigne Lord: and that his beginning ſeemeth to haue beene of iuſt authoritie.*

THe firſt of all that reigned as Soueraigne Lord after the Flood was *Nimrod*, the Sonne of *Chuſh*, diſtinguiſhed by *Moſes* from the reſt (according to Saint *Auguſtine*) in one of theſe two reſpects: either for his eminencie, and becauſe hee was the firſt of fame, and that tooke on him to command others: or elſe in that hee was begotten by *Chuſh*, after his other children were alſo become Fathers; and of a later time then ſome of his Grand-children and Nephewes. Howſoeuer, ſeeing *Moſes* in expreſſe words calleth *Nimrod* the Sonne of *Chuſh*, other mens coniectures to the contrary ought to haue no reſpect.

This Empiric of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannicall: the ſame beginning in *Babel*, (which is) confuſion. But it ſeemeth to mee that *Melanchton* conceiued not amiſſe hereof: the ſame expoſition being alſo made by the Authour of that worke called *Onomaſticum Theologicum*, who affirmes that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, *A bitter or ſeuere Gouernour*, becauſe his forme of rule ſeemed at firſt farre more terrible then Paternall authority. And therefore is hee in this reſpect alſo called *a mightie Hunter*: becauſe he tooke and deſtroyed both Beaſts and Theeues. But Saint *Auguſtine* vnderſtands it otherwiſe, and conuerts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mightie Hunter againſt God: *Sic ergo intelligendus eſt Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum*; *So is that Giant to be vnderſtood, a Hunter againſt the Lord.*

But howſoeuer this word (*a mightie Hunter*) be vnderſtood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all thoſe, which went with him from the Eaſt into *Shinaar*: ſo, this charge was rather giuen him, then by him vſurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himſelfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troupe into *Babylon*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the yeres of his life excepted) in the ſucceeding Story of the *Hebrews*; nor that *Sem* was in this diſobedient Troupe, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The ſame is alſo confirmed by diuers ancient Hiſtorians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Ioctan* were the Captaines and Leaders of all thoſe which came from the Eaſt. And though *Sem* came not himſelfe ſo farre Weſt as *Shinaar* (his lot being caſt on the Eaſt parts) yet from his Sonnes Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrewes* (according to the generall opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermoſt parts of *Chaldæa* about the Citie of *Vr*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And becauſe thoſe of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldæa*, were no partners in the vnbeleeuing worke of the Towre: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retaine the firſt and moſt ancient language, which the Fathers of the firſt Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Iſſues: *In familia* Heber *remanſit hæc lingua*; *In the Family of* Heber *this Language remained* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this Language *Abraham* vſed; yea, it was anciently and before the Floud the generall ſpeech: and therefore firſt called (ſaith *Cæleſtinus*) *lingua humana*: *the humane tongue.*

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moſes*, *Ægyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howſoeuer we determine of this point, we may with good probability reſolue, that none of the godly ſeed of *Sem* were the chiefe Leaders of this preſumptuous multitude. And ſeeing it is not likely but that ſome one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by iuſt authoritie, then by violence of vſurpation.

§. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus, *were three diſtinct perſons.*

BEnzo, and out of him *Nauclerus* with others, make many *Nimrods*. *Euſebius* confounds him with *Belus*, and ſo doth Saint *Hierome* vpon *Oſe*; and theſe words of S. *Auguſtine* ſeeme to make him of the ſame opinion: *Ibi autem* Ninus *regnabat poſt mortem patris ſui* Beli; *qui primus illic regnauerat* 65. *annos*; *There did* Ninus *reigne after the death of his Father* Belus, *who firſt gouerned in Babylon ſixtie fiue yeeres*. But it could not be vnknowne to Saint *Auguſtine*, that *Nimrod* was the eſtabliſher of that Empire: *Moſes* being plaine and direct therein. *For the beginning of* Nimrods *Kingdome* (ſaith he) *was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar:* wherefore *Nimrod* was the firſt King of *Babel.* And certainly it beſt agreeth with reaſon, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod,* as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) ſuppoſed: for in *Ninus* time the World was maruailouſly repleniſhed. And if S. *Auguſtine* had vndoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would haue giuen him the name which the Scriptures giue him, rather then haue borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for thoſe words of S. *Auguſtine* (*qui primus illic regnauerat; who was the firſt that reigned there*) ſuppoſed to be meant by *Belus:* thoſe words doe not diſproue that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Iulius Cæſar* ouerthrew the liberty of the *Romane* Commonwealth, making himſelfe perpetuall *Dictator*, yet *Auguſtus* was the firſt eſtabliſhed Emperor: and the firſt that reigned abſolutely by ſoueraigne authority ouer the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be ſaid of *Nimrod*, that he firſt brake the rule of Eldership and Paternitie, laying the foundation of ſoueraigne Rule, as *Cæſar* did; and yet *Belus* was the firſt, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exerciſed ſuch a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the ſame, becauſe many things are ſaid of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeeres after the floud (as they account) that *Belus* reigned: but ſuch agreement of times proues it not. For ſo *Edward* the third, and his grand-childe *Richard* the ſecond, were Kings both in one yeere: the one dyed; the other in the ſame yeere was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is far more probable then that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the ſame. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrods* Kingdome was *Babel*, and the Townes adioyning: but the firſt and moſt famous worke of *Ninus* was the Citie of *Niniue*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* ouercame and ſuppreſt the *Babylonians*, the ſame rather proueth the contrarie, then that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one perſon. For *Ninus* eſtabliſhed the ſeat of his Empire at *Niniue* in *Aſſyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in diſdaine thereof fall from his obedience, whom hee recouered againe by ſtrong hand; which was eaſie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

——Dicitur altam
Coctilibus muris cinxiſſe Semiramis *Vrbem.*

Semiramis with wals of bricke the Citie did incloſe.

Further, where it is alleaged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mightie: ſo *Iuſtine* hath the ſame of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercators* arguments; It may be anſwered, that ſuch an addition might haue beene giuen to many other Kings aſwell. For if wee may beleeue *Iuſtine*; then were *Vexoris* King of *Ægypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia* mighty Kings before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the words of *Moſes* (touching *Nimrod*) with the vndertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference betweene them.

For wheras *Mercator* conceiueth, that it was too early for any that liued about the time of the confuſion of languages, to haue inuaded & maſtered thoſe Cities ſo farre remoued from *Babel*, namely, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: which worke he therefore aſcribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greateſt vndertaking; and conſequently would haue *Nimrod* to haue been long after the time, in which we ſuppoſe he flouriſhed; & both thoſe names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one perſon, to wit, to *Ninus*: to theſe things to make ſome anſwere. Firſt, I doe not finde that ſuppoſition true, That euer *Nimrod* inuaded any of theſe Cities; but that he founded them and built them from the ground, being the firſt after the floud, that conducted the children of *Noah* into thoſe parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Beſides, whereas theſe Cities in many mens opinions are found to ſtand far away from *Babylon*, I finde no reaſon to bring me to that beliefe. The Citie of *Accad* which the *Septuagint* cals *Archard*, and *Epiphanius*, *Arphal*; *Iunius* takes to be *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*: for the Region thereabout the Coſmographers (ſaith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others vnderſtand *Niſibis* and *Niniue* to be one Citie; ſo doe *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*, but all miſtaken. For *Niſibis*, *Accad*, & *Charran* are diſtinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accedene* to be a Region of *Meſopotamia*, the ſame which *Arias Montanus* out of S. *Hierome* cals *Achad*: and ſo doe the *Hebrewes* alſo call *Niſibis*, which ſeemeth to be the cauſe of this miſtaking. As for the Citie of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*, S. *Auguſtine*, *Oreg*, and *Pagninus*, *Erec*, this place *Iunius* vnderſtands for *Aracca* in *Suſiana*: but there is alſo a Citie in *Comagena* called *Arace*: and indeede likelihood of name is no certaine proofe, without the aſſiſtance of other circumſtances.

Concerning the third Citie (called *Chalneh*) ſome take it for *Caliniſis*: of which *Am.* Lib. 23. *Marcellinus*. Saint *Hierome* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hieroſolymitanus* for *Cteſiphon*: others doe thinke it to be the *Agrani* vpon *Euphrates*, deſtroyed and razed by the *Perſians*. But let *Moſes* be the Moderator and Iudge of this diſpute, who teacheth vs directly, that theſe Cities are not ſeated in ſo diuers and diſtant Regions; for theſe be his words: *And the beginning of his Kingdome* (ſpeaking of *Nimrod*) *was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneh, in the Land of Shinaar*: ſo as in this Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldæa* (being all one) we muſt finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with *Viterbienſis*, that theſe foure made but one *Babylon*, then that they were Cities farre remoued, and in ſeuerall Prouinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* preciſely diſtinguiſh *Chalne* from *Babylon*. Cap. 6. verſ. 2. *Goe you* (ſaith *Amos*) *to Chalne, and from thence goe you to Hamath, and then to* Gath *of the Philiſtims*. The *Geneua* tranſlation fauouring the former opinion, to ſet theſe Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginall note expreſſing that *Shinaar* was here named: not that all theſe Cities were therein ſeated, but to diſtinguiſh *Babylon* of *Chaldæa*, from *Babylon* in *Ægypt*: but I finde little ſubſtance in that conceit. For ſure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrods* Empire there was no ſuch *Babylon*, nor any Citie at all to be found in *Ægypt*: *Babylon* of *Ægypt* being all one with the great Citie of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farre from the place where ſtood *Memphis* the ancient Citie, but not ſo ancient as *Babylon* vpon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is ſituate in the Valley of *Shinaar*, it hath beene formerly proued in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrarie, from the remote ſituation of theſe three Cities from *Babylon*, wee may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were diſtinct and ſucceſſiue Kings.

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§. III.

That Nimrod, *not* Aſſur, *built Niniue: and that it is probable out of* Eſay 23.13. *that* Aſſur *built Vr for the Chaldees.*

NOw as of *Nimrod*: ſo are the opinions of Writers different touching *Aſſur*, and touching the beginning of that great ſtate of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*: a controuerſie weariſomely diſputed without any direct proofe, concluſion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are ſilent, the voyce of Reaſon hath the beſt hearing) the interpretation of *Iunius* is moſt agreeable; who beſides all neceſſary conſequence doth not diſioyne the ſenſe of the Scriptures therein, nor confuſe the vnderſtanding thereof. For in this ſort hee conuerteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erat enim principium regni eius Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris; è terra hac proceſſit in Aſſyriam vbi ædificauit Niniuen*; (which is) *For the beginning of his Kingdome was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar: and hee went forth of this land into Aſſyria, and built Niniue.* So as *Iunius* takes *Aſſur* in this place, not for any perſon, but for the Region of *Aſſyria*: the land being ſo called in *Moſes* time, and before it. For certainly, the other conſtruction, (where the word *Aſſur* is taken for *Aſſur* the ſonne of *Sem*) doth not anſwere the order which *Moſes* obſerueth through all the Bookes of *Geneſis*, but is quite contrary vnto it. For in the beginning of the tenth Chapter hee ſetteth downe the ſonnes of *Noah*, in theſe words: *Now theſe are the Generations of the Sonnes of* Noah: Sem, Ham, *and* Iapheth, *vnto whom ſonnes were borne after the floud*: then it followeth immediately: *The ſonnes of* Iapheth *were* Gomer, *&c.* ſo as *Iapheth* is laſt named among *Noahs* ſonnes, be hee eldeſt or yongeſt: becauſe hee was firſt to be ſpoken of: with whom (hauing laſt named him) hee proceedes and ſets downe his iſſue, and then the iſſue of his ſonnes: firſt, the iſſue of *Gomer*, *Iapheths* eldeſt ſonne; and then ſpeakes of *Iauan* and his ſonnes: for of the reſt of that Familie he is ſilent. Anon after he numbreth the ſonnes of *Ham*, of which *Chuſh* was the eldeſt: and then the ſons of *Chuſh* and *Mizraim*; and afterward of *Canaan*; leauing *Shem* for the laſt, becauſe he would not diſioyne the Storie of the *Hebrewes*. But after he beginneth with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, vnto *Abraham*, and ſo to *Iacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to haue brought in one of the ſonnes of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had beene againſt order; neither would *Moſes* haue paſt ouer ſo ſlightly the erection of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, in one of the ſonnes of *Shem*, if he had had any ſuch meaning: it being the ſtorie of *Shems* ſonnes which he moſt attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the reſt of the ſonnes of *Chuſh*, becauſe he founded the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Empire: and in the eleuenth Chapter he returnes to ſpeake of the building of *Babel* in particular, hauing formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with thoſe other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, ſo alſo in the eleuenth hee maketh no report of *Shem*, till ſuch time as he had finiſhed ſo much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the iſſue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Iſrael*. And of *Iunius* opinion touching *Aſſur*, was *Caluin*: to which I conceiue that *P. Commeſtor, in hiſtoria Scholaſtica*, gaue an entrance, who after hee had deliuered this place in ſome other ſenſe, he vſeth theſe words: *Vel intelligendum non eſt de* Aſſur *filio* Sem, *&c. ſed* Aſſur *(id eſt) Regnum Aſſyriorum inde egreſſum eſt, quod tempore* Sarug *proaui* Abrahami *factum eſt*; (which is) *Or elſe it is not to be vnderſtood of* Aſſur *the ſonne of* Sem, *&c. but* Aſſur (*that is, the Kingdome of the Aſſyrians*) *came from thence* (*videlicet, from Babylon*) *or was made out of it: which happened in the time of* Sarug *the great grand-father of* Abraham. After which he reconcileth the differences in this ſort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the firſt Erecter of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, or the firſt Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; *Reſpecting the beginning*; but others conceiue that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is alſo true, *Quantum ad regni ampliationem*; *Regarding the enlargement of the Empire*. To this I may adde the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Aſſur* to be the ſonne of *Nimrod*: and ſo doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbienſis*, Saint *Hierome*, and *Cyrillus*, and now laſtly *Torniellus*: who ſaith he tooke vpon him that name of *Aſſur* after he had beaten the *Aſſyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his conqueſt in *Africa*: and that *Aſſur* was a common name to the Kings of *Aſſyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Pſalme* 81. *Eſay* 10. *Oſe* 5. *&c.* but to helpe the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the ſonne of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Arch-biſhop of *Mentz* in the yeere of *Chriſt* 854. an ancient and learned Writer, vnderſtands this place with *Commeſtor*, or *Commeſtor* with him, agreeing in ſubſtance with that tranſlation of *Iunius*: to which words of *Moſes* he giueth this ſenſe: *De hac terra Aſſyriorum pullulauit imperium, qui ex nomine* Nini, Beli *filij*, *Ninum condiderunt, vrbem magnam, &c. Out of this land grew the Empire of the Aſſyrians, who built Ninus the great Citie, ſo named of* Ninus *the ſonne of* Belus. On the contrarie *Caluin* obiecteth this place of *Eſay*: *Behold the land of the Chaldæans, this was no people,* Aſſur *founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderneſſe*; then which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diuerſitie in the tranſlation and vnderſtanding; inſomuch as *Michael de Palatio* vpon *Eſay* (though in all elſe very diligent) paſſeth it ouer. But *Caluin* ſeemeth hereby to inferre, that becauſe *Aſſur* founded the ſtate of the *Chaldæans*, therefore alſo *Aſſur* rather then *Nimrod* eſtabliſhed the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and built *Niniue*: contrary to the former tranſlation of *Iunius*, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hieromes* tranſlation) it may be gathered that *Aſſur* both founded and ruined this Eſtate or Citie of the *Chaldæans*, by *Eſay* remembred: vnto which Citie, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians* that they cannot truſt, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of *Chaldæa*, and that Eſtate, an example vnto thoſe *Phœnicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which Citie of *Chaldæa* being of ſtrength, and carefully defended, was (notwithſtanding) by the *Aſſyrians* vtterly waſted and deſtroyed: whereby he giueth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Citie of *Tyre* (inuincible, as themſelues thought) ſhould alſo ſoone after be ouer-turned by the ſame *Aſſyrians*: as (indeede) it was by *Nabuchodonoſor*. And theſe be the words after *Hierome*: *Ecce terra Chaldæorum, talis populus non fuit,* Aſſur *fundauit eam, in captiuitatem traduxerunt robuſtos eius, ſuffoderunt domos eius, poſuerunt eam in ruinam*, (which is)

Torni. l. Ann. ſacr. in Gen 10.

23.13.

Behold the Land of the Chaldæans, ſuch a people there were not (or, *this was no people*, after the *Geneua*) *Aſſur* (or the *Aſſyrians*) *founded it, they carried away their ſtrong men captiue, they vndermined their houſes, and ruined their Citie.* The *Septuagint* expreſſe it but in a part of another Verſe, in theſe words: *Et in terra Chaldæorum, & hæc deſolata eſt ab Aſſyrijs, quoniam murus eius corruit*, making the ſenſe perfect by the preceding Verſe, which all together may be thus vnderſtood: *If thou goe ouer to Chittim* (which is *Macedon* or *Greece*) *yet thou ſhalt haue no reſt* (ſpeaking to the *Tyrians*) *neither in the Land of the Chaldæans, for this is made deſolate by the Aſſyrians, becauſe their wals fell together to the ground. Pagninus* and *Vatablus* conuert it thus: *Ecce terra Chaſdijm, iſte populus non erat illic olim; nam* Aſſur *fundauit eam nauibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriuerunt ædes eius, poſuit eam in ruinam*: which may be thus Engliſhed: *Behold the Land of the Chaldæans, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for* Aſſur *built it a harbour for ſhips, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houſes thereof, and ruinated it. Iunius* in the place of ſhips ſets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, *for the Barbarians*: and the *Geneua*, *by the Barbarians.* But this is vndoubted that the Prophet *Eſay* (as may be gathered by all the ſenſe of the Chapter) did therein aſſure the *Tyrians* of their future deſtruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of thoſe Places, Cities, and Regions, by whoſe Trade the ſtate and greatneſſe of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharſis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Gracians* vnder the name of *Cittim*; alſo by the *Ægyptians*, the *Chaldæans*, and the reſt. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Towne of the World moſt renowned. And (as it appeares in our diſcourſe of *Paradiſe*) not the leaſt part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Citie *Vr* or *Vrchoa* in *Chaldæa*, where the body or chiefe ſtreame of *Euphrates* (euen that ſtreame which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tigris*) had his paſſage into the *Perſian Gulfe*: though now it be ſtopped vp. For (as we haue heretofore noted) the *Arabians* (that deſcended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the eaſt bankes of the *Perſian Gulfe*, trading with the *Tyrians* (as thoſe of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) tranſported their merchandiſe by the mouth of *Tigris*, that is, from *Teredon*, and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Vr* or *Vrchoa*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by Riuer and ouer Land they conueyed it into *Syria*, and ſo to *Tyre*: as they doe this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Vr* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Towne, and one of thoſe Cities which had intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it ſtood by the great Lakes of *Chaldæa*, through which that part of *Euphrates* ran, which paſſage is now ſtopt vp. *Eius curſum vetuſtas aboleuit* (ſaith *Niger*.) And *Plinie*: *Locus vbi Euphratis oſtium fuit, flumen ſalſum*; *Time hath worne away the channell of Euphrates: and the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of ſalt water.* Theſe things being thus, certainly (not without good probabilitie) we may expound the Citie of the *Chaldees*, whoſe calamities *Eſay* here noteth for terror of the *Tyrians*, to be the Citie anciently called *Vr*; and (by *Hecatæus*) *Camerina*; by *Ptolomie*, *Vrchoa*: and by the *Greekes*, *Chaldæopolis*, *The Citie of Chaldæa*: which the ſonnes of *Shem*, vntill *Abrahams* time, inhabited. And whereas in all the Tranſlations it is ſaid, that *Aſſur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be vnderſtood, that *Aſſur* the Founder was the ſonne of *Shem*; and *Aſſur* the deſtroyers were the *Aſſyrians*, by whom thoſe that inhabited *Vr* of *Chaldæa*, were at length oppreſſed and brought to ruine: which thing God foreſeeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Charran*, and ſo into *Canaan*. And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* conuerted (*by ſhips*) doe beare that ſenſe, the ſame may be the better approued; becauſe it was a Port Towne: and the Riuer ſo farre vp as this Citie of *Vr* was in ancient time nauigable, as both by *Plinie* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (*for the Barbarians*) or (*by the Barbarians*) be alſo in the *Hebrew* Text, it is no leſſe manifeſt, that the moſt barbarous *Arabians* of the Deſart were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vnto it. For *Chaldæa* is now called *Arachaldar*, which ſignifieth deſart Lands, becauſe it ioyneth to that part of *Arabia* ſo called: and *Cicero* (calling thoſe *Arabians* by the name of *Ituræans*) addeth, that they are of all other people the moſt ſaluage; calling them, *Homines omnium maxime barbaros.*

So as this place of *Eſay*, which breedeth ſome doubt in *Caluin*, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former tranſlation of *Iunius*, nor the interpretation of *Comeſter* and *Rabanus*. For though other men haue not conceiued (for any thing that I haue read) that *Aſſur* is in this place diuerſly taken (as for the ſonne of *Sem*, when he is ſpoken of as a Builder of *Vr*; and when as a Deſtroyer thereof, then for the *Aſſyrian* Nation) yet certainely the euidence of the truth, and agreement of circumſtances ſeeme to enforce it. And ſo this Founding of the Citie of the *Chaldees* by *Aſſur* (into which the moſt of the poſteritie of *Sem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were ſeparate for the Idolatrie of the *Chuſites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themſelues) hath nothing in it to proue that the ſame *Aſſur* built *Niniue*, or that the ſame *Aſſur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Aſſur*, who was the ſonne of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the ſonne of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the firſt notorious Sacrificer to Idols; and the firſt that ſet vp a Statue or Image to be honored as god. Now if *Aſſur* muſt be of that Race, and not of the Familie of *Sem*, as he muſt be if he founded *Niniue*, then all thoſe which ſeeke to giue him the honor thereof, doe him by a thouſand parts more iniurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Beſides, if this ſuppoſed *Aſſur* whom they make the Founder of *Niniue* (and ſo the ſonne of *Belus*) were any other, and not the ſame with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainely he was very vnworthy and obſcure, and not like to be the Founder of ſuch an Empire and ſuch a Citie, if no man haue vouchſafed to leaue to poſteritie his expulſion thence, and how he loſt that Empire againe or quitted it to *Ninus*: whoſe acts and conqueſts are ſo largely written, and (according to my apprehenſion) farre differing from truth. It will therefore be found beſt agreeing to Scripture and to Reaſon, and beſt agreeing with the ſtorie of that age written by prophane Authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the firſt workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moſes*; and that theſe workes being finiſhed within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and ſet in hand the worke of *Ninus*, lying neere vnto the ſame ſtreame that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which worke his grand-childe *Ninus* afterward amplified and finiſhed, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to paſſe, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundreſſe of the Citie which ſhe onely finiſhed: ſo alſo *Ninus* of *Niniue*: *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit inſtaurare*; *She might repaire or renew Babylon*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*. For ſo did *Nabuchodonoſor* vaunt himſelfe to bee the Founder of *Babylon* alſo, becauſe he built vp againe ſome part of the wall, ouer-borne by the furie of the Riuer: which worke of his ſtood till *Alexanders* time, whereupon hee vanted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I haue built?* Dan. 4.27.

§. IIII.

Of the Acts of Nimrod *and* Belus, *as farre as now they are knowne.*

BVt to returne to the Storie, it is plaine in *Moſes*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*; and *Iulius Africanus* ſurnamed *Saturne*) was the eſtabliſher of the *Babylonian Monarchie*, of whom there is no other thing written, then that his Empire in the beginning conſiſted of thoſe 4. Cities before remembred, *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Aſſyria*; & in *Aſſyria* built foure more Cities (to wit) *Niniue*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Reſen*. And ſeeing that hee ſpent much time in building *Babel* it ſelfe and thoſe adioyning, and that his trauailes were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that worke of *Babel* (ſuch as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Niniue*, and the other Cities of *Aſſyria* which he builded (conſidered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie then any thing performed by his Succeſſors in many yeeres after: to whoſe vndertakings time had giuen ſo great an increaſe of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning ſo great an aduancement and encouragement: in whoſe time (ſaith *Glycas*) all theſe Nations were called *Meropes, à ſermonis linguarum terræq́; diuiſione*; *By reaſon that the earth and the ſpeech were then diuided.*

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Iupiter Belus*, ſucceeded *Nimrod*, after hee had reigned 114. yeeres; of whoſe acts and vndertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he ſpent much of his time in diſ-burdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firme ground of all thoſe great Fennes and ouer-flowne Mariſhes which adioyned vnto it. For any of his Warres or conqueſts there is no report, other then of his begun enterpriſe againſt *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and thoſe parts of *Scythia* which *Beroſus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whoſe ſonne and ſucceſſor *Barzanes* became ſubiect and Tributarie to *Ninus*, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begunne.

§. V.

§. V.

That we are not to maruaile how ſo many Kingdomes could be erected about theſe times: and of Vexoris *of Ægypt, and* Tanais *of Scythia.*

THat ſo many Kingdomes were erected in all thoſe Eaſterne parts of the World ſo ſoone after *Nimrod*, (as by the ſtorie of *Ninus* is made manifeſt) the cauſes were threefold, (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Neceſſitie. For Opportunitie being a Princeſſe liberall and powerfull, beſtoweth on her firſt Entertayners many times more benefits, then either Fortune can, or Wiſedome ought; by whoſe preſence alone the vnderſtanding mindes of men receiue all thoſe helps and ſupplyes, which they eyther want or wiſh for: ſo as euery Leader of a troupe (after the diuiſion of tongues and diſperſion of People) finding theſe faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they poſſeſt, and gouerned by diſcretion all thoſe people, whom they conducted to their deſtined places. For it cannot be conceiued, that when the Earth was firſt diuided, mankinde ſtraggled abroad like beaſts in a Deſart; but that by agreement they diſpoſed themſelues, & vnder-tooke to inhabite all the knowne parts of the world, and by diſtinct Families and Nations: otherwiſe, thoſe remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus* time, would not haue beene poſſeſt in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they were; neyther did thoſe that were ſent, and trauelled far off (order being the true parent of proſperous ſucceſſe) vndertake ſo difficult enterprizes without a Conducter or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it ſucceeded well, ſtrengthened euery humor that aſpired. Thirdlie, Neceſſitie reſolued all men by the arguments of common miſeries, that without a Commander and Magiſtrate, neither could thoſe that were laborious, and of honeſt diſpoſitions, enioy the harueſt of their owne Trauailes: nor thoſe which were of little ſtrength, ſecure themſelues againſt forcible violence: nor thoſe which ſought after any proportion of greatneſſe, eyther poſſeſſe the ſame in quiet, or rule and order their owne Miniſters and Attendants.

That theſe cauſes had wrought theſe effects, the vndertakings and Conqueſts of *Ninus* (the ſon of *Belus*) made it apparent: for he found euery where Kings and Monarchies, what way ſoeuer his Ambition led him in the Warres.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to vs knowne, when he firſt tooke on him Soueraigntie and ſole commandement of all thoſe the children of *Noah*, which came from the Eaſt into *Babylonia*: though in his life time others alſo rayſed themſelues to the ſame eſtate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his ſonne and Succeſſor) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, ſufficiently powerfull to reſiſt his attempts: which *Sabatius* I take to be the ſame, which *Iuſtine* cals *Tanais*; and ſhould coniecture, that *Mizraim* had beene his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently ſuſpect ſome error, (as *Iuſtine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumſtances ſeemes to me rightly accounted by the Iudicious and Learned *Reineccius* all one with the great *Seſoſtris*, that liued certaine Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the ſecond King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. yeeres, according to the common account.

See more of this, *l*. 2. of this firſt Part, *cap*. 2. §. *6*.

§. VI.

Of the name of Belus, *and other names affine vnto it.*

WHence this ſecond King and Succeſſour of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, queſtion hath beene made: for it ſeemeth rather a name impoſed, or (of addition) giuen by *Ninus*, then aſſumed by *Belus* himſelfe.

Cyrillus againſt *Iulian* cals the Father of *Ninus Arbelus*, affirming that he was the firſt of all men that cauſed himſelfe to bee called a god: which were it ſo, then might the name of *Belus* be thence deriued. But *Bel*, as many Learned Writers haue obſerued, ſignifieth the Sunne in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* giue that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sunne, which the *Babylonians* worſhipped as a god. And as this Title was aſſumed in after-times by diuers others of the *Chaldæan* Princes, and *Babylonian Satrapæ*: ſo was it vſed (in imitation) by the chiefe of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as ſome Hiſtorians haue conceiued.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertaine (as in affinitie) thoſe voyces of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphagor*, *Belſebub*, and *Beelſephon*. Thoſe that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldæan* conuert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Princeps militiæ*, *Chiefe in the Warre*; though *Daniel* was ſo called (ſaith *Suidas*) *Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum*; *In honour of his expounding ſecrets*. Saint *Hierome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to haue the ſame ſignification: and ſayth, that the Idoll of *Babylon* was ſo called, which *Ninus* in memorie of his father ſet vp to be worſhipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offenders. Hence (ſaith *Lyranus*) came Idolatrie, and the firſt vſe of Images into the World. *Iſidore* doth interprete *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient; adding, that as among the *Aſſyrians* it is taken for *Saturne* and the *Sunne*: ſo in the *Punicke* or *Carthaginian* Language it ſignifieth God. *Glycas* makes it an *Aſſyrian* name properly; and *Ioſephus* a *Tyrian*. He alſo affirmeth that the Idoll which the *Moabites* worſhipped (by them erected on the Mountaine *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the ſame which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the god of Gardens; which alſo was the opinion of S. *Hierome*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to ſay as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idoll of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* ſoundeth (God) and *Schub* (Flies or Hornets:) by which name (notwithſtanding) the *Iewes* expreſſe the Prince of Deuils. But the Prophet *Oſe* teacheth vs the proper ſignification of this word from the voice of God himſelfe; *And at that day* (*ſaith the Lord*) *thou ſhalt call me* Iſhi, *and ſhalt call me no more* Baalim: *for I will take away the name of* Baalim *out of their mouthes*. For although the name of *Baal*, or *Babal*, be iuſtly to be vſed towards God; yet in reſpect that the ſame was giuen to Idols, God both hated it and forbad it. And the vſing of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldæans* for the Sunne, was not becauſe it properly ſignifieth the Sun, but becauſe the Sunne there was worſhipped as a God: as alſo the Fire was, *tanquam Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belſephon*; *Belſephon* is expounded out of *Facius*, *Dominus ſpeculæ vel cuſtodiæ*: *The Lord of the Watch-Towre, or of the Guard*: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place wherein it was worſhipped. It is alſo written *Belpeor*, or *Baalpeor*: and *Peor* (they ſay) is as much as *Denudauit*; and therefore the word ioyned expreſſeth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus* the ſonne of *Saturne*: for it was vſed among the Ancients to name the Father *Saturne*, the Sonne *Iupiter*, and the Grand-childe *Hercules*. *Saturni dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regum qui vrbes condiderunt ſeniſſimi; primogeniti eorum* Ioues & Iunones; Hercules *verò nepotes eorum fortiſſimi*; *The ancienteſt of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called* Saturnes; *their firſt borne* Iupiters *and* Iunoes; *their valiant Nephewes* Hercules. But this *Belus* (ſaith *L. Viues*) was famous by reaſon of his warlike ſonne *Ninus*, who cauſed his Father to be worſhipped as a God by the name of *Iupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Ægyptians* (tranſported by the Dreames of their Antiquitie) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (ſay they) vpon *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus* begat this *Iupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Ægyptus*. They adde, that this *Belus* carrying a Colonie to the Riuer of *Euphrates*, there built a Citie, in which he ordained Prieſts after the *Ægyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the ſonne of *Epaphus* and *Iſis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or (with *Euſebius*) of *Telegonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Iſis*, (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the ſame was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom wee ſpeake, but rather ſome other *Belus*, of whom the *Ægyptians* ſo much vaunted.

Hier. in Oſe c. 2.
Lyr. in Sapien. Salom. c. 11.
Iſid l. 8. c. 11.
Hieron in Oſe c. 4. & 9.
Aucto. de æquiu. lib. 1.
Diod. l. 3.

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§. VII.

Of the worſhipping of Images begun from Belus *in Babel.*

AS for the *Babylonian Belus*, hee was the moſt ancient *Belus*, and the Inuentour of *Aſtronomie*, if *Plinie* ſay true: from whence the *Ægyptians* might borrow both the name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his *Statue* or Image was honoured as a God, the ſame Author affirmeth that it did remaine in his time.

Of the Sepulcher of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus. *Ouer the Riuer* (ſaith he) *there are Gardens, where they ſay the ruines of* Belus *his Tombe, which* Xerxes *brake vp, are yet remaining. It was a ſquare Pyramis made of Bricke, a furlong high, and on euery ſide it had a furlong in breadth.* It appeares by *Cyril* againſt *Iulian*, that hee obtained diuine worſhip yet

liuing:

Strabo. l. 13. c. 3.
L. 4. cont. Iulian.

liuing: for ſo he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus.*) *Arbelus, vir ſuperbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à ſubditis Deitatis nomen accepiſſe: perſeuerârunt igitur Aſſyrij, & finitimæ illis gentes ſacrificantes ei.* Arbelus, *a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the firſt of all men that was euer honoured by their ſubiects with title of Deitie;* (or with the name of God.) *The Aſſyrians therefore, and the bordering Nations haue perſeuered, ſacrificing to him.* Euen *Arius* alſo, whom *Suidas* cals *Thuras,* who ſucceedeed next after *Ninyas,* was made an Idoll-god among them, if we credit *Suidas.*

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thuras* reigned (ſaith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a man of ſharpe and fierce diſpoſition, who bidding battaile to *Caucaſus* of the ſtocke of *Iapheth* ſlue him. The *Aſſyrians* worſhipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus farre *Suidas.* Neither is it vnlikely but that many among Idolatrous nations were Deified in their life-times, or ſoone after: though I denie not but that the moſt of their Images and *Statuæ* were firſt erected without diuine worſhip, onely in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiueth; and ſo afterward the Deuill crept into thoſe woodden and brazen carcaſſes, when Poſteritie had loſt the memorie of their firſt inuention. Hereof *Iſidore* ſpeaketh in this manner: *Quos autem Pagani Deos aſſerunt homines fuerunt, & pro vniuſcuiuſq; vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud ſuos poſt mortem cœperunt: ſed (Dæmonibus perſuadentibus) quos illi pro ſua memoria honorâuerunt, minores Deos exiſtimârunt: ad iſta verò magis excolenda acceſſerunt Poetarum figmenta; They were men* (ſaith he) *whom the Pagans affirmed to be gods: and euery one for his merits or magnificence began after his death to bee honoured of his owne. But at length (the Deuils perſwading) they accounted them leſſer gods, whoſe memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honour of the dead) much more ſuperſtitious.*

Greg. Neocæſar

Ambr. in Pſal. 108.

Euſeb. l. 7. c. 18

Aug. c. 13.

Lact. lib. 2. c. 2.

And that the worſhipping of Images was brought in by the *Pagans,* and *Heathen* Nations, it is not *Iſidore* alone that witneſſeth; but *Gregorie*: *Gentilitas* (ſaith he) *inuentrix & caput eſt imaginum; Gentiliſme is the inuentreſſe and ground of Images*: and *Ambroſe*; *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei; The Gentiles adore wood as it were the Image of God. Euſebius* alſo affirmeth as much, and calleth the worſhipping of Images a cuſtome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath Saint *Auguſtine* againſt *Adimantus. Et verentur* (ſaith *Lactantius*) *ne religio vana ſit, ſi nihil videant quod adorent; They feare their Religion would be vaine, ſhould they not ſee that which they worſhip.*

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen ſhift this fearefull cuſtome very ſtrangely. For ſeeing the very workemanſhip is forbidden, how can the heart of a wiſe Chriſtian ſatiſfie it ſelfe with the diſtinction of *Doulia* and *Hyperdoulia,* which can imply nothing but ſome difference of worſhipping of thoſe Images after they are made? And it is of all things the moſt ſtrange, why religious and learned men ſhould ſtraine their wits to defend the vſe of thoſe things, which the Scriptures haue not onely no where warranted, but expreſly in many places forbidden, and curſed the Practiſers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Deuill was ſo ſtrongly and ſubtilly rooted, as neither the expreſſe Commandement of God himſelfe, *Thou ſhalt not make any grauen image,* nor all the threatnings of *Moſes* and the Prophets after him could remoue, weed it, or by feare, or by any perſwaſions lead the harts of men from it. For where ſhall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer inſtruction then theſe? *Take therefore good heed to your ſelues (for ye ſaw no Image in the day that the Lord ſpake vnto you in Horeb out of the midſt of the fire) that yee corrupt not your ſelues, and make you a grauen Image or repreſentation of any Figure, whether it be the likeneſſe of Male or Female.*

And beſides the expreſſe Commandement, *Thou ſhalt make thee no grauen Image,* and the prohibition in many Scriptures, ſo it is written in the Booke of *Wiſedome,* That *the inuention of Idols was the beginning of whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neyther ſhall they continue for euer.*

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets ſpake againſt the Worſhipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifeſt that *Moſes* ſpake of Images of the liuing God, and not of *Baal* and the reſt of that nature, *For you ſaw no Image* (ſaith *Moſes*) *that day that the Lord ſpake vnto you in Horeb.* Surely it was excellently ſaid of *Baſil*; *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumſcribas eum mente tua: Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, leſt thou limit or circumſcribe him in thy minde too.* Now, if the great *Baſil* thought it a preſumption vnlawfull to repreſent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and mindes, how farre doe thoſe men preſume that put him vnder the greazie Penſill of a Painter, or the ruſtie Axe or other Inſtrument of a Carpenter or Caruer?

For as this diſhonour to the infinite and incomprehenſible God beganne in *Babel*: ſo did the Deuill tranſport and ſpred this inuention into all the Regions adioyning, and into *Ægypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romanes* for a while reſiſted the erection of theſe Idols and Images, refuſing to ſet them in their Temples for 170. yeeres, obſeruing the Law of *Numa*: who thought it impietie to reſemble things moſt beautifull, by things moſt baſe. But *Tarquinius Priſcus* afterwards preuailing, and following the vanitie of the *Gracians* (a Nation of all others vnder the Sunne moſt deluded by Satan) ſet vp the Images of their gods; which (as S. *Auguſtine* witneſſeth) that Learned *Varro* both bewailed, and vtterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth; *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis ſupplicant, genu poſito illa adorant, & cùm hæc ſuſpiciant, fabros qui illa fecere contemnunt*; *The Images of the gods are worſhipped, thoſe they pray vnto with bended knees, thoſe they adore; and while they ſo greatly admire them, they contemne the Handi-craftſmen that made them*: which alſo *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this ſort ſcoffed at:

Aug. de ciu. l. 4 c. 31.

Heu miſeri qui vana colunt, qui corde ſiniſtrò
Relligioſa ſibi ſculpunt ſimulachra, ſuumq;
Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecere verentur.
Quis furor eſt? quæ tanta animos dementia ludit?
Vt volucrem, turpemq; bouem, toruumq; Draconem,
Semi-hominemq; canem ſupplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worſhip vanities,
And conſecrate dumbe Idols in their heart,
Who their owne Maker (God on high) deſpiſe,
And feare the worke of their owne hands and art.
What furie? what great madneſſe doth beguile
Mens mindes? that man ſhould vgly ſhapes adore,
Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile
Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuice was barbarous, and firſt, and many yeeres practiſed by Heathen Nations only, till the *Iewes* were corrupted in *Ægypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to ſcorne the ignorant ſtupiditie of his Nation: but *Iuſtin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sibyls* inueighed againſt Images: and *Hoſpinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the ſoules of men to erect and adore thoſe Babels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witneſſe, that the *Perſians* did not erect or ſet vp any *Statue* of their Gods. *Lycurgus* neuer taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impietie to repreſent immortall natures by mortall Figures. *Euſebius* alſo witneſſeth in his ſixt Booke, *de præparatione Euangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images ſhould be worſhipped. The ſame doe *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other Authors might bee remembred that witneſſe the diſdaine which the Heathen themſelues had of this childiſh Idolatrie: of which *Hoſpinian* hath written at large in his Tract, *de origine imaginum*. And it was truely ſayd, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta ſunt*, *All ill examples haue ſprung from good beginnings*. The Heathen at firſt made theſe *Statuæ* and Images, but in memorie of ſuch remarkeable men, as had deſerued beſt of their Countries and Common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (ſaith *Plinie*) *non ſolebant exprimi, niſi aliqua illuſtri cauſa perpetuitatem merentium*: *Men were not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for ſome notable cauſe to bee perpetually remembred.* And though of the more ancient *Papiſts*, ſome haue borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appears in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarũ, vt per ea diſcerent homines Deũ inuiſibilẽ cognoſcere*: *Images* (ſay they, & ſo before thẽ the Heathen ſaid) *are in ſtead of Letters, wherby men might learn to know the inuiſible God*: in which vnderſtanding perhaps they no otherwiſe eſteemed them then pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel* ſet vp in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the moſt reuerenced Idoll of the World, by which ſo many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himſelfe) were miſled and caſt away: ſo thoſe very ſtocks & ſtones;

and painted Canuaſes (called the pictures of *Chriſt*, our *Ladie*, and others) were by thouſands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but eſteemed to haue life, motion, and vnderſtanding. *On theſe ſtocks we call* (ſaith the Booke of *Wiſedome*) *when we paſſe through the raging waues, on theſe ſtockes more rotten then the Ship that carrieth vs.*

This Heathen inuention of Images became ſo fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to diſtinguiſh them into degrees and orders; as *Dij Conſentes, ſeu maiorum gentium; ſelecti, Patritij, inſigniores, dij medij: Counſelling gods, or gods of the mightieſt Nobilitie, ſelect gods, Patrian, gods of marke, and common gods* (which the *Romanes* called *Medioxumi*) *dij infimi*, and terreſtriall *Heroes*, and multitudes of other gods: of which Saint *Auguſtine* hath made large mention in his Booke *de Ciuitate Dei*. But (ſaith *Lactantius*) among all thoſe miſerable ſoules and rotten bodies, worſhipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretenſis* (by what good Angell mooued I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the vnknowne God, which ſtood with the ſame title and dedication euen to the times of S. *Paul*: who made them firſt know to whom theſe Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might diſcerne the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth euery man, and the obſcure and ſtinking miſt wherein the Deuill had ſo manie yeeres led and miſ-led them. And it ſufficed not that the multitude of theſe gods was ſo great in generall, or that euerie Nation had ſome one which tooke particular and ſingular care of them, as *Iupiter* in *Creete*, *Iſis* in *Ægypt*, in *Athens Minerua*, in *Samos Iuno*, in *Paphos Venus*, and ſo of all other parts; but euery Citie, and almoſt euery Family had a god a-part. For as it is written in the ſecond of *Kings*: the men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Aſhima*, and the *Auins* made *Nibhaz* and *Tarrak*, and the *Sepheruaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which how plainely hath the Prophet *Eſay* derided? *Men cut downe Trees, rinde them, burne a part of them, make readie their meate, and warme themſelues by the fire thereof, and of the reſidue he maketh a god; an Idoll, and prayeth vnto it: but God hath ſhut their eyes from ſight, and their heart from vnderſtanding.* It is therefore ſafeſt for a Chriſtian to belieue the Commandements of God ſo direct againſt Idolatrie, to beleeue the Prophets, and to beleeue S. *Paul*: who ſpeaketh thus plainely and feelingly, *My beloued, flye from Idolatrie, I ſpeake as vnto them which haue vnderſtanding, iudge ye what I ſay.*

Lib.14.

Cap.17.v.18. 31.

Cap.44.

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§. VIII.

Of the Warres of Ninus: *and laſtly of his Warre againſt* Zoroaſter.

VNto this *Belus* ſucceeded *Ninus*, the firſt that commanded the exerciſe of Idolatrie, the firſt that iniuriouſly inuaded his Neighbor Princes; and the firſt that without ſhame or feare committed adulterie in publique. But as of *Belus* there is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars:) ſo of this *Ninus* (whoſe Storie is gathered out of Prophane Authors) I finde nothing ſo warrantable, but that the ſame may be diſputed, and in the greateſt part doubted. For although that piece of *Beroſus* ſet out and commented vpon by *Annius*, hath many good things in it, and giueth great light (as *Chrytæus* noteth) to the vnderſtanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnaſſeus*, and others: yet *Lodouicus Vines*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them haue layed open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; proouing directly that it cannot be the ſame *Beroſus* which liued in *Alexanders* time, cited by *Athenæus* and *Ioſephus*: and whoſe *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, ſaith *Plinie*. Yet it is from him chiefely, that many haue gathered the ſucceſſion of the *Babylonian* & *Aſſyrian* Princes, euen from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Aſcatades*, and to the times of *Ioſua*. For of *Metaſthenes* an Hiſtorian, of the Race of the *Perſian* Prieſts, there are found but certaine Papers, or ſome few lines of the *Chaldæan* and *Aſſyrian Monarchies*: but he afterwards in the collection of the *Perſian* Kings is not without his errours.

Athen.l.14.
Ioſeph.cont.Apion.l.1.&7.

Cteſias of *Cnidus* (a Citie adioyning to *Halicarnaſſus*) who liued together with *Cyrus* the yonger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his Hiſtorie out of the *Perſian* Records, and reacheth as farre vpwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and though in the Storie of *Cyrus* the yonger, *Xenophon* approoueth him in ſome things, and *Athenæus*, *Pauſanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet ſo baſe and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whom he liued, and ſo incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and eſpecially of *Semiramis*; as whatſoeuer his reports were, times haue conſumed his workes, ſauing ſome very few excerptions lately publiſhed.

And therefore in things vncertaine, ſeeing a long diſcourſe cannot be pleaſing to men of iudgement, I will paſſe ouer the acts of this third *Aſſyrian*, in as few words as I can expreſſe them. S. *Auguſtine* affirmes that *Ninus* maſtered all *Aſia*, *India* excepted. Others ſay that he wanne it all, ſaue *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his Conqueſts, with whom he entred into a ſtraight league of amitie, becauſe he commanded many people, and was his Kinſman, and a *Chuſite*, and the neereſt Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His firſt enterprize was vpon *Syria*, which he might eaſily ſubdue, both becauſe hee inuaded it on the ſodaine, and becauſe it lay next him: and alſo becauſe the *Arabians* and their King *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) aſſiſted him in the Conqueſt thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his Warre againſt *Zoroaſter*: for from *Armenia* he bent himſelfe that way toward the Eaſt; but that euer he commanded the leſſer *Aſia*, I doe not beleeue, for none of his Succeſſors had any poſſeſſion therein.

His third Warre was againſt *Pharnus*, King of the *Medes*, whome it is ſayd that he ouerthrew, and cruelly murthered with his ſeuen Children, though others affirme that they all died in one battaile againſt him. Whether he inuaded *Zoroaſter* before the building or amplifying of *Niniue*, or after, it is vncertaine. It is ſaid that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill ſucceſſe in the firſt, hee returned, and ſet the worke of *Niniue* forward: and then a ſecond time entred *Bactria* with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horſe, and 10000. ſixe hundred Chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaſter* with foure hundred thouſand. But *Ninus* preuayling, and *Zoroaſter* being ſlaine, hee entred farther into the Countrie, and beſieged the chiefe Citie thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrion* (ſaith *Stephanus*:) which by a paſſage found, and an aſſault giuen by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) hee entred and poſſeſt. Vpon this occaſion *Ninus* both admiring her iudgement and valour, together with her perſon and externall beautie, fancied her ſo ſtrongly, as (neglecting all Princely reſpects) hee tooke her from her husband, whoſe eyes he threatned to thruſt out if hee refuſed to conſent. Hee therefore yeelding to the paſſion of loue in *Ninus*, and to the paſſion of ſorrow in himſelfe, by the ſtrong perſwaſions of ſhame and diſhonour, caſt himſelfe head-long into the water, and died.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.

Steph. de Vrb.

CHAP. XI.

Of ZOROASTER, *ſuppoſed to haue beene the chiefe Author of Magick Arts: and of the diuers kinds of Magicke.*

§. I.

That Zoroaſter *was not* Cham, *nor the firſt Inuenter of Aſtrologie, or of Magicke: and that there were diuers great Magicians of this name.*

Zoroaſter King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* ſuppoſeth to be *Cham* the ſonne of *Noah*: A fancie of little probabilitie. For *Cham* was the Paternall Anceſter of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whoſe ſonne was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that booke which was called *Scriptura Cham*, deuiſed by ſome wicked Knaue, & ſo intituled: of which *Sixtus Senenſis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Caſſianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gaue the inuention of *Magicke* to *Cham* the ſonne of *Noah*: ſo did *Comeſtor* in his Scholaſticall Hiſtorie: which Art (ſaith he) with the 7. liberall Sciences he writ in 14. Pillers: ſeuen of which were made of braſſe, to reſiſt the defacing by the waters of the Floud; and 7. of bricke againſt the iniurie of fire. There was alſo another deuiſed diſcourſe, which went vnder

Caſſiā in Colla. Col. cap. 21.

title of ***Prophetia Cham.*** *Caſsianus* out of *Serenus* hath ſomwhat like vnto this of *Comeſtor.* Theſe be *Caſsianꝰ* words: Cham (*filius* Noah) *qui ſuperſtitionibꝰ iſtis & ſacrilegis fuit artibꝰ infectus, ſciens, nullum ſe poſſe ſuper hijs memorialem librum in Arcam prorſus inferre, in qua erat cum patre iuſto, &c.* Cham (*the ſonne of* Noah) *who was infected with theſe ſuperſtitions, and ſacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any booke or memoriall of that nature into the Arke, wherein he was to remayne with his godly Father, cauſed the Precepts and Rules thereof to be grauen in metall and hard ſtone.*

S. *Auguſtine* noteth that *Zoroaſter* was ſaid to haue laught at his birth, when all other children weepe; which preſaged the great knowledge which afterward he attayned vnto: being taken for the Inuenter of naturall *Magicke* and other Arts; for the Corrupter, ſaith *Plinie* and *Iuſtine.* But I doe not thinke that *Zoroaſter* inuented the doctrine of the *Horoſcopes* or *Natiuities*: or firſt found out the nature of herbs, ſtones, and mineralls, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldæa* is alſo made the Inuenter. I rather thinke that theſe knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his ſonnes. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaſter*, (as *Ioſephus* reporteth) was no leſſe learned heerein then any other in that age, if hee exceeded not all men then liuing: differing from the wiſedome of after-times in this, that hee knew and acknowledged the true cauſe, and giuer of life and vertue to Nature and all Naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, diſperſed, and vniuerſall power) admired the inſtruments, and did attribute proper ſtrength to the things themſelues, (from which the effects were ſenſible) which belonged to that wiſedome, *Which being one, and remaining in it ſelfe, can doe all things, and reneweth all.* Wiſd.c.7.

Now whether this *Zoroaſter* (ouer-throwne by *Ninus*) were the ſame which was ſo excellent a Naturaliſt, it is doubted. For *Zoroaſter* the *Magician, Cteſias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Plinie* findes of a later time. And if *Zoroaſter* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the middeſt of his Diſciples) as ſome Authors report, then *Zoroaſter*, ſlaine by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is alſo the opinion of *Scaliger.* Scalig. in Euſe.

Ioſeph. lib. 1. Antiq. c. 4. Againe, *Ioſephus* and *Cedrenus* affirme, that *Seth* firſt found out the Planets, or wandring Starres, and other Motions of the Heauens: for if this Art had beene inuented by *Zoroaſter*, hee could not haue attained to any ſuch excellencie therein, in his owne life-time; but being a man (as it ſeemeth) of ſingular iudgement, he might adde ſomewhat to this kinde of knowledge, and leaue it by writing to poſteritie.

But of this *Zoroaſter* there is much diſpute: and no leſſe iangling about the word and arte of *Magick. Arnobius* remembreth foure, to whom the name of *Zoroaſter*, or *Zoroaſtres* was giuen: which by *Hermodorus* & *Dinon* ſeemeth to be but a *cognomen*, or name of arte, and was as much to ſay, as *aſtrorum cultor.* The firſt, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the ſame that *Ninus* ouerthrew: the ſecond, a *Chaldæan*, and the *Aſtronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaſter Pamphylius*, who liued in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaſter Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hoſtianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus* there paſt threeſcore and eighteene yeres. *Suidas* remembreth a fift, called *Perſomedus ſapiens*: and *Plato* ſpeaketh of *Zoroaſter* the ſonne of *Oromaſdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the firſt and chiefe *Zoroaſter* was, it is doubted. *Plinie* and *Laertius* make him a *Perſian. Gemiſthius* or *Pletho, Ficinus* and *Steuchius*, make him a *Chaldæan.* But by thoſe bookes of one *Zoroaſter*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainely, that the Author of them was a *Chaldæan* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldæan*) was as often giuen to the learned Prieſts peculiarly, as for any diſtinguiſhment of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* diuers; *Picus* the ſame. But that this *Zoroaſter* was a *Chaldæan* both by Nation and Profeſſion, it appeareth by his Bookes, which (ſaith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldæan* tongue; and the Comment in the ſame language. Now that the *Magi* & they were not differing, it may be iudged by the name of thoſe bookes of *Zoroaſter*, which in an Epiſtle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, hee ſaith, to be intituled, *Patris* Ezre Zoroaſtris, & Melchior *magorum oracula.*

§. II.

§. II.

Of the name of Magia: and that it was anciently farre diuers from Coniuring and Witchcraft.

Now for *Magicke* it ſelfe; which Arte (ſaith *Mirandula*) *pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt; Few vnderſtand, and many reprehend; Et ſicut Canes ignotos ſemper allatrant; As Dogs barke at thoſe they know not*: ſo they condemne and hate the things they vnderſtand not: I think it not amiſſe (leauing *Ninus* for a while) to ſpeake ſomewhat thereof.

Pic. Mir ſo 81.

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (*Magos*) becauſe of *Simon Magus*: who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *Goës*, (that is) familiar with euill ſpirits, vſurped that title. For *Magicke, Coniuring*, and *Witcherie*, are farre differing Arts, whereof *Plinie* being ignorant ſcoffeth thereat. For *Nero* (ſaith *Plinie*) who had the moſt excellent *Magicians* of the Eaſt ſent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that Kingdome by his grace, found the arte after long ſtudie and labour altogether ridiculous.

Plin. l. 30. hiſt. Nat.

Magus is a *Perſian* word primitiuely, whereby is expreſt ſuch a one as is altogether conuerſant in things diuine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Arte of *Magicke* is the Arte of worſhipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epiſtles expounding the word (μάγος) ſaith, that the *Perſians* called their gods μάγους: whence hee addeth that *Magus* is either ὁ ἐκ φύσει θεὸς or θεραπευτὴς θεῶν (that is) that *Magus* is a name ſometime of him that is a God by nature; ſometimes of him that is in the ſeruice of God: in which latter ſenſe it is taken, *Math. 2. v. 1.* And this is the firſt and higheſt kinde: which *Piccolominie* calleth diuine *Magicke*: and theſe did the *Latines* newly intitle *Sapientes* or *Wiſe men*: *For, the feare and worſhip of God is the beginning of knowledge.* Theſe *Wiſemen* the *Greekes* call *Philoſophers*: the *Indians, Brachmans*: which name they ſomewhat neerely retaine to this day, calling their Prieſts *Bramines*; among the *Ægyptians* they were termed Prieſts; with the *Hebrewes* they were called *Cabaliſtes, Prophets, Scribes*, and *Phariſees*: amongſt the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldæans*: and among the *Perſians, Magicians*: of whom *Arnobius* (ſpeaking of *Hoſtanes*, one of the ancient *Magicians*) vſeth theſe words: *Et verum Deum merita maieſtate proſequitur, & Angelos miniſtros Dei, ſed veri, eius venerationi nouit aſſiſtere. Idem dæmonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos; Soſthenes* (for ſo *M. Fœlix* calleth him, not *Hoſtanes*) *aſcribeth the due maieſtie to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are miniſters and meſſengers which attend the worſhip of the true God. He alſo hath deliuered that there are Deuils earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankinde.*

Porphyr. & Apul.
Plato in Alcib.
Piccol. de Defin.
Prouerb 1. 7.
Iohn Hug. Linſchot.
In octauio Minutij Fœlicis cũ Arnobio. p. 360

His Maieſtie alſo in his firſt Booke of *Dæmonologie c. 3.* acknowledgeth, that in the *Perſian* tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much as a contemplator of diuine and heauenlie ſciences; but vniuſtly ſo called, becauſe the *Chaldæans* were ignorant of the true diuinitie. And it is alſo right which *His Maieſtie* auoweth, that vnder the name of *Magicke* all other vnlawfull Arts are comprehended, and yet doth *His Maieſtie* diſtinguiſh it from *Necromancie, Witchcraft*, and the reſt: of all which he hath written largely and moſt learnedly. For the *Magicke* which *His Maieſtie* condemneth, is of that kinde whereof the Deuill is a partie. *Daniel* in his ſecond chapter nameth foure kindes of thoſe *wiſe men*: *Arioli, Magi, Malefici*, and *Chaldæi*. *Arioli* the olde *Latine* tranſlation calleth *Sophiſtas*: *Vatablus* and *Pagninus, Genethliacos*, or *Phyſicos*, or *Philoſophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturaliſts*: *Nempè ſunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philoſophi apud Græcos (ſcilicet) diuinarum humanarumq́; rerum ſcientiam profitentes; For the Magi are the ſame with the Barbarians, as the Philoſophers are with the Gracians* (that is) *men that profeſſe the knowledge of things both diuine and humane.* The *Greeke* and the *Engliſh* call them *Inchanters*; *Iunius, Magicians*; *Caſtalion, Coniecturers*: in the *Syrian* they are all foure by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*; *The wiſe men of Babel.*

Dæmonolog. l. 2. cap. 1.

The ſecond ſort *Vatablus, Pagnin, Iunius*, and our *Engliſh*, call *Aſtrologers*; *Hierome* and the *Septuagint, Magicians.*

The third kinde are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Hierome, Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint, Witches*, or *Poyſoners*: in *Iunius, Præſtigiatores*, or *Sorcerers*, as in *Engliſh*.

That *Witches* are alſo rightly ſo called *Venefici*, or *Poyſoners*; and that indeede there is a kinde of *Malefici*, which without any Arte of *Magicke* or *Necromancie* vſe the helpe of the Deuill to doe miſchiefe, *His Maieſtie* confirmeth in the firſt Chapter of his ſecond Booke: ſpeaking alſo in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Deuill prepared; and at other times to make pictures of Waxe; or Clay, or otherwiſe (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect thoſe things, which the Deuill by other meanes bringeth to paſſe.

The fourth, all Tranſlators call *Chaldæans*: who took vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their euents: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the Starres by them obſerued, and vnderſtood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which haue made odious the very name of *Magicke*, hauing chiefly ſought (as is the manner of all impoſtures) to counterfet the higheſt and moſt nobleſt part of it, yet ſo as they haue alſo crept into the inferior degrees.

A ſecond kinde of *Magicke* was that part of *Aſtrologie*, which had reſpect to ſowing and planting, and all kindes of agriculture and husbandrie: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into thoſe lower Elements.

Philo Iudæus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magicke* or *Aſtrologie*, together with the motions of the Starres and other heauenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he liued in *Chaldæa*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognouit Creatorem*, (ſaith *Io. Damaſcen*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature. Ioſephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that *hee inſtructed the Ægyptians in Arithmeticke and Aſtronomie, who before* Abrahams *comming vnto them knew none of theſe ſciences.*

De vit. ſanct. Glyc. Annal. fol 180.

And ſo doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* againſt *Garſias*: Alexander & Eupolemon *dicunt*, *quod* Abraham *ſanctitate & ſapientia omnium præſtantiſſimus Chaldæos primùm, deinde Phœnices, demum Ægyptios ſacerdotes Aſtrologiam & diuina docuerit*; Alexander (ſaith he, *meaning* Alexander Polyhiſtor) *and* Eupolemon *affirme, that* Abraham *the holyeſt and wiſeſt of men, did firſt teach the Chaldæans, then the Phœnicians; laſtly, the Ægyptian Prieſts, Aſtrologie and diuine knowledge.*

See vpon his Comment. *in Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, l. 18. c. 2.*

The third kinde of *Magicke* contayneth the whole Philoſophie of nature; not the brabblings of the *Ariſtotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmoſt vertues, and draweth them out of Natures hidden boſome to humane vſe, *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*; *Vertues hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymiſts*. Of this ſort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa noua*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before theſe in elder times, and who better vnderſtood the power of Nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that ſuffer, were *Zoroaſter* before ſpoken of: *Apollonius Tyanæus* remembred by S. *Hierome* to *Paulinus*; in ſome mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians*, *Theſpian*: among the *Ægyptians*, *Hermes*: among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Hyperboreans* (as is ſuppoſed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians*, *Petrus Aponenſis*. The *Magicke* which theſe men profeſt is thus defined: *Magia eſt connexio à viro ſapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, ſibi congruenter reſpondentibus, vt inde opera prodeant non ſine eorum admiratione qui cauſam ignorant*; *Magicke is the connexion of naturall agents and patients, anſwerable each to other, wrought by a wiſe man to the bringing forth of ſuch effects, as are wonderfull to thoſe that know not their cauſes.* In all theſe three kindes which other men diuide into foure, it ſeemeth that *Zoroaſter* was exceedingly learned: eſpecially in the firſt and higheſt. For in his Oracles he confeſſeth God to be the Creator of the Vniuerſall: he beleeueth of the [*] *Trinitie*, which he could not inueſtigate by any naturall knowledge: he ſpeaketh of Angels, and of *Paradiſe*: approoueth the immortalitie of the ſoule: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Loue, diſcourſing of the Abſtinence and Charitie of the *Magi*: which Oracles of his, *Pſellus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others haue gathered and tranſlated.

[*] *Toto in mũdo lucet Trias, cuius Monas eſt princeps. Cuncta namq; perfecit pater, & menti tradidit ſecunda. Pſel. & Ficin.*

Of this *Zoroaſter*, *Euſebius* in the *Theologie* of the *Phœnicians*, vſing *Zoroaſters* owne wordes: *Hæc ad verbum ſcribit* (ſaith *Euſebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilium, ſempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, ſibÿpſi ſimillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentiſſimus, pater iuris, ſine doctrina iuſtitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, ſapiens, ſacræ naturæ vnicus inuentor, &c. Thus writeth* Zoroaſter *word for word. God the firſt incorruptible, euerlaſting, vnbegotten, without parts, moſt like himſelfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the beſt, the wiſeſt, the father of right, hauing learn'd iuſtice without teaching: perfect wiſe by nature, the onely inuenter thereof.*

De præp. Euãg. lib. 1. cap 7.

Lib. 1: fol: 26:

Sixtus Senenſis ſpeaking of the wiſedome of the *Chaldæans*, doth diſtinguiſh thoſe wiſe men into fiue orders, (to wit) *Chaſcedim*, or *Chaldæans*: *Aſaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartumim*; (which he tranſlates *Arioli*, or *Sophiſts*) *Mechaſphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poyſoners*; and *Gazarim Augures*, or *Aruſpices*, or *Diuiners*.

Chaſcedim were thoſe which had the name of *Chaldæans*, which were *Aſtronomers*: *Hij cœlorum motus diligentiſſimè ſpectârunt*; *Theſe did moſt diligently contemplate the motions of the heauens*: whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* deſcribeth.

Aſaphim were in the old *Latine* tranſlation called *Philoſophers*: of the *Septuagint* and of *Hierome*, *Magicians*: *Qui de omnium tam diuinarum quàm humanarum rerum cauſis Philoſophati ſunt*; *who diſcourſed of the cauſes of all things, as well diuine as humane*: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the ſonne of *Beor*) to be the firſt: but *Laertius* aſcribeth the inuention of this arte to *Zoroaſtres* the *Perſian*. *Laert. l. 1.*

Chartumim, or *Inchanters*, the Diſciples (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *Plinie*, and *Iuſtine*) of another *Zoroaſtres*: who corrupted the admirable wiſedome of the *Magi*, which hee receiued from his Anceſters.

Mecaſphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are thoſe of which we haue ſpoken alreadie out of *His Maieſties* booke of *Dæmonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruſpices* (after Saint *Hierome*) which diuine from the entrailes of beaſts ſlaine for ſacrifices: or by *Gazarim* others vnderſtand *Augures*, who diuine by the flying, ſinging, or feeding of birds.

By this diſtinction wee may perceiue the difference betweene thoſe wiſe men which the Kings of *Babylon* entertayned; and that the name and profeſſion of the *Magi* among the ancient *Perſians* was moſt honeſt. For as *Peucer* truely obſerueth, *Præerant religioni Perſicæ, vt in populo Dei Leuitæ, ſtudijſq; veræ Philoſophiæ dediti erant: nec quiſquam Rex Perſarum poterat eſſe, qui non antea Magorum diſciplinam ſcientiamq; percepiſſet*; *The Magi* (ſaith he) *were the chiefe Miniſters of the Perſian Religion, as the Leuites among Gods people, and they were giuen to the ſtudies of true Philoſophie: neither could any be King of the Perſians, who had not firſt beene exerciſed in the myſteries and knowledge of the Magi.* *Sixtus Senenſis* in the defence of *Origen* againſt *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kindes of *Magicke*, his owne words are theſe: *Et ne quem moueant præmiſſa* Polychronij *&* Theophili *teſtimonia, ſciendum eſt duplicem eſſe Magiam; alteram vbiq; ab* Origine *damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita aut verè aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab* Origine *laudatam, quæ ad practicen naturalis philoſophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad inuicem agentium ac patientium*; *That the teſtimonies of* Theophilus *and* Polychronius (*ſaith he*) *may not moue any man, it is to be vnderſtood that Magicke is of two ſorts, the one euery where condemned by* Origen; *which worketh* (*whether truely or ſeeminglie*) *by couenants made with Deuills*; *the other commended by* Origen; *which appertaineth to the practicke part of naturall Philoſophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutuall application of naturall vertues, agent and ſuffering reciprocally.* *Peucer. de Diuinat. in c. de mag. fol. 135. 136.* *Bibl. l. 6. fol. 424.*

This partition *Hierome* doth embrace in the firſt of his Commentaries vppon *Daniel*: where conſidering of the difference which *Daniel* makes betweene theſe foure kindes of wiſe Men formerly remembred, hee vſeth this diſtinction: *Quos nos hariolos; cæteri* ἐπαοιδοὺς (*id eſt*) *incantatores interpretati ſunt, videntur mihi eſſe qui verbis rem peragunt; Magi, qui de ſingulis philoſophantur; malefici, qui ſanguine vtuntur & victimis, & ſæpe contingunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldæis Genethliacos ſignificari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Conſuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem ſuam, eo quòd ſint Philoſophi Chaldæorum: & ad artis huius ſcientiam Reges quoq; & Principes eiuſdem gentis omnia faciunt; vnde & in natiuitate Domini Saluatoris ipſi primùm ortum eius intellexerunt, & venientes ſanctam Bethlehem adorauerunt puerum, ſtella deſuper oſtendente*; *They whom wee call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, ſeeme to mee ſuch as performe things by wordes; Magicians, ſuch as handle euery thing philoſophically; Witches, that vſe bloud and ſacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the Chaldæans I take them to bee ſignified by the name of Coniecturers vpon natiuities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common cuſtome takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwiſe reputed in their owne Nation: for they are the Philoſophers of the Chaldæans: yea Kings and Princes of that Nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledgde of this Art: whence at the natiuitie of the Lord our Sauiour they firſt of all vnderſtood his birth, and comming vnto holy Bethlehem did worſhip the Childe: the Starre from aboue ſhewing him vnto them.* By this therefore it appeareth that there is great

great difference betweene the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuſe of the word. For though ſome Writers affirme, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto vtitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunq;*; *That he is called a Magician now-adaies, who hauing entred league with the Diuell, vſeth his helpe to any matter*: yet (as our Sauiour ſaid of *Diuorce*) it was not ſo from the beginning. For the Art of *Magicke* is of the wiſedome of Nature; other Arts which vndergoe that title, were inuented by the falſhood, ſubtlety, & enuy of the Deuill. In the latter there is no other doctrine, then the vſe of certaine ceremonies, *Per malâ fidem*; *By an euill faith*: in the former no other ill, then the inueſtigation of thoſe vertues and hidden properties which God hath giuen to his creatures, and how fitlie to apply things that worke, to things that ſuffer. And though by the *Iewes* thoſe excellent *Magicians, Philoſophers, & Diuines*, which came to worſhip our Sauior *Chriſt*, were termed *Mechaſchephim*, or *Mecaſphim*; yet had they no other reaſon then common cuſtome therein. *Conſuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit*; *Common cuſtome* (ſaith *S. Hierome*) *vnderſtandeth Witches vnder the name of Magicians*: *And antiquitie* (ſaith *Peter Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) *vnderſtood good and wiſe men*. *Quid igitur expaueſcis Magi nomen formidoloſe, nomen Euangelio gratioſum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, ſed ſapientem ſonat & Sacerdotem?* *O thou fearefull one* (ſaith *Ficinus*) *why doubteſt thou to vſe the name of Magus, a name gracious in the Goſpell, which doth not ſignifie a Witch or Coniurer, but a wiſe man and a Prieſt?* For what brought this ſlander to that ſtudie & profeſſion, but onely idle ignorance: the parent of cauſeleſſe admiration? *Cauſa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ re vera opera naturalia ſunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonum naturas ipſas vel coniungentium, vel commiſcentium, vel aliter ad operandũ expedientium facta ſunt, opera dæmonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus huiuſmodi eſt Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi impropriè vocant*: *The maruellouſneſſe of ſome workes, which* (*indeed*) *are naturall, hath beene the cauſe of this ſlander: but becauſe theſe workes haue beene done by procurement of Deuils, ioyning the natures together or mingling them, or howſoeuer fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the workes of the Deuils by the ignorant. Among theſe workes is naturall Magicke, which men call very improperly Necromancie.*

Hieron. in Daniel

Pet. Mar. Loc.

Mar. Ficin par. prim. fol. 573.

Gul. Pariſiẽ. de Lege, cap. 14.

Fol. 80.

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: *For by vnderſtanding* (ſaith hee) *the vttermoſt actiuitie of naturall agents we are aſſiſted to know the Diuinitie of Chriſt*: for otherwiſe (to vſe his owne words) *ignoratis terminis potentiæ & virtutis rerum naturaliũ ſtat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Chriſtus, poſſe fieri per media naturalia*; *The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not vnderſtood, wee muſt needs doubt whether thoſe verie workes which Chriſt did, may not be done by naturall meanes*: after which hee goeth on in this ſort: *Ideo non hæreticè, non ſuperſtitioſè dixi, ſed veriſſimè & Catholicè per talem Magiam adiuuari nos in cognoſcenda diuinitate Chriſti*: *Therefore I ſaid not heretically, not ſuperſtitiouſly, but moſt truely and Catholikely, that by ſuch Magicke wee are furthered in knowing the Diuinitie of Chriſt.* And ſeeing the *Iewes* and others the enemies of Chriſtian Religion, doe impudently and impiouſly obiect, that thoſe Miracles which *Chriſt* wrought were not aboue Nature, but by the exquiſite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula* a man for his yeeres fuller of knowledge then any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reaſon auow, that the vttermoſt of Natures workes being knowne, the workes which Chriſt did, and which (as himſelfe witneſſeth) no man could doe, doe manifeſtly teſtifie of themſelues, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencill, and by a power infinitely ſupreme and diuine; and thereby thoſe that were faithleſſe, were either conuerted or put to ſilence.

§. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magicke is not to be condemned: though the Deuill here, as in other kindes hath ſought to obtrude euill things, vnder the name and colour of good things.

SEing therfore it is confeſſed by all of vnderſtanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Perſian* word) is no other then, *Diuinorum cultor & interpres*: *A ſtudious obſeruer & expounder of diuine things*: and the Art of it ſelfe (I meane the Art of naturall *Magicke*) no other, *Quàm naturalis Philoſophiæ abſoluta conſummatio*; *Then the abſolute perfection of natural Philoſophie*: Certainly then it proceeds from ignorance, and no way ſorteth with wiſe and learned men, *promiſcuè* and without difference & diſtinction, to confound lawful & praiſe-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to vſe S. *Pauls* words) *with thoſe beggerly rudiments*, which the Diuell hath ſhuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceleſſe men. For if we condemne naturall *Magicke*, or the wiſedome of Nature, becauſe the Diuell (who knoweth more then any man) doth alſo teach Witches and Poyſoners the harmefull parts of Herbes, Drugges, Minerals, and Excrements: then may we by the ſame rule condemne the Phyſician, and the Art of healing. For the Diuell alſo in the Oracles of *Amphiaraus*, *Amphilochus*, *Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in Dreames what Herbes and Drugges were proper for ſuch and ſuch diſeaſes. Now no man of iudgement is ignorant, that the Diuell from the beginning hath ſought to thruſt himſelfe into the ſame imployment among the Miniſters and Seruants of God, changing him ſelfe for that purpoſe into an Angell of Light. Hee hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thruſt in his Prophets among thoſe of the true God; hee hath corrupted the Art of *Aſtrologie*, by giuing a diuine powet to the Starres, teaching men to eſteeme them as gods, and not as inſtruments. And (as *Bunting* obſerueth) it is true, that iudiciall *Aſtrologie* is corrupted with many ſuperſtitions: but the abuſe of the thing takes not away the Art; conſidering that heauenly bodies (as euen generall experience ſheweth) haue and exerciſe their operation vpon the inferiour. For the Sunne, and the Starre of *Mars* doe drie; the Moone doth moiſten, and gouerne the Tides of the Sea. Againe, the Planets, as they haue ſeuerall and proper names, ſo haue they ſeuerall and proper vertues: the Starres doe alſo differ in beautie and in magnitude; and to all the Starres hath God giuen alſo their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: *He counteth the number of the Starres, and calleth them by their names.* But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celeſtiall influences, the Diuell ceaſeth not to ſhuffle in his Superſtitions: and ſo to the knowledge of the ſecret vertues of Nature hath he faſtened his doctrine of *Characters*, Numbers, and Incantations; and taught men to beleeue in the ſtrength of Words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but Inke or common breath) thereby either to equall his owne with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminiſh the glory of Gods creating Word, by whom are all things.

Bunt. in Chro.

Pſal.147.

Moreouer, he was neuer ignorant, that both the wiſe and the ſimple obſerue when the Sea-birds forſake the ſhores and flye into the Land, that commonly ſome great ſtorme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crowes and bathing of Ducks foreſhew raine: for they feele the Ayre moiſtened in their Quils. And it is written in *Hieremie* the Prophet, *Euen the Storke in the ayre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enemy of Mankinde, working vpon theſe as vpon the reſt of Gods creatures, long time abuſed the Heathen by teaching them to obſerue the flying of Fowles, and thereby to iudge of good or ill ſucceſſe in the Warre: and (withall) to looke into their entrailes for the ſame, as if God had written the ſecrets of vnſearchable prouidence in the Liuers and bowels of birds and beaſts. Againe, becauſe it pleaſed God ſometimes by Dreames, not onely to warne and teach his Prophets and Apoſtles, but Heathen Princes alſo; as *Abimelech* to reſtore *Sara* to *Abraham*; becauſe hee admoniſhed *Ioſeph*, and by Dreame informed *Iacob*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Salomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the Eaſt, and others. For as it is remembred in *Iob*: *In Dreames and Viſions of the night when ſleepe falleth vpon men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cauſe man to returne from his enterprize*: therefore, I ſay, doth the Diuell alſo practiſe his Diuinations by Dreames, or (after *Pariſienſis*) *diuinitatis imitationes, his mocke-diuinitie*. This in the end grew ſo common, as *Ariſtides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne Dreames: *Mithridates* of thoſe of his *Concubines*. Yea the *Romanes* finding the inconuenience hereof, becauſe all dreames (without diſtinction of cauſes) were drawne to Diuination, forbad the ſame by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandis ſomnijs occultam aliquam artem diuinandi*) it may appeare. Likewiſe by the Law of God in *Deuteronomie, cap.*13. ſeducing Dreamers were ordered to be ſlaine. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his Dreame for two grieuous diſeaſes that oppreſt him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolomies* poiſoned wound; nor that which Saint *Auguſtine* reporteth of a *Millanoiſe*, whoſe ſonne (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a dreame where the Acquittance lay to diſcharge it: nor

Ca.8.ver.7.

Gen.12.17.

Iob 33.17.

G.Pariſien.de leg.24.cap.

Codex. de maleſic. & Mathemat.leg. & ſi accepta.

Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda.

that of *Aſtyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reaſon of all which, foraſmuch as the cauſe is not in our ſelues, this place denieth diſpute.

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§. IIII.

That Daniels *miſliking* Nabuchodonoſors *condemning of the Magicians, doth not iuſtifie all their practices.*

BVt it may be obiected, that if ſuch Diuinations as the Heathens commonly vſed were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many and ſtrange Reuelations; how came it to paſſe that *Daniel* both condemned the haſtie ſentence of *Nabuchodonoſor* againſt the *Magicians* of *Chaldæa*, and in a ſort forbad it? eſpecially conſidering that ſuch kind of people God himſelfe commanded to be ſlaine. To this, diuers anſweres may be giuen. Firſt, it ſeemeth that *Daniel* had reſpect to thoſe *Chaldæans*, becauſe they acknowledged that the Dreame of the King, which himſelfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art either Naturall or Diabolicall: *For there is none other* (ſaid the *Chaldæans*) *that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whoſe dwelling is not with fleſh*: and herein they confeſſed the power of the Euer-liuing God.

Deu.13.& 18 Leuit.20.

Secondly, it may be coniectured (and that with good reaſon) that among ſo many learned men, ſome of them did not exerciſe themſelues in any euill or vnlawfull Arts, but were meerely *Magicians* and *Naturaliſts*: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perſwaded the contrary, and called it a haſty iudgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that ſome of thoſe mens ſtudies and profeſſions were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniels* inſtruction: for himſelfe had beene taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters: of which ſome were termed *Soothſayers*, others *Aſtrologians*, others *Chaldæans*, others *Magi* or *Wiſe-men*: and therefore of diſtinct profeſſions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* miſliked and forbad the execution of that iudgement, becauſe it was vniuſt. For howſoeuer thoſe men might deſerue puniſhment for the practice of vnlawfull Arts (though not vnlawfull according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltleſſe. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Diuell himſelfe could not know. So then in *Daniels* diſlike, and hindering of the execution of ſentence of death pronounced againſt the *Magicians*, there is no abſolute iuſtifying of their practice and profeſſion.

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§. V.

The abuſe of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right vſe of them.

NOtwithſtanding this mixture euery where of good with euill, of falſ-hood with truth, of corruption with cleanneſſe and purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in euery kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worſhipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, becauſe the Diuell in the Image of *Baal*, *Aſtaroth*, *Chemoth*, *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like was ſo adored.

Neither did the abuſe of *Aſtrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may beleeue the moſt ancient and religious Hiſtorians) from obſeruing the motions and natures of heauenly bodies; neither can it dehort wiſe and learned men in theſe dayes from attributing thoſe vertues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of Heauen, which God hath giuen to thoſe his glorious creatures.

Euſe. ex Artapan. & Polybi.

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other vtmoſt vertues, ſometimes taught by the Diuell, and applyed by his Miniſters to harmefull and vncharitable ends, can neuer terrifie the honeſt and learned *Phyſician* or *Magician* from the vſing of them to the helpe and comfort of Mankind: neither can the illuſions, whereby the Diuell betrayeth ſuch men as are fallen from God, make other men reiect the obſeruations of Dreames; ſo farre as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make vſe of them.

Deut.18.20.

Laſtly, the prohibition to marke flying of Fowles (as ſignes of good or euill ſucceſſe) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crowes againſt Raine, or to any obſeruation not ſuperſtitious, and whereof a reaſon or cauſe may be giuen. For if wee confound Arts with the abuſe of them, we ſhall not onely condemne all honeſt Trades and enterchange among men (for there are that deceiue in all profeſsions) but we ſhall in a ſhort time bury in forgetfulneſſe all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obſcure and couer it ouer with a moſt ſcornefull and beggerly ignorance: and (as *Plinie* teacheth) we ſhould ſhew our ſelues *ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaq́ lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Vnthankfull we ſhould ſhew our ſelues towards thoſe, who with paines and care haue diſcouered vnto vs light in this light.*

Indeed not onely theſe naturall knowledges are condemned by thoſe that are ignorant; but the *Mathematicks* alſo and Profeſſors thereof: though thoſe that are excellently learned iudge of it in this ſort: *In ſpeculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni ſcibili quæritur, elucet; non modò remota ſimilitudine, ſed fulgida quadam propinquitate: In the Glaſſe of the Mathematickes that Truth doth ſhine, which is ſought in euery kinde of knowledge; not in an obſcure image, but in a neere and manifeſt repreſentation.*

Cuſan. Comp. Theolog. c. 1.

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§. VI.

Of the diuers kindes of vnlawfull Magicke.

IT is true that there are many Arts, if wee may ſo call them, which are couered with the name of *Magicke:* and eſteemed abuſiuely to be as branches of that Tree, on whoſe root they neuer grew. The firſt of theſe hath the name of *Necromancie* or *Goetia*: and of this againe there are diuers kinds. The one is an Inuocation at the Graues of the dead, to whom the Diuell himſelfe giues anſwere in ſtead of thoſe that ſeeme to appeare. For certaine it is, that the immortall ſoules of men doe not inhabit the duſt and dead bodies, but they giue motion and vnderſtanding to the liuing: death being nothing elſe but a ſeparation of the body and ſoule: and therefore the ſoule is not to be found in the Graues.

A ſecond practice of thoſe men, who pay Tribute or are in league with *Satan*, is that of coniuring or of rayſing vp Diuels, of whom they hope to learne what they liſt. Theſe men are ſo diſtract, as they beleeue that by terrible words they make the Diuell to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keepe out a Mouſe) they therein (as they ſuppoſe) inſconce themſelues againſt that great Monſter. Doubtleſſe, they forget that the Diuell is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodneſſe, no, not by the fearefull Word of the Almightie: and that he feared not to offer to ſit in Gods ſeat, that he made no ſcruple to tempt our Sauiour *Chriſt*, whom himſelfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting theſe proud parts of his, an vnworthy wretch will yet reſolue himſelfe, that he can draw the Diuell out of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phraſe: whereas in very truth, the obedience which Diuels ſeeme to vſe, is but thereby to poſſeſſe themſelues of the bodies and ſoules of thoſe which raiſe them vp; as *His Maieſtie* in his Booke aforenamed hath excellently taught: *That the Diuels obedience is onely, ſecundum quid, ſcilicet ex pacto; reſpectiuè*, that is, *vpon bargaine.*

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon thoſe ſimple and ignorant Diuels, which inhabite *Iamblicus* imagination; but ſure I am the reſt are apt enough to come vncalled: and alwaies attending the cogitations of their ſeruants and vaſſals, doe no way neede any ſuch inforcement.

Sunt in mundo genus quoddam poteſtatum valde diuiſum, indiſcretum & incōſideratum; & quod neq́ue verum à falſo neq́ue poſsibile diſcernit ab impoſsibili. L. Viues in cap 11. lib. 10. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 10. Cuſā exerc. l. 2.

Or it may be that theſe Coniurers deale altogether with *Cardans* mortall Diuels, following the opinion of *Rabbi Auornathan* and of *Porphyrius*, who taught that theſe kinde of Diuels liued not aboue a thouſand yeeres: which *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe *de Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great *god Pan*. For were it true that the Diuels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alwayes feare thoſe words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly maſtered. But the *Familiar* of *Simon Magus* when hee had lifted him vp in the Ayre, caſt him headlong out of his clawes, when he was ſure he ſhould periſh with the fall. If this perhaps were done by S. *Peters* Prayers (of which S. *Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the ſame prancke at other times vpon his owne accord the Diuell played with *Theodotus*: who tranſported (as *Simon Magus* was ſuppoſed to haue beene) had the ſame mortall fall that he had. The like ſucceſſe had *Budas*, a principall pillar of the *Manichæan* Hereſie, as *Socrates* in his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie witneſſeth: and for a manifeſt proofe hereof we ſee it

Euſe. hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 16.

Lib. 1. c. 21

euery day, that the Diuell leaues all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallowes, for whom at other times he maketh himſelfe a *Pegaſus*, to conueigh them in haſte to places farre diſtant, or at leaſt makes them ſo thinke: *For to thoſe that receiued not the truth* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *God ſhall ſend them ſtrong illuſions.* Of theſe their ſuppoſed tranſportations (yet agreeing with their confeſſions) *His Maieſtie* in the ſecond Booke and the fourth Chapter of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by vnanſwerable reaſons, that they are meerely illuſiue. Another ſort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glaſſes and Criſtals: of whom *Cuſanus*: *Fatui ſunt incantatores, qui in vngue & vitro volunt ſpiritum includere: quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore: They are fooliſh Inchanters which will ſhut vp their ſpirits within their nailes or in Glaſſe: for a Spirit cannot be incloſed by a body.*

2 Theſſ.2.

Exercitat.l.2.

There is alſo another Art beſides the afore-mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *white Magicke*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Inuocation they draw out of Heauen, and communicate withall. But the adminiſtring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due vnto their Creator: ſo ſeeing they are moſt free Spirits; there is no man ſo abſurd to thinke (except the Diuell haue corrupted his vnderſtanding) that they can be conſtrained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the profeſſours thereof couer themſelues how they pleaſe by a profeſſed puritie of life, by the miniſterie of Infants, by faſting and abſtinence in generall; yet all thoſe that tamper with immateriall ſubſtances and abſtract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or inforcement, are men of euill faith and in the power of *Satan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be conſtrained; and the reſt are Diuels which willingly obey.

Other ſorts there are of wicked Diuinations: as by fire called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the ayre, called *Mataeotechnia*, and the like.

The laſt, and (indeed) the worſt of all other is Faſcination or Witchcraft: the Practiſers whereof are no leſſe enuious and cruell, reuengefull and bloudy, then the Diuell himſelfe. And theſe accurſed creatures hauing ſold their ſoules to the Diuell, worke two wayes, either by the Diuell immediately, or by the art of poyſoning. The difference betweene *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Maieſtie* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a ſort) command; the other obey the Diuell.

There is another kind of pettie Witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beaſts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accuſed, becauſe an Eagle lighted on his ſhoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the ſame exceeded the Art of Falconrie, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomets* Doue, which he had vſed to feed with Wheate out of his eare: which Doue, when it was hungrie, lighted on *Mahomets* ſhoulder, and thruſt his Bill therein to find his breake-faſt: *Mahomet* perſwading the rude and ſimple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghoſt that gaue him aduice. And certainly if *Banks* had liued in elder times, hee would haue ſhamed all the Inchanters of the World: for whoſoeuer was moſt famous among them, could neuer maſter or inſtruct any Beaſt as he did his Horſe.

Ælian.l.6. nat.hiſtor.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marſians* a people of *Italie* practiſed: *Colubros diſrumpit Marſia cantu: Inchanting Marſia makes the ſnakes to burſt.*) That it hath beene vſed it appeares, *Pſalme* 58.6. though I doubt not, but that many Impoſtures may be in this kinde; and euen by naturall cauſes it may be done. For there are many Fumes that will either draw them out or deſtroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be layed in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I finde no other *Magicke* or Inchantment, then to draw out a Mouſe with a piece of toſted Cheeſe.

Lucil.in Satyr.

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§. VII.

Of diuers wayes by which the Diuell ſeemeth to worke his wonders.

BVt to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we doe not giue to the Diuell any other dominion then hee hath (not to ſpeake of his abilitie, when he is the Miniſter of Gods vengeance, as when *Ægypt*, according to *Dauid*, was deſtroyed by euill Angels) he otherwiſe worketh but three wayes. The firſt is by mouing the cogitations and affections of men: The ſecond by the exquiſite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illuſion, and falſe ſemblance. And that they cannot worke what they would, *G. Pariſienſis* giueth three cauſes: the firſt, a naturall impotency: the ſecond, their owne reaſon diſſwading them from daring ouermuch, or indeede (and that which is the onely certaine cauſe) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens eos ligatos* (ſaith the ſame Author) *velut immaniſſimas belluas.* Saint *Auguſtine* was of opinion that the Frogges which *Pharaos* Sorcerers produced were not naturall, but that the Diuell (by betraying of their ſenſes that looked on) made them appeare to be ſuch. For as *Vairus* obſerueth, thoſe Frogges of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as thoſe of *Moſes* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeede. Hereof ſaith Saint Auguſtine: *Nec ſanè Dæmones naturas creant, ſed quæ à Deo creatæ ſunt commutant, vt videantur eſſe quod non ſunt: The Diuels create not any natures, but ſo change thoſe that are created by God, as they ſeeme to be that which they be not:* of which in the 83 queſtion he giueth the reaſon. *Dæmon quibuſdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis ſolet,* (that is) *The Diuell fils with certaine clouds all paſſages of the vnderſtanding, by which the beame of the minde is wont to open the light of reaſon.*

Sinl. pariſ. de vniuerſo. p. 2. c. 70.

And as *Tertullian* in his Booke *de anima* rightly conceiueth, if the Diuell can poſſeſſe himſelfe of the eyes of our mindes, and blinde them, it is not hard for him to dazell thoſe of the body. For (out of doubt) by the ſame way that God paſſeth out, the Diuell entreth in, beginning with the fantaſie, by which he doth more eaſily betray the other faculties of the ſoule: for the fantaſie is moſt apt to be abuſed by vaine apprehenſions.

Maxima vis eſt phantaſiæ ad errores.

Aquinas on the contrary held that thoſe Frogges were not imaginarie, but ſuch indeed as they ſeemed: not made *Magicæ artis ludibrio,* which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to Thomas) *Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients.* And this I take to be more probable. For *Moſes* could not be deceiued by that ſleight of falſe ſemblance; and Saint *Auguſtine* in another caſe like vnto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his Companions into Birds, *per actiua cum paſſiuis,* inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perſwaded that Saint *Auguſtine* beleeued that of *Diomedes.* And this opinion of *Thomas, G. Pariſienſis* a man very learned alſo confirmeth. For ſpeaking of naturall *Magicke* he vſeth theſe words: *De huiuſmodi autem operibus eſt ſubita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumq; animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus ſola natura operatur, verùm adhibitis adiutorijs, quæ ipſa ſemina naturæ confortant & acuunt, ita vt opus generationis tantum accelerent, vt eis qui hoc neſciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere conſueuit) ſed potentia Dæmonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in hijs docti ſunt talia non mirantur, ſed ſolum Creatorem in hijs glorificant: In ſuch workes* (ſaith he) *the ſodaine generation of Frogges, and Lice, and Wormes, and ſome other creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh; but by meanes ſtrengthning the Seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in ſuch wiſe that they ſo haſten the worke of generation, that it ſeemeth to the ignorant not to be the worke of Nature, which vſually worketh more leiſurely, but they thinke it is done by the powers of Diuels. But they who are learned in theſe Arts maruaile not at ſuch working, but glorifie the Creator.* Now by theſe two wayes the Diuels doe moſt frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the vttermoſt of nature; and by illuſion: for there is no incomprehenſible or vnſearchable power, but of God onely.

De leg. c. 24. fol. 67.

For ſhall we ſay, he cauſeth ſometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempeſts; and can infect the ayre, as well as moue it or compreſſe it; who knowes not that theſe things are alſo naturall? Or may it be obiected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illuſion. It is true, that hee ſometimes doth it; but how? In elder ages he ſtole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and he foretold the death of *Saul,* at ſuch time as he was in his owne poſſeſſion and power to diſpoſe of. And he that hath liued from the infancie of the world to this day, and obſerued the ſucceſſe of euery counſaile: he that by reaſon of his ſwift motions can informe himſelfe of all places, and preparations: he that is of counſaile with all thoſe that ſtudie and practiſe ſubuerſion and deſtruction: hee that is Prince of the ayre, and can thence better iudge, then thoſe that inhabite the earth: if hee ſhould not ſometimes, yea if hee ſhould not very oftentimes gueſſe rightly of things to come (where God pleaſeth not to giue impediment) it were very ſtrange. For we ſee that wiſe and learned men doe

Ephe. 2. 2. & 6. 12.

Diabolus magnum habet rerum vſum: quæ res multum habet momenti in quouis negotio; Aug. de Anima c. 26. 27. &c.

oftentimes by comparing like cauſes conceiue rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Diuell doubteth and would willingly keepe his credit, hee euermore anſwereth by Riddles, as

Crœſus *Halym penetrans magnam ſubuertit opum vim,*

If *Crœſus* ouer Halys goe,
Great Kingdomes he ſhall ouerthrow.

Which anſwere may be taken either way: either for the ouerthrow of his owne Kingdome, or of his Enemies. And thus far we grant the Diuell may proceed in predictions, which (otherwiſe) belong to God onely; as it is in Eſay: *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; ſhew vs at all times and certainly what is to come. Solius enim diuinæ intelligentiæ ac ſapientiæ eſt, occulta noſſe & reuelare; It is onely proper to Gods vnderſtanding and wiſedome, to know and reueale hidden things.*

Guil. Pariſienſis de legib. c. 24.

§. VIII.

That none was euer raiſed from the dead by the power of the Diuell: and that it was not the true Samuel *which appeared to* Saul.

TO conclude, it may be obiected that the Diuell hath raiſed from the dead: and that others by his power haue done the like, as in the example giuen of *Samuel* raiſed by the Witch of *Endor*: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that ſome of the Diuels acts exceeded all the powers of nature, falſe ſemblance, and other illuſions. *Iuſtine Martyr* was ſometime of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeede; and ſo was *Ambroſe*, *Lyra*, and *Burgenſis*; from which authorities thoſe men borrow ſtrength which ſo beleeue. But *Martyr* changed his opinion; and ſo did S. *Auguſtine*, who at firſt ſeemed to be indifferent: For in his queſtions vpon the Old and New Teſtament, he accounteth it deteſtable to thinke that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and theſe be his words elſewhere to the ſame effect: *In requie ſunt animæ piorum à corpore ſeparatæ, impiorũ autem pœnas luunt, donec iſtarum ad vitam æternam, illarum verò ad æternam mortem quæ ſecunda dicitur corpora reuiuiſcant; The ſoules of the godly ſeparated from their bodies are at reſt, but thoſe of the wicked ſuffer puniſhment, till the bodies of the iuſt riſe to eternall life, and of the wicked to an eternall and ſecond death.*

Iuſt. Martyr in colloq. cum Tryphone in reſp. ad Ortho quæſt. 52 Ambr. in Luc. l. 1. c. 1. Lyra in Reg 1 Aug. ad Simpl l. 2. q 3 De Ciuit Dei, l. 13. c. 8.

And (beſides S. *Auguſtine*) *Iuſtine Martyr*, *Hilarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanaſius*, *Chryſoſtome*, and others, beleeued firmely, and taught it: that the ſoules of men being once ſeparate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (ſaith Cyril) *quum à corporibus ſanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus chariſſimi patris bonitati diuinæ commendari; We muſt beleeue when the ſoules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the diuine Goodneſſe, as into the hands of a moſt deare Father.* If then they be in Heauen, the power of the Diuell cannot ſtretch ſo high: if in Hell, *Ab inferno nulla eſt redemptio; From hell there is no redemption.* For there are but two habitations after death: *Vnum* (ſaith Auguſtine) *in igne æterno; alterum in regno æterno; The one in eternall fire; the other in Gods eternall Kingdome.* And though it be written in *Iure Pontificio*, that many there are who beleeue that the dead haue againe appeared to the liuing; yet the *Gloſſe* vpon the ſame Text findes it ridiculous: *Credunt, & malè quia ſunt Phantaſmata* (ſaith the Gloſſe) *They beleeue, and they beleeue amiſſe, becauſe they be but Phantaſmes, or Apparitions.* For whereas any ſuch voice hath beene heard, ſaying, I am the Soule of ſuch a one: *Hæc oratio à fraude atq; deceptione diabolica eſt; That ſpeech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Diuell*, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*. Likewiſe of the ſame, ſaith Tertullian: *Abſit vt animam cuiuſlibet ſancti, nedum Prophetæ, à dæmonio credamus extractam; God forbid that we ſhould think that the ſoule of any holy man, much leſſe of a Prophet ſhould be drawne vp againe by a Diuell.*

Aug. de Ver. Apoſt 18. Iuſt Mart. ad Orthodox. q. 75 Hilar. Pſal 2. in fine Tert de anima. in fin. Athanaſ q. 13. Chryſ. hom. 19 in Euang. Mat.

26. q. 5. Epiſcops.

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition *Samuel*; ſo doe they the wooden images *Cherubins*: and falſe brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas theſe of the contrary opinion build vpon that place of the 26. of *Eccleſiaſticus* (a booke not numbred among the *Canonicall* Scriptures, as S. *Auguſtine* himſelfe in his Treatiſe, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confeſſeth) yet *Siracides* following the literall ſenſe and phraſe of the Scriptures, proueth nothing at all: For though the Diuell would willingly perſwade, that the ſoules (yea euen of iuſt men) were in his power, yet ſo farre is it from the promiſes of the Scriptures, and from Gods iuſt and mercifull nature, and ſo contrarie to all diuine reaſon, as Saint *Auguſtine* (or whoſoeuer wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a deteſtable opinion ſo to thinke. For if God had ſo abſolutely forſaken *Saul*, that he refuſed to anſwere him either by *dreames*, by *Vrim*, or by his *Prophets*: it were ſottiſh to conceiue, that he would permit the Diuell, or a wicked Witch, to raiſe a Prophet from the dead in *Sauls* reſpect: it being alſo contrary to his owne diuine Law to aske counſaile of the dead; as in *Deuteronomie* 18. and elſewhere. Therefore it was the Diuell, and not the ſoule of a dead body, that gaue anſwere and aduice.

But becauſe *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raiſed ſome from the dead by the power of God; thoſe Diuels which S. *Auguſtine* calleth *ludificatores animantium ſibi ſubiectorum; Mockers of their owne vaſſals*, caſting before their eyes a ſemblance of humane bodies, and framing ſounds to their eares like the voyces of men, doe alſo perſwade their graceleſſe and accurſed attendants: that themſelues both poſſeſſe, and haue power ouer the ſoules of men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tum ſpectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, ſaith L. Viues; *The Diuell beguileth the ſenſe both of the beholders, and of thoſe that ſo imagine.* Theſe then are the bounds of the Diuels power, whom if we will not feare, we muſt feare to ſinne. For when he is not the inſtrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himſelfe his voluntarie vaſſall: *Poteſt ad malum inuitare, non poteſt trahere*, ſaith S Auguſtine, *he can allure, but he cannot inforce to euill.* Such as thinke otherwiſe, may goe into the number remembred by *Lucretius*:

1 Kin: 17. 22.
2 Kings 4. 34.
Nullus enim magus aut dæmon mortuum verè vnquam excitauit, Wier. de faſcin.

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atq; omnia cæcis
In tenebris metuunt: ſic nos in luce timemus.

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

Chap. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, *and of his Wife* Semiramis: *and of other of her Acts.*

§. I.

Of the magnificent building of Niniue by Ninus: *and of Babylon by* Semiramis.

BVt to come backe to *Ninus* the amplifier and finiſher of *Niniue*: whether he performed it before or after the ouerthrow of *Zoroaſter*, it is vncertaine. As for the Citie it ſelfe, it is agreed by all prophane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and anſwerable magnificence. For it had in compaſſe 440. *ſtadia*, or furlongs; the wals whereof were an hundred foot vpright, and had ſuch a bredth as three Charriots might paſſe on the Rampire in front: theſe wals were garniſhed with 1500. Towres which gaue exceeding beautie to the reſt, and ſtrength no leſſe admirable for the nature of thoſe times.

Iuſtin. l. 1.
Diod. l. 2.
Sabel. l. en. 1.

But this Citie (built in the Plaines of *Aſſyria*, and on the bankes of *Tigris*, and in the Region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as ancient Hiſtorians report, and more lately *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campſor*, at ſuch time as *Ninus* amplified the ſame, and gaue it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For theſe workes of *Babylon* and *Niniue* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldæa*, and in *Aſſyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finiſhed *Niniue*, *Semiramis Babylon*: wherein ſhe ſought to exceede her husband by farre. Indeed in the firſt Age when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to inuade others, nor feared to be inuaded: labouring to build Townes and Villages for the vſe of themſelues and their people, without either Wals or Towres; and how they might diſcharge the earth of Woods, Bryars, Buſhments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* liuing in that

Herod. l. 1.
Iuſtin l. 1.
Diod. l. 2. & 3.

in that Age, when Ambition was in ſtrong youth: and purpoſing to follow the conqueſt which her husband had vnder-taken, gaue that beautie and ſtrength to *Babylon* which it had.

§. II.

Of the end of Ninus: *and beginning of* Semiramis *reigne.*

THis ſhe did after the death of her husband *Ninus*: who after he had maſtered *Bactria*, and ſubiected vnto his Empire all thoſe Regions betweene it and the *Mediterran Sea* and *Helleſpont* (*Aſia* the leſſe excepted) and finiſhed the worke of *Niniue*, he left the World in the yeere thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. yeeres. *Plutarch* reporteth that *Semiramis* deſired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant vnto her the abſolute ſoueraigne power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Athenæus*, and others, ſpeakes of fiue dayes. In which time (moued either with deſire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Menon*, who periſhed for her) ſhe cauſed *Ninus* her husband to be ſlaine. But this ſeemeth rather a ſcandall caſt on her by the *Greeks*, then that it had any truth.

Howſoeuer *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* tooke on her after his death the ſole rule of the *Aſſyrian* Empire: of which, *Ninus* was ſaid to be the firſt *Monarch*, becauſe hee changed his ſeat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldæa* to *Niniue* in *Aſſyria*. *Iuſtin* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to inueſt her ſelfe, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to take on her ſo great a charge) preſented her ſelfe to the people in the perſon of her ſonne *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any ſenſible difference.

Ælian. l. 7. ex Dione.

This report I take alſo to be fained, for which many arguments might be made. But as ſhe ruled long, ſo ſhe performed all thoſe memorable acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and ſubſcribed that letter which ſhe ſent to the King of *India* (her laſt challenge and vndertaken conqueſt) by her owne name. And were it true that her ſonne *Ninias* had ſuch a ſtature at his Fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very perſonable) could be taken for him; yet it is very vnlikely that ſhe could haue held the Empire from him 42. yeeres after by any ſuch ſubtiltie: (for ſo long ſhee reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholly giuen to his pleaſures, as it is written of him) was well pleaſed with his Mothers proſperous gouernment and vnder-takings.

§. III.

Of Semiramis *parentage and education, and Metamorphoſis of her Mother.*

SOme Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to haue been of baſe parentage, calling her after the name of her Countrie, a *Syrian*. *Beroſus* cals her after the name of her Citie wherein ſhe was borne, *Semiramis Aſcalonitis*; of *Aſcalon*, the ancient Citie and *Metropolis* of the *Philiſtims*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Derceta*, a *Curtizan* of *Aſcalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others ſay that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the Mother of *Semiramis*, was ſometimes a Recluſe, and had profeſt a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a Temple dedicated, ſeated on the banke of a Lake adioyning to *Aſcalon*; and afterward falling in loue with a goodly yong man, ſhe was by him made with childe, which (for feare of extreame puniſhment) ſhe conuayed away, and cauſed the ſame to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the bankes of the Lake: in which (while the childe was left to the mercy of wilde beaſts) the ſame was fed by certaine birds, which vſed to feede vpon or neere thoſe waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that foſtered *Romulus*. For ſome one or other adioyning to this Lake, had the charge and foſteridge of this childe, who being perchance but ſome baſe and obſcure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to couer her diſhonor and breach of vow; notwithſtanding which ſhe was caſt from the top of her Temple into the Lake adioyning, and (as the Poets haue fained) changed by *Venus* into a Fiſh, all but her face, which ſtill held the ſame beautie & humane ſhape. It is thought that from this *Dereeta* the inuention of that Idoll of the *Philiſtims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a mans face, and a fiſhes body:

into whoſe Temple when the *Arke* of God was brought, the Idoll fell twice to the ground: and at the ſecond fall there remained onely the Trunke of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For ſo S. *Hierome* hath conuerted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Iunius*, write it by *Dagon* onely, which ſignifieth a fiſh, and ſo it onely appeared: the head thereof by the ſecond fall being ſundred from the body.

For my ſelfe I rather thinke, that this *Dagon* of the *Philiſtims* was an Idoll repreſenting *Triton*, one of thoſe imaginarie Sea-gods vnder *Neptune*. For this Citie being maritimate (as all thoſe of the *Philiſtims* were, and ſo were the beſt of *Phœnicia*) vſed all their deuotions to *Neptune*, and the reſt of the pettie gods which attended him.

§. IIII.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after diſcomfiture: with a note of the improbabilitie of her vices.

BVt for her Pedigree, I leaue it to the *Aſſyrian Heralds*: and for her vicious life, I aſcribe the report thereof to the enuious and lying *Græcians*. For delicacie and eaſe doe more often accompany licentiouſneſſe in men and women, then labour and hazzard doe. And if the one halfe be true which is reported of this Lady, then there neuer liued any Prince or Princeſſe more worthy of fame then *Semiramis* was, both for the workes ſhe did at *Babylon* and elſewhere, aud for the warres ſhee made with glorious ſucceſſe: all but her laſt enterpriſe of *India*; from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report that ſhe neuer returned: and that of all her moſt powerfull Armie there ſuruiued but onely twentie perſons: the reſt being either drowned in the Riuer of *Indus*, dead of the famine, or ſlaine by the ſword of *Staurobates*. But as the multitude which went out are more then reaſon hath numbred: ſo were thoſe that returned leſſe then could haue eſcaped of ſuch an Armie, as conſiſted of foure millions and vpwards. For theſe numbers which ſhe leuied by her Lieutenant *Dercetæus* (ſaith *Suidas*) did conſiſt of Foot-men three millions; of Horſe-men one million; of Charriots armed with hookes on each ſide, one hundred thouſand; of thoſe which fought vpon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thouſand, of raw Hides for all vſes three hundred thouſand; of Galleyes with brazen heads three thouſand, by which ſhe might tranſport ouer *Indus* at once three hundred thouſand Souldiers: which Gallies were furniſhed with *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. Theſe incredible and impoſſible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nouriſh (had euery man and beaſt but fed vpon graſſe) are taken from the authority of *Cteſias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many friuolous reports: ſo *Diodorus* himſelfe hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* expedition into *Greece* and afterwards: whoſe Armie (though the ſame was farre inferiour to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to ouerlode the beliefe of any reaſonable man. For all Authors conſent, that *Xerxes* tranſported into *Greece* an Armie of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to paſſe the *Helleſpont*) three thouſand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the ſeuerall Prouinces whence thoſe Galleyes were taken hath collected the number.

Suid. f. 845. lit. S.

But of what multitude ſoeuer the Armie of *Semiramis* conſiſted: the ſame being broken and ouerthrowne by *Staurobates* vpon the bankes of *Indus*, *canticum cantauit extremum: ſhe ſang her laſt ſong*; and (as Antiquitie hath fained) was changed by the gods into a Doue (the bird of *Venus*,) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gaue a Doue in their enſignes.

§. V.

Of the Temple of Belus *built by* Semiramis*: and of the Pyramides of Ægypt.*

AMong all her other memorable and more then magnificent workes (beſides the wall of the Citie of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this Citie, inuironed with a wall carryed foureſquare of great heighth and beautie, hauing on each ſquare certaine Brazen Gates curiouſly engrauen. In the *Core* of the ſquare ſhee raiſed a Towre of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile; and vpon it againe (taking a *Baſis* of a leſſe circuit) ſhee ſet a ſecond Towre; and ſo eight in all, one aboue another: vpon the top whereof the *Chaldæans*

Prieſts made the obſeruation of the ſtarres, becauſe this Towre ouer-topped the ordinary cloudes.

By beholding the ruines of this Towre haue many Trauailers beene deceiued; who ſuppoſe that they haue ſeene a part of *Nimrods* Towre, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thouſand talents of frankincenſe euery yeere (ſaith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nabuchodonoſor* adorne with the ſpoiles of *Hieruſalem*, and of the Temple of *Salomon*: all which veſſels and ornaments *Cyrus* redeliuered. This Temple *Xerxes* euened with the ſoile; which *Alexander* is ſaid to haue repaired by the perſwaſions of the *Chaldæans*. I denie not that it might haue beene in his deſire ſo to doe; but he enioyed but a few yeere after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not performe any ſuch worke. The *Ægyptians* (ſaith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and leuell ground, and giuen to the ſame ſuperſtition of the Starres that the *Chaldæans* were, erected in imitation, and for the ſame ſeruice and vſe, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were *conſpicuæ vndiq; nauigantibus*, ſaith *Plinie*. Of theſe *Pyramides*, *Bellonius* a carefull obſeruer of rarities (who being in *Ægypt*, mounted by ſteps to the top of the higheſt) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui ſeroit a ſa ſommite, & tirant vne fleche in l'air, a peine pouroit l'enuoyer hors de ſa baſe qu'elle ne ſe tombaſt ſur les degrez; The beſt Archer ſtanding on the top of one of theſe Pyramides, and ſhooting an Arrow from thence into the ayre as farre as he can, with great difficultie ſhall be able ſo to force the ſame, but that it will fall vpon ſome of the degrees or ſteps.*

Procl. in Timæo lib. 1.

Bellon. l. 2.

Finis Libri primi.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the birth of ABRAHAM to the deſtruction of the *Temple of* Salomon.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CAHP. I.

Of the time of the birth of Abraham: *and of the vſe of this queſtion, for the ordering of the Storie of the Aſſyrian Empire.*

§. I.

Of ſome of the ſucceſſors of Semiramis: *with a briefe tranſition to the queſtion, about the time of the birth of* Abraham.

AFter the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis*, ſucceeded her in the Empire, on whom *Beroſus Annianus* beſtowes the conqueſt of *Bactria*, and the ouerthrow of *Zoroaſter*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Iuſtine*, *Oroſius*, and all other approued writers. For *Ninias* being eſteemed no man of warre at all, but altogether feminine, and ſubiected to eaſe and delicacie, there is no probabilitie in that opinion. Now becauſe there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other then that out of iealouſie hee euery yeere changed his Prouinciall Gouernors, and built Colledges for the *Chaldæan* Prieſts, his Aſtronomers: nor by *Arius* his ſucceſſor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that hee reduced againe the *Bactrians* and *Caſpians*, reuolted (as it ſeemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the ſucceſſor of *Arius*; but that he added ſumptuoſity, inuented iewels of gold and ſtone, and ſome engins for the warre: I will for this preſent paſſe them ouer, and a while follow *Abraham*, whoſe wayes are warrantable, (till we meet theſe *Aſſyrians* againe in this ſtory) by whom and by whoſe iſſues we ſhall beſt giue date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* liuing at once with *Ninius*, *Ninas*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes* or *Balanus*. For otherwiſe if we ſeeke to proue things certaine by the vncertaine, and iudge of thoſe times, which the Scriptures ſet vs downe without error, by the reignes of the *Aſſyrian* Princes: we ſhall but patch vp the ſtory at aduenture, and leaue it in the ſame confuſion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures doe not helpe vs, *Mirum non eſt in rebus antiquis Hiſtoriam non conſtare, No maruaile if then in things very ancient, Hiſtory want aſſurance.*

Plut. in Theſeo

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long theſe *Aſſyrian* Kings reigned, as alſo for other good cauſes, we muſt firſt aſſure the time of *Abrahams* birth, and in what yeere the ſame hapned after the floud. Now ſince all agree, that the fortieth three yeere of *Ninus* was the birth-yeere of *Abraham*; by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeere after the floud the birth of *Abraham* hapned, we ſhall thereby ſet all the reſt in ſquare and order. But of this time there is much iangling betweene thoſe *Chronologers*, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the moſt part making 292. or 293. yeeres; others 352. yeeres betweene *Abrahams* birth and the floud: a matter often diſputed, but neuer concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we finde him in *Annius*) makes but 250. yeeres from the floud to *Ninus*: then ſeeing that *Abraham* was borne in the fortieth three yeere of *Ninus*, according to *Euſebius* and S. *Auguſtine*, it followeth by the addition of thoſe two numbers, that the yeere of *Abrahams* birth was in the yeere after the floud 293. or as the moſt part of all *Chronologers* gather, the yeere 292.

Now, ſince I doe here enter into that neuer-reſolued queſtion, and *Labyrinth* of times, it behoueth me to giue reaſon for my owne opinion: and with ſo much the greater care and circumſpection, becauſe I walke aſide, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, & without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather chooſe to endure the wounds of thoſe darts, which Enuie caſteth at nouelty, than to goe on ſafely and ſleepily in the eaſie waies of ancient miſtakings: ſeeing to be learned in many errors: or to be ignorant in all things, hath litle diuerſity.

§. II.

A propoſall of reaſons or arguments, that are brought to proue Abraham *was borne in the yeere 292. after the Floud, and not in the yeere 352.*

THoſe which ſeeke to proue this account of 292. yeeres, betweene the generall floud and *Abrahams* birth, ground themſelues, firſt on theſe words of the Scripture: *So* Terah *liued 70. yeeres, and begot* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: ſecondly vpon the opinion of *Ioſephus*, S. *Auguſtine*, *Beda*, *Iſidore*, & many of the ancient Hebrews before them: authorities (while they are ſlightly lookt ouer) ſeeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture laſt remembred, the later *Chronologers* gather theſe arguments. Firſt out of the words as they lye; that Terah *at. 70. yeeres begot* Abraham, Nahor *and* Haran: and that *Abraham* being the firſt named, *Abraham* being the worthieſt, *Abraham* being the ſonne of the promiſe, ought in this reſpect to be accounted the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and ſo neceſſarily borne in the ſeuentieth yeere of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moſes* had reſpect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the bleſſing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the ſcope of this Chapter was to ſet downe the Genealogy of *Chriſt*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor*, and *Haran*.

It is thirdly obiected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldeſt ſonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and ſo are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proued, that *Abraham* was borne more aſſuredly in the 130. yeere of *Terah* his age, then in the 131. 132. &c. *Moſes* hauing no where ſet downe preciſely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very yeere, in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. yeeres: ſeeing *Abraham* himſelfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeeres.

§. III.

The anſwere to one of the obiections propoſed, ſhewing that Abraham *made but one iourney out of Meſopotamia into Canaan: and it, after his Fathers death.*

TO anſwere all which obiections, it is very eaſie, the way being prepared thereto by diuers learned Diuines long ſince, and to which I will adde ſomewhat of mine owne, according to the ſmall talent which God hath giuen me. Now foraſmuch as the ſtate of the queſtion cannot well be ſcanned, vnleſſe the time of *Abrahams* iourney into *Canaan* be firſt conſidered of; before I deſcend vnto the particular examination of theſe arguments, I will make bold with order and method ſo farre, as to ſearch into a ſtrange tradition concerning his trauailes, that ſerueth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwarke againſt all that can be ſaid to the contrary.

But it is conceiued that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*; the latter after his

Fathers death, the former preſently vpon his calling, which he performed without delay, not ſtaying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a coniecture, drawn from a place in the *Epiſtle to the Hebrewes*, where it is written, *By faith Abraham (when hee was called) obeyed God, to goe out into a place which he ſhould afterward receiue for inheritance: and hee went out, not knowing whether he went.* This ſuppoſition (if it be granted) ſerues very well to vphold the opinion, that can ill ſtand without it. Let vs therefore ſee whether we may giue credit to the ſuppoſition it ſelfe.

Heb. 11.8.

Surely, that *Abraham* firſt departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the ſame is proued, without the admiſſion of any diſtinction, by theſe words of S. *Stephen: And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell,* that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Againſt which place ſo direct, & plaine, what force hath any mans fancie or ſuppoſition, perſwading, that *Abraham* made two iourneys into *Canaan*; one before *Terah's* death, & another after: no ſuch thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumſtance, probability, or reaſon to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alleadged can picke any argument, prouing, or affording any ſtrong preſumption, that *Abraham* paſt into *Canaan*, and then returned vnto *Haran*, from whence he departed a ſecond time: then I thinke it reaſon, that hee be beleeued in the reſt. But that he performed the commandement of God after his Fathers death, leauing *Vr* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themſelues are true. *For after his Father was dead,* (ſaith Martyr *Stephen*) *God brought him into this Land.* And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double iourney into *Canaan*, then muſt it be inferred, that *Moſes* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, ſaith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* comming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moſes*? For if *Stephen* had ſpoken any thing of thoſe times, differing from *Moſes*, he had offered the *Iewes* his aduerſaries too great an occaſion both of ſcandalizing himſelfe, and the Goſpell of *Chriſt*. Indeed we ſhall finde ſmall reaſon to make vs thinke that *Abraham* paſſed and repaſſed thoſe wayes, more often than he was enforced ſo to doe, if we conſider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and weariſome iourney, than the ſtrength of his faith in Gods promiſe: in which if any thing would haue brought him to deſpaire, he had more cauſe then euer man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of ſtrong and ſtubborne nations: a Nation of valiant and reſolued Idolaters. He was beſieged with famine at his firſt arriual, and driuen to flie into *Ægypt* for reliefe. His wife was olde, and hee had no ſonne to inherit the promiſe. And when God had giuen him *Iſaac*, he commanded him to offer him vp to himſelfe for ſacrifice: all which diſcomforts he patiently and conſtantly vnderwent.

Acts 7.4.

Heb. 11.8.

Secondly, let vs conſider the wayes themſelues, which *Abraham* had ro paſſe ouer, the length whereof was 300. Engliſh miles: and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to tranſport himſelfe ouer the great riuer of *Euphrates*, to trauell through the dangerous and barren Deſarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climbe ouer the great and high mountaines of *Libanus*, *Hermon* or *Gilead*: and whether theſe were eaſie walkes for *Abraham* to march twice ouer, containing, as aforeſaid, 300. miles in length, let euery reaſonable man iudge. For if he trauelled it twice; then was his iourney in all 1800. miles from *Vr* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to diſproue this fancie; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proofe, that hee had not *animum reuertendi, not any thought of looking backeward*, than any mans bare coniecture, be hee of what antiquity or authority ſoeuer. For thus it is written of him, *Then* Abraham *tooke* Sara *his wife, and* Lot *his brothers ſon, and all their ſubſtance that they poſſeſt, and the ſoules that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, & to the land of Canaan they came.* Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was deare vnto him; his wife, and kinſmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleaſure, in ſo warme, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if he could haue beene thereto moued, it is more likely that he would haue then returned, when he was yet vnſetled, and preſt with extreame famine at his firſt arriuall. For had his Father beene then aliue, he might haue hoped from him to receiue more aſſured comfort and reliefe, then among the *Ægyptians*, to whom he was a meere ſtranger both in Religion and Nation.

Gen. 12. 5.

What the cauſe might bee of *Abrahams* returne to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures haue ſent him backe thither, about the time of his fathers death: ſo they perhaps, if they were vrged, could ſay little elſe, than that without ſuch a ſecond voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reaſon they ſhould do well to make plaine, if it be not ouer-troubleſome. They ſay that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Fathers death, or ſome time after, being then by their account 135. yeeres olde, or a little more. How then did it happen, that hee left quite vndone the buſineſſe; which as we reade, was within foure or fiue yeeres after that time his greateſt, or (as may ſeeme) his onely care? Did not hee binde with a verie ſolemne oath his principall ſeruant, in whom he repoſed moſt confidence, to trauaile into thoſe parts, and ſeeke out a Wife for *Iſaac* his ſonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumſtances, that neither hee nor his ſeruant were ſo well acquainted in *Meſopotamia*, that they could particularly deſigne any one woman, as a fit match for *Iſaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had beene there in perſon ſo latelie, as within foure or fiue yeeres before, hee would not haue forgotten a matter of ſuch importance; but would haue truſted his own iudgement, in chooſing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other deſireable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely ſonne, who was then fiue and thirtie yeeres old; before which age moſt of the Patriarches after the floud had begotten children: rather than haue left all at randome to the conſideration of a ſeruant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it be ſuppoſed (if it may be beleeued) that either *Abraham* forgot his buſineſſe when he was there, or that ſomewhat hapned which no man can deuiſe. What might be the reaſon, that *Abrahams* man, in doing his Maſters errand, was faine to lay open the whole ſtory of his maſters proſperitie, telling it as newes, that *Sarah* had borne to him a ſonne in her old age? If *Abraham* himſelfe, a more certaine Author, had ſo lately beene among them, would not all this haue beene an idle tale? It were needleſſe to ſtand long vpon a thing ſo euident. Whether it were lawfull for *Abraham* to haue returned backe to *Haran*, would perhaps be a queſtion hardlie anſwerable: conſidering how auerſe hee was from permitting his ſonne to be carried thither, euen though a wife of his owne kinred could not haue beene obtained without his perſonall preſence. *Iacob* indeed was ſent thither by his parents, to take a Wife of his owne linage; not without Gods eſpeciall approbation, by whoſe bleſſing he proſpered in that iourney: yet he liued there as a ſeruant; ſuffered many iniuries; and finally was driuen to conuey himſelfe away from thence by flight. For although it bee not a ſentence written, yet out of all written examples it may bee obſerued, that God alloweth not in his ſeruants any deſire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and tranſplanted them. That briefe ſaying, *Remember Lots Wife*, containes much matter. Let vs but conſider *Meſopotamia* from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Ægypt*, out of which the whole nation of the *Iſraelites* was deliuered: we ſhall finde, that no bleſſing iſſued from either of them, to the poſteritie of the *Hebrewes*. When *Ezechias* was viſited with an honourable Embaſſie from *Babel*, it ſeemes that he conceiued great pleaſure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his proſperity; but the prophecie which thereupon hee heard by *Eſai*, made him to know, that the counſaile of God was not agreeable to ſuch thoughts: which more plainely appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of *Babylon* they ſate downe and wept. Concerning *Ægypt* we reade, that *Seſac* and *Neco* Kings of *Ægypt* brought calamitie vpon *Iſrael*: alſo that their confidence in the *Ægyptian* ſuccours was the cauſe of their deſtruction. Where they were forbidden to returne into *Ægypt* I doe not remember, nor can readily finde; but it is found in *Deuteronomy*, that God had ſaid, *They ſhould no more returne thay way*; which is giuen, as the reaſon, why their King might not cauſe the people to returne to *Ægypt*, for the multiplying of his Horſes. Whether the Lord had laied any ſuch iniunction vpon *Abraham* of not returning to *Meſopotamia*, I cannot ſay; many things doe argue it probably: that he neuer returned, all circumſtances do (to my vnderſtanding) both ſtrongly and neceſſarily conclude.

Gen.24.

Gen.24.35.36.&c.

Gen.24.6. & 8.

Gen.28.

2 Kin.20.

Pſal.137.

1.Kin 14.25. & 2.Kin.23. v.29.

Deut.17.v.16

But becauſe this double paſſage of *Abraham* is but an imagination: and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perſwade thoſe of iudgement or vnderſtanding: I take it ſufficient, that S. *Stephen* hath directly taught vs, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for the reſt, when they ſhew any one Scripture to prooue it, I will beleeue as they doe. For all the trauailes of *Abraham* are preciſely ſet downe in the Scriptures: as firſt from *Vr* or *Camerina* in *Chaldæa* to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he remoued to a mountaine betweene *Bethel* and *Haie:* thence into *Ægypt*; from *Ægypt* he returned thither againe, where *Lot* and he parted, becauſe their flockes and heards of Cattle were more, then could be fed in that part : from thence the ſecond time hee remooued to *Mamre*, neere *Hebron* : and thence hauing purſued *Amraphel*, and reſcued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa*, vnder *Abimelec*: and after neere vnto it at *Berſabe*, at which time hee was ready to offer vp his ſonne *Iſaac* on the mountaine *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retrait to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in anie one ſtorie, either diuine or humane. Now if it may be ſuppoſed, that *Abraham* had made any former iourney into *Canaan*, as *Leuita* his *Cabala* hath fained, it ſhould in reaſon bee therewithall beleeued, that hee would in thoſe his firſt trauailes haue prouided himſelfe of ſome certaine ſeate, or place of abiding : and not haue come a ſecond time, with his wife, kinſmen, familie, goods and Cattle, not knowing whereon to reſt himſelfe. But *Abraham* when he came from *Charran*, paſt through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the Plaine of *Moriah* : where finding no place to inhabite, hee departed thence to *Bethel* and *Haie:* and ſo from Nation to Nation, to diſcouer and finde out ſome fit habitation : from whence againe, as it is written in *Geneſis* the eleuenth, *Hee went forth, going and iournying towards the South:* and alwaies vnſetled. By occaſion of which wandring to and fro, ſome ſay, the *Ægyptians* gaue him and his the name of *Hebræi.*

Gen. 12. v. 6.

Further, to prooue that hee had not formerly beene in the Countrie, wee may note, that ere hee came vnto *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his firſt entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared vnto him, ſaying, *Vnto thy ſeede will I giue this Land*, ſhewing it him as vnto a ſtranger therein, and as a Land to him vnknowne. For *Abraham* without anie other prouident care for himſelfe, beleeued in the Word of the liuing God : neither ſending before, nor comming firſt to diſcouer it ; but being arriued, hee receiued a ſecond promiſe from God, that he would giue thoſe Countries vnto him and his ſeede to inhabite and inherite.

Mont. in Caleb.

Laſtly, what ſhould mooue any man to thinke, that *Moſes* would haue omitted anie ſuch double iourney of *Abrahams*, ſeeing hee ſetteth downe all his paſſages elſe-where, long and ſhort : as when hee moued from *Sichem*, and ſeated betweene *Haie* and *Bethel*: the diſtance being but 20. miles : and when hee moued thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but 24. miles : and when he left *Mamre*, and ſate downe at *Gerar*, being leſſe then ſixe miles; No, *Moſes* paſt ouer all the times of the firſt age with the greater breuitie, to haſten him to the ſtory of *Abraham:* ſhutting vp all betweene the Creation & the Floud in ſixe chapters; which age laſted 1656. yeeres : but he beſtoweth on the ſtory of *Abraham* fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleuenth, and ending with his death in the fiue and twentieth ; and this time endured but 175. yeres. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moſes* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham's* trauels, or other actions : or that he would ſet downe thoſe ſmall remooues of fiue miles, and omit thoſe of three hundred. For ſuch a iourney in going and comming would haue miniſtred ſome varietie of matter, or accident, worthie the inſerting and adding to *Abrahams* ſtorie.

§. IIII.

The anſwere to another of the obiections propoſed, ſhewing that it was not vnlikely, that Terah *ſhould beget Abraham in his hundred and thirty yeere.*

NOw touching the obiection, where it is ſaid, that it was very vnlikely that *Terah* ſhould beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeere, ſeeing *Abraham* himſelfe thought it a wonder to haue a ſonne at an hundred : this is hardly worth the anſwering. This wonder is indeed miſ-caſt, and miſtaken : *Abraham* hauing reſpect onely to *Sarah* his wife, when he ſpake of their many yeeres. For when the Angell ſaid vnto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*; *Loe, Sarah thy wife ſhall haue a ſonne*, it followeth in the next verſe, *Now Abraham and Sarah were olde and ſtricken in age, and it ceaſed to bee with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed, &c.*

So then, in that it is ſaid, *it ceaſed to be with Sarah after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his ſecond wife *Keturah* had many ſonnes after *Sarah's* death, as *Zimron, Iockſhan, Medan, Midian, Iſhbak*, and *Shuah* : and the eldeſt of theſe was borne 37. yeeres after *Iſaac*: and the yongeſt 40. yeeres after. What ſtrangeneſſe then, that *Terah* being 130. yeeres olde ſhould beget *Abraham*, will they ſay, may be gathered from this ſuppoſed deſpaire of *Abraham* at one hundred yeeres? For *Sarah* died in the yeere of the world 2145. and *Iſaac* was born in the yeere 2109: and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat 5. ſons 36. yeres after this ſuppoſed wonder, & when *Abraham* was 137. yeeres old: it is not ſtrange that his Father *Terah* ſhould beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, *Obed*, and *Ieſſe*, who liued ſo many yeeres and ages after *Abraham*, begat ſonnes at 100. yeeres, or neere it, it cannot be maruailed at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130; and *Abraham* others at the ſame age and ſeuen yeeres after.

Origen.hom.11 in Gen. Aug.de Ciu.dei.l.16.c.34.Caietā: & Perer.in Gen.

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§. V.

The anſwere to two more of the obiections: ſhewing that wee may haue certaintie of Abrahams *age from the Scripture, though we make not* Abraham *the eldeſt Sonne: and that there was great cauſe, why in the ſtory of* Abraham *his two brethren ſhould be reſpected.*

IT followeth now to ſpeake ſomething to the obiection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and borne when *Terah* was 70. yeeres old. For *Abrahams* age being made vncertaine, all ſucceeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this propoſition, That we cannot be certaine of *Abrahams* age, vnleſſe we make him the eldeſt ſonne, is falſe. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. which was the yeere of his death, then was *Abraham* 75. And if you aske, how I can iudge of times, either preceding or ſucceeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I anſwere, that Saint *Stephen* hath told vs, that *Abrahams* departure followed the death of his Father *Terah*: and *Terah* died at 205; ſo as the 75. yeere of *Abraham* was the 205. yeere of *Terah*: which knowne, there can bee no errour in the account of times ſucceeding. Now to come to the obiection, where it is ſaid, That *Moſes* had no reſpect vnto *Nachor* and *Haran*, becauſe they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* onely, with whom God eſtabliſhed the Couenant, and of whom *Chriſt* deſcended according to the fleſh, &c. I anſwere, that *Moſes* for many great and neceſſary cauſes had reſpect of *Nachor* and *Haran*. For the ſucceſſion of Gods Church is not witneſſed by *Abraham* alone, but by the iſſues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters or otherwiſe. For *Nahor* was the Father of *Bethuel*, & *Bethuel* of *Rebecca*, the mother of *Iſrael*: and *Haran* was the parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*: and *Sarah* was mother to *Iſaac*, and grandmother to *Iacob*: *Milcah* alſo the wife of *Nahor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Iacobs* great grand-mother: and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is eſpecially noted, in that it pleaſed God to giue her a ſon at 90. yeres, and when by nature ſhe could not haue conceiued. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themſelues, yet becauſe both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran*; and becauſe *Iſaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-childe of *Nahor*; and *Iacob*, *Lea*, and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grand-childe alſo of *Nahor*: It was not ſuperfluous in *Moſes* to giue light of theſe mens times and ages. And though ſometime they worſhipped ſtrange gods, as it is *Ioſ*.24.2. yet I ſee no cauſe to thinke, that they ſtill continued Idolaters. For they beleeued and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leauing their naturall Countrey, and Citie of *Vr* in *Chaldæa*, as *Abraham* did, and remoued thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his Father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldæa*; but *Lot*, his ſonne, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the ſiſter of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* alſo, who remained at *Charran*, gaue his ſonnes daughters to *Iſaac*, and *Iacob*, his owne kinſe-men: he himſelfe hauing alſo married in his owne familie; not thinking it pleaſing vnto God to mixe themſelues with ſtrangers and Idolaters. And that theſe men at length beleeued in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had ſeene the ſeruant of *Abraham* ſtanding at the Well beſide *Charran*, he inuited him to his Fathers houſe in this manner: *Come in, thou bleſſed of* Iehouah, *&c.* And when this ſeruant of *Abrahams* demanded an anſwere as touching *Rebecca*, then anſwered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and ſaid; *This thing is proceeded of* Iehouah: meaning that it was the wil of the true God it ſhould be ſo; wherein he acknowledged Gods prouidence. Likewiſe in the following verſe it is written; *Take, goe that ſhe may be thy Maſters ſons wife, euen as* Iehouah *hath ſaid.* This their often vſing

Gen.24.v.31.

Gen.24.v.50.

of the name of *Iehouah*, which is the proper Name of the true God, is a ſigne that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of S. *Chryſoſtome*, and ſome latter writers, as *Caietan, Oleaſter, Muſculus, Caluin, Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, becauſe he retained certaine Idols, or houſehold Gods, which *Rachel* ſtole from him; yet that he beleeued in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abrahams* ſeruant, bleſſed of IEHOVAH, as aforeſaid. So as for my ſelfe I dare not auow, that theſe men were out of the Church, who, ſure I am, were not out of the faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of Abraham *firſt of the three brethren,* Gen.11.v.26. *doth not prooue that he was the eldeſt: together with diuers reaſons prouing that* Abraham *was not the eldeſt ſonne of* Terah.

TO the maine obiection which I anſwer laſt, becauſe it ſeemeth of moſt ſtrength, by which, thoſe that ſtriue to ſhorten the times, endeuour to proue that *Abraham* was the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeere of *Terahs* life: grounding themſelues firſt and chiefly on this place of the Scripture, *And* Terah *liued 70. yeeres, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: To this I ſay, that although *Abraham* in this verſe be firſt named, yet the ſame is no proofe at all that he was the eldeſt and firſt borne ſonne of *Terah*. For it is no neceſſary conſequence, that the firſt named in Scriptures was therefore eldeſt in bloud and birth, neither doth it appeare, that it pleaſed God to make eſpeciall choice of the firſt ſonnes in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the firſt borne of *Adam*; nor *Iſaac* of *Abraham*; nor *Iacob* of *Iſaac*; nor *Iuda* and *Ioſeph* of *Iacob*: nor *Dauid* the eldeſt of *Ieſſe*; nor *Salomon* of *Dauid*: as is formerly remembred.

Gen.11.v.26.

But it is written of *Noah*: *Noah was 500. yeeres old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Iaphet*: ſhewing that at the 500. yeere of his age hee began to beget the firſt of thoſe three ſonnes. For according to S. *Auguſtine*, ſpeaking generally, *Nec attendendus eſt in his ordo natiuitatis, ſed ſignificatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excelluit Abraham. The order of natiuitie is not heere to be reſpected, but the ſignification of the future dignitie: in which Abraham was preferred.* And therefore, as in the order of the ſonnes of *Noah*: ſo is it here; where it is ſaid, *that Terah liued 70 yeeres, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran*: For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget Sonnes, himſelfe beeing begotten by his Father *Nachor* at 29. as other his Anceſtors were at 30. The like alſo happened to *Noah*: for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 130; *Enoſh Kenan* at 90; *Kenan Mahalaleel* at 70; *Mahalaleel Iered* at 60: *Noah* was yet 500. yeeres old when he began to beget the firſt of his three ſonnes, as aforeſaid. And S. *Auguſtine* in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that *Abraham* was the yongeſt of *Terah's* ſonnes, then otherwiſe: though for his excellencie he was worthily named firſt. His owne words are theſe: *Fieri enim potuit vt poſterior ſit generatus Abraham: ſed merito excellentiæ, qua in Scripturis valdè commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be*, ſaith he, *that Abraham was begotten later: but was firſt named in regard of his excellencie, for which in Scripture he is much commended.* So as the naming firſt or laſt proueth nothing who was firſt or laſt borne: either in thoſe iſſues of *Noah*, or in theſe of *Terah*: Neither hath God any reſpect of the eldeſt in nature, as touching his election or ſpiritual bleſſing, for *Moſes* nameth firſt the children of the promiſe, and the eldeſt and firſt in Gods fauour. *Pietas ergò vel ipſa potiùs electio diuina, quæ comitem ſecum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, & Abrahamo in liberis Thare.* *Pietie*, ſaith he, *or rather diuine election, which doth euermore draw with it or after it, pietie and the feare of God, gaue place and precedencie to Sem among the children of Noah, and to Abraham among thoſe of Thare.*

Aug.quæſt. ſuper Gen. 25.

For the reſt it is manifeſt, that *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75. yere of his age. And it was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him *Iſmael*, when *Abraham* had liued 86. yeres. It was at *Gerar* (the South border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Iſaac*, when *Abraham* had conſumed an 100. yeeres. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* roſe out, when he reſcued *Lot* and ouerthrew *Amraphel*: and he had then but the age of 83. yeres: and it is as manifeſt that hee parted from *Haran* after his Father *Terah* was dead. But if

Gen.12.4. Gen.16.16. Acts 7.4.

Terah

Gen. 14. *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70. yere old, then muſt *Abraham* haue beene 135. yeeres when he firſt ſet his foote in *Canaan*: ſeeing *Terah* muſt be dead ere he parted, and ſo 70. added to 135. made 205, the true age of *Terah*, which is contrary to all thoſe places of Scripture before remembred. For he entred at 75: he reſcued *Lot* at 83: he had *Iſmael* at 86: he had *Iſaac* at 100. proued by the former places.

Moreouer, if *Abraham* were the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeere of his age: then had *Terah* liued till *Iſaac* had beene 35. yeeres olde, and *Iſmael*, 49. both which muſt then haue beene borne in *Meſopotamia*, and therein foſtered to that age: vnleſſe we ſhould either denie credit to S. *Stephen*, who ſaith that *Abraham* departed from *Meſopotamia* after his fathers death: or elſe belieue the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, ſaith it was about his Fathers death: becauſe the Greek word, μετα, may be tranſported by the Latine *ſub*, aſwell as by *poſt*: which though elſewhere it may be, yet cannot it be ſo in this place. For it were moſt improperly ſpoken, to ſay that thoſe things were done about *Terahs* death, which were 60. yeeres before. Wherefore ſuppoſing *Abraham* to haue beene borne in the ſeuenty yere of *Terah*; we muſt giue thoſe times and places of birth to *Abrahams* children, which no authoritie will warrant; For *Abraham* had no children in *Vr* of *Chaldæa*, nor in *Haran*: nor in tenne yeeres after his arriuall into *Canaan*. For the yeere of *Terahs* death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the yeere of the World 2083. and the yeere of *Iſmaels* birth was the Worlds yeere 2094: which maketh 10. yeeres difference. And that *Iſaac* was borne in *Canaan*, and was to be offered vpon the mountaine *Moriah* therein, 39. miles from *Berſabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three *Angels* firſt of all appeared to *Abraham* in the valley of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot bee that any of *Abrahams* ſonnes were borne in *Meſopotamia*; nor while *Terah* liued; nor in leſſe then tenne yeeres after *Terahs* death: and then conſequently was not *Abraham* the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, nor borne in the 70. yeere of *Terahs* age.

Gen. 12. Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75: if *Terah* had begotten him at 70, then had *Terah* liued but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which muſt alſo haue been the full age of *Terah*: but *Terah* liued 205. yeeres: and therefore was not *Abraham* borne in the 70. yeere of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifeſt, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldeſt brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah* or *Iſcah* wanted but tenne yeeres of *Abrahams* age: *Iſaac* being borne when *Abraham* was 100. and *Sarah* 90. yeeres olde.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had beene the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran* muſt haue begotten *Sarah* at nine yeeres olde: for granting that *Haran* was borne but one yeere after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within ten yeeres as olde as *Abraham*, then of neceſſitie muſt *Haran* beget her, when he had liued but nine yeeres; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that *Iſcah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, ſaith he, bearing the ſame ſignification; and names of principalitie. Againe, to what end was the word *Iſcah* or *Iiſhcah* inſerted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? For to ſpeake of any thing ſuperfluous it is not vſed in Gods Bookes: and if *Iſcah* had not belonged to the ſtorie, it had beene but an idle name to no purpoſe remembred.

Now if it had beene true (as thoſe of the contrarie opinion affirme) that *Moſes* had no reſpect of *Nachor* and *Haran*, who were notwithſtanding the parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Iſrael*, and of *Chriſt*: what regard then had *Moſes* of *Iſcah* in this place, were ſhee not *Sarah*, but otherwiſe an idle name of whom there is nothing elſe firſt or laſt?

The age alſo of *Lot* diſproueth the elderſhip of *Abraham*: for *Lot* was called an olde man when *Abraham* was but 83. yeeres: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham* and *Haran* were Father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; *Abraham* marrying one of *Harans* daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* alſo being within ten yeeres as old as *Abraham*: it may appeare to euery reaſonable man (not obſtinate and preiudicate) that *Haran* was the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who alſo died firſt and before his Father left *Vr* in *Chaldæa*. Alſo *Lyra* reaſoneth againſt the opinion of *Abrahams* elderſhip, vpon the ſame place of *Geneſis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but 10. yeeres yonger then *Abraham* himſelfe. *Lyra* his words are theſe: *Si igitur* Haran *fuit iunior ipſo*

Abraham, *ſequitur quòd non habebat decem annos quando genuit* Saram : *imò nec octo, &c.* and afterward, *& ideò melius videtur dicendum, quòd* Abraham *fuit vltimò natus de tribus filijs* Thare, *tamen nominatur primò, propter eius dignitatem: & quia ponendus erat caput ſtirpis & generationis ſequentis : & quia primò facta eſt ei repromiſsio expreſſa de* Chriſto, *ſicut ſupra dictum eſt de* Sem, *&c. If therefore (ſaith* Lyra*)* Haran *was yonger then* Abraham *himſelfe, it followeth that he was not ten yeeres old when he begat* Sarah *: And therefore it ſeemeth better to be ſaid, that* Abraham *was the laſt borne of the three ſonnes of* Thare, *neuertheleſſe he is named firſt for his dignitie, both becauſe hee was to be ordained head of the ſtocke and generation following, and becauſe the promiſe of* Chriſt *was firſt made vnto him, as before it is ſaid of* Sem.

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§. VII.

A concluſion of this diſpute, noting the Authors on both ſides: with an admonition, that they which ſhorten the times, make all ancient ſtories the more vnprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reaſon, that *Haran* was the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeere of *Terahs* life, and not in the 70. yeere. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to S. *Stephen*, and that iourney by *Abraham* performed when he was 75. yeres old; theſe two numbers added make 205. yeres, the full age of *Terah* : ſeeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my ſelfe, I haue no other end herein then to manifeſt the truth of the Worlds Story : I reuerence the iudgements of the Fathers : but I know they were miſtaken in particulars. Saint *Auguſtine* was doubtfull, and could not determine this controuerſie. For whatſoeuer is borrowed from him out of his ſixteenth Booke *de Ciuitate Dei, cap.* 15. the ſame may be anſwered out of himſelfe in his fiue and twentieth queſtion vpon *Gen.* But Saint *Auguſtine* herein followed *Ioſephus* and *Iſidor* : and *Beda* followed S. *Auguſtine*. And it was out of a fooliſh pride and vanitie, that the *Hebrewes* and *Ioſephus* ſought to make *Abraham* the firſt borne : as if God had had reſpect to the eldeſt in nature. So did *Ioſephus* together with *Nicholas Damaſcenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Iewiſh Nation*) make *Abraham* a king, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queene Sarah* : and ſaid that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captaines, of which euery one had an infinite multitude vnder him; *trecentos & octodecem præfectos habuit : quorum ſingulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that *Pharao* inuading him with a great Armie, tooke from him his Wife *Sarah* : Such fables argue that *Ioſephus* is not to bee beleeued, but with diſcreete reſeruations.

Act.7.4.

Gen.12.4.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeeres from the Floud to *Abraham*, is vpheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how ſhould wee value the opinion of ſuch *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod* ? Surely, if their iudgement in ſuch matters were worthy to be regarded, it would haue appeared in ſetting downe the ſucceſſion of the *Perſian Kings*, vnder whom they liued, whoſe Hiſtorie was not ſo farre remote in time, as theſe antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet groſſely haue they erred therein, and ſo familiar are their miſtakings in all things of like nature, that we ſeldome finde their opinion rehearſed without the confutation treading on the heeles of it. They of the *Romane* religion are alſo generally on the ſame ſide : it being a thing vſuall among them, to maintaine whatſoeuer they haue beene formerly knowne to hold and beleeue. Contrariwiſe, of the more ancient, *Theodoret*, and ſome following him: of later times *Beroaldus*, *Codoman*, *Peucer*, *Caluin*, *Iunius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, *Doct. Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with diuers of the *Proteſtants*, hold *Abraham* to haue beene borne in the 130. yeere of his Father *Terah*. From theſe (as in a caſe not concerning any point in Religion) diuers of the ſame Religion, and thoſe neuertheleſſe good Authors, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitræus*, *Functius* and others, are very auerſe heerein, eſpecially *Ioſephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Caluiſius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an Arch-heretike in *Chronologie*, and condemning this opinion of his as poyſonous. Contrariwiſe, *Auguſtinus Torniellus* a Prieſt of the Congregation of Saint *Paul*, a iudicious, diligent, and free writer, whoſe *Annales* are newly ſet forth, very earneſtly defends the opinion, which I haue already deliuered; not alleadging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Proteſtant* writer, as beeing perhaps vnwilling to owe thankes to heretikes. For my ſelfe I doe neither miſlike the contrary opinion, becauſe commonly thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion labour to vphold it, Nor fauour this larger account of times, becauſe many notable men of the *Proteſtant* writers haue approoued it; but for the truth it ſelfe. To ſtrengthen which, after all theſe former reaſons, and teſtimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the reſt. Firſt, it is apparent to all men of iudgement, that the beſt approued Hiſtorians, Diuine and prophane, labour to inueſtigate the truth of times, thereby to approue the ſtories, and forepaſt actions of the world: and not the truth of hiſtories to approue the times by. Let vs then make iudgement to our ſelues, which of thoſe two accounts giue the beſt reputation to the ſtory of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Ioſephus*, & thoſe which follow him; who makes but 292. yeres, or thereabouts, betweene the floud and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352. yeres betweene the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to bee the firſt borne of *Thare*, in the 70. yeere of his life: the other a yonger ſonne of *Thare*, and borne when he had liued 130. yeres. And if we looke ouer all, and doe not haſtily ſatiſfie our vnderſtanding with the firſt things offered, and thereby being ſatiated doe ſlothfully and drowſily ſit downe; we ſhall finde it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to ſome editions, make it aboue 1072. yeeres betweene the Floud and *Abrahams* birth: then to take away any part of thoſe 352. yeres giuen. For if wee aduiſedly conſider the ſtate and countenance of the world, ſuch as it was in *Abrahams* time, yea before *Abraham* was borne, wee ſhall finde that it were very ill done of vs by following opinion without the guide of reaſon, to pare the times ouer-deepely betweene *Abraham* and the Floud: becauſe in cutting them too neere the quick, the reputation of the whole ſtorie might perchance bleede thereby, were not the teſtimonie of the Scriptures ſupreme, ſo as no obiection can approach it: and that wee did not follow withall this precept of S. *Auguſtine*, That whereſoeuer any one place in the Scriptures may bee conceiued diſagreeing to the whole, the ſame is by ignorance of interpretation miſ-vnderſtood. For in *Abrahams* time all the then knowne parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Ægypt* had many magnificent Cities: and ſo had *Palæſtina*, and, and all the bordering Countries: yea, all that part of the World beſides, as farre as *India*: and thoſe not built with ſtickes, but of hewne ſtones, and defended with walls and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, then thoſe other men haue ſuppoſed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plaineſt, and beſt agreeing with reaſon and nature, to what end ſhould we labour to beget doubts and ſcruples, or draw all things into wonders and maruailes? giuing alſo ſtrength thereby to common cauillers, and to thoſe mens apiſh braines, who only bend their wits to finde impoſſibilities, and monſters in the ſtorie of the World and Mankinde.

§. VIII.

A computation of the times of the Aſſyrians, and others, grounded vpon the times noted in the ſtorie of Abraham.

An. mũdi 2008 dil. 352. natus Abraham, Euſ. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, l. 16. c. 17.

IN this ſort therefore for the reaſons before alleadged, I conclude, that from the generall Floud, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. yeeres were conſumed: and taking the *Aſſyrian* Hiſtory with vs, the ſame number of yeeres were ſpent from the Floud to the 43. yeere of *Ninus*: in which 43. yeere of *Ninus Abraham* was borne: which happened in the yeere of the world, 2009.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.

Now of this time of 352. yeres, we muſt giue one part as well to the increaſe of thoſe people which came into *Shinar*, as to thoſe that ſtayed in the Eaſt, to wit, 30. yeeres to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which, though the Scriptures are ſilent, yet becauſe thoſe of the ſame time had that age when they begat their firſt ſonnes, wee may the more ſafelie giue the like allowance to theſe. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg Regu* at 30. *Regu Serug* at 32. Now after *Seba, Chus* begat *Hauila, Sabta, Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was borne, as it appeareth *Gen.* 10. which S. *Auguſtine* approueth. Giuing then 30. yeeres more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and fiue yeeres to the fiue elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. yeeres were conſumed ere *Nimrod* himſelfe was borne: and that *Raamah* had that age before any of his ſonnes were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and compariſon: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Regu* in the ſame yeere of his life.

Gen. 11.18.

Let vs then allow 60. yeeres more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or elſe we ſhall hardly finde people to build *Babel*: for ſure wee are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: becauſe it diſpleaſed God. Theſe two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The reſt of the time of 131. (in which yeere they arriued in *Shinar*, whereof there are 6. yeeres remaining) we may giue them for their trauels from the Eaſt; becauſe they were peſtered with women, children and Cattell: and as ſome ancient writers haue conceiued, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept alwaies the mountaines ſides, for feare of a ſecond Floud. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remaines 221. of which number *Beroſus* beſtoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus* before *Abraham* borne: both which S. *Auguſtine* approueth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there remaineth 114. yeeres of the 352. from the Floud to *Abrahams* birth: which number of 114. neceſſitie beſtoweth on *Nimrod*.

An. à ſalute humani generis ab aquis centeſimo primo cœpit regnum Babylonicum ſub noſtro Saturno patre Iouis Beli, qui imperauit annis 65: Beroſus.

And if it be obiected that this time giuen to *Nimrod*, is ouer-long: ſure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the reſt of the ſame deſcent from *Noah*, it will rather appeare ouer-ſhort. For *Nimrod*, by this accompt, liued in all but one hundred ſeuenty nine yeres: whereof he reigned one hundred and twelue: whereas *Sale* who was the ſonne of *Arphaxad* the ſonne of *Sem*, liued foure hundred three yeeres: and of the ſame age of the World was *Nimrod* the ſonne of *Chus*, the ſonne of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was borne,

Ninus reigned 9. yeres: which added to 43. make ———————————— 52.

Ninus dieth and leaueth *Semiramis* his Succeſſor.

Semiramis gouerned the *Empire* of *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* 42. yeeres, and died in the 52. yeere compleat of *Abrahams* life.

Of the World 2017.
Of the Floud 761.

Ninias or *Zameis* ſucceeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. yeeres, in the ſecond yeere of whoſe reigne *Abraham* left *Meſopotamia*.

2059. *mundi.*
403. *a dil.*

When *Abraham* was 85. yeeres olde, hee reſcued his nephew *Lot*, and ouerthrew by ſurpriſe *Amraphel* King of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. yeeres, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. yeeres after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. yeere of his age: ſo that *Amraphel* may ſeeme to haue beene this *Ninias* the ſonne of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whoſe 23. yeere as aforeſaid, being the 75. yeere of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might haue receiued this ouerthrow in the 85. yeere of *Abraham*, and the 33. yere of his owne reigne: after which he reigned fiue yeeres: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reaſons to the contrary, vrging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not eaſily anſwered. Howbeit for the times of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we haue ſet them downe, according to the times noted by *Moſes*, in the ſtorie of *Abraham*, it is moſt certaine; vnleſſe we will either derogate from the truth of *Moſes* his computation, which were impietie: or account the whole Hiſtorie of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to bee but a fiction; which were to condemne all ancient Hiſtorians for fablers.

2083.
427.
2093.
437.

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§. IX.

That Amraphel, *one of the foure Kings whom* Abraham *ouerthrew:* Gen. 14. *may probably be thought to haue beene* Ninias *the ſonne of* Ninus.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moſes* makes King of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life, that is, in the 33. yeere of the reigne of *Ninias Zameis* the king of the *Aſſyrians*, the ſonne of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Bablonia*: *Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the anſwere which firſt offereth it ſelfe as moſt probable, is that which hath beene alreadie noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other then our *Amraphel*: who inuaded *Traconitis* or *Baſan*, and ouerthrew thoſe fiue kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell vs, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the ſucceſſour of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life: wherein he reſcued *Lot*, ſlew *Chedorlaomer*, and ouerthrew the reſt. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greateſt *Monarke*: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chiefe, though *Amraphel* be firſt named by *Moſes* in the firſt verſe of the 14. Chapter of *Geneſis*. For the Kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the fiue Cities, were Gen. 14. 4. the vaſſalls of *Chedarlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written, *Twelue yeeres were they ſubiect to* Chedorlaomer, *but in the* 13. *yeere they rebelled*, *and in the* 14. *yeere came* Chedorlaomer *and the kings that were with him*: and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principall in this enterpriſe, who was then King of *Elam*, which is *Perſia*: Now *Perſia* being ſeated ouer *Tigris*, and to the Eaſt of *Amraphels* Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, beeing ſeated to the Weſt of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it ſelfe, ſeemeth at this time to haue had no great ſcope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* beene ſo great a Prince as prophane Hiſtorians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he ſucceeded, he ſhould not haue needed the aſſiſtance of three other Kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the firſt and greateſt of thoſe foure Kings, (as it is manifeſt that he was: For theſe little kings of *Sodome*, *Gomora*, *&c.* were his vaſſals, and not *Amraphels*,) yet this makes not the coniecture leſſe probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Aſſyria*, had now (as we ſhall ſhew more plainely in that which followeth) receiued a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdomes betweene *India* and the *Phœnician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

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§. X.

Of Arioch *another of the foure Kings, and that* Ellas, *whereof hee is ſaid to haue beene King, lies betweene* Cœleſyria *and* *Arabia Petræa*.

NOw the two other kings ioyned with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one king of *Ellaſſar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellaſſar*, *Aquila* and *Hierome* write *Pontus*: ſo *Toſtatus* thinketh that it ſhould bee *Helleſpont*: which opinion *Pererius* fauoureth. But this is onely to defend the Latine tranſlation. For as *Pontus*, ſo is *Helleſpont* farre diſtant, and out of the way to ſend any Armies into *Arabia Petræa*, or into *Idumæa*, which Countries theſe foure King chiefly inuaded: Beſides that, it is certaine, that the *Aſſyrians* (when they were greateſt) had neuer any dominion in *Aſia* the leſſe. For at ſuch time as the *Aſſyrians* feared the inuaſion of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, they ſent not into *Aſia* the leſſe as commanders: but vſed all the Art Xenophont they had to inuite *Crœſus* to their aſſiſtance: perſwading him that nothing could bee more dangerous for himſelfe, and the other Kings of thoſe parts, than the ſucceſſe of the *Medes* againſt the *Aſſyrians*. But examine the enterpriſe what it was. *Theſe Kings* (ſaith Gen. 14. the Text) *made warre with* Bera, *King of Sodome*, Birſha *King of Gomorha*, Shinab *King of Admath*, *and* Shemebar *King of Zeboim*, *and the King of* Bela *which is Zoar*. All which fiue Kings had not ſo much ground as *Middleſex*: being ſuch a kinde of *Reguli*, as *Ioſua* found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and ſmall territories adioyning; of which *Canaan* had three and thirtie, all ſlaine or hanged by *Ioſua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are ſaid alſo to haue inuaded, bee imagined to haue beene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Helleſpont*, had manifeſted a great impotence and weakeneſſe in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Perſia*.

And though it be alleadged for an example, that diuers Kings farre off, came to aſſiſt *Pompey* againſt *Cæſar*: yet theſe ſame examples without like occaſions and circumſtances, do neither leade nor teach. For there was no cauſe to feare the greatneſſe of theſe pettie Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the world were fixed on *Cæſar*; and his vndertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no leſſe doubtfull then fearefull: But the whole Countrie by theſe foure Kings maſtered in their paſſage, was afterward giuen to the halfe tribe of *Manaſſe*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*: a narrow valley of ground lying betweene *Iordan* and the mountaines of *Seir*: incloſed by the riuer of *Arnon* on the South ſide, and by *Lybanus* on the North, conſiſting of the two ſmal Prouinces of *Traconitis* or *Baſan*, and the Region of the *Moabites*: a conqueſt farre vnualuable, and little anſwering to the power of the *Aſſyrian Empire*, if the ſame had remained in any comparable eſtate with the times of *Ninus* & *Semiramis*, who ſubiected al the great kings of that part of the World, without the aſſiſtance of any of the Kings of *Helleſpont*, or any other part of *Aſia* the leſſe. But as the vulgar and *Aquila* conuert *Ellaſſar* by *Pontus*: ſo *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as farre fetched to ioyne with the *Aſſyrians* in this Warre, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* doe not change the word of *Ellaſſar* at all, but as they keepe the word *Ararat*, on the mountaines whereof the Arke did reſt, ſo doe they in this place retaine the *Hebrew* word *Ellaſſar*, being doubtfull to giue it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himſelfe remembreth other opinions farre more probable then this of *Pontus* or *Helleſpont*: yet he dares not auow his liking of them, becauſe the Latine Tranſlation hath it otherwiſe. For *Stephanus de Vrbibus* a *Græcian Coſmographer*, findeth the City of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœleſyria*: and S. *Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the Citie of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the ſame be ſeated by *Stephanus* in *Cœleſyria*, yet it ſtandeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly ioyned with *Ninus* in all his conqueſts, being of the ſame familie, and deſcended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrew* written *Arioch*: and afterward againe *Aretas*: as in the *Machabees*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name euen to the time of S. *Paul*, who was ſought to be betrayed by the *Lieutenant* of *Aretas* commanding in *Damaſcus*. They were Princes for the moſt part confederate and depending vpon the *Aſſyrian Empire*. It is true that wee finde in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonoſor*, one *Arioch* was Generall of his armie, & the principall Commander vnder him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plaine, that *Arioch* here ſpoken of, the ſonne of that *Arioch Confederate* of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions farre remoued from the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name alſo of *Arioch* who commanded vnder *Nabuchodonoſor* is mentioned in *Iudith*, by the name of *King of the Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Perſians* bordering *Aſſyria*, according to *Stephanus*: though *Plinie* ſets it betweene the Seacoaſt, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian Kings* or other of that houſe (knowne by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta*, or *Aretas*) had the gouernment of that *Perſian Prouince* called *Elymais* (as it ſeemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Iudith*) yet the ſame was in *Nabuchodonoſors* time. But this *Arioch* heere ſpoken of may with more reaſon bee taken for the King of *Arabia*, the ſonne of *Arius*, the *Confederate* of *Ninus*: whoſe ſonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that ſide towards the Weſt vnto *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their owne houſe, and bloud: which *Diod: Siculus* alſo confirmeth.

Mac.2.c.5.V.2 Cor:2.11.

Dan. 2

Dio.Sic.l.2.c.8

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§. XI.

Of Tidal *another of the foure Kings.*

THe fourth King by *Abraham* ouerthrown was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Goijm*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt people: *Caluin* of runnagates without habitation: *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, findes that *Galilæa* was inhabited by diuers Nations, which were a mixt people: namelie of *Ægyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nàm tales ſunt qui Galilæam habitant*; *Such are the inhabitants of Galilee*, ſaith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called King of theſe Nations, as they ſuppoſe. And it may be ſo: but the authoritie of *Strabo* is nothing in this queſtion. For *Galilæa* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land; howſoeuer they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many petty kingdoms adioyning to *Phœnicia*, and *Palæſtina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Caſſiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all theſe doe alſo ioyne themſelues to *Meſopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia* on the Eaſt. And that theſe Nations gathered themſelues together vnder *Tidal*, I take to be the probableſt coniecture.

Strab.l.16.fol.523.

Gen.12.6.

§. XII.

That Chedorlaomer *the chiefe of the foure Kings was not of Aſſyria, but of Perſia: and that the Aſſyrian Empire at this time was much impayred.*

LAſtly, whereas it is conceiued that *Chedorlaomer* was the *Aſſyrian Emperor*, and that *Amraphel* was but a *Satrape, Viceroy*, or *Prouinciall* gouernour of *Babylonia*, and that the other Kings named were ſuch alſo, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moſes* was too well acquainted with the names of *Aſſur* and *Shinar*, to call the *Aſſyrian* a king of *Elam*: thoſe kings being in the Scriptures euermore called by the name of *Chaldæa, Shinar*, *Babylonia*, or *Aſſyria*: but neuer by *Elam*; and *Chedorlaomer* or *Kedarlaomer* was ſo called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim* which in the *Hebrew* ſignifieth *Regale*: for ſo *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Perſian* Kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I beleeue that the *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian Empire* ſtood in any greatneſſe at the time of this inuaſion, and my reaſons are theſe: Firſt, example and experience teach vs, that thoſe things which are ſet vp haſtily, or forced violently, doe not long laſt: *Alexander* became Lord of all *Aſia*, on this ſide of *Indus*, in a time of ſo ſhort a life, as it laſted not to ouer-looke what it ſelfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himſelfe: all whoſe chiefe Commanders became kings after him. *Tamberlain* conquered *Aſia* and *India* with a ſtorme-like and terrible ſucceſſe: but to preualent furie God hath adioyned a ſhort life: and whatſoeuer things Nature her ſelfe worketh in haſte, ſhe taketh the leaſt care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories periſhed with him, if not before.

Ninus being the firſt whom the madneſſe of boundleſſe dominion tranſported, inuaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent, inſolent, and cruell. *Semiramis* taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, aduenturous, and ambitious, then her *Paramor*: enlarged the *Babylonian Empire*, and beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampled. But her ſonne hauing changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proued no leſſe feminine then ſhe was maſculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall ſmart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, and reuenge the other: ſo thoſe Kings adioyning (whoſe ſubiection, and calamities incident, were but new, and therefore the more grieuous) could not ſleepe, when the aduantage was offered by ſuch a ſucceſſour. For in *regno Babylonico hic parùm reſplenduit*, *this King ſhined little* (ſaith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) in the *Babylonian* Kingdome. And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men hauing beene neuer before galled with the yoake of forraine dominion, nor hauing euer had experience of that moſt miſerable and deteſted condition of liuing in ſlauerie: no long deſcent hauing as yet inueſted the *Aſſyrian* with a right: nor any other title being for him pretended than a ſtrong hand: the fooliſh and effeminate ſonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold ſo many great Princes and Nations his vaſſals, with a powerleſſe maſtering, and a minde leſſe induſtrious than his Father and Mother had vſed before him. And hee that was ſo much giuen ouer to licentious idleneſſe, as to ſuffer his Mother to reigne 42. yeeres, and thereof the greateſt part after he came to mans eſtate: witneſſed thereby to the World, that hee ſo much preferred eaſe before honour, and bodily pleaſures before greatneſſe, as he neither indeuoured to gaine what he could not gouerne, nor to keepe what he could not without contentious perill enioy.

Theſe Conſiderations being ioyned to the ſtorie of *Amraphel*, deliuered by *Moſes*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* was rather an inferiour to the King of *Perſia*, than either his ſuperiour, or equall; make it ſeem probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken aſunder, and reſtrained againe to *Babylonia*.

For concluſion I will adde theſe two arguments confirming the former: Firſt, that at ſuch time as it pleaſed God to impoſe that great trauaile vpon *Abraham*, from *Vr* in *Chaldæa* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a paſſage of 700. miles, or little leſſe, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandred were then ſetled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yere of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voyce of God, tooke this great iourney in hand: in which time of 23. yeeres after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recouered their libertie and former eſtates. For *Semiramis* Armie of foure millions, with her ſelfe vtterly conſumed in *India*, and al her armies

Strab.l.15.

and engins of warre, at the ſame time loſt, gaue an occaſion and opportunitie euen to the pooreſt ſoules and weakeſt hearted creatures of the World, to repurchaſe their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the beſt and ancienteſt Hiſtorians, that *Arius* the ſonne of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, inuaded the *Bactrians* and *Caſpians*, and againe ſubiected them: which needed not if they had not beene reuolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recouered one part, ſo did *Baleus* or *Balaneus*, otherwiſe *Xerxes*, reduce the reſt reuolted to their former obedience. Of whome it is ſaid that he conquered from *Ægypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes, id eſt, Victor & triumphator, a conquerour and triumpher*, which vndertakings had beene no other then the effects of madneſſe, had not thoſe Countries freed themſelues from the *Babylonian* ſubiection. Now if we ſhall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the reconqueſt of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which liued after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well thinke the reſt of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but fained: but if we grant this reconqueſt, then is it true that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Aſſyrian Empire* was torne aſunder, according to that which hath beene gathered out of *Moſes* as before remembred.

§. XIII.

That it is not vnprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elſe-where with their colonies planted themſelues: and ſo retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be ſo, we neede not ſay that Amraphel *was* Ninias, *nor trouble our ſelues with many other difficulties.*

THe conſent of all writers, whoſe workes haue come to my peruſall, agreeing as they doe, that theſe foure Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and thoſe fellowes, were Lords of thoſe Regions, whereunto they are or ſeeme intituled: doth almoſt inforce vs to thinke that the Hiſtorie muſt ſo be vnderſtood, as I haue deliuered. But if in this place, as often elſewhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be ſet for people of thoſe lands, or if (as *Hierome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was ſaid to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of ſundry regions: then may wee otherwiſe conceiue of this Hiſtorie: remouing thereby ſome difficulties which men perhaps haue beene vnwilling to finde, becauſe they could not finde how to reſolue them. For as it had beene a ſtrange coniecture to thinke that *Arioch* was drawne to aſſiſt the *Perſian*, againſt the *Sodomites*, as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very vnlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was knowne, and almoſt impoſſible that the vale of *Siddim* ſhould haue beene once named: ſo in true eſtimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Perſia* alone, ſhould paſſe through ſo great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Aſſyria*, *Chaldæa*, *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to ſubdue thoſe fiue Townes, whoſe very names how they ſhould come to his eare, being diſioyned by ſo many great Nations of different languages, a wiſe man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Perſia* together with the *Babylonian* himſelfe, yea the kingdome of *Ellaſar*, and that of *Tidal*, ſo far off remoued, were become his dependants; what reaſon can wee finde that might haue induced him to hearken after *Sodome* and *Gomorah*? and when he ſhould haue ſought the eſtabliſhment of his new gotten *Empire*, by rooting out the poſterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaſter* of *Bactria*) then to imploy the forces of *Amraphel*, and thoſe other Kings, againſt fiue pettie Townes, leauing *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, & the great Citie of *Damaſco*, with many other places of much importance, and farre neerer vnto him, vnſubdued? Now as theſe doubts which may be alleadged againſt the firſt conqueſt of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: ſo are the obiections to be made againſt his reconqueſt of theſe fiue Cities, when they had reuolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly vpon the text it ſelfe. For firſt, what madneſſe had it beene in that ſmall *Prouince* to rebell againſt ſo powerfull a *Monarch*? Or if it were ſo that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, then that he ſhould come or ſend to reclaime them: was it not more then madneſſe in them, when his terrible armie approached, ſtill to entertaine hope of euaſion: yea to make reſiſtance (being themſelues a diſſolute and therefore vnwarlike people) againſt the power of all the Nations betweene *Euphrates*, yea betweene themſelues and the riuer of

Indus? Likewiſe on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we ſhould finde no great wiſedome, if he knowing the weakeneſſe of this people, had raiſed ſuch a world of men againſt them: whom by any *Lieutenant*, with ſmall forces he might haue ſubdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Countrie, was not ſufficient to counteruaile one moneths charges of ſo huge an armie. How ſmall then muſt his valour haue beene, who with ſo mightie preparations effected no more then the waſting of that *Valley*, wherein he left the Cities ſtanding, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few priſoners, and the pillage of the Countrie, although he had broken their armie in the field? Now the Scriptures doe not of this inuaſion (ſuppoſed ſo great) make any fearefull matter: but compoſe the two armies, as equally matcht, ſaying they were foure kings againſt fiue: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we ſhall finde that *Abraham* ſlew all theſe kings, of which great ſlaughter no Hiſtorie makes mention: Neither will the reigne of *Ninias*, who liued foure or fiue yeeres longer, permit that he ſhould haue died ſo ſoone: neither would Hiſtories haue forgotten the manner of his death, if he had ſo ſtrangely periſhed in *Syria*. Whereby it appeares, that theſe foure kings were not the ſame that they are commonly thought: nor their forces ſo great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that theſe kings were ſuch as many others, who in that age carried the ſame title: Lords and Commanders euery one of his owne company, which he carried forth as a *Colonie*, ſeeking place where to ſettle himſelfe and them, as was the vſuall manner of thoſe times.

Gen. 14.17.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troupe of *Perſians*, *Amraphel* ſome people out of *Shinar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of ſundry places, might conſort together, and make the weakeſt of the Countrie which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whoſoeuer will conſider the beginning of the firſt booke of *Thucydides*, with the manner of diſcoueries, conqueſts and plantations, in the infancie of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* inuading *Affrica* and *Spaine*, with almoſt as many kings as ſeuerall Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new diſcoueries, paſſages, and conqueſts in the *Weſt-Indies*: may eaſily perceiue, that it was neither vnuſuall, for the leaders of *Colonies* to receiue title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, diſturbing ſometimes one the other, ſometimes helping in purſuit of a conqueſt. That *Amraphel* and his aſſociates were ſuch manner of Commanders, it may ſeeme the more likely, by the ſloathfull qualitie of *Ninias* then reigning in *Aſſyria*: whoſe vnmanlike temper was ſuch, as might well giue occaſion to ſuch vndertaking ſpirits, as wanted the imploiments whereunto they were accuſtomed, in the reigne of *Semiramis*, rather to ſeeke aduentures abroad, than to remaine at home vnregarded: whilſt others more vnworthy than themſelues, were aduanced. If the conſent of the whole ſtreame of writers vpon this place make this coniecture diſagreeable to the Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reaſon muſt ſubſcribe, then we may hold our ſelues to the former coniecture, that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*: and that the power of his Anceſtors being by his ſloath decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Perſian Chedorlaomer*: or if this doe not ſatisfie, we may ſay that *Amraphel* was an Vnder-king or *Satrapa* of *Shinar*, vnder *Ninias*; who may be ſuppoſed to haue had his *Imperiall* ſeat in his Fathers Citie *Niniue*: and to haue preferred it before *Shinar* and *Babylon* the Citie of his Mother, whom he hated as an vſurper of his right. But if it were poſſible that in a caſe not concerning any mans Saluation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, That theſe foure Kings were leaders of *Colonies*, ſent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themſelues, is moſt conſonant both to the condition of thoſe times, and to the Scripture. And hereto adde that *Chedorlaomer* ſeemes rather called a *Perſian* king, then King of *Perſia*: and that *Arioch* (whoſe kingdome vndoubtedly was betweene *Syria* and *Arabia*) hauing beene a man of action, or being a worthy mans ſonne, was very well pleaſed, to giue paſſage and aſſiſtance, to theſe Captaines or pettie Kings. Theſe and ſuch like things here to vrge, were but with circumſtances to adorne a ſuppoſition, which either may ſtand without them, or if it muſt fall, is vnworthy to haue coſt beſtowed vpon it: eſpecially conſidering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leaue it wholly to the Readers pleaſure, to follow any of theſe opinions, or any other, if he finde any that ſhall ſeeme better than theſe. But of what Countries or people ſoeuer theſe foure were Kings, this expedition is the only publique action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his ſonnes, and of his Nephews *Eſau* and *Iacob*, as they are regiſtred by *Moſes*, becauſe it is not our purpoſe, either to ſtand vpon things generally knowne to all *Chriſtians*, nor to repeate what hath beene elſewhere already ſpoken, nor to preuent our ſelues in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, we paſſe them here in ſilence. And becauſe in this Storie of *Abraham* and his poſteritie, there is much mention of *Ægypt*: by which it appeares that euen in the time of *Abraham*, it was a ſetled and flouriſhing kingdome; it will not be amiſſe in the next place to ſpeake ſomewhat of the antiquities, and firſt kings thereof.

Chap. II.

Of the Kings of Ægypt from the firſt peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the deliuerie of the Iſraelites from thence.

§. I.

A briefe of the names and times of the firſt Kings of Ægypt: with a note of the cauſes of difficulty in reſoluing of the trueth in theſe points.

Soone after the confuſion at *Babel* (as it ſeemes) *Cham* with many of his iſſue and followers (hauing doubtleſſe knowne the fertilitie of *Ægypt* before the Floud) came thither and tooke poſſeſſion of the Countrie; in which they built many Cities: and beganne the kingdome one hundred nintie one yeeres after the deluge. The ancient Gouernours of this Kingdome till ſuch time as *Iſrael* departed *Ægypt*, are ſhewne in the *Table* following.

An. Mundi.	*An. dil.*	
1647.	191.	*Cham.*
2008.	352.	*Oſiris.*
2269.	613.	*Typhon* *Hercules.*
2276.	620.	*Orus.*
2391.	735.	*Seſoſtris* the great.
2424.	768.	*Seſoſtris* the blinde.
2438.	782.	*Buſiris* or *Oris* the ſecond.
2476.	820.	*Acenchere* or *Thermutis* or *Meris.*
2488.	832.	*Rathoris* or *Athoris.*
2497.	841.	*Chencres* drowned in the red Sea.

The Table and eſpecially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and coniectures, becauſe in ſuch obſcuritie, manifeſt and reſtleſſe truth cannot be found. For Saint *Auguſtine*, a man of exceeding great iudgement, and incomparable diligence, who had ſought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of *Varro*, which now are loſt, yet omitted the ſucceſſion of the *Ægyptian* Kings: which he would not haue done, if they had not beene more vncertaine then the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, then whom doubtleſſe they were more glorious. One great occaſion of this obſcurity in the *Ægyptian* Storie, was the ambition of the Prieſts: who to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leaſings, and recounted vnto ſtrangers, the names of many Kings that neuer reigned. What ground they had for theſe reports of ſuppoſed Kings, it ſhall appeare anon. Sure it is that the magnificent workes and royall buildings in *Ægypt*, ſuch as are neuer found but in States that haue greatly flouriſhed, witneſſe that their Princes were of marueilous greatneſſe: and that the reports of the Prieſts were not altogether falſe. A ſecond cauſe of our ignorance in the *Ægyptian* Hiſtory, was the too much credulity of ſome good Authors, who beleeuing the manifold and contrary reports of ſundry *Ægyptians*, and publiſhing in their owne name, ſuch as pleaſed them beſt; haue confirmed them, and as it were inforced them vpon vs, by their authority. A third and generall cauſe of more than *Ægyptian* darkeneſſe in all ancient Hiſtories, is the edition of many Authors by *Iohn Annius*, of whom (if to the cenſures of ſundry very learned, I may adde mine) I thinke thus; That *Annius* hauing ſeene ſome fragments of thoſe writers, and added vnto them what he would, may be credited, as an auoucher of true Hiſtories, where approued writers confirme him: but otherwiſe is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it commeth to paſſe that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronologie* or *Genealogie* of the *Ægyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different wayes. The Chriſtian writers, ſuch as are ancient, for the moſt part follow *Euſebius*: Many late writers follow the edition of *Annius* his Authors: The prophane Hiſtories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and ſuch others.

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§. II.

That by the account of the Ægyptian Dynaſties, and otherwiſe, it appeares that Chams *reigne in Ægypt began in the yeere after the Floud,* 191.

TO reconcile theſe, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is moſt controuerſie, the beſt meane is by helpe of the *Dynaſties*: of whoſe continuance there is little or no diſagreement. The account of the *Dynaſties* (beſides the authoritie of approued Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the moſt part, if not altogether with the Hiſtories of the *Aſſyrians*, *Troians*, *Italians*, and others, &c. The beginning of the 16. *Dyn.* is ioyned by generall conſent, with the 43. yeere of *Ninus*: in which *Abraham* was borne. The twelue firſt *Dynaſties* laſted each of them ſeuen yeeres, vnder the twelue, which were called the greater gods: ſo that all the yeers of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynaſt* endured foureteene yeers: the fourteenth 26. the fifteenth 37. Theſe three laſt, are ſaid to haue beene vnder the three yonger Gods. So the fifteene firſt *Dynaſties* laſted one hundred ſixty one yeeres. As I doe not therefore beleeue that the continuance of theſe *Dyn.* was ſuch as hath beene mentioned, becauſe *Annius* in ſuch wiſe limits out their time: ſo I cannot reiect the account vpon this onely reaſon, that *Annius* hath it ſo: conſidering that both hitherto it hath paſſed as currant, and is greatly ſtrengthened by many good reaſons. For, whereas *Euſebius* placeth the beginning of the ſixteenth *Dynaſtie*, in the yeere of *Abrahams* birth, as aforeſaid; the reckoning is eaſily caſt; by which the ſumme of 161. yeeres, which according to our account were ſpent in the fifteene former, being ſubducted out of the ſum of 352. yeeres, which were betweene the Floud and *Abrahams* birth, ſhew that the beginning of the firſt *Dynaſtie*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reigne in *Ægypt*, was in the yeere 191. As alſo by other probabilities the ſame may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankinde which came into *Shinar*, arriued at *Babel*, *Anno à diluuio* 131. In building the Tower were conſumed fourtie yeeres, as *Glicas* recordeth: whoſe report I haue eleſewhere confirmed with diuers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in paſſing with his company, their Wiues, Children, Cattell, and ſubſtance, through all *Syria* then deſolate, and full of Bogges, Forreſts, and Bryers (which the Deluge and want of culture in one hundred ſeuentie one yeeres had brought vpon it) no reaſonable man will doubt. To this his paſſage therefore, and the ſeating of himſelfe in *Ægypt*, we allow twenty yeeres: and theſe ſummes being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one yeeres after the Floud, before they arriued at *Babel*, 40. yeeres for their ſtay there, and 20. for *Chams* paſſage into *Ægypt*, and ſetling there, make vp the ſumme of 191. yeeres; at which time we ſaid that *Cham* began his reigne in *Ægypt*, in the beginning of the firſt *Dynaſtie*. And to this ſumme of 191. yeeres if wee adde the 161. yeeres of the 15. firſt *Dynaſties*, as they are numbred in common account, wee ſhall fall right with the yeere of *Abrahams* birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reaſons, which might be brought to proue that theſe firſt *Dynaſties* muſt needes haue beene very ſhort, and not containing in the whole ſumme of their ſeuerall times aboue 161. yeeres: Let it ſuffice that had they laſted longer, then either muſt Ægypt haue beene peopled as ſoone as *Babel* after the Floud: or the *Dynaſties* (as *Mercator* thinkes) muſt haue beene before the Floud. That the arriuall at *Babel* was many yeeres before the plantation of *Ægypt*, after the Floud, enough hath beene ſaid to proue: and that the *Dynaſties* were not before the Floud, the number of the long-liu'd generations betweene *Adam* and the Floud, which was leſſe than the number of the *Dynaſties*, may ſufficiently witneſſe. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be diuided into many *Dynaſties*, then may this haue beene as well after the Floud, as before: conſidering that the ſonnes of *Noah* did not in euery Countrie erect ſuch forme of Policie, as had beene vſed in the ſame ere the Deluge: but ſuch, as the diſpoſition of the people, the authority and power of the Conducter, together with many other circumſtances, did induce or inforce them to.

§. III.

That theſe Dynaſties were not diuers families of Kings, but rather ſucceſsions of Regents, oft times many vnder one King.

THe ſhort continuance of the *Dynaſties*, doth ſhew that they were not ſeuerall races of Kings, as the vaunting *Ægyptians* were wont to ſtile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in reſtitutions of decayed antiquities, it is more eaſie to denie than to affirme. But this may be ſaid partly vpon good circumſtance, partly vpon the ſureſt proofe, That it was the manner of the *Ægyptian* Kings, to put the gouernment of the Countrie into the hands of ſome truſtie Counſellor, onely reſeruing the Soueraignty to themſelues, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Maſters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe *Viſier*. This is confirmed, firſt, by the number of the *Dynaſties*, whereof many are vnder *Cham*, and more then one vnder *Oſiris* or *Mizraim*; and muſt therefore haue beene ſucceſſions, not of Kings, but rather of Counſailors and Regents. Secondly, by cuſtome of ſuch Princes borderers to *Ægypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures: of whom *Abimelech* the *Philiſtim* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Iſaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol* Captaine of his Hoſte; though in taking *Abrahams* wife, and in his priuate carriage, he followed his owne pleaſure. Likewiſe of *Abimelech* the ſonne of *Gideon* it was ſaid: *Is not he the ſonne of* Ierubbaal? *and* Zebul *is his Officer?* Alſo *Iſhboſheth* the ſonne of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captaine of the Hoſte. Yea, *Dauid* himſelfe hating *Ioab* for his crueltie, did not puniſh him in regard of his greatneſſe, which was ſuch, as was feared euen of *Hadad* the *Edomite* liuing then in *Ægypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and diſpoſition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therfore likely both for his owne idleneſſe and pleaſure, to haue laid the burden of gouernment vpon others; and vpon iealouſie, the companion of vnworthineſſe, to haue changed his Lieutenants often. Aboue all other proofes is the aduancement of *Ioſeph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* ſaid to Ioſeph; *Onely in the Kings throne will I be aboue thee: behold, I haue ſet thee ouer all the Land of Ægypt. William, Archbiſhop of Tyre*, who flouriſhed about the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand one hundred eightie, affirmes that the like or very ſame forme of gouernment by *Viceroys*, was in his time practiſed in *Ægypt*, hauing there beene in vſe (as he beleeued) euer ſince the time of *Ioſeph*. He plainely ſhewes, that the *Soldans* of *Ægypt* were not Lords of the Countrie, how euer they haue beene ſo deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the dutie of ſubiects vnto the *Caliphe*: who reſiding in a moſt magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of ciuill gouernment, but the power of making warre and peace, with the whole office & authority royall into the *Soldans* hands. He that ſhall reade in *William* of *Tyre*, the ſtate of the *Caliphe*, or *Mulene Elhadech*, with the forme of his Court, ſhall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authority as *Ioſeph* was, though farre inferiour in wiſedome.

Willia. Tyr. de bell. Sacro. l. 19 c. 17. 18. 19. & 20.

Lib. 19. c. 20.

To thinke that many names of ſuch *Regents* or Lieutenants as *Ioſeph* was, haue crept into the Liſt of the *Ægyptian* Kings, were no ſtrange imagination. For *Ioſephs* brethren called him, *The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countrie*: Beſides, it is not vnlikely that the vaineglorious *Ægyptian* Prieſts would as eaſily report him a King to poſterity, as ignorant men & ſtrangers deeme him ſuch, vnder whoſe hand all diſpatches

Gen. 42. 30. & 33.

of importance, and royall managing of the State had paſſed, whileſt that the King himſelfe intending his quiet, had giuen his office to another. How ſtrangers haue miſtaken in this kinde, the example already cited of *Ioſeph's* brethren, doth ſufficiently witneſſe. The reports of Prieſts doe appeare in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, ſay; *Diodorus*, that *Seſoſtris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332. after *Menas*: which could not haue been, if *Menas* had beene *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynaſties* were not ſo many races of Kings, but ſucceſſions of *Regents*, appointed by the kings of ſo many ſundry linages or ſorts of men. Now by whatſoeuer meanes a *Dynaſtie* or *Regencie* continued: whether in one familie, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: ſure it is that it was the Kings gift and free choyce, that gaue the office. But the Crowne royall alwaies paſſed by deſcent, and not by election: which (beſides conſent of *Authors*) the Scriptures alſo proue. For whereas *Ioſeph* bought all the land of *Ægypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crowne had paſſed by election, then ſhould *Pharaoh's* children hereby either haue beene inthralled amongſt the reſt of the people, to the next ſucceſſor: or inioying their Fathers land, though not his eſtate, haue beene more mighty then the King: as Land-lords of all *Ægypt*, and the King himſelfe their Tenant. Likewiſe we finde in *Exod.* 12. that *God ſmote the firſt borne of* Pharaoh, *that was to ſit on his Throne.* And in *Eſay* it is ſaid of Pharaoh: *I am the ſonne of the ancient King.* *Eſay* 19.

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§. IIII.

Of Cham, *and his ſonne* Mizraim, *or* Oſiris.

THat the ſucceſſion of Kings began, and continued in ſuch wiſe as the Table hath ſhewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to ſhew. *Ægypt* is called in the Scripture, *the land of* Ham. *Pſal.* 78.51. 105.23. 27. 106.22. That this name is not giuen to it, becauſe the poſterity of *Cham* did reigne there, but for that himſelfe did firſt plant it, we may gather by many circumſtances. For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of *Cuſh*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Ægypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, *Diod. Sic. l.* 1. that *Oſiris* calleth himſelfe the eldeſt ſonne of *Cham*, ſaying; *Nihi pater Saturnus deorum omnium iunior*: alſo, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoſo ortum*: which muſt needes be vnderſtood of *Cham*: for this *Saturnus Ægyptius* was *Cham*: as it is ſaid, that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inſcription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewiſe the Temple of *Hammon*, not farre from *Ægypt*, doth teſtifie, that *Ham* reſided in thoſe parts: And S. *Hierome in quæſtionibus Hebraicis* ſaith, that the *Ægyptians* themſelues did in his dayes call their Countrie *Ham*: as in foure ſeuerall places in the *Pſalmes* this Countrie is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Oſiride*, that in the ſacrifices of the *Ægyptians* this Countrie of *Ægypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*: *vt puto* (ſaith he) *à Chamo Noes filio*, to which alſo he addeth out of *Iſidore*, *Ægyptum vſq; hodie Ægyptiorum lingua* Kam *vocari*: *that Ægypt vnto this day in the tongue of the Ægyptians is called* Kam. For the beginning and continuance of *Chams* reigne, the ſame reaſons may ſuffice to be alleadged, which I haue already giuen in proofe of the time ſpent in the 15. firſt *Dynaſties*: Neither is it ſtrange that the reigne of *Cham* ſhould laſt ſo long as 161. yeeres: conſidering that *Sem* liued 600: *Arphachſhad* and *Shelah* each aboue 400. But ſtrange it had beene, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in thoſe long-liued generations reigned there 19. yeeres, and with *Bæon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the ſame brood, obſcured the fame and glory of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and *Seſoſtris*. *Reineccius in hiſtor. Iulia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwiſe called *Oſiris* according to *Diodorus*: who ſaith he was the ſonne of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* ſaith that *Mizraim* and *Oſiris* are words of neere affinitie and ſound in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howſoeuer it be, we know that *Mizraim* the ſonne of *Cham*, was Lord of *Ægypt*, and *Reineccius* citing good authoritie in this caſe, affirmeth that *Ægypt* is now called by the naturals in their owne language, *Mezre*. Neither doe I ſee cauſe of doubt whether *Oſiris* were the ſame with *Mizraim*. It is more neceſſary, and hard to ſhew manifeſtly, how long *Mizraim* or *Oſiris* reigned. For whereas the yeere of his death is no where preciſely ſet downe, we muſt be faine to follow probabilities. That hee is not vainly ſaid by *Annius* his *Beroſus*, to haue begun his reigne at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynaſtie* of the *Thebæi* began, it appeareth, firſt, by the authoritie of *Euſebius*, who auoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who ſaith that he inhabited *Thebes*: which habitation of *Oſiris* there, that it might be cauſe of that *Dynaſty*, I can well beleeue; aſſenting ſo farre to *Reineccius*, who thinkes the *Dynaſties* were named onely, according to the ſeuerall ſeates of the kings.

§. V.

Of the time when Oſiris *reigne ended: and that* Iacob *came into Ægypt in the time of* Orus *the ſonne of* Oſiris.

THe death of *Oſiris*, when it was, none can certainely affirme. The onely coniecture that I know is made thus: *Lehabim* the ſonne of *Mizraim* called *Hercules Lybius*, made warre in *Italy*, to reuenge his Fathers death, on the aſſociates of *Typhon*, in the 41. yeere of *Baleus* King of *Aſſyria*: before which yeere he had made many great warres in *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, and *Spaine*: and hauing ended his *Ægyptian* warres, left the Kingdome to *Orus*. Thus farre *Beroſus*, or authors following *Beroſus*. That *Orus* laſt of all the gods (as they were ſtiled) held the Kingdome of *Iſis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly ſaith: and *Plutarch* as much; to which all Hiſtories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon inferres, that ſixe yeeres may be allowed to the warres, which *Hercules* made in ſo many Countries, after the *Ægyptian* warres were ended: ſo ſhould the death of *Oſiris* haue beene the 34. of *Baleus*, when himſelfe had reigned 297. yeeres. I thinke that *Krentzhemius* was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For ſurely in thoſe dayes when commerce was not ſuch as now, but all Nauigation made by coaſting, a farre longer time would haue beene required, to the ſubduing of ſo many Countries. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtleſſe) to finde the truth. If according to his account the death of *Oſiris* had beene the 34. of *Baleus*, then muſt *Iſrael* haue come into *Ægypt* but ſeuen yeeres before the death of *Oſiris*: and haue liued there in the reigne of *Typhon*. A thing not eaſily beleeued. For it was the ſame king who aduanced *Ioſeph*, bade him ſend for his Father; and gaue him leaue to goe into *Canaan*, to the performance of his Fathers funerall: as may eaſily be gathered out of the booke of *Geneſis*. Whereas therefore the reigne of *Oſiris* cannot be extended by any poſſible allowance in account of times, beyond the ſeuenth yeere of *Iſraels* comming into *Ægypt*: we muſt needes cut off 23. yeeres from that number, which *Krentzhemius* coniectures his reigne to haue continued: namely ſeuen which hee ſhould haue liued after *Iacobs* comming into *Ægypt*; nine in which *Ioſeph* had there flouriſhed, ere his fathers comming: and other ſeuen in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Oſiris*, yet before *Ioſephs* aduancement.

Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1. Plut. l. de Iſid. & Oſid.

Neither will this diſagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his wars. For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italie*, is ſaid to haue indured 10. yeers: After which proportion we may well giue not onely ſixe yeers, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23. more to ſo many wars in ſo many and ſo far diſtant Countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute vnto *Orus* the 13. yeeres, which paſſed betweene the time of *Ioſephs* being ſold into *Ægypt*, vnto his aduancement: conſidering that *Putiphar* who bought him, & whoſe daughter he may ſeeme to haue married, continued all that while chiefe Steward vnto *Pharaoh*; a thing not likely to haue beene, if ſo violent alterations had hapned the whileſt in *Ægypt*, as the tyrannous vſurpation of *Typhon* muſt needes haue brought in. If citing ſome fragment of a loſt old author, I ſhould confidently ſay, that *Putiphar* for his faithfulneſſe to *Orus*, the ſonne of *Oſiris*, was by him in the beginning of his reigne made his chiefe Steward: at which time buying *Ioſeph*, and finding him a iuſt man, and one vnder whoſe hand al things did proſper, he rather committed his eſtate into *Ioſephs* hands, than vnto any of his *Ægyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either falſ-harted, or weake and vnlucky in the troubleſome dayes of *Typhon*) I know not what could be obiected againſt this. Perhaps I might proceed further and ſay, That when the ſaying of *Ioſeph* pleaſed *Pharaoh*, and all his ſeruants; then *Putiphar* Prieſt of *On*, being chiefe Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Ioſeph*, the ancient graces of God, and his iniurious impriſonment: whereupon he gaue him his daughter to wife; and being old, reſigned his office of chiefe Steward vnto him; who afterward in regard of *Putiphar*, did fauour the Prieſts, when he bought the lands of all other *Ægyptians*. This might appeare to ſome a tale not vnlike to the frierly booke of *Aſenath*, *Putiphars* daughter: but vnto ſuch as conſider that God workes vſually by meanes: and that *Putiphar* was the Steward of that king, vnder whom *Iacob* died: it would ſeeme a matter not probable, had it an Author of ſufficient credit to auouch it. Concerning the warres of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning he ſhould haue ſpent 42. yeeres after he left *Ægypt*, ere he began in *Italie*, it is a circumſtance which (the length of his *Italian* wars conſidered, and his former enterpriſes and atchieuements proportioned to them) doth not make againſt vs, but for vs: or if it were againſt vs, yet could it not ſo weaken our ſuppoſition, as theſe probabilities collected out of the vndiſputable truth of Scripture doe confirme it. Neuertheleſſe I freely grant that all theſe proofes are no other, than ſuch as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in ſuch obſcurity, otherwiſe than by likelihoods, anſwerable to the holy Text.

§. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, *and the two* Seſoſtres, *ſucceſſiuely reigning after* Mizraim: *and of diuers errors about the former* Seſoſtres.

CONcerning the reigne of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I finde none that preciſely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giueth three yeeres to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is ſo peremptorie without proofe, as if his owne word were ſufficient authority, in many points very queſtionable; alleadging no witneſſe, but as it were ſaying, *Teſte me ipſo*: yet herein we may thinke him to ſpeake probably, foraſmuch as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very ſoone vndertake his Fathers reuenge: and was not long in performing it: and that leauing *Ægypt* to his brother, he followed other warres, in the ſame quarrell, as hath beene ſhewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Beroſus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*: yet ſeeing *Auentinus* a follower of *Beroſus* hath it ſo, I will alſo beleeue it. That in the reigne of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, ſeuen yeeres were ſpent, howſoeuer diuided betweene them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* onely, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* ſeuen yeeres after the death of *Oſiris*: forgetting to ſet downe his reaſons, which in a matter ſo probable I thinke he wanted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeeres of the eighteenth *Dynaſtie* to *Oſiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*: it ſeemes that the reigne of *Orus* laſted 115. yeeres. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*, there paſſed 122. yeeres by our account: who (according to *Beroaldus* and others) thinke that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeere of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the Floud to the birth of *Abraham* ———— 352

From that time to the { vocation of *Abraham* ———— 75
{ departure out of *Ægypt* ———— 430
Summa ———— 857:

which ſumme diuers other wayes may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Ægypt*, there doe remaine (as is aforeſaid) onely 122. yeeres from the death of *Orus*: we are now to conſider how many of them are to be allowed vnto *Seſoſtris* or *Seſonchoſis*: who is placed next vnto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiaſtes Apollonij*: not without good probability. For this great king or conquerour, is by many Hiſtories recorded to haue ouer-run a great part of *Aſia*: to haue built a fleet of ſhips on the red Sea: and ſo to haue entred into *India*: likewiſe with another fleet on the middle-earth Seas, to haue paſſed into *Europe*, and ſubdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* iudgeth) whom *Iuſtine* erring in account of his time calleth *Vexoris*: For *Iuſtine* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus*: whereby it would follow that *Seſoſtris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient then was *Oſiris* (otherwiſe *Mizraim*) a thing altogether vnlikely. Certaine it is that after the departure of *Iſrael* out of Egypt, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Ægypt* into *Aſia*) till the Father in law of *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, tooke *Gerar*, and gaue it to his daughter: (as wee may reade more at large in the holy hiſtorie of the Bible) after which time *Seſac* oppreſſed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* ſought paſſage through the land of *Iſrael*, when hee made his expedition againſt the *Chaldæans*. Of King *Vaphres* and *Necho* it is out of queſtion, that neither of them was the great King *Seſoſtris*. Of *Seſac* it is doubted by ſome, foraſmuch as he came into *Iudæa* with a great armie. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaueth it vndecided; vnleſſe it be ſufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that he himſelfe placeth *Seſoſtris* next to *Orus*: following the *Scholiaſtes Apollonij*. But further anſwere may be made to ſhew that they were not one. For, as *Iuſtine* witneſſeth, *Seſoſtris*, otherwiſe *Vexoris*, made warre on people farre remoued, abſtaining from his neighbours. *Seſac* came vp purpoſely againſt *Hieruſalem*. *Seſoſtris*, as *Diodorus* witneſſeth, had but 24000. horſe: *Seſac* had 60000. *Seſoſtris* had 8020. Chariots, *Seſac* but 1200. *Seſoſtris* made his expedition for no priuate purpoſe, but to get a great name: *Seſac*, as moſt agree, had no other purpoſe then to ſuccour *Ieroboam*, and giue him countenance in his new reigne; whom he had fauoured euen againſt *Salomon*: therefore *Seſoſtris* muſt needes haue reigned whileſt *Iſrael* abode in *Ægypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: becauſe thoſe Hiſtorians affirme that he reigned next after the gods; it moueth me nothing. For *Oſiris* did ſucceede thoſe fifteene gods, namely, the twelue greater, and three leſſer: himſelfe alſo (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as alſo *Menæus*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignitie: though miſtaken by ſome as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*; the Hebrew word *Meni* ſignifying an *Arithmetician*; which name *Tex-maximus* might well be attributed to *Oſiris*, who was a great Conquerour, Philoſopher, and benefactor to mankinde, by giuing good Lawes, and teaching profitable Arts. In proweſſe and great vndertakings *Seſoſtris* was no whit inferiour to *Oſiris*. For he ſought victory not for gaine, but for honour onely: and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and ſubmitted themſelues to his will and royall diſpoſition, leauing them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Ægypt*. Soone vpon his returne he was endangered by a great Treaſon, the houſe in which hee was, being by his owne brother purpoſely fired: which neuertheleſſe he is ſaid to haue eſcaped, and to haue reigned in all thirtie three yeeres: after which time he choſe rather to die then to liue; becauſe he fell blinde. Both *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, affirme that *Seſoſtris* left a ſonne, whoſe name was *Pheron* or *Pherones*: who afterwards tooke the name of *Seſoſtris*; but was nothing like to his Father in glory: for he ſhortly fell blinde. The cauſe of his blindneſſe *Herodotus* attributes to his aſſaulting the Riuer *Nilus* with a iaueline: which tale *Diodorus* hauing likewiſe heard, yet reports as a fable, ſaying that perhaps he tooke the diſeaſe naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is no where expreſſed: yet foraſmuch as *Orus* the ſecond, (otherwiſe *Buſiris*) who ſucceeded him, began 14. yeeres after that this *Seſoſtris* had beene king, it muſt needes be that this reigned 14. yeeres at leaſt. That *Buſiris* began not vntill theſe 14. yeeres at leaſt were expired, the very account of time from the firſt of *Buſiris*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt* plainly ſhewes, being almoſt generally agreed vpon, to haue beene 75. yeeres. That none came betweene *Seſoſtris* the ſecond and *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, it ſtands onely vpon probabilities: which are theſe. After *Seſoſtris* had reigned ſomewhile, he fell blinde: after certaine yeeres he recouered his ſight, as is ſaid: which may haue beene true, but is more like to haue beene a fable: ſurely the manner of his recouery as it is ſet downe, is very fabulous: namely that by looking vpon a woman, or waſhing his eyes with her water, who had onely knowne her owne husband, he got his ſight againe. As the time of his reigne, before his blindneſſe, and when he was well againe (if euer he were) may haue taken vp a good part of 14. yeeres: ſo his workes which were great, doe much more ſtrongly argue, that his reigne was not very ſhort. His words are largely ſet downe by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*: a part of which may ſeeme to haue beene the finiſhing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and ſluces of *Nilus*: whom I thinke he rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with ſpades and ſhouels, then with darts, and iauelins; and by his diligent ouer-ſight of that worke, was like enough to loſe both his eye-ſight and his peoples loue; whom his Father had very buſily employed in exceſſiue labour about it.

§. VII.

Of Buſiris *the firſt oppreſſor of the Iſraelites; and of his ſucceſſor Queene* Thermutis *that tooke vp* Moſes *out of the water.*

Exod. 1.

ANd herein (if I may preſume to coniecture) *Buſiris*, who was afterwards king, is like to haue dealt with him, as *Ieroboam* did with the ſonne of *Salomon*. For that *Buſiris* himſelfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it well appeared, by the drudgerie wherewith he wearied the children of *Iſrael* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Seſoſtris*, as *Ieroboam* was by *Salomon*, in the ouerſight of thoſe buſineſſes, he had good opportunitie to worke his greatneſſe with the king by induſtry: and afterward with the people by incenſing them againſt their new king: as *Ieroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers: vnleſſe hee haue either an equall ſpirit, or a ſurer foundation. If moreouer he ſought to deriue all the paine and labour of publique workes from the *Ægyptians*, to the *Iſraelites*: he ſurely did that which to his owne people was very plauſible: who (as appeares in *Exodus*) were nothing ſlacke in fulfilling the kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the ſecond, or *Buſiris* was the king that firſt oppreſſed *Iſrael*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (ſaith *Cedrenus*) laſted ten moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and moſt learned writers; who alſo thinke that hereupon grew the fable of *Buſiris* ſacrificing ſtrangers. It is alſo a common interpretation of that place, *Exod.* 1. that the King who knew not *Ioſeph*, was a king of a new family. That *Buſiris* was of a new family, *Reineccius* doth ſhew; who alſo thinkes him Author of the bloudy edict. Neuertheleſſe, true it is, that *Buſiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reigne fiue yeeres after the birth of *Moſes*; before whoſe birth it is moſt manifeſt, that the Law was made, and much more that the perſecution began; which *Bunting* thinkes to haue laſted 87. yeers, ere the departure out of *Ægypt*. Let vs therefore conſider, beſides the blindneſſe of *Seſoſtris* the ſecond, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Viceroyes* in *Ægypt* was; & how great confidence the kings did put in them; ſeeing *Ioſeph* ruled with ſuch full power, that he bought all *Ægypt*, and all the *Ægyptians* for bread; giuing at the ſame time the beſt of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing: ſeeing alſo that when the *Ægyptians* cried out vpon *Pharaoh*, for bread; *Pharaoh* ſaid to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to Ioſeph; what he ſaith to you, do ye*. If to a ſtranger borne, lately fetcht out of priſon, a king well able to haue gouerned himſelfe, would giue ſuch truſt, & ſoueraigne authority; it is not vnlikely that a blind Prince ſhould doe it to a man of eſpeciall reputation. For God often proſpers, not onely the good (ſuch as *Ioſeph* was) but wicked men alſo, as his inſtruments againſt the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many haue done) reſigne his kingdome to him, though his reigne was not accounted to haue begun, till the death of *Seſoſtris*. But whether *Buſiris* did vſurpe the kingdome, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king reſigned it, keeping the title; or whether *Buſiris* were onely *Regent*, whilſt the king liued, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himſelfe: it might well be ſaid that *Pharaohs* daughter tooke vp *Moſes*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Iſrael*; ſeeing he both at that time was king in effect, and ſhortly after king in deed and title both. It were not abſurd for vs to ſay that the blind king *Seſoſtris* the ſecond oppreſſed *Iſrael*: but foraſmuch as it may ſeeme that the wicked *Tyrant* ſhewed his euill nature euen when he firſt aroſe: I thinke it more likely, that *Buſiris* did it, vſing at firſt the power of a king, and ſhortly after the ſtile. Thus of the 122. yeeres which paſſed betweene the beginning of *Seſoſtris* his reigne, & the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, 47. being ſpent; the 75. which remaine, are to be accounted to *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, and his children. *Buſiris* himſelfe reigned 30. yeeres, according to *Euſebius*: whom very many iudicious authors herein approue. After him his daughter, who tooke *Moſes* out of the water, is ſaid by all that I haue read, to haue reigned 12. yeeres: Her name was *Thermutis Phareis*, or *Muthis* according to *Cedrenus*: *Euſeb.* cals her *Acencris*: & out of *Artabanus* his Hiſtory *Meris*: *Ioſeph* cals her both *Acenchere*, & *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius in Panario* ſaith that ſhee was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the daughter of *Amenoph*, the ſon of *Pharaoh*. Of this laſt title queſtion might be made, and much ſpoken: for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* ſons daughter, but *Pharaohs* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is ſet next before *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond by *Euſebius* & others:

but whether he were a king or onely a *Regent* I cannot coniecture. For *Herodotus, Diodorus*, and the ancient Hiſtorians name the ſonne of *Seſoſtris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis:* aud his daughter by the *Ægyptians* called rather the neece or grand-childe, then the daughter of *Paraoh*, becauſe of the glory of *Seſoſtris*, and the diſreputation of his ſonne. If ſo, and if that *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our coniecture ſtrengthened, and then was ſhee both daughter, grand-childe, and wife vnto *Pharaoh*: and ſuruiuing him, *Queene* of the land, 12. yeeres. But if ſhe were daughter of *Orus* the ſecond, and ſiſter of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many thinke, to whoſe coniecture I will not oppoſe mine, then may it ſeeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too yong to rule, when her Father died.

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§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queene Thermutis: *and what king it was, vnder whom* Moſes *was borne: and who it was that periſhed in the red Sea.*

SHe had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris* or *Athoris*, who ſucceeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is onely named by *Euſebius*; but his linage and off-ſpring deſcribed by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris* after his ſiſters death reigned nine yeeres: after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his ſonne, reigned ten yeeres, and then periſhed in the red Sea. During the reigne of *Chencres*, *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* vpon *Io*: of which Hiſtorie elſewhere he reporteth otherwiſe. After the death of *Chencres* (whom ſome call *Acencheres*: but all or moſt doe ſtile θεομάχος, a fighter againſt God) *Acherres* reigned 8. yeeres; and then *Cherres* 15. This deſcent ſeemes from Father to ſonne. In the 11. yeere of *Cherres* it is ſaid by *Euſebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Ægypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwiſe was not vnlikely: *viz.* That *Ægypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid vpon it, and the deſtruction of her king and armie in the red Sea: elſe could it not haue had two reigning in it at once; the later of whom, or his poſterity ſeemes to haue taken all from *Cherres* the grand-childe of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is ſaid to haue reigned foure yeeres after *Cherres*: and *Armeſis* one after *Armais*: theſe two Kings are by *Euſebius* and others accounted as one, and his reigne ſaid to haue beene fiue yeeres. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwiſe *Danaus*: and his pedigree thus deſcribed by *Reineccius* in *Hiſtoria Iulia*.

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Buſiris*.

T

Ægyptus or *Rameſſes* who gaue name to the Countrie, hauing expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lynceus*, married to *Hypermneſtra*.

Danaus or *Armeus* expelled by his brother *Ægyptus*, after hee had reigned fiue yeers, became king of *Argos* in *Greece*: was Father to *Hypermneſtra*.

How it might come to paſſe that the Nephewes ſons of *Epaphus* ſhould haue occupied the kingdome after *Cherres*, it is hard to ſay: conſidering that *Epaphus* himſelfe is reported by *Euſebius* to haue beene borne in the time of *Chencres*. But foraſmuch as the Hiſtory of *Epaphus* his birth, is diuerſly related by *Euſebius*, it may ſuffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* & *Ægyptus*, otherwiſe called *Armeus* and *Rameſſes*, was equally diſtant from *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, with *Cherres* the grand-childe of *Chencres*. And that the poſterity of *Telegonus* did marry very yong, it appeares by the Hiſtorie of theſe two brethren, *Danaus*

Exod. 4.19.

and *Ægyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the later 50. ſonnes: perhaps, or rather queſtionleſſe by diuers Women: yet ſurely they began to beget children in their firſt youth: Howſoeuer it were, the generall conſent of writers is, that *Armeus* or *Danaus* did ſucceede *Cherres*: and (according to *Euſebius* and good Authors approuing him) reigned fiue yeeres. *Rameſſes* followed, who reigned 68. yeeres. This *Rameſſes* or *Ægyptus* is that *Armeſeſmiamum* or *Armeſeſmiamus*, vnder whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that followes *Mercator*, *Moſes* was borne: and the cruell *Edict* made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reigne ſeemes to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of *Mercators* opinion. For whereas the Lord ſaid to *Moſes*, *Goe, returne to Ægypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*: *Mercator* hereupon conceiues, that it was one and the ſame king vnder whom *Moſes* was borne, and vnder whom he ſlew the *Ægyptian* at the 40. yeere of his age: and fled into the wilderneſſe, and there abode for feare: all which circumſtances could agree with none, but this *Rameſſes*, who reigned ſo long: wherefore deſirous rather to hold a true *Paradox*, then a common errour, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthoſis* (whoſe name is found in the liſt of *Ægyptian* kings, but the time vncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeeres more ancient than others left him in: and ſo continuing the Catalogue of his ſucceſſours from *Themoſis* (whom *Euſebius* cals *Amaſis*) downewards with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene *Manetho* and *Euſebius*, he findes *Moſes* borne vnder *Armeſeſmiamum*: and *Iſrael* deliuered in the dayes of his ſonne *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthoſis* ſeemes to him with little alteration to ſound like *Pharatates*, of which name one was though to haue flouriſhed either as a king, or a wiſe man about the time of *Iſaac*. For (ſaith he) from *Alisfragmuthoſis* to *Phragmuthoſis*, *Pharmuthoſis*, or *Pharatates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and induſtrie: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable workes: yet my aſſent herein is with-held from him, by theſe reaſons. Firſt, I ſee all other writers agree, that *Chencres* was King who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place, *Exod.* 4. *all are dead, &c.* may better be vnderſtood of *Buſiris* and all his children, then of one king alone: Thirdly, Saint *Cyrill* in his firſt booke againſt *Iulian* the *Apoſtata*, ſaith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moſes* was 120. yeeres old: *Rameſſes*, which was this *Armeſeſmiamum*, being then king of *Ægypt*. After *Rameſſes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. yeeres: who is thought by *Mercator* and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that periſhed in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already laied open, I thinke it moſt expedient to referre the kings enſuing to their owne times (which a *Chronologicall Table* ſhall lay open) and here to ſpeake of that great deliuerance of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*: which for many great conſiderations depending thereupon, wee may not lightly ouerpaſſe.

Chap. III.

Of the deliuery of Iſrael out of Ægypt.

§. I.

Of the time of Moſes *birth, and how long the Iſraelites were oppreſſed in Ægypt.*

TRue it is that the Hiſtorie it ſelfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of *Moſes* his birth, who was the excellent and famous inſtrument of this and other great workes of the *Higheſt*, the different opinions are verie neere as many, as the men that haue written of that *Argument.*

L. Viues in his annotations vpon Saint *Auguſtine* citeth very many of their coniectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moſes* liued in the time of *Semiramis*: but if hee did meane the firſt *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for beſides that the ſame is contrarie to all Stories Diuine and humane; while that *Semiramis* liued, ſhee commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof abſolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while ſhe ruled, in *rerum natura.*

A ſecond opinion hee remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolomie* a Prieſt of *Mendes*, who ſaith that *Moſes* was borne while *Inachus* did rule the *Argiues*, and *Ameſis* in *Ægypt.*

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greeke* Hiſtorie the firſt booke: that *Moſes* was borne while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos.*

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Aſſyrius*, who though hee cite ſome authorities, that *Moſes* liued after the *Troian* warre, is himſelfe of opinion, that *Moſes* was farre more ancient, prouing it by many arguments.

Fiftly, he ſetteth downe the teſtimonie of *Numenius* the *Philoſopher*, who tooke *Muſæus* and *Moſes* to be one: confirming the ſame out of *Artapanus*, who confeſſeth that *Moſes* was called *Muſæus*, by the *Grecians*: and who farther deliuereth that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Ægypt*: the ſame which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothes*. *Euſebius* alſo affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus* in his firſt booke *de bono*, *Moſes vir Deo coniunctiſſimus* is called *Muſæus Iudæorum.* *Euſebius* in his Chronologie, findes that *Moſes* was borne while *Amenophis* ruled *Ægypt*. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharao*, which liued at *Moſes* birth, *Thumoſis* or *Thmoſis*: the ſame perchance which *Appion* the *Grammarian* will haue to bee *Amoſis*, and elſewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Sethoſis*: to whom *Lyſimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* gaue the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it ſeemes moſt probable, that while *Saphrus*, called alſo *Spherus* or *Iphereus*, gouerned *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criaſus* the *Argiues*; that then (*Seſoſtris* the ſecond ruling in *Ægypt*) *Moſes* was borne. For if wee beleeue S. *Auguſtine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moſes* led *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*. *Eduxit* Moſes *ex Ægypto populum Dei nouiſſimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſium regis*: Moſes (ſaith he) *led the people of God out of Ægypt, about the end of* Cecrops *time*, *King of the Athenians*. In this ſort therefore is the time of *Moſes* birth, and of his departure out of *Ægypt* beſt proued. S. *Auguſtine* affirmes (as before remembred) that *Moſes* was borne: *Saphrus* gouerning *Aſſyria*: and that hee left *Ægypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. yeeres; his ſucceſſor *Mamelus* 30. yeeres; *Sparetus* after him 40. yeeres: in whoſe fourth yeere *Cecrops* began to gouerne in *Attica*: *Aſcatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41: So as *Moſes* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*; and *Criaſus Argos* (for theſe three kings liued at once at his birth, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Ægypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moſes* was in the ninteenth yeere of the *Aſſyrian Saphrus*: for take one yeere remaining of 20. (for ſo long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirty yeeres of *Mamelus*,

Euſeb. de præp. Euang. l.3. c.3

Aug. l. 18. c. 12 de ciuit. Dei.

2514.

melus, and the 40. yeres of *Sparetus*, theſe make 71. with which there were waſted three yeeres of *Cecrops* his 50. yeres : then take nine yeeres out of the reigne of *Aſcatades*, who was *Sparetus* ſucceſſour, thoſe nine yeeres added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moſes* left *Ægypt* : and adde theſe nine yeeres to the three yeeres of *Cecrops* formerly ſpent, there will remaine but foure yeeres of *Cecrops* his 50: and ſo it falleth right with S. *Auguſtines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moſes* led the people of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrewes* were oppreſt in *Ægypt*, ſeemeth to haue had beginning
ſome eight or nine yeeres before the birth of *Moſes*, & 54 yeere, or rather more,
after *Ioſeph* : betweene whoſe death and the birth of *Moſes*, there were conſumed 64.
yeeres : ſome of which time, and 80. yeeres after, they liued in great ſeruitude and miſerie.
Exod.1. For as it is written in *Exodus* : *They ſet taske-maſters ouer them, to keepe them vnder*
with burdens : and they built the Cities, Pithom and Ramaſes, &c. And by crueltie they
cauſed the children of Iſrael to ſerue ; and made them weary of their liues, by ſore labour in
clay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid vpon
them by a maſtering power and ſtrong hand, they endured to the time by the wiſedome
of God appointed : euen from 54. yeeres, or not much more after the death of *Ioſeph*,
2370. who left the World when it haſt laſted 2370. yeeres, to the eightieth yeere of *Moſes*,
and vntill he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, which hee performed in the
2514. Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account,
2513. And becauſe thoſe things which we deliuer of *Ægypt*, may the better bee vnderſtood,
I thinke it neceſſary to ſpeake a few words of the principall places therein named,
in this diſcourſe.

§. II.

Of diuers Cities and places in Ægypt, mentioned in this Storie, or elſewhere in the Scripture.

Numb.33.
Ezekiel 30.
Hierem 2.43. 44, 46.
Ioſeph.l.1.c.9.
Tyr.de Bel.ſac. l.19.c.23.

THis Citie which the *Hebrewes* call *Zoan*, was built ſeuen yeeres after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes* ; and ſo doth *Hieremie* ; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis* ; *Ioſephus*, *Protaidis* ; after the name of an *Ægyptian* Queene ; *Antonius* giues it the name of *Thanis* ; *Hegeſippus*, *Thamna* ; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adioyneth to the land of *Goſen*, and is the ſame, wherein *Hieremie* the Prophet was ſtoned to death, for preaching againſt the *Ægyptian* and *Iewiſh* Idolatry.

Zoan or *Tahnes* was in *Moſes* time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Ægypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly reſided ; and not vnlikely to be ſame Citie, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Euſebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did reade Aſtronomie in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharetates* King of *Ægypt*. *Alex. Polyhiſtor*, out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwiſe, ſaying, that *Abraham* inſtructed the *Ægyptian* Prieſts, and not
Euſeb. de præp. Euang. l.9.c.4 Gen.12.15. Eſai.19.11. the King ; both which authorities *Euſebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the Vulgar edition, for *Zoan* write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Iunius*, and our *Engliſh* call it *On* ; and *Ptolomie*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name ; the one on the frontier of the lower *Ægypt*, towards the South ; the other ſomewhat lower on the Eaſter-moſt branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Peluſium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the South of the riuer *Traian*, was the ſame which *Vatablus* and our *Engliſh* call *Auen*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine knowledge : the ſame, which *Pomp. Mela*, and *Plinie* call *Solis oppidum* ; *Tyrius* in the *Holy Warre*, *Malbec* ; the *Arabians*, *Bahalbeth* ; and *Simeon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Putiphar* Prieſt, or Prince, whoſe daughter *Ioſeph* married. In the Territory adioyning *Iacob* inhabited, while hee liued in *Ægypt*. In the confines of this Citie, *Onias*, the high Prieſt of the *Iewes*, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God ; not much inferiour to that of *Hieruſalem* (*Ptolomie Philopater* then gouerning in *Ægypt*) which ſtood in the time of *Veſpaſian*, 333. yeeres after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Ioſephus* falſly reporteth, herein to haue fulfilled a propheecie of *Eſai.c.19.* *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terræ Ægypti* ; *In that day ſhall the Altar of the Lord bee in the middeſt of the Land of Ægypt.* *Antiochus Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannizing ouer the *Iewes*, gaue the occaſion for the erecting of this Temple in *Ægypt*. Laſtly, there it was that our Sauiour *Chriſt Ieſus* remained, while *Ioſeph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod* ; neere which (ſaith *Brochard*) the fountaine

taine is ſtill found, called *Ieſus Well*, whoſe ſtreames doe afterward water the Gardens of *Balſamum*, no where elſe found in *Ægypt*. And hereof ſee more in *Brochard*, in his deſcription of *Ægypt*.

There is alſo the Citie of *Noph*, remembred by *Eſai* and *Ezekiel*; the ſame which *Hoſea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*: which later name it tooke from a Mountaine adioyning, ſo called, which Mountaine *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*; and ſo the *Septuagint* write it. It is knowne to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldæans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalenſis Mizraim*.

Eſa.19.13.
Ezech.34.
Hoſea 9.6.
Lib.2.

Peluſium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Ianius*, and our *Engliſh* write, *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the ſame with *Damiata*, as *Gul. Tyrius* witneſſeth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Peluſium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (ſaith *Tyrius*) *quæ olim dicta eſt Peluſium*; *Belbeis, that in times paſt was called Peluſium*.

G.Tyr.l.20.c.17.lib.2.c.5.

The Citie of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Dioſpolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Ægypt*. *Hierome* conuerts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, becauſe it was ſo called in the future.

Eze.30.15.16.

Bubaſtus, (for ſo *Hierome* and *Zeigler* doe write it) is the ſame which the *Hebrewes* call *Pibeſeth*.

Ezec.30.17.

To make the ſtorie the more perceiueable, I haue added a deſcription of the land of *Goſen*, in which the *Iſraelites* inhabited; with thoſe Cities and places ſo often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethſemes*, *Balſephon*, *Succoth*, and the reſt; together with *Moſes* paſſage through the Deſarts of *Arabia the Stonie*. For all ſtorie without the knowledge of the places, wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleaſure; ſo it no way enricheth the knowledge and vnderſtanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing ſerue to retaine, what wee reade, in our memories, ſo well as theſe pictures and deſcriptions doe. In which reſpect I am driuen to digreſſe in many places, and to interpoſe ſome ſuch diſcourſe, otherwiſe ſeeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; who in his Preface to the Storie of the Holy Land, hath theſe words: *Si enim abſque locorum obſeruatione res geſtæ narrentur, aut ſine Topographiæ cognitione hiſtoriæ legantur, adeò confuſa atq; perturbata erunt omnia, vt ex ijs nihil non obſcurum, nihil non difficile elici poſſit*; *If narration* (ſaith he) *bee made of thoſe things which are performed, without the obſeruation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Hiſtories bee read without Topographicall knowledge; all things will appeare ſo intricate and confuſed, as we ſhall thereby vnderſtand nothing but obſcurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greateſt difficultie.*

§. III.

Of the crueltie againſt the Iſraelites young children in Ægypt: and of Moſes *his preſeruation, and education.*

BVt to returne to the ſtory it ſelfe. It appeareth that notwithſtanding the labour and ſlauery, which the *Iſraelites* endured, yet they decreaſed not in numbers: inſomuch as *Pharaoh* conſidering the danger of diſcontented pouertie, and the able bodies of an oppreſſed multitude, how perillous they might be to his eſtate, by ſuggeſtion of the Deuill reſolued to ſlaughter all the male children of the *Hebrewes*, as ſoone as they ſhould be borne. To which end he ſent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the moſt famous and expert amongſt them, *quæ præerant* (ſaith *Commeſtor*) *multitudini obſtetricum*, *who had command giuen them ouer all mid-wiues*; by whom (as it ſeemeth) hee gaue order to all the reſt for the execution of his Edict. For to haue called all the midde-wiues of *Ægypt* together, had beeene a ſtrange Parliament. Now whether theſe two, before named, were of the *Hebrewes*, or of the *Ægyptians*, it is diuerſly diſputed. *S. Auguſtine* calls them *Hebrews*, becauſe it is written *Exodus* the firſt, *The King of Ægypt commanded the Mid-wiues of the Hebrew women, &c.* But *Ioſephus*, *Abulenſis*, and *Pererius* beleeue them to be *Ægyptians*. Whoſoeuer they were, when it pleaſed God to fruſtrate the execution of that ſecret murder, to the end the world might witneſſe both the wickedneſſe of the *Egyptians*, and the iuſt cauſe, thereby made manifeſt, of his future indignation and reuenge: *Pharaoh* finding theſe women filled with pietie, & the feare of God, commanded

Verſ.16.
Ioſeph.ant.l.2.c.5.
Abul.& Pere. in Exod.

commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publikely, or howſoeuer, to deſtroy all the male *Hebrew* children borne within his dominions.

Now beſides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrewes*, the greateſt part of whom hee might haue aſſured, by affoording them the iuſtice, which euery King oweth to his vaſſals, and the reſt hee might haue imployed or ſent away at his pleaſure; *Ioſephus* giueth another cauſe of his rage againſt them, namely, That it was prophetically deliuered him by an *Egyptian* Prieſt, that among the *Hebrews* there ſhould be borne a childe; who growing to mans eſtate, ſhould become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To preuent which, (and preſuming that he could reſiſt the ordinance of God, by a meane, contrary to the lawes of Heauen and of nature) he ſtretched out his bloudie and mercileſſe hand to the execution of his former intent. The ſame preuention *Herod* long after practiſed, when fearing the ſpirituall kingdome of *Chriſt*, as if it ſhould haue beene temporall, he cauſed all the male children at that time borne, to be ſlaughtered. And that *Pharooh* had ſome kinde of foreknowledge of the future ſucceſſe, it may be gathered by theſe his owne words, in the tenth verſe of the fift of *Exodus*: *Come, let vs worke wiſely with them, leſt they multiplie; and it come to paſſe, that if there be warre, they ioyne themſelues alſo vnto our enemies, and fight againſt vs, and get them out of the Land.* But we ſee, and time hath told it vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wiſedome of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they relie on the inuentions of their owne moſt feeble, and altogether darkened vnderſtanding. For euen by the hands of the dearely beloued daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and miniſter of Gods maruellous workes taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a ſucking and powerleſſe infant. And this Princeſſe hauing beheld the childe his forme and beautie, though but yet in the blouth, ſo pierced her compaſſion, as ſhee did not onely preſerue it, and cauſe it to be foſtered; but commanded that it ſhould be eſteemed as her owne, and with equall care to the ſonne of a King nouriſhed. And for memory that it was her deede, ſhe called the childe *Moſes*, as it were, *extractus*, or *ereptus*, **taken out**, to wit, out of the water: or, after *Ioſephus* and *Glicas*, *Moy*, a voyce expreſſing water, and *hiſes*, as much to ſay, as that which is drawne out of water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moſes* was circumciſed, before hee was put into the Arke of Reedes, & that *Amram* his father had named hm *Ioachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care, & at the charge of *Pharaohs* daughter, and by men of the moſt vnderſtanding, taught and inſtructed: *quem regio more educauit, præfectis ei ſapientibus Ægyptiorum Magiſtris, à quibus erudiretur*, ſaith *Baſil*; *Vnto whom ſhee gaue princely education, appointing ouer him wiſe Maſters of the Ægyptians for his inſtructers.* Thereby (ſay *Ioſephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Ægyptians*; which alſo the Martyr *Stephen*, in the ſeuenth of the *Acts* confirmeth; And *Moſes was learned in all the wiſedome of the Ægyptians.* Which wiſedome or ſapience, ſuch as it was, or at leaſt ſo much thereof as *Six. Senenſis* hath gathered, wee haue added, betweene the death of *Moſes*, and the reigne of *Ioſua*.

Ioſ. ant. l. 2. c. 5.

Exod. 5. 10.

Strom l. 1:

Phil. de vita Moyſi.

§. IIII.

Of Moſes *his flying out of Ægypt; and the opinions of certaine ancient Hiſtorians of his warre in Æthiopia; and of his marriage there:* Philo *his iudgement of his Paſtorall life: and that of* Percrius *of the Bookes of* Geneſis *and* Iob.

When *Moſes* was growne to mans eſtate, *Ioſephus* and *Euſebius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell vs of ten yeeres warre that he made againſt the *Æthiopians*: of the beſieging of *Saba*, afterward by *Cambyſes*, called *Meroe*; and how he recouered that Citie by the fauour of *Tharbis*, a daughter of *Æthiopia*, whom he tooke to wife. So hath *Commeſtor* a prettie tale of *Moſes*, How after the end of that warre, *Tharbis* reſiſting his returne into *Egypt*, *Moſes* moſt skilfull in *Aſtronomie*, cauſed two Images to bee ingrauen in two precious ſtones, whereof the one increaſed memorie; the other cauſed forgetfulneſſe. Theſe he ſet in two rings; whereof he gaue the one, to wit, that of obliuion, to his wife *Tharbis*, reſeruing the other of memorie for himſelfe: which ring of forgetfulneſſe, after ſhe had a while worne, ſhe began to neglect the loue ſhee bare her husband: and ſo *Moſes* without danger returned into *Egypt*. But leauing theſe fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. yeere of *Moſes* age, when hee beheld an

Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppreſſed *Hebrewes*, moued by compaſſion, in reſpect of his brother, and ſtirred vp by diſdaine againſt the other, in the contention hee ſlew the *Egyptian*. Soone after which fact, finding a diſpoſition in ſome of his own Nation to accuſe him, for whoſe defence he had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and aduice of God, whoſe choſen ſeruant hee was, he fled into *Arabia Petræa*, the next bordering Countrie to *Egypt*; where wandring all alone, as a man left and forſaken, in a place vnknowne vnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous ſtrangers; and who in future times were the irreconciliable enemies of the *Hebrewes*: it pleaſed God (working the greateſt things by the weakeſt worldly meanes) to make the watering of a few ſheep, & the aſſiſting of the Daughters of *Raguel* the *Midianite*, an occaſion whereby to prouide him a wife of one of thoſe, and a father in law, that fed him, and ſuſtained him in a Countrie neereſt *Egypt*, fitteſt to returne from: neceſſarie to be knowne, becauſe interiacent betweene *Egypt* and *Iudæa*, through which hee was to leade the *Iſraelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occaſion which God preſented, beſt ſerued. And laſtly, where the glory of the world ſhined leaſt, amidſt mountainous Deſarts, there the glorie of God, which ſhineth moſt, couered him ouer, and appeared vnto him, not finding him as a Kings ſonne, or an adopted childe of great *Pharaohs* daughter, but as a meeke and humble ſheepe-heard, ſitting at a mountaines foot; a keeper and commander of thoſe poore beaſts onely.

In that part of *Arabia*, neere *Madian*, he conſumed 40. yeeres. And though (as *Philo* in the ſtory of *Moſes* life obſerueth) he did not neglect the care of thoſe flockes, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Paſtorall knowledge; yet in that ſolitary Deſart hee enioyed himſelfe: and being ſeparate from the preaſſe of the world, and the troubleſome affaires thereof, hee gaue himſelfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himſelfe all thoſe knowledges, whereof his younger yeeres had gathered the grounds and principles: the ſame Author alſo iudging, that his Paſtorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principalitie, which he afterward obtained. *Eſt enim* (ſaith *Philo*) *ars Paſtoralis, quaſi præludium ad regnum, hoc eſt, ad regimen hominum, gregis manſuetiſſimi. Quemadmodum bellicoſa ingenia præexercent ſe in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod poſtea in militia & bello perfectura ſunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitij, tam belli quàm pacis tempore. At verò præfectura manſueti pecoris, habet quiddam ſimile cum regno in ſubditis; ideoq; Reges cognominantur Paſtores populorum, non contumeliæ ſed honoris gratia; The art of keeping ſheepe is, as it were, an introductorie exerciſe vnto a Kingdome, namely, the rule ouer men, the moſt gentle flocke: Euen as warlike natures doe before-hand exerciſe themſelues in hunting practiſing on wilde beaſts thoſe things, which after they will accompliſh in warfare: thoſe brute beaſts affoording matter, wherein to traine themſelues, both in time of warre and of peace. But the gouernment of gentle cattell, hath a kinde of reſemblance vnto a Kingly rule ouer ſubiects; therefore, Kings are ſtiled ſheep-heards of the people, not in way of reproch, but for their honour.*

That *Moſes*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Booke of *Iob*, as *Pererius* ſuppoſeth, I cannot iudge of it, becauſe it is thought, that *Iob* was at that time liuing. Neither dare I ſubſcribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moſes* while hee liued in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the booke of *Geneſis*; although I cannot denie the reaſon of *Pererius* coniecture, That by the example of *Iobs* patience he might ſtrengthen the oppreſſed *Hebrewes*: and by the promiſes of God to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Iacob*, put them in aſſurance of their deliuerie from the *Ægyptian* ſlauery, and of the Land of reſt, and plentie promiſed.

Perer. in 3. c. Exod.

Of his calling backe into *Ægypt* by the Angell of God, and the maruailes and wonders which he performed, thereby to perſwade *Pharaoh*, that hee was the meſſenger of the moſt High, the particulars are written in the firſt fourteene Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needleſſe. But for the firſt, it is to be noted, that when *Moſes* deſired to be taught by God, by what name hee ſhould make him knowne, and by whom he was ſent; he receiued from God ſo much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and euer-being nature. Out of which he deliuered him in the firſt part of his anſwere, a name to be conſidered of by the wiſeſt: and in his ſecond, to be vnderſtood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it ſelfe, but the Eternall: which truely is; which is aboue all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed euery moment: their ſubſtance waſteth, and is repaired by nutriment;

Exod. c. 3. v. 13 14. and 15.

ment; neuer continuing at one ſtay, nor being the ſame ſo long as while one may ſay, Now. Likewiſe, whatſoeuer is conſumed in the longeſt continuance of time, the ſame in euery ſhorteſt piece of time ſuffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one ſtate. *Vna eſt Dei & ſola natura quæ verè eſt: id enim quod ſubſiſtit, non habet aliundè, ſed ſuum eſt. Cætera quæ creata ſunt, etiamſi videntur eſſe, non ſunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & poteſt rurſum non eſſe, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is; for hee hath his being of himſelfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they ſeeme to be, yet they are not; for ſometimes they were not: and that which hath not beene, may againe want being.* And with this, in reſpect of the Diuine nature, the ſaying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura vmbra eſt, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a ſhadow, either emptie or deceitfull*: in compariſon of whom (ſaith *Eſay*) all Nations are as nothing, leſſe then nothing, and meere vanitie.

Hieron. ad Dā.

C. 40. v. 13.

Of the tenne plagues wherewith the *Ægyptians* were ſtrucken, the firſt was by changing the Riuers into bloud: God puniſhing them by thoſe waters, into which their Forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrewes*. To which this place of the Reuelation may bee fitly applied: *And I heard the Angell of the water ſay, Lord, thou art iuſt, which art, and which waſt, and holy, becauſe thou haſt iudged theſe things; for they ſhed the bloud of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore haſt thou giuen them bloud to drinke.*

C. 16. v. 5.

The reſt of the plagues by Frogges, Lice, Flyes, or ſtinging Waſpes; by the death of their Cattaile; by leprous Scabbes, by Haile and Fire; by Graſhoppers; by Darkneſſe; after which *Pharaoh* forbad *Moſes* his preſence: moued the hardned heart of the vnbeleeuing King no longer, then the paine and perill laſted; till ſuch time as his owne firſt-borne, and the firſt-borne of all his Nation periſhed. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce) ſtood vpon no condition: whereas before, he firſt yeelded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reſeruing their beaſtiall; but he was now content for the preſent, that the *Iſraelites* ſhould not onely depart with all their owne, but with a part of the Siluer, Gold, and Iewels of his owne people: of which (the feare being paſt) hee ſuddainly repented him, as his purſuit after them proued. For when euery one of the *Hebrewes* had (according to direction from *Moſes* receiued) ſlaine a Lambe, without ſpot or blemiſh, for the *Paſſeouer*, (a *Sacrament* of the moſt cleane and vnſpotted Sauiour,) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poſte and linterne of the doores; the Angel of God in the night ſmote euerie firſt-borne of *Ægypt*, from the ſonne of the King, to that of the Begger and Slaue: the children of the *Iſraelites* excepted. At which terrible iudgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more then euer amazed, yeelded, as before is ſaid, to their departure. The *Ægyptians* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) did in after-times imitate this colouring with bloud, which the *Iſraelites* vſed after the *Paſſeouer*; aſcribing an exceeding vertue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely marke their Sheepe and Cattell, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preſerue them from lightning and other harmes.

Epiphan. l. 1. cont. Hæreſ.

§. V.

Of Pharaohs *purſuit of the Iſraelites: and of their paſſage towards the Red Sea, ſo farre as Succoth.*

NOw, when the people were remoued, and on their way, (his heart being hardned by God) he bethought him as well of the Honour loſt, as of the ſhame remaining after ſo many Calamities and Plagues, in ſuffring them to depart with the ſpoiles of his people, and in deſpight of himſelfe. And hauing before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readineſſe, he conſulted with himſelfe, what way the *Iſraelites* were like to take. Hee knew that the ſhorteſt and faireſt paſſage was through the Countrey of the *Philiſtims*. But becauſe theſe people were very ſtrong, and a warlike Nation, and in all probabilitie of his Allies, he ſuſpected that *Moſes* meant to finde ſome other out-let, to wit, through the Deſart of *Etham*; and there, becauſe the Countrey was exceeding mountainous, and of hard acceſſe, and that *Moſes* was peſtered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, hee thought it impoſſible for the *Iſraelites* to eſcape him that way. In the meane-while hauing gathered together all the Chariots of *Ægypt*, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines ouer them; hee determined to ſet vpon them in the plaines of *Goſen*, which way ſoeuer they turned themſelues. For it was the ancient manner to fight in thoſe Chariots, armed with broad and ſharpe Hooks on both ſides, in faſhion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Brittaines* vſed againſt the *Romanes*, while they made the Warre for the Conqueſt of this Land. Of this Armie of *Pharaoh*, *Ioſephus* affirmeth, that it conſiſted of 50000. Horſe, and 20000. foot; which, were it true, then it cannot bee doubted but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to aſſaile the *Hebrewes* at their departure, or to deſtroy them in *Goſen*; and refuſed them paſſage, till ſuch time as hee had prepared an Armie, to ſet on them. For, as it is written in the firſt of *Exodus*, hee doubted two things, eyther that the *Hebrewes* might ioyne themſelues to his enemies within the Land; or being ſo multiplied, as they were, might leaue his ſeruice, and get themſelues thence at their pleaſure. But the plagues which God grieued him withall, enforſt him at this time to giue an aſſent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwiſe, and *Ioſephus* partiall in this affaire, yet by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Ægypt*: which could not bee done in haſte. For *Moſes* made but three dayes march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heeles; and yet the laſt day he went on ſixteene miles: which, in ſo hot a Countrey, and to driue their Cattell and Sheepe with them, peſtered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witneſſing the dread of a powerfull Enemie at hand. Now, as *Moſes* well knew, that hee went out with a mightie hand, and that God guided his vnderſtanding in all his Enterprizes: ſo hee lay not ſtill in the ditch crying for helpe, but vſing the vnderſtanding which God had giuen him, hee left nothing vnperformed, becomming a Wiſe man, and a valiant and skilfull Conducter; as by all his actions and counſailes from this day to his death well appeared.

Exod.14.v.7.

Ioſ.ant.l.2.c.6

Exod.14.7.

When *Moſes* perceiued that *Pharaoh* was enraged againſt him, & commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his preſence: after that he had warned *Iſrael* of the *Paſſeouer*, he appointed a generall Aſſembly or *Rende-vous* of al the *Hebrews* at *Ramaſes* in the Territorie of *Goſen*; a Citie ſtanding indifferent to receiue from all parts of the Country the diſperſed *Hebrewes*: and gaue commandement, that euery Family ſhould bring with them ſuch ſtore as they had of Dow, and Paſte, not ſtaying to make it into bread: knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foote, and on his way towards them. Which done, and hauing conſidered the great ſtrength of *Pharaohs* Horſe-men and Chariots, of which kinde of defence *Moſes* was vtterly vnprouided (though as it is written, the *Iſraelites* went vp armed) he marched from *Ramaſes* Eaſt-ward, towards the Deſarts of *Etham*, and incamped at *Succoth*; which hee performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Abib*. Which Moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account as the firſt Moneth of the yeere. Whether in former times they had beene accuſtomed to begin their yere in ſome other Moneth, following the manner of the *Ægyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moſes* to the rule of their Fore-fathers, it is vncertain. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politicke yeere, which was not now abrogated, but rather by ſome ſolemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and ſtill continued in vſe. Wherefore in referring things done, or hapning among them, vnto the beginning, middeſt, or ending of the yere; that diſtinction of the Sacred, and the Politike yeere is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in euery Moneth, and the whole forme of their yeere, like enough it is that *Moſes* himſelfe in forty yeres ſpace, did ſufficiently inſtruct the Prieſts, to whoſe care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was giuen in truſt: but that any rule of framing their Kalendar, was made publike, before the captiuitie of *Babylon*, I do not finde. Now becauſe time and motion begin together, it will not, I thinke, be any great breach of order, to ſhew heere at their firſt ſetting forth, what was the forme of the *Hebrew* yeere: with the difference betweene them and other Nations, in ordering the accompt of time.

The territorie of *Goſen* was afterward called *Ramaſes*, after the name of this City, as appeareth in *Gen.47.* & *Num.33.*

Exod.13.

Exo.23.v.16. & *c.34.v.22.*

§. VI.

Of the Solarie and Lunarie yeeres: and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intercalation.

The *Hebrew* Moneths are thus named.

The firſt Moneth, *Niſan*, or *Abib*.	1. *March*.
The ſecond, *Iar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin*.	2. *April*.
The third, *Siuan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban*.	3. *Maie*.
The fourth, *Tamuz*.	4. *Iune*.
The fifth, *Ab*.	5. *Iulie*.
The ſixth, *Ehul*,	6. *Auguſt*.
The ſeuenth, *Tyſri*, or *Ethauin*, or *Ethanim*.	7. *September*.
Ant.c 4. The eighth, *Marcheſuan*, or *Mechaſuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Ioſephus*, *Marſonane*.	8. *October*.
The ninth, *Chiſleu*, or *Caſleu*.	9. *Nouember*.
The tenth, *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth*.	10. *December*
The eleuenrh, *Sebeth*, or *Sabath*.	11. *Ianuarie*.
The twelfth, *Adar*, and *Ve Adar*.	12. *February*.

VE *Adar* was an intercalarie Moneth, added, ſome yeeres, vnto the other twelue, to make the Solarie and Lunarie yeere agree; which (beſides the generall inconuenience that would otherwiſe haue riſen, by caſting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter ſeaſon, to the great confuſion of all account) was more neceſſarily Deut.16. to be regarded of the *Hebrewes*, becauſe of the diuine Precept. For God appointed eſpeciall Feaſts to be celebrated preciſely in ſuch a Moneth of the yeere, and withall on a ſet day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feaſt of the firſt fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not haue ſo beene kept, if eyther the day of the Moone had fallen in ſome other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it ſelfe beene found farre diſtant from his place in the ſeaſon of the yeere.

Other Nations, the better to obſerue their Solemnities in the due time, and to aſcertaine all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commoditie of time, that is the meaſure of endurance) were driuen in like manner to make their yeeres vnequall, by adding ſometimes, & ſometimes abating one or more dayes, as the error committed in foregoing yeres required. The error grew at firſt, by not knowing what number of daies made vp a compleat yere. For though by the continuall courſe of the Sun, cauſing Summer and Winter duly to ſucceed each other, it is plaine enough euen to the moſt ſauage of all people, when a yere hath paſſed ouer them; yet the neceſſitie of ordinarie occurrences, that are to be numbred by a ſhorter Tally, makes this long meaſure of whole yeres inſufficient for the ſmaller ſort of more daily affairs. Therfore men obſeru'd the Monethly conſpicuous reuolution of the Moone, by which they diuided the yeere into twelue parts, ſubdiuiding the Moneth into 29. dayes and nights, and thoſe againe 30.& 29. into their quarters and houres. But as the markes of time are ſenſible and eaſily diſcerned: ſo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the vnderſtanding. Twelue reuolutions of the Moone, containing leſſe time by 11. daies or thereabout, than the yerely courſe of the Sunne, through the Zodiacke, in the ſpace of ſixteene yeeres, euery moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the yeere, to that wherein it was placed at the firſt. This cauſed them to adde ſome daies to the yeere, making it to conſiſt of twelue Moneths, and as many daies more, as they thought would make the courſes of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sunne determine his yeerely reuolution by any ſet number of whole dayes; neyther did the Moone change alwaies at one houre; but the verie minutes and leſſer fractions were to be obſerued by him, that would ſeeke to reduce their motions (which motions alſo were not ſtill alike) into any certaine rule.

Heere lay much wiſedome and deepe Art, which could not ſoone be brought to perfection. Yet as making an eſtimate at randome, the *Athenians* held the yere to containe three hundred and ſixtie daies, wherein moſt of the *Greekes* concurred with them. That 360. daies filled vp the *Græcian* yeere (beſides many collaterall proofes) it is manifeſt Plin.l.34.c.6. by that which *Plinie* directlie affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of

Demetrius Phalereus, which were (ſaith he) 360. whileſt as yet the yeere exceeded not that number of dayes. By this account neyther did any certaine age of the Moone begin or end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many yeeres, in their owne places: but muſt needs be ſhifted by little and little from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the dayes forgotten to be inſerted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the ſuperiour bodies in their courſes, ſhould occupie their owne roomes in their due turnes. Now, becauſe the ſolemnitie of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon* (which anſwereth in a manner to our *Iune*) they were carefull to take order, that this Moneth might euer beginne with the new Moone; which they effected by adding ſome two daies to the laſt Moneth of euery yeere; thoſe Games being held once in foure yeres. This intercalation ſufficed not to make the matter euen; which cauſed them ſometimes to omit one day in the fourth yeere, which was the ſecond of the Moneth *Bœdromion*; (agreeing neerely with our *Auguſt*) ſometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to inſert another for it in their fourth Lunary yere, accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithſtanding, their Moneth of *Iune* would euery yeere haue growne colder and colder, had they not ſought to keepe all vpright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth yeere one whole Moneth, which they called the ſecond *Poſideon* or *December*; which was the deuice of *Harpalus*, who alſo taught them to make one Moneth of 29. daies, another of 30. daies, and ſo ſucceſſiuely through the whole yeere. Thus with much labour they kept their yeere as neere as they could, vnto the high way of the *Planets*; but theſe markes which they obſerued, were found at length to be deceitfull Guides. For it was not poſſible ſo to faſhion this eighth yeeres intercalation, that it ſhould not deceiue them in 11. houres and 18. minutes at the leaſt, or ſome waies in 34. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few Ages, haue bred much confuſion. The firſt that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth yeeres intercalation, deuiſed a *Cycle* of 19. yeeres, wherein the Moone hauing 235. times runne out her circuit, met with the Sunne in the ſame place; and on the ſame day of the yeere, as in the 19. yeere before paſt ſhee had done. This inuention of *Meton* was entertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inſerted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were auoyded the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had been vſed; for by the intercalation of 7. Moneths in the 19. yeeres, all was ſo euen, that no ſenſible difference could bee found. Yet that errour which in one yeere could not bee perceiued, was very apparent in a few of thoſe *Cycles*; the new Moones anticipating in one *Cycle* 7. houres, and ſome minutes of the preciſe rule. Therefore *Calippus* deuiſed a new *Cycle* containing foure of *Metons*, that is to ſay, 76. yeres; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a Noble *Aſtrologer*, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding ſome error in the former obſeruations, which they diligently corrected. The laſt reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Iulius Cæſar* made, who by aduice of the beſt *Mathematicians*, then to bee found, examining the courſes of thoſe heauenly bodies, reduced the yere vnto the forme which is now in vſe with vs, containing 365. daies and ſix houres, which houres in foure yeres make vp one whole day, that is intercalated euery fourth yere, the 24 of *February*. The correction of the *Iulian* yeere by *Pope Gregorie* the 13. *Anno Domini* 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall conſent; it was indeed, but as a note added vnto the worke of *Cæſar*: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obſerued, that the Sunne, which at the time of the *Nicene Councell*, *Anno Dom.* 324. entred the *Æquinoctiall* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the yere 1582. ten daies ſooner found in that time, *Pope Gregorie* ſtrooke out of the Kalendar ten daies, following the fourth of *October*, ſo that in ſtead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which meanes the moueable Feaſts depending on the Sunnes entrance into *Aries*, were againe celebrated in ſuch time, as at the *Nicene Councell* they had beene. And the better to preuent the like alterations, it was by the *Councell of Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in euery hundreth yeere, the Leape day ſhould be omitted, excepting ſtill the fourth hundred: becauſe the Sun doth not in his yeerely courſe take vp full ſixe houres aboue the 365. daies; but faileth ſo manie minutes, as in 400, yeeres make about three whole dayes.

But the *Cycle* of 19, yeeres,which the *Hebrewes* vſed,was ſuch as neither did need any nice curioſitie of houres, minutes,and other leſſer Fractions to helpe it ; neyther did in ſumming vp the dayes of the whole yeere, neglect the dayes of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out ſo, that alwayes the *Kalends* or firſt day of the Moneth was at the new Moone,and becauſe that day was feſtiuall,they were very carefull as well to obſerue the ſhort yeere of the Moone, paſſing through all the 12 Signes in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. Firſt, therefore they gaue it to *Niſan* their firſt Moneth , which is about our *March* or *Aprill*, 30. dayes ; to *Iar* their ſecond Moneth 29. dayes ; and ſo ſucceſſiuely 30.to one, 29. to another. Heereby it came to paſſe, that euery two Moneths of theirs contained ſomewhat euenly two reuolutions of the Moone , allowing 29. dayes, 12. houres,and odde minutes,from change to change. The ſpare minutes were beſtowed among the ſuperfluous or Epact dayes ; which made vp 7. Moneths in 19. yeres ; to 6. of which 7. were commonly giuen 30. dayes ; to one of them 29. dayes , or otherwiſe as was found requiſite. Their common yeere (as appeareth by the ſeuerall dayes of each Moneth) contained 354. dayes,which faile of the yere, wherein the Sunne finiſheth his courſe, 11. whole dayes, with ſome fractions of time. But theſe dayes,and other broken pieces, howſoeuer they were neglected in one yeere, yet in the *Cycle* of 19. yeeres were ſo diſpoſed of by conuenient intercalations , that ſtill at the end of that *Cycle* , both the Sunne and Moone were found on the ſame day of the yere,Moneth and weeke,yea commonly on the ſame houre of the day , where they had beene at the beginning of it 19. yeeres before.

Diuers haue diuerſly ſet downe the forme of the *Hebrew* yeere , with the manner of their Intercalations. *Sigonius* tells vs,that euery ſecond yeere they did adde a Month of 22. dayes ; euerie fourth yeere a Moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. dayes and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a yeere of the Sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceiued. For the Moone doth neuer finiſh her courſe in 22.or 23. dayes: and therfore to haue added ſo many dayes to the end of the yeere , had beene the way to change the faſhion of all the Moneths in the yeeres following, which could not haue begun as they ought,with the new Moone. *Genebrard* ſaith ,that euery third yeere,or ſecond yeere, as need required, they did intercalate one Moneth,adding it at the yeres end vnto the other 12. This I beleeue to haue beene true ; but in which of the yeeres the intercalation was (if it be worthy of conſideration) me thinkes they doe not probably deliuer, who keepe all farre from euenneſſe vntill the very laſt of the 19. yeeres . For (to omit ſuch as erre groſſely) ſome there are who ſay , that after three yeeres, when beſides the dayes ſpent in 36. courſes of the Moone, 33. dayes are left remaining, that is, 11. dayes of each yeere ; then did the *Hebrewes* adde a Moneth of 30. dayes ; keeping three dayes , as it were in pluſſage vnto the next account. The like,ſay they,was done at the end of the ſixt yeere ; at which time,beſides the Intercalarie Moneth,remained ſixe daies, namely, three ſurmounting that Moneth,and the Epact of three yeeres, beſides the three formerly reſerued. Thus they goe on to the 18. yeere ; at which time they haue 18. daies in hand : all which with the Epact of the 19. yeere, make vp a Moneth of 29.daies,that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle* makes all euen.

Sig.de rep.Heb lib.3.c.1.

Geneb.Chrō.l.2

Whether this were the practice,I can neither affirm nor denie ; yet ſurely it muſt needs haue bred a great confuſion, if in the 18. yeere euery Moneth were remooued from his owne place by the diſtance of 48. daies , that is, halfe a quarter of the yeere and more ; which inconuenience by ſuch a reckoning was vnauoydable. Wherefore, I preferre the common opinion,which preuenteth ſuch diſlocation of the Moneths, by ſetting downe a more conuenient way of Intercalation in the 8. yere. For the 6. daies remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and ſixt yeres, added vnto the 22. daies, ariſing out of the Epacts of the 7. and 8. yeres, doe fitly ſerue to make vp a Moneth,with the borrowing of one day or two from the yere following ; and this borrowing of two daies is ſo farre from cauſing any diſorder, that indeed it helpes to make the yeeres enſuing vary the leſſe from the proper ſeaſon of euery Moneth. This may ſuffice to bee ſpoken of the *Hebrew* Moneths and yeeres,by which they guided their accounts,

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of the paſſage of Iſrael from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the diuers wayes leading out of Ægypt.

FRom *Succoth* in the morning following, *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* towards the Deſart of *Etham*, to recouer the Mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wilderneſſe, though he intended nothing leſſe then to goe out of that way, of all other the neereſt. But being aſſured of the multitude of Horſemen and armed Chariots, that followed him, he kept himſelfe from being incompaſſed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he reſted but one night, and then he reflected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the diſtance betweene it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter *Arabia* being then in ſight thereof, it ſeemeth to proceede from three reſpects; the firſt two naturall; the third diuine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and hauing receiued intelligence of the way which *Moſes* tooke, perſwaded himſelfe, that the numbers which *Moſes* led, conſiſting of aboue a Million, if not two Millions of ſoules, (for as it is written, *Exod.* the 12. *Great multitudes of ſundry ſorts of people went out with them*) could not poſſibly paſſe ouer thoſe deſart and high Mountaines with ſo great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that faſtneſſe he ſhould haue ouertaken them, and deſtroyed the greateſt numbers of them. For theſe his owne words: *They are tangled in the Land, the Wilderneſſe hath ſhut them in*, doe ſhew his hopes and intents; which *Moſes* by turning another way did fruſtrate. Secondly, *Moſes* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the Eaſt-ſide of the Land of *Goſen*, or *Rameſes*: from whence (miſſing *Moſes* there) his purſuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult: by reaſon of the roughneſſe of the way; and howſoeuer, yet while the *Hebrewes* kept the Mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better ſecured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the Horſe and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moſes* confidence in the Al-powerfull God was ſuch, by whoſe ſpirit, onely wiſe, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leaue the glory of his deliuerance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an eſcape the next way, or by the ſtrength of his multitude, cōſiſting of 600000 men, to caſt the ſucceſſe vpon his owne vnderſtanding, wiſe conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, 16. miles diſtant; and ſate downe betweene two ledges of Mountaines adioyning to the *Red Sea*, to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, & *Baalzephon* towards the South: the ſame which *Oroſius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there ſtood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word ſo compounded, is as much to ſay, as, *Dominus ſpeculæ, ſiue cuſtodiæ; Lord of the watch-towre*. For the *Ægyptians* beleeued, or at leaſt made their ſlaues beleeue, that if any of them offered to eſcape that way into *Arabia*, this Idoll would both arreſt them, and force them to returne to their Lords and Maſters. For the *Ægyptians* had gods for all turnes. *Ægyptij dijs fœcundi; The Ægyptians were fruitfull in gods*, ſaith Saint **Hierome**. But *Moſes*, who incamped at the foot of this Mountaine with a million of ſoules, or as other conceiue, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-towre aſleepe, or out of countenance.

It is probable that all thoſe *Ægyptians* and others brought by the *Hebrews* to the knowledge of the true God, followed *Moſes* at his departure.

Climax is rather ſo called in reſpect of a paſſage vp and downe, then that it is any proper name.

Now theſe two paſſages leading out of *Ægypt* into *Arabia* vpon the firme land, *Moſes* refuſed, as well that of *Peluſium* and *Caſiotis*, the faireſt and ſhorteſt of all other, in reſpect of *Iudæa*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reaſons before remembred, and tooke the way by the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, betweene the Mountaines, which made a ſtreight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made ſo great ſpeed with his Horſe-men and Chariots, as he gaue the *Hebrewes* no time at all to reſt them after ſo long a march; but gate ſight of them, and they of him, euen at the very brinke and waſh of the Sea: inſomuch as the *Hebrewes* being terrified with *Pharaohs* ſudden approach, began to deſpaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them moſt to haue taken courage for their owne defence; laying it to *Moſes* charge, that themſelues foreſaw thoſe perils in which they were wrapped. And feare, *which*, ſaith the booke of *Wiſedome*; *is the betraying of thoſe ſuccours which reaſon offereth*, made them both deſpaire in Gods former promiſes, and to be forgetfull of their owne ſtrength and multitudes.

Exod.13.v.17.

Cap.17.11.

§. VIII.

Of their paſſage ouer the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it ſelfe.

Exod.14.v.13

Exod.14.v.16

BVt *Moſes* who feared nothing but God himſelfe, perſwaded them to be confident in his goodneſſe, who hath neuer abandoned thoſe, that aſſuredly truſt in him; vſing this comfortable and reſolued ſpeech: *Feare not,&c. for the Ægyptians whom ye haue ſeene this day, ye ſhall neuer ſee them againe. The Lord ſhall fight for you.* After which *Moſes* called on God for ſuccour, receiued encouragement, and commandement to goe on in theſe words: *Wherefore cryeſt thou vnto me? Speake vnto the children of Iſrael that they goe forward; and lift thou vp thy rod, and ſtretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it, and let the children of Iſrael goe on dry ground through the middeſt of the Sea.* *Moſes* obeying the voice of God, in the darke of the night finding the ſands vncouered, paſt on towards the other ſide and coaſt of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being ſpent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleaſed God by a forcible Eaſterne winde, and by *Moſes* rod to prepare.

Ioſua 24.v.7.

Exod.14.v.27

Pharaoh followed him euen at the heeles, finding the ſame dry ground which *Moſes* trod on. Therefore, as it is written: *The Angell of God which went before the Hoſt of Iſrael, remoued, and went behinde them; alſo the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and ſtood behinde them*; which is, that it pleaſed God therein either by his immediate power, or by the miniſtery of his Angell, to interpoſe his defence betweene the *Hebrewes* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Ægyptians* might thereby be blinded, in ſuch ſort, as they could not purſue *Iſrael* with any harmefull ſpeede. But in the morning watch *Moſes* ſeized the other banke of *Arabia* ſide: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawne of day began to illighten the obſcure aire) finding a beginning of the Seas return, haſted himſelfe towards his own Coaſt: *But* Moſes *ſtretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force*, that is, the Sea moued by the power of God, ran backe towards the land with vnreſiſtable furie and ſwiftneſſe, and ouerwhelmed the whole Armie of *Pharaoh*, ſo as not one eſcaped. For it is written, that *God tooke off their Chariot wheeles*, that is, when the waters began to couer the ſands, the *Ægyptians* being ſtrucken with feare of death ran one athwart another, and miſſing the path by which they had paſt on after the *Hebrewes*, their wheeles ſtucke faſt in the mud and quick-ſands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming againſt them with ſupernaturall violence.

Lyranus vpon *Exod.* 14. and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrewes*, conceiued, that after *Moſes* had by the power of God diuided the *Red Sea*, and that the children of *Iſrael* were fearefull to enter it, *Aminadab* Prince or Leader of the *Tribe* of *Iuda* firſt made the aduenture, and that therefore was that *Tribe* euer after honored aboue the reſt, according to the prophecie of *Iacob*, *Gen.*49.8. *Thy fathers ſonnes ſhall bow downe vnto thee.* But *Hierome* vpon the 11. of *Hoſee* condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that *Iuda* had the firſt place in all their marches in the Deſart, and, as we now call it, led the Vantgard, (whereupon it may be inferred, that he alſo led the way through the *Red Sea*) yet that *Moſes* himſelfe was the Conducter of *Iſrael* at that time, it is generally receiued. For, as it is written in the 77. *Pſalme: Thou didſt leade thy people like ſheepe by the hand of* Moſes *and* Aaron.

The *Hebrewes* haue alſo another fancie, that the *Red Sea* was diuided into twelue parts, and that euery *Tribe* paſt ouer in a path apart, becauſe it is written in the 135. *Pſalme* according to the vulgar: *Diuiſit mare rubrum in diuiſiones; He diuided the Red Sea in diuiſions.* Alſo that the bottome of the Sea became as a greene Field or Paſture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulenſis*, and *Genebrard*, fauouring this conceit, had forgotten to conſider, that there were not twelue Pillars, nor twelue Armies of the *Ægyptians*. It is written in 77. *Pſalme, v.*16. *Thy way is in the Sea*; not *thy wayes*; and in the laſt of the booke of *Wiſedome, verſ.*7. *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now this Sea, through which *Moſes* paſt, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwiſe called *Chenchres*, periſhed in the 16. yeere of his reigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the *Red Sea*, though the ſame differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as *Philoſtratus* in his third booke noteth, and our ſelues know by experience, it is of a bluiſh colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow ſtrait betweene *Arabia* the *Happy* and *Æthiopia*, or the land of the *Abyſſins*: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Ptolomie* calleth *Poſſodium*, to the other Land of *Æthiopia*, hath not aboue ſixe leagues in breadth, and the ſame alſo filled euery where with Ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it ſelfe 58. Leagues from Coaſt to Coaſt, and it runneth vp between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petræa*, on one ſide, and *Æthiopia* and *Ægypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the vttermoſt end and indraught of that Sea: where the *Turke* now keepeth his fleet of Gallies. The Coſmographers commonly giue it the name of the *Arabian Gulfe*: but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moſes* paſt, is called *Heropolites* of the Citie *Hero*; ſometime *Troy*, and of later times *Sues*. *Plinie* cals it *Cambiſu*, by which name it was knowne, ſaith he, before it was called *Hero* many yeeres. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*: King *Iuba Læniticum*, others more properly *Elaniticum*, of the Port and Citie *Elana*: which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*: *Ptolomie*, *Elana*: *Plinie*, *Læna*: *Ioſephus*, *Ilana*, and *Marius Niger*, *Aila*: there is alſo *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*, to which *Salmanaſſar* carryed the *Iſraelites* captiue, *Kings* 2. c.8.v.11. which *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elaa*: and in the firſt of *Chron*. the 5. *Ala*. But as for this Red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diuerſly named, the *Moores* and *Arabians* (Vaſſals to the *Turke*) know it by no other appellation, then the Gulfe of *Meca*, after the name of *Mahomets* Towne *Mecca*. The *Greekes* write it the Sea *Erythræum*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus*: and becauſe *Erythros* in the *Greeke* ſignifieth Red: hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythræus*, the ſonne of *Perſeus* and *Andromeda*, yet it tooke the name of the Red Sea, as *Quin.Curtius* coniectureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirme. But it ſeemeth to me by the view of a diſcouery of that Sea in the yeere 1544. performed by *Steuen Gama*, *Viceroy* of the Eaſt *India* for the King of *Portugall*, that this Sea was ſo called from a reflection of redneſſe, both from the banks, clifts, and ſands of many Ilands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of *Caſtro*, a principall Commander vnder *Gama* (which diſcourſe I gaue Maſter *Richard Hacluit* to publiſh) that there is an Iland called *Dalaqua*, ſometime *Leques*, containing in length 25. Leagues, and 12. in breadth; the earth, ſands, and clifts, of which Iland, being of a reddiſh colour, ſerue for a foile to the waters about it: and make it ſeeme altogether of the ſame colour. Secondly, the ſame *Caſtro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrionall* Latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coaſt 180. miles, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the clifts and bankes are of red earth, or ſtone, which by reflection of the Sun-beames, giue a kinde of reddiſh luſter to the waters. Thirdly, thoſe *Portugals* report, and we know it by many teſtimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the ſhore, great abundance of red ſtones, on which the greateſt ſtore of Corrall growes, which is carryed into moſt parts of *Europe*, and elſewhere. There are alſo on the Ilands of this Sea many red Trees, ſaith *Strabo*, and thoſe growing vnder water, may alſo be a cauſe of ſuch a colour. Of theſe appearances of redneſſe by the ſhaddowes of theſe ſtones, ſands, earth, and clifts, I ſuppoſe that it firſt tooke the name of the Red Sea, becauſe in ſo many places it ſeemeth to be ſuch: which *Iohannes Barros* in his ſecond *Decade*, eight Booke and firſt Chapter, confirmeth.

Plin.l.6.c.29.

3 Kings 9.

Ioſ.Ant.8.c.2.

Arian. de geſt. Alex. Mag.l.8
Strabo.l.6.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana* or *Ezion Gaber* adioyning, now *Toro*, called by the ancient Coſmographers *Sinus Elaniticus*, which waſheth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards *Sues*, ſome three Leagues or nine *Engliſh* miles ouer, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. Leagues, of which the firſt 26. haue nine miles breadth, as aforeſaid, and afterward the lands both from *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, thruſt themſelues into the Sea, & ſtreighten it ſo faſt, as for ſixe miles together it is not aboue three miles ouer; from thence vpward the land on *Ægypt* ſide, falleth away and makes a kinde of *Bay* or *Coue* for ſome ten miles together, after which the land growes vpon the Sea againe, and ſo bindes it into the very end thereof, at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moſes* paſt it ouer, though others would haue it to be ouer-againſt *Elana* or *Toro*; but without iudgement: for from *Ramaſes* to *Pihacheroth* and *Baalzephon*, there is not aboue 30. miles interiacent, or 35. miles at moſt, which *Moſes* paſt ouer in three dayes: and betweene the land of *Ægypt* oppoſite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the diſtance is aboue 80. miles. For *Ramaſes*, to which Citie *Moſes* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Goſen*) when hee left *Pharao* at *Zoan*, and tooke his laſt leaue, ſtandeth in 30. degrees fiue minutes of *Septentrionall* Latitude; and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Climax*, or *Baalzephon*, in nine and twentie and a halfe, which made a difference of fiue and thirtie *Engliſh* miles, the way lying in effect North and South.

§. IX.

§. IX.

That the paſſage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebbe.

THe *Ægyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrewes* haue obiected that *Moſes* paſt ouer the Red Sea at a low ebbe, vpon a great ſpring-tyde, and that *Pharao* conducted more by furie then diſcretion, purſued him ſo far, as before he could recouer the coaſt of *Ægypt*, he was ouer-taken by the floud and therein periſhed, did not well conſider the nature of this place with other circumſtances. For not to borrow ſtrength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were diuided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Eaſterly winde, and by the hand and rod of *Moſes* (which authority to men that beleeue not therein, perſwadeth nothing) I ſay, that by the ſame naturall reaſon vnto which they faſten themſelues, it is made manifeſt, that had there beene no other working power from aboue, or aſſiſtance giuen from God himſelfe to *Moſes* and the children of *Iſrael* than ordinary and caſuall, then could not *Pharao* and all his Armie haue periſhed in that purſuit.

For whereſoeuer there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulfe, or indraught, there doe the waters fall away from the Land, and run downeward towards the *Ocean*, leauing all that part towards the Land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to be dry Land. Now *Moſes* entring the Sea at *Migdol* vnder *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the aduantage and opportunity of the tyde) muſt haue left all that end of the Red Sea towards *Sues*, on his left hand drie and vncouered. For if a paſſage were made by falling away of the water, ten or twelue miles farther into the Sea then *Sues*, and betweene it and where *Moſes* paſt: who entred the ſame ſo farre below it, and towards the body of the ſame Sea: It followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeue or Strait, had beene by the ebbe of a ſpring-tyde diſcouered, when *Pharao* found the floud increaſing, he needed not to haue returned by the ſame way toward *Ægypt* ſide, but might haue gone on in his returne before the tyde, on his right hand: & ſo taken ground againe at the end of that Sea, at *Sues* it ſelfe, or elſewhere. But the Scriptures doe truely witneſſe the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth; but that *Moſes* paſt on betweene two Seas, and that the waters were diuided. Otherwiſe, *Pharao* by any returne of waters could not haue periſhed, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies deſtruction, proue the cauſe to haue beene a power aboue nature, and the miraculous worke of God himſelfe. Againe, thoſe words of the Scriptures, that *God cauſed the Sea to runne backe by a ſtrong Eaſt-winde*, doe rather proue the miracle, than that thereby was cauſed an ebbe more then ordinarie: for that Sea did not lye Eaſt and Weſt, but, in effect North and South. And it muſt haue beene a Weſt and North-weſt winde, that muſt haue driuen thoſe waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-eaſt into the Sea. But the Eaſt winde blew athwart the Sea, and cut it aſunder: ſo as one part fell backe towards the South and maine body thereof: the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the North. Which being vnknowne to *Pharao*: while he was checkt by that Sea which vſed in all times before to ebbe away, the floud preſt him and ouer-whelmed him. Thirdly, ſeeing *Ioſephus* auoweth, that *Moſes* was not onely of excellent iudgement generally; but alſo, ſo great a Captaine, as he ouer-threw the *Æthiopians* in battels, being imployed by *Pharao*, and wanne diuers Cities ſeeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemne him of this groſſeneſſe, and diſtraction: that rather then he would haue endured the hardneſſe of a Mountainous paſſage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which hee would there winne vpon *Pharao*) he would haue truſted to the aduantage of an ebbing water. For hee knew not the contrarie, but that *Pharao* might haue found him, and preſt him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it ſeemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaos* approach, cryed out againſt *Moſes*, and deſpaired altogether of their ſafetie: and when *Moſes* prayed vnto God for helpe, hee was anſwered by God: *Wherefore cryeſt thou vnto me? Speake vnto the children of Iſrael that they goe forward, and lift thou vp thy rod, and ſtretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it*: which proues that there was not at the time of *Pharaos* approach any ebbe at all; but that God did diſperſe and cut through the weight of waters, by a ſtrong Eaſt-winde, whereby the Sands diſcoue-

diſcoueiſcouered themſelues betweene the Sea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the waters moued not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, *So that he waters were a wall vnto them on the right hand, and on the left hand*, that is, the waters o defended them on both ſides, as the *Ægyptians* could onely follow them in the ſame path; not that the waters ſtood vpright as wals doe, as ſome of the Schoole-men haue fancied. For had *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians* perceiued any ſuch buildings in the Sea, they would ſoone haue quitted the chace and purſuit of *Iſrael*. Furthermore, there is no man of iudgement, that can thinke, that *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the obſeruations of heauenly Motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes and refluxes of the Sea, in his owne Countrie, on his owne Coaſt, & in his owne moſt traded and frequented Ports and Hauens; and wherein, his people hauing had ſo many hundreds of yeeres experience of the tydes, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknowne or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand onely; which then falleth moſt heauily on all men, when looking through no other ſpectacle but their owne proſperitie, they leaſt diſcerne it comming, and leaſt feare it. Laſtly, if the Armie of the *Ægyptians* had beene ouer-taken by the ordinary returne of the floud, before they could recouer their owne Coaſt; their bodies drowned would haue beene carryed with the floud which runneth vp to *Sues*, and to the end of that Sea, and not haue beene caſt aſhore on that coaſt of *Arabia* where *Moſes* landed, to wit, vpon the Sea-banke ouer againſt *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* ſide: where it was that the *Iſraelites* ſaw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the *Red Sea*, to which place the ordinary floud would haue carryed them: Which floud doth not any where croſſe the Channell, and run athwart it, as it muſt haue done from *Ægypt* ſide to *Arabia*, to haue caſt the bodies there; but it keepes the naturall courſe towards the end of that Sea: and to which their carkaſſes ſhould haue beene carried, if the worke had not beene ſupernaturall and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the liues of the *Fathers* affirmeth, that thoſe of the *Ægyptians* which ſtaied in the Countrie, and did not follow *Pharaoh* in the purſuit of *Iſrael*, did euer after honor thoſe Beaſts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were buſied at the time of *Pharaohs* deſtruction: as he that was then labouring in his Garden, made a god of that Plant or Root, about which he was occupyed: and ſo of the reſt. But how thoſe multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reaſon ſhall be giuen elſewhere. *Oroſius* in his firſt Booke and tenth Chapter againſt the *Pagans*, tels vs, that in his time, who liued ſome 400. yeeres after *Chriſt*, the prints of *Pharaohs* Chariot wheeles were to be ſeene at a low water on the *Ægyptian* ſands: and though they were ſometime defaced by winde and weather, yet ſoone after they appeared againe. But hereof I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe.

Cap. 14. ℣ 21.

CHAP. IV.

Of the iournying of the Iſraelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was giuen them: with a diſcourſe of Lawes.

§. I.

A tranſition, by way of recapitulation of ſome things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the ſtorie, vntill the Amalekites met with the Iſraelites.

BVt to goe on with the ſtorie of *Iſrael*, in this ſort I collect the times. *Moſes* was borne in the yeere of the World 2434. *Saphrus* then gouerning *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis Sycionia*, or *Peloponneſus*; *Criaſus* the *Argiues*; *Orius Ægypt*, and *Deucalion Theſſalie*: He fled into *Midian* when he had liued 40. yeeres, in the yeere of the World 2474. and two yeeres after was *Caleb* borne. He returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into *Ægypt*, and wrought

Acts 7.
Ioſua 14.
2474.

2514. his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the yeere 2514. the laſt moneth of that yeere. On the
14. day of the firſt *Hebrew* moneth *Abib*, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as
*Pag.*254. they) at Sunne ſetting, in the yeere of the World 2514. was the celebration of the *Paſſe-*
ouer: and in the dead of the night of the ſame day were all the firſt-borne ſlaine through
Ægypt, or in all thoſe parts where the *Hebrewes* inhabited not. The 15. day of the firſt
moneth of the *Hebrews* called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the yeere of the World
*Exod.*12. *Num* 33. 2514. *Moſes* with the children of *Iſrael* remoued from the generall aſſembly at *Ramaſes*,
and marched to *Succoth*.

*Exod.*13. And departing thence they made their third Station at *Etham*: and iournying from *E-*
Num 33. *tham*, they incamped in the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, or *Migdol*, vnder the Mountaine *Baal-*
*Exod.*14. *Num.*33. *zephon*; and in the ſame night after mid-night, they paſt the *Red Sea*: *Pharaoh* and his
Armie periſhing in their returne, about the firſt dawne of the day. *Moſes* hauing reco-
*Exod.*14. uered the bankes of *Arabia*, gaue thankes vnto God, for the deliuerie of *Iſrael*; and ma-
king no ſtay on that coaſt, entred the Deſarts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*. But finding no
Num 33. water in that paſſage, he incamped at *Marah*, in the Deſart of *Etham*, which in *Exod.*15.
*v.*22. is alſo called *Sur*, 25. miles from the Sea: where the children of *Iſrael* preſt with
extreame thirſt, murmured againſt *Moſes* the ſecond time; firſt at *Pharaohs* approach in
Exod 15. *Num.*33. *Pihacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moſes* taking the branches of a tree, growing neere
a Lake of bitter water, and caſting the ſame thereinto, made the ſame ſweet: a plaine *type*
and *figure* of our Sauiour; who vpon the tree of the Croſſe changed the bitterneſſe of
euerlaſting death into the ſweetneſſe of eternall life. *Plinie* remembers theſe bitter Foun-
taines in his ſixth Booke and 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Ægypt*, *Seſoſtris* firſt,
Darius after him, and laſtly *Ptolomie* the ſecond, began to cut an artificiall Riuer, thereby
by Boats and ſmall Shipping to trade and nauigate the *Red Sea*, from the great Cities vp-
on *Nilus*. From *Marah* he remoued to *Elim*, the ſixth Manſion, a march of eight miles:
*Exod.*15. *Num.*33. where finding twelue Fountaines of ſweet water, and three-ſcore and ten Palme trees, he
reſted diuers dayes.

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a Towne or Citie in *Moſes* time, I cannot af-
firme. And yet the ſcarcitie of waters in that Region was ſuch, as *Helim*, which had
twelue Fountaines, could hardly be left vnpeopled. *William*, *Archbiſhop* of *Tyre*, in his
Hiſtorie of the *Holie Warre*, found at *Helim* the ruines of a great and ancient Citie. And
*Will. Tyr. l.*11 *cap.*19. at ſuch time as *Baldwine* the firſt paſt that way into *Ægypt*. *Ingreſſus* (ſaith he) *Helim, Ci-*
uitatem antiquiſſimam, populo Iſraelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum perueniſſet, loci
illius incolæ, Regis aduentu præcognito, nauiculam ingredientes, in mare vicinum ſe contulerunt,
Entring Helim a very ancient Citie, well knowne ſometime to the people of Iſrael; whither, when
he came, the inhabitants forewarned of the Kings approach, tooke Boate, and ſhifted themſelues
into the Sea, lying neere them. From *Elim* he returned againe towards the South, and ſate
downe by the banks of the *Red Sea*: the ſeuenth Manſion. For it ſeemeth that hee had
knowledge of *Amalech*, who prepared to reſiſt his paſſage through that part of *Arabia*.
And *Moſes* who had not as yet trained thoſe of the *Hebrewes* appointed to beare armes:
nor aſſured the mindes of the reſt, who encountring with the leaſt miſerie, were more apt
to returne to their quiet ſlauerie, than either to endure the wants and perils which euery
where accompanied them in that paſſage, or at this time to vndertake or ſuſtaine ſo dan-
gerous an enemie: hee therefore made ſtay at this Manſion, vntill the fifteenth of this
*Exod.*16. ſecond Moneth called *Zim*, or *Iiar*: and made the eight Manſion in the Deſart of *Zin*;
where the children of *Iſrael* mutined againſt *Moſes* the third time, hauing want of food.
In the ſixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moſes* omitteth this retrait from *Elim* to the red
Sea, but in the collection of euery ſeuerall incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is ſet
downe.

Here it pleaſed God to ſend ſo many flights of *Quailes*, as all the Countrie about their
incamping was couered with them. The morning following it alſo rained *Manna*, being
*Exod.*16. the ſixteenth of their Moneth, which ſerued them inſtead of bread. For now was the
ſtore conſumed which the people carried with them out of *Ægypt*. And though they
had great numbers of Cattell, and Sheepe among them, yet it ſeemeth that they durſt
not feede themſelues with many of thoſe: but reſerued them both for the milke to re-
leeue the children withall: and for breede to ſtore themſelues when they came to the
Land promiſed.

From hence towards *Raphidim* they made two remoues of twentie miles: the one to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, diſtant from *Raphidim* ſixe miles. Here being againe preſt with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Ægypt*, where they rather contented themſelues to be fed and beaten after the manner of beaſts, than to ſuffer a caſuall and ſometime neceſſary want, and to vndergoe the hazzards and trauailes which euery manly minde ſeeketh after, for the loue of God, and their owne freedomes. But *Moſes* with the ſame rod which he diuided the Sea withall, in the ſight of the *Elders* of *Iſrael*, brought waters out of the Rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were ſatisfied. Exod.17.

§. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, vpon occaſion of the battell with the Amalekites, and Iethroes *comming: who being a Kenite, was Prieſt of Madian.*

AND while *Moſes* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites* who had knowledge of his approach, and gheſſed that he meant to leade the children of *Iſrael* through their Countrie (which being barren of it ſelfe, would be vtterly waſted by ſo great a multitude of People and Cattell) thought it moſt for their aduantage to ſet vpon them at *Raphidim*: where the want of water, and all other things needefull for the life of man infeebled them. On the other ſide *Moſes* perceiuing their reſolutions, gaue charge to *Ioſua*, to draw out a ſufficient number of the ableſt *Hebrewes*, to incounter *Amalech*. Exod.17 Betweene whom and *Iſrael*, the victory remained doubtfull, for the moſt part of the day: the *Hebrews* and *Amalekites* contending with equall hopes and repulſes for many houres. And had not the ſtrength of *Moſes* prayers to God beene of farre greater force, and more preualent, than all reſiſtance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly indangered the whole enterpriſe. For thoſe bodies which are vnacquainted with ſcarcity of food, and thoſe mindes whom a ſeruile education hath dulled, being beaten, and deſpaired in their firſt attempts, will hardly, or neuer be brought againe to hazzard themſelues.

After this victory, *Iethro* repaired to *Moſes*, bringing with him *Moſes* his wife, and his two Sonnes, which either *Iethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moſes* to receiue, till hee had by this ouerthrow of *Amalech* the better aſſured himſelfe of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in the 18, of *Exod. v.* 1. *When* Iethro *the Prieſt of Midian*, Moſes *Father in law, heard all that God had done for* Moſes, *&c.* of which, the laſt deed, to wit, the ouerthrow of *Amalech*, gaue *Iethro* courage and aſſurance, he then repaired to his ſonne in law *Moſes*, at *Sinai*; where amongſt other things, he aduiſed *Moſes* to appoint *Iudges*, and other *Officers*, ouer *Iſrael*, being himſelfe vnable to giue order in all cauſes and controuerſies, among ſo many thouſands of people, full of diſcontentment and priuate controuerſie.

This *Iethro*, although he dwelt amongſt the *Midianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Iudges v.* 11 *&* 17. it is manifeſt; where it is written; *Now* Heber *the Kenite, which was of the children of* Hobab, *to wit, the ſonne of* Iethro, *the father in law of* Moſes, *was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents vntill the Plaine of Zaanaim, which is by Kedeſh.* Likewiſe in the firſt of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart C.15.v.16. from among the *Amalekites*, leſt hee ſhould deſtroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountaines of *Sin Kadeſh*: and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the Plaines, according to the ſaying of *Balaam*, ſpeaking of the *Kenites*; *Strong is thy dwelling place,* Num.24.v.21 *and thou haſt put thy neſt in the Rocke.* And that *Saul* ſpared this Nation, he giueth for Sam.1.c.15. cauſe, that they ſhewed mercie to all the children of *Iſrael*, when they came vp from *Ægypt*. For theſe *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Madianites*, and the *Madianites* were of the iſſues of *Madian*, one of the ſixe ſonnes which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and Gen.25. might alſo take that name of *Kenites* from *Kethura*, of whom they deſcended by the Mother, who as it ſeemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they receiued from their parent *Abraham*. For *Moſes*, when hee fled out of *Ægypt* into *Midian*, and married the daughter of *Iethro*, would not (had hee found them Idolaters) haue made *Iethroes* Daughter the Mother of his children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongſt thoſe Nations, which God promiſed, that the ſeede of *Abraham* ſhould roote out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot be meant by theſe; who are deſcended from *Abraham* himſelfe: but by ſome other Nation, bearing the

Gen.15.
Iudg.4.

the ſame name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For in the fifteenth of *Geneſis verſe* nineteenth, theſe *Kenites* or *Chuſites* are liſted with the *Hittites* and *Perizzites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergeſites*, and *Iebuſites*, which were indeede afterwards rooted out. But theſe *Kenites*, deſcended from *Abraham*, had ſeparated themſelues from among the reſt, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*, that is to ſay, from thoſe *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedeſh* or *Kadeſh*. Againe, *Moſes* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abrahams* other ſonnes were borne: which he did (referring my ſelfe to better iudgement) rather, becauſe they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

Gen.25.4.

And as of the *Kenites*, ſo we may conſider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moſes* into fiue Tribes. For ſome of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as thoſe of *Madian* by the Riuer *Zared*, afterwards deſtroyed by *Moſes*. But the *Madianites* neere the bankes of the *Red Sea*, where *Moſes* married his wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the ouerthrow of *Amalech*, ſeeme likewiſe not to haue beene corrupted. For theſe *Madianites* with the *Kenites* aſſiſted *Iſrael*, and guided them in the Deſarts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petræa*, were by *Iſrael* rooted out, when thoſe adioyning to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether thoſe of *Madian*, of whom *Iethro* was Prieſt, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the ſame, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moſes* would not haue ſent 12000. *Iſraelites*, as far backe as the *Red Sea*, from the Plaines of *Moab*, to haue deſtroyed that *Madian*, where his wiues kindred inhabited; ſeeing himſelfe comming with 600000. able men, was encountred by *Amalech*, in that paſſage. Neither could *Moſes* forget the length of the way through thoſe diſcomfortable Deſarts, wherein himſelfe and *Iſrael* had wandered 40. yeeres.

That *Iethro*, or *Iothor*, *Raguel*, or *Reuel*, and *Hobab*, were but one perſon, the Scriptures teach vs. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *Engliſh Reuel*, *Exodus* 2.18. cals him *Iethro*, or *Iothor*, *Exod.*3.& *v.*1. *c.*4. *v.*18. & *c.*18.1. & 6.9.10 & 12. and in *Num. c.*10. *v.*29. *Hobab*. Others take *Iethro* & *Hobab* to be the ſame, but not *Raguel*.

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§. III.

Of the time when the Law was giuen; with diuers commendations of the inuention of Lawes.

THe reſt of the moneths of this yeere 2515. were ſpent in the Deſart of *Sinai*, neere the mountaine of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the twelfth Manſion. *Euſebius* thought that *Sinai* or *Horeb* were diſtinct mountaines: *Hierome*, to be but one, of a double name. And ſo it appeareth by many Scriptures. For in *Exod.*3, *v.*1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exod.*24. *v.*19. it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. *Pſalme v.*19. *Horeb*: in *Exod.*19.11. *Sinai*. And ſo it is called, *Galatians* 4.24. and againe, *Deut.*4.10. & 15. & *Deut.*5.2. *Horeb*. And ſo is it in the firſt of *Kings* 8.6. and the ſecond of *Chron.*5.10. and in *Malachie* 4.4. Finally, in *Eccleſiaſticus* the 48.7. they are named as one. *Which heardeſt* (ſaith *Eccleſiaſticus*) *the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the iudgement of the vengeance.* Somewhat they are diſioyned at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*; who in the yeere 1588. paſt out of *Ægypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monſieur de Fumet* of *France*, and trauailed to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by farre the higher hill. From the ſide of *Horeb* (ſaith he) there falleth a very faire ſpring of water into the Valley adioyning: where he found two *Monaſteries* of *Chriſtian Marronites*, containing ſome 100. Religious perſons of diuers Nations, who had pleaſant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent wine. Theſe (ſaith the ſame Author) giue entertainment to all ſtrangers, which paſſe that way.

Pet. Bel. lib.2. c.62.

Now, that there was ſome ſuch Torrent of water neere *Sinai* in *Moſes* time, it is very probable: Firſt, becauſe he incamped thereabout almoſt a yeere, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: ſecondly, becauſe it is written, *Exod.*32.20. that when *Moſes* had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which *Aaron* ſet vp in his abſence, he caſt the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Iſrael* to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angell of God was giuen to *Moſes*, where hee ſtaied a whole yeere, wanting ſome ten or twelue dayes: for he remoued not till the 20. day of the ſecond moneth of the ſecond yeere; and hee arriued about the 45. day after the egreſſion: the Law being giuen the 50. day.

At this Manſion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; all in *Leuiticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (becauſe there is no ſtorie nor other paſſage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof ſpeake ſomewhat of the Law, and the kindes and vſe thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the ſtory any way diſ-ioyned, hee may turne ouer a few leaues, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We muſt firſt conſider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, leuell, and ſquare of Lawes: ſo it pleaſed God to giue thereby vnto *Moſes* the powerfulleſt meane (his miraculous grace excepted) to gouern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their paſſage, and to eſtabliſh them aſſuredly in their conqueſt. For as the North ſtarre is the moſt fixed directour of the Seaman to his deſired Port: ſo is the Law of God the guide and conducter of all in general, to the hauen of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his Creatures: the Law humane, depending on both theſe, the guard of Kings, Magiſtrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very ſpirit, & the very ſinewes of euery Eſtate in the world, by which they liue and moue: the Law, to wit, a iuſt law, being reſembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eie without luſt, and to a Minde without paſſion; a Treaſurer, which keepeth for euery man what hee hath, and diſtributeth to euery man what he ought to haue. This benefit the *Ancient*, though barbarous, eſteemed ſo highly, that among them, thoſe which were taken for the firſt makers of Lawes, were honoured as gods, or as the ſonnes of gods: and the reſt, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all poſteritie for men of no leſſe vertue, and no leſſe liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greateſt and moſt proſperous Conquerours that euer gouerned them. The *Iſraelites*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, receiued their Lawes from one: as the *Iſraelites* from *Moſes*; the *Lacedæmonians* from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romanes* ſomtime from their firſt Kings, from their *Decem viri*, from their *Senatours*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themſelues: others from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Chriſtian Monarchies* and *Eſtates*.

§. IIII.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.

The word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diuerſly, and in an indifferent ſenſe vſed. For if wee conſider it at large, it may be vnderſtood for any rule preſcribing a neceſſarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And ſo the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any priuate ordinance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandements of Tyrants, which they cauſe to be obſerued by force, for their decrees doe alſo vſurpe that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Eſay*, *Woe vnto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grieuous things*. Likewiſe, the word is vſed for the tumultuarie reſolutions of the people. For ſuch conſtitutions doth *Ariſtotle* alſo call Lawes, though euill and vnſufficient: *Mala lex eſt, quæ tumultuariè poſita eſt*; *It is an ill law that is made tumultuouſly*. So as all ordinances, eyther good or euill, are called by the name of Lawes.

The word *Law* is alſo taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and faſhioning them according to it ſelfe, as to their patterne and plat-forme. And thus the law of the fleſh which the Diuines call *legem fomitis*, is to be vnderſtood. For euery law is a kinde of patterne of that which is done according vnto it: in which ſenſe as * elſwhere, this morall habit or diſpoſition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart: ſo in S. *Paul* to the *Romanes* it is called a *Law*: *But I ſee another law in my members, rebelling againſt the Law of my minde, and leading me captiue vnto the law of ſinne.* Againe, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are ſometime called [a] *lawes*, ſo farre as they agree with the reaſon of the law eternall; as the law of a *Lyon*, to be fierce or valiant.

Eſay 10.

Ethic.l.4.c.1.

* *Gen.6.5. Item 8.2.*

[a] So *Virgil*, *cōtinuò has leges æternaq; fœdera certis impoſuit natura locis*; where alſo it is to bee noted that hee ioynes *leges* & *fœdera* together: as in the ſcripture the law is oftentimes called the couenant.

Alſo priuate contracts among Merchants and other Tradeſ-men, doe often put on the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, preſcribing a neceſſarie meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Ciuill Communitie. The reſt, to wit, the commandements of Tyrants, &c. which haue not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ magis quàm leges*; *rather compulſions then lawes:* And whatſoeuer is not iuſt, S. *Auguſtine* doth not allow for lawes, howſoeuer eſtabliſhed: for he calls them *iniqua hominum conſtituta, quæ nec cura dicenda, nec putanda ſunt*; *The vniuſt conſtitutions of men which are neither to bee termed nor thought lawes.* For ſaith *Ariſtotle, Legalia iuſta ſunt factiua, & conſeruatiua fœlicitatis*; *Iuſt lawes are the workers and preſeruers of happineſſe:* becauſe by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life*, according to *Cicero:* Yea, *to life euerlaſting*, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the law, ſaith *Plato*, is God and his worſhip: *Finis legis Deus & cultus eius. Lex*, or the Law is ſo called by the *Latines à legendo*, or *à ligando, of reading or binding: Leges quia lectæ & ad populum latæ*, ſaith *Varro*; For after Laws were written and publiſhed, all men might reade them, & behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymologie, à ligando*, is no leſſe agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called alſo a yoke, and a band: as *confregerunt iugum, diruperunt vincula:* they haue broken the yoke, they haue broken the bands. And in the ſecond *Pſalm*, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & proijciamus à nobis funes ipſorum*; *Let vs breake their bands in ſunder, and caſt away their cords from vs.*

Ariſt. Ethic. 5. cap. 1.

Plato in Dial. 2. de Leg.

Hierem. 5. 5.

Pſalm. 2.

The *Couenant* it is called, becauſe of the conditionall promiſes of God: and becauſe of Gods peoples voluntarie ſubmiſſion of themſelues vnto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrewes*, vſe the word διαθηκη, a *Teſtament or laſt Will:* which name it hath, becauſe it is not otherwiſe effectuall for our ſaluation, but in reſpect of the death of the Teſtator; for without the death of the Teſtator, the Teſtament is of no force: as *Hebr. 9. 17.* it is ſaid, *Teſtamentum in mortuis ratum eſt.*

The *Hebrewes* call the law *Thorah* of teaching, becauſe euery man is thereby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The *Greekes* call it *Nomos* of diſtributing, becauſe it diſtributeth to euery man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: Iuſtice being an attribute proper vnto God himſelfe. *Imperium legis imperium Dei eſt*; *The reigne of the law, is the reigne of God.*

Law in generall is thus defined by the *Philoſophers: Lex eſt vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ ſunt ſequenda, & quæ fugienda*; *Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to ſhunne:* or *Lex eſt omnium diuinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; *Law is the Queene or Princeſſe of things both humane and diuine.* But this deſcription is grounded vpon the opinion of ineuitable fate. Law is the very wiſedome of Nature: the reaſon and vnderſtanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *Index ſui & curui*, the demonſtrance of it ſelfe, and of the crooked: ſo is the law, the iudge and meaſure of right and wrong.

M. *Hooker* calls the Law a directiue rule to goodneſſe of operation: and though law as touching the ſubſtance and eſſence, conſiſt in vnderſtanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; *Yet it comprehends the act of our will.* The word *Ius* is alſo diuerſly taken, as ſometime for the matter of the law and for common right: ſometime for the law it ſelfe: as *Ius Ciuile*, or *Ius gentium. Iſidore* diſtinguiſheth the two generall words *Ius* and *Fas:* whereof *Ius*, ſaith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex diuina, Ius lex humana.* To goe ouer another mans field, is permitted, by Gods law, not by mans; and therefore in a thing out of controuerſie, *Virgil* vſed both theſe words: as *Fas & iura ſinunt*, God and men permit.

Iſid. Etym.

The word *Ius* or Right, is deriued or taken from the olde ſubſtantiue Nowne *iuſſus*, a bidding or commandement: or perhaps from the *Greeke* ζευς, which is the name of *Iupiter*, or of the *Latine* genitiue caſe *Iouis*; becauſe as the Scripture ſpeakes, *the iudgement is Gods*, For as it is certaine that *ius-iurandum* came of *Iouis-iurandum*, (for ſo we finde it written in *Nonius* out of the ancient, in which ſenſe the Scripture calls it *iuramentum Iehouæ)* ſo alſo we may ſay, that *Ius* came of *Iouis, quia Iouis eſt:* becauſe as God is the Author, and Patterne, and Maintainer of right, ſo alſo in his *Vicegerents* the *Magiſtrates*, hee is the pronouncer and executor of right. Of this *Ius* the iuſt are denominated, *iuſtus à iure*, and *iuſtitia à iuſto*; *The right giues name to the righteous:* and *iuſtice takes her name from the iuſt.*

Deut. 1. 17.
2 Chron. 19. 6.

Exod. 22. 11.
1 Reg. 2. 43.

§. V.

§. V.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the law eternall.

BVt becauſe lawes are manifold, and that euery kinde hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, firſt to diuide and diſtinguiſh them. I meane thoſe ſorts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawne: leauing the indiuiduals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confuſion.

- *Lawes are of 3. kindes.*
  - *Eternall, or vncreated.*
  - *Naturall, Nationall, or Internall.*
  - *Law impoſed or of addition, commonly called poſitiue.*
    - *Lawes poſitiue or impoſed, explicating, and perfecting the Law of Nature, are double.*
      - *Diuine which hath two parts.*
        - *Written.*
          - *The written is alſo double.*
            - *The law of Moſes*
            - *The Goſpell.*
        - *Vnwritten.*
          - *As the Doctrine and Religion of the Patriarkes before the written Law of Moſes; which ſome call Cabala.*
      - *Humane which is alſo twofold.*
        - *Written.*
          - *Which Cicero in his ſecond book of inuentiõ calleth* Ius legitimum, *diuided into the*
            - *Eccleſiaſticall,*
            - *and*
            - *Secular.*
        - *Vnwritten.*
          - *As the Lawes of Cuſtome and Vſe.*

P.2.q.2.art.1

The law eternall is thus defined by *Thomas. Lex æterna eſt æternus diuinæ ſapientiæ conceptus, ſecundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipſo præcognitarũ; The eternall law is the eternall conceipt of Gods wiſedome as it is referred to the gouernment of things foreknowne by himſelfe.* Or *Lex æterna eſt ſumma atque æterna ratio diuinæ ſapientiæ: quatenus res omnes ad deſtinatos fines ita dirigit, vt illis iuxta conditionem ipſarum modum aliquem neceſsitatis adferat; It is the high and eternall reaſon of diuine ſapience: as it directeth all things in ſuch ſort to their proper ends, impoſing a kinde of neceſsitie according to their ſeuerall natures,* or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the ſame diuine vnderſtanding directs all theſe to their proper ends; ſo it is called prouidence: but as it impoſeth a neceſſity according to the natures of all things which it directs, ſo is it called a law.

Th.q 36 art.1

Of this eternall law *Cicero* tooke knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, he wrote in this manner. *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad rectè faciendum impellens & â delicto auocans: quæ non tum incipit lex eſſe cum ſcripta eſt: ſed tum cum orta eſt. Orta autem ſimul eſt cum mente diuina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad iubendum & ad vetandum, ratio eſt recta ſummi Iouis; That perfect reaſon and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling vs backe from euill, did not* (ſaith he) *then beginne to bee a law when it was written: but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with diuine vnderſtanding, and therefore a true law and a fit Princeſſe to command and forbid, is the right reaſon of the moſt high God.* This eternall law, (if we conſider it in God, or as God,) is alwaies one and the ſame; the nature of God being moſt ſimple: but as it is referred to diuers obiects, ſo the reaſon of man findes it diuers and manifold. It alſo ſeemeth one law in reſpect of things neceſſarie, as the motions of the heauens; ſtabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwiſe to things contingent: another law to men, another to other creatures, hauing life, and to all thoſe that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counſaile and prouidence of God: from this law all lawes are deriued, as from the rule vniuerſall: and thereto referred, as the operation of the ſecond to the firſt.

Tho. & Aug.

The eternall, and the diuine Law, differ only in conſideration; the eternall directing more largely: aſwell euery creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his ſupernaturall: but the diuine law to a ſupernaturall end only: the Naturall law is thence deriued, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a ſtreame from this fountaine.

The law humane or temporall is alſo thence drawn: in that it hath the forme of right reaſon: from which if it differ, it is then *impoſitio iniqua, a wicked impoſition*: and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are ſubiected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures, or things created; whether neceſſary or contingent, naturall, or morall, and humane. For the law eternall runneth through all the vniuerſall, and therefore it is the law alſo of things which are ſimple, naturall and inanimate.

Pſal.148.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praiſe God their Creatour and Directour: as, *Praiſe him all yee his Angels: praiſe him Sunne and Moone, all bright Starres: heauens of heauens, for he hath eſtabliſhed them for euer & euer. He hath made an ordinance which ſhall not paſſe: Praiſe ye the Lord from the earth yee Dragons and all Depths: Fire and haile, ſnow and vapours, ſtormie windes, which execute his Word: mountaines, and hils: fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beaſts, and all Cattell, &c.* Now as the reaſonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glory and felicitie propoſed vnto them (beatitude beeing both the attractiue, and the end) ſo all other naturall things and creatures, haue in themſelues, and in their owne natures, an obedience formall to it, without any proper intention, knowne cauſe, or end propoſed. For beaſts are led by ſenſe, and naturall inſtinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heauy to fall downeward: things light to mount vpward, &c. and fire to heate whatſoeuer is appoſed. This kinde of working the *Ariſtotelians* aſcribe to common nature: others to fate; a difference vſed in termes onely; it beeing no other then Gods generall prouidence: for as it is truly ſaid of God, that he is *omnia ſuper omnia*: ſo are all things which appeare in themſelues thence deriued: there-vnder ſubiected: thence-from by his eternall law and prouidence directed, euen from the greateſt to the leaſt of his creatures, in heauen and in earth.

L.1.de lib.arb. cap.6.

The *Schoolemen* are very curious and ample in the conſideration of theſe lawes: and in diſcourſe of the profit, and of the matter, and obiect of the eternall law. But as the profit is manifeſt in the good of all creatures, who haue thence-from, either reaſon, ſenſe, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them: ſo is the obiect and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to S. *Auguſtine*, *Lex æterna eſt, qua iuſtum eſt vt omnia ſint ordinatiſſima; The law eternall is that, whereby it is iuſt, that all things ſhould be diſpoſed in the beſt and goodlieſt order.*

John 18.30. Pſal.69.22.

Laſtly, it is diſputed, whether the eternall law be immutable, yea or no? But the reſolution is, that it changeth not; for which S. *Auguſtine* vſeth a ſufficient argument in his firſt Booke of *Free-Will*, the ſixth Chapter. For the law of *Moſes* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to laſt vntill the time of the *Pædagogie* of Gods people, or introduction to *Chriſt* ſhould bee expired; which time of expiration ſome thinke our Sauior noted to be come, when on the Croſſe he ſaid, *Conſummatum eſt.* But I rather thinke theſe words of our Sauiour to haue no other ſignification, then that now the prophecie of their giuing him Vinegar to drinke was fulfilled. For ſo Saint *Iohn* expounds it, when he ſaith *v.*28. *That Chriſt ſeeing all* (other) *things to be fulfilled, Vt conſummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture* in this alſo *might be fulfilled*, ſaid, *I thirſt*: though I denie not, but at the ſame time alſo the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of ſo much of the iudiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the *Iewes*, and agreeth not with the law of the new *Teſtament* and Goſpel of *Chriſt*. For the immutable law of God, though preſcribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it ſelfe; but the things preſcribed, change according to this eternall ordinance, of which the *Wiſedome* of *Salomon*, *And beeing one ſhee can doe all things, and remaining in her ſelfe reneweth all.*

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§. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

Aug.in Epiſt ad Hil.89. & in Euang.Ioh. tract.49. Vlp. de Iuſtitia & Iure. l.1. tit.1.

OF the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition among the *Schoolemen*: onely as it is conſidered in man, it is called *the impreſſion of diuine light, and a participation of the eternall law in the reaſonable creature. Lex naturalis eſt impreſſio diuini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura.* *Vlpian* defines the *naturall law to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures*; *Ius naturale eſt quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*: and hee afterward addeth, *Ius iſtud non humani generis proprium, ſed omnium animalium quæ terra marique naſcuntur, auium quoque commune eſt; The law of Nature is not proper to man alone, but the ſame is common to all liuing creatures, as well to birds, as to thoſe which the Land and Sea produceth.*

But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall Law in things of life.

The Law of nature in generall, I take to be that diſpoſition, inſtinct, and formall quality, which God in his eternall prouidence hath giuen and imprinted in the nature of euery creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *diuinum lumen* in Men, inlightning our formall reaſon; ſo is it more then ſenſe in Beaſts; and more then vegetation in plants. For it is not ſenſe alone in Beaſts, which teacheth them at firſt ſight, and without experience or inſtruction, to flie from the enemies of their liues: ſeeing that Bulles and Horſes appeare vnto the ſenſe more fearefull and terrible, then the leaſt kinde of Dogges; and yet the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, and flieth from the other, yea, though by them neuer ſeene before, and that as ſoone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it ſenſe which hath taught other Beaſts to prouide for Winter, Birds to build their neſts, high or low, according to the tempeſtuous or quiet ſeaſons: or the Birds of *India* to make their neſts on the ſmalleſt twigges which hang ouer Riuers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elſewhere: to ſaue their egges and young ones from the Monkies, and other Beaſts, whoſe weight ſuch a twigge will not beare: and which would feare to fall into the water. The inſtances in this kinde are exceeding many which may be giuen. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that ſome trees, as the female of the *Palmitto*, will not beare any fruite except the male grow in ſight. But this they doe by that Law, which the infinite and vnſearchable wiſedome of God had in all eternity prouided for them, and for euery nature created. In man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reaſon of man hath made it ſelfe ſubiect, and a Vaſſall to paſſions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt, where time and cuſtome hath bred in men a new nature, which alſo, as is aforeſaide, is a kinde of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which Saint *Auguſtine* calleth the Law of reaſon, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law conſtrained to become Idolaters; that by the Lawes of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to vſe one anothers Wife, and to the Woman to chooſe them others beſides their Husbands, to beget them with childe: which Law in thoſe parts hath laſted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

Supra §. 4. *ex loco ad Rom.* 7. 23.

Theod. l. 9. *de curãdis affect: Græcorum.*

The *Scythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to bury with them the beſt beloued wiues: as alſo they haue many other cuſtomes remembred by *G. Valentia*, againſt nature and right reaſon.

Acoſta.

And I know not from what authority it is, that theſe Lawes ſome men auow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithleſſe among the faithleſſe: to prouide for our ſelues by another mans deſtruction: that iniury is not done to him that is willing: to deſtroy thoſe whom we feare, and the like. For taking the definition of naturall Lawes, either out of Saint *Auguſtine* or *Aquinas*, (the one calling it *the impreſſion of diuine light*; the other, *the dictate* or ſentence *of practique reaſon*) the ſame can teach vs, or incline vs to no other thing, than to the exerciſe of Iuſtice and vprightneſſe: and not to offer or performe any thing toward others, ſaue that which wee would be content ſhould be offered or performed toward our ſelues. For ſuch is the Law of nature to the minde, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to *Dauid* ſheweth vs good, that is, the obſeruation of thoſe things which leade vs thereby to our laſt end; which is eternall life: though of themſelues not ſufficient without faith and grace.

Nemo iure naturæ cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet.

Pſal. 4.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the Law, is, as aforeſaide, the impreſſion of Gods diuine light in men, and a participation of the Law increated and eternall. For without any Law written, the right reaſon and vnderſtanding, which God hath giuen vs, are abilities within our ſelues, ſufficient to giue vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and diſtribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchaſe for our ſelues. *For when the Gentiles* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *which haue not the Law, doe by nature thoſe things contained in the Law: they hauing not the Law, are a Law vnto themſelues.* Now, to loue God by whom we are, and to doe the ſame right vnto all men, which we deſire ſhould be done vnto vs, is an effect of the pureſt reaſon: in whoſe higheſt Turrets, the quiet of conſcience hath made her reſting place, and habitation; *In arce altiſsima rationis quies habitat.* Therefore, the *Gentiles* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *which ſhew the effects of the Law written in their hearts, haue their conſciences for a witneſſe of thoſe effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuſe them.*

Rom. 2. 14.

Rom. 2. 15.

And it is moſt true, that whoſoeuer is not a law vnto himſelfe (while hee hopeth to abuſe the world by the aduantage of hypocriſie) worketh nothing elſe, but the betraying of his owne ſoule, by crafty vnrighteouſneſſe, purchaſing eternall perdition. For it helpeth vs not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eye, ſeeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: ſome Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the world, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, areſcit*; *Thoſe flowers wither while we diſcourſe of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we ſhould therefore inhabite and dwell within our ſelues, and become fearefull witneſſes of our ſecreteſt euils, did that reuerend *Philoſopher Pythagoras* teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram alijs, neque tecum, maximè omnium verere teipſum*; *Commit nothing foule or diſhoneſt*, ſaith he, *neither to be knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart: but aboue all men reuerence thine owne conſcience.* And this may be a precept of nature and right reaſon: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to thoſe operations, which are anſwerable to their owne forme; as fire to giue heate. Now, as the reaſonable minde is the forme of man, ſo is he aptly moued to thoſe things which his proper forme preſenteth vnto him: to wit, to that which right reaſon offereth; and the acts of right reaſon, are the acts of vertue: and in the breach of the rules of this reaſon, is man leaſt excuſable: as being a reaſonable creature. For all elſe, both ſenſitiue, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God impoſed on them at their firſt creation.

Gen. 1.

Iob. c. 28.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the hearbe which ſeedeth ſeede, &c. and the Beaſt, which liueth thereon. He gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He cauſed the Sunne to moue, and to giue light, and to ſerue for ſignes and for ſeaſons. Were theſe as rebellious as man, for whoſe ſake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes; the whole world would then periſh, and all returne to the firſt *Chaos*, darkeneſſe, and confuſion.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reaſon, did *Caine* perceiue his owne wickedneſſe, and offence, in the murther of *Abel*: for he not onely feared the diſpleaſure of God, but the reuenge of men: it being written in his reaſon, that whatſoeuer he performed towards others, the ſame by others might be done vnto him againe. And that this iudgement of well and euill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall Law, before the Law written: *Moſes* in the perſon of God witneſſeth, *Gen. 4. If thou doe well, ſhalt thou not be accepted, and if thou doe not well, ſinne lyeth at thy doore.*

The *Schoolemen* are large alſo in this queſtion of the naturall Law: the ſame being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antoninus*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpoſe to write a Volume of this ſubiect.

Tho. q. 94. art. 2.

Ethic. l. 1. c. 1.

But this Law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *an act of reaſon taken properly*, and not a habite, as it is an euident naturall iudgement of practique reaſon: they diuide into indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration (as that good is to be followed, and euill eſchewed) and demonſtrable, which is euidently proued, out of higher and more vniuerſall propoſitions. Againe, as it anſwereth the naturall appetite, preſcribing things to be deſired as good, or to be auoyded as euill (as of the firſt, to deſire to liue, and to ſatisfie hunger, &c. and of the ſecond, to eſchew paines, ſorrow, and death) in this conſideration they diuide it, according to the diuers kinds of appetites that are in vs. For in euery man there are three ſorts of appetites, which anſwer the three degrees of naturall Law. The firſt is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the deſire, both to liue, and to preſerue our being and life, alſo the deſire of iſſue, with care to prouide for them: for the Father after his death liues in his children; and therefore the deſire of life comprehends the deſire of children. And to theſe appetites are referred the firſt indemonſtrable lawes of nature, for the moſt part. For it needs no proofe, that all creatures ſhould deſire to be, to liue, and to be defended, and to liue in their iſſue, when they cannot in themſelues. And as man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: ſo he doth deſire good, and ſhun euill. For it is common to all things, to deſire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to deſire their owne good. And ſo is Good defined by *Ariſtotle*, to be that which all deſire. Which definition *Baſil* vpon the 44. *Pſalme* approoueth: *Rectè quidem Bonum definierunt, Quod omnia expetunt*; *Rightly haue ſome men defined Good, or Goodneſſe, to be that which all things deſire.*

The ſecond kinde of appetite is of thoſe things which appertaine to vs, as wee haue ſenſe. Whence, by the law of Nature, we deſire the delights of euery ſenſe; but with ſuch moderation, as may neither glut vs with ſatiety, nor hurt vs with exceſſe. For as Senſe it ſelfe is for the preſeruation of life and being: ſo is it meete, euen by the Law of nature, that the ſenſitiue appetite ſhould not carry vs to the deſtruction, either of our life or being. And although (ſeeing both theſe kinds of appetites are in beaſts) we may well ſay, that Nature hath giuen diuers Lawes vnto them: In which ſenſe the *Ciuilians* define *Naturall right*, or *Ius naturale*, to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures; Yet the *Schoolemen* admit not, that the inſtincts of beaſts can be properly called a Law, but onely a *Ius*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aime of euery Law. For ſo they diſtinguiſh it; where *Vlpian* affirmeth, that *Ius naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures. In this place (ſaith *Valentia*) *Ius* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Vlpian* alſo diſtinguiſheth the right belonging to liuing creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Ius naturæ*, the other *Ius gentium:* the Diuines vnderſtand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all euident dictates, precepts, or biddings of diuine reaſon: both in beaſts and men; and reſtraine the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of thoſe things which appertaine properly to man, as he is a liuing creature reaſonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our ſelues: and the Lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our Religion.

Now although there are many other branches and diuiſions of this law of nature anſwering the diuiſion of matter, which it preſcribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas:* firſt, becauſe it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or motiue faculty, which is but one, ſtirring vp to good, and declining the contrary: ſecondly, becauſe all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill auoyded: and thirdly, becauſe all the parts are reduced to one and the ſame laſt ende.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifeſt: and chiefly man; becauſe he is indued with reaſon; in whom as reaſon groweth, ſo this band of obſeruing the law of nature increaſeth, *Poſtquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod ſcriptum eſt, Adueniente mandato, peccatum reuixit; When reaſon grew to perfection, then it came to paſſe, which was written by Saint* Paul, *When the Commandement came, ſinne reuiued.* Neither is it a ſmall warrant for this law of nature, when thoſe which breake the ſame, are ſaid by Saint *Paul*, *To be deliuered ouer into a reprobate ſenſe* (or minde) *to doe thoſe things which are not conuenient:* and againe, *that their conſciences beare witneſſe, and their thoughts accuſe them.* For, though this law of nature ſtretch not to euery particular: as to command faſting and the like: yet, it commandeth in generall all good, and whatſoeuer is agreeable to right and reaſon. And therefore, ſaide *Damaſcene*; *Homines facti ſunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam eſt*; *Men* (ſaith he) *are made euill, by declining vnto that which is contrary to nature:* and Saint *Auguſtine*, *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam eſt*; *Euery vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary vnto it.*

Baſil.

Rom. 1:18.

Rom. 2.15.

L. 2. Fid. ortho. c. 30.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature ſo ſtreight, but that they ſuffer exceptions in ſome particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to vnequall merit: by taking from the euill, and giuing to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men ſhall enioy the fruites of their labours to themſelues: according to the rules of iuſtice and equitie.

And though the Law of nature command, that all things be reſtored which are left in truſt, yet in ſome cauſes, this her law ſhee ſuffereth to be broken: as to denie a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was ſober. But the vniuerſall principles can no more be changed, then the decrees of God are alterable: who according to Saint *Paul*, *abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himſelfe.*

2 Tim. 2.

§. VII.

§. VII. *Of the written Law of* GOD.

AFter the eternall, and naturall, the law *Poſitiue* or impoſed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kindes: Diuine and Humane. Againe, the diuine poſitiue law is double; the Olde and New: The Old was giuen vnto *Moſes* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at ſuch time as the world had ſtoode 2513. whole yeeres: and in the 67. day of this yeere, when as *Aſcatades* or *Aſcades* gouerned the *Aſſyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argiues*, *Cecrops Attica*, and *Acherres Egypt*: to wit, after the promiſe to *Abraham*, 430. yeeres. And this it ſeemes, was the firſt written law which the world receyued. For the very word *Nomos*, ſignifying a law, was not then, nor long after inuented by the *Græcians*: no not in *Homers* time, who liued after the fal of *Troy* 80. years at leaſt: and *Troy* it ſelfe was caſt down 335. yeeres, after *Moſes* led *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*. This Law, it pleaſed God to ingraue in ſtone, that it might remaine a laſting booke of his expreſt wil in the Church; and that the Prieſts and people might haue, whereof to meditate, till the comming of Chriſt: and that ſo theſe Children of *Iſrael*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuſe: the ſlight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.lib.1.

The reaſon knowne to vs why this Law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their liues long, the *Elders* of Families might eaſily without any written Law, inſtruct their owne Children: and yet as they increaſed, ſo doubtleſſe they had, beſides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the Law written. But now at length, foraſmuch as the law of Nature did not define all kindes of good, and euill; nor condemne euery ſinne in particular: nor ſufficiently terrifie the conſciences of offenders: nor ſo expound diuine worſhip, as for thoſe after-ages was required, who gaue euery day leſſe authority than other to the naturall Law; In theſe reſpects it was neceſſary, that the Law ſhould be written, and ſet before the eyes of all men: which before, they might, but would not reade, in their owne conſciences. The *Schoolemen*, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the cauſes and neceſſity, why the Law was written, whereof theſe are the cheefeſt.

The firſt, for reſtraining of ſinne, directly grounded vpon this place of *Dauid*, *The law of the Lord is vndefiled, conuerting ſoules: The teſtimonies of the Lord are faithfull, giuing wiſedome to children.* For the humane Law, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or puniſhment; ſeeing thereby it might take away ſomething ſeeming neceſſary, and hinder common profit: but the diuine law written, forbiddeth euery euill, and therefore by *Dauid* it is called vndefiled.

Secondly, it ſerueth for the direction of our minds. For the Lawes of men can onely take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internall motions, or of our diſpoſition and will: and yet it is required, that wee be no leſſe cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *conuerting our ſoules*, added by *Dauid*: wherein are all our outward acts firſt generated, according to the *Cabaliſts*. *Actiones hominum nullæ eſſent, niſi prius in mente dicerentur*; *The actions of men* (ſay they) *would be none at all, were they not firſt conceiued in the minde.*

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of trueth, which by reaſon of diuerſitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar Lawes among ſundrie Nations, wee cannot be aſſured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without errour: and therefore alſo ſayde *Dauid*, *That the teſtimony of the Law of God is faithfull: giuing Wiſedome to children.*

§. VIII. *Of the vnwritten Law of God, giuen to the Patriarkes by Tradition.*

NOW, that in all this long tract of time, betweene the creation and the written Law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reaſon and nature, it doth not appeare. For the *Patriarkes* of the firſt Age receiued many *precepts* from God himſelfe, and whatſoeuer was firſt impoſed by *Adam*, the ſame was obſerued by *Seth*, who inſtructed *Enos*: from whom it deſcended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Iacob*, *Ioſeph*, and *Moſes*. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were formerly impoſed and deliuered ouer by Tradition; which kinde of teaching the *Iewes* afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio:* precepts receiued from the mouth of their *Prieſts* and *Elders:* to which the *Iewes* after the law written, added the interpretation of ſecret myſteries, reſerued in the boſoms of their *Prieſts*, and vnlawfull to be vttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the diuine law reuealed to the *Patriarks*, and from them deliuered to the poſterity, when as yet it was vnwritten. The Commandements which God gaue vnto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that hee ſhould impoſe names to all beaſts, according to their natures; to whoſe perfection of vnderſtanding they were ſufficiently knowne. For finding the reaſon of his owne name *Adam* or *Adamah*, Earth, or red clay, he gaue other names ſignificant, not onely to beaſts, but to his Children and Nephewes, which afterward his iſſues imitated; as the name of *Seth* ſignifieth, as ſome take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one giuen in recompence for *Abel* that was ſlaine: and *Enoſh* ſignifieth man or miſerable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to liue by the labour thereof: God alſo gaue him the choiſe of all fruites, but the forbidden, and in *Adam* alſo was mariage firſt inſtituted: all men thence-after being commanded to cohabit with their Wiues, rather than with their Father and Mother.

That murther and cruelty was alſo forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it ſelfe, it is manifeſt. God himſelfe making it appeare, that it was one of the greateſt cauſes of the deſtruction of mankinde by the generall flood. For God ſaid vnto *Noa*, *An end of all fleſh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold, I will deſtroy them* * *from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all periſhed; could not be vnknown to all that periſhed: Gods mercy and iuſtice interpoſing between the vntaught, and reuenge. This commandement God repeated to *Noa*, after the waters were dried vp from the earth. *Who ſo ſheddeth mans blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed: for in the Image of God hath he made man.*

* The commō reading is *cum terra:* but God did not deſtroy the earth, & why may not this præpoſition in this place, haue the ſame force, which it hath according to *Iunius*, Gen.4.1 *Item* 44,4. & *Deut.* 34 1. eſpecially, ſeeing theſe wordes are but a repetition of that which is ſaide verſe 7. *Delebo hominem de ſuperficie terræ.*

Alſo the law of honouring and reuerencing our parents, was obſerued among the faithfull, and the contrary puniſhed by the fathers curſe: as, *Curſed be Canaan, a ſeruant of ſeruants ſhall he be vnto his brethren.* Againe, we find that the vnnaturall ſin of the *Sodomites* was puniſhed in the higheſt degree, as with fire from heauen. The ſinne of Adulterie and Rauiſhment, was before the law no leſſe deteſted than the reſt, as appeareth by that reuenge, taken for *Dina's* forcing: and by the iudgement which *Iuda* gaue againſt *Tamar*, That ſhe ſhould be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* & *Abimelech*, againſt whom this ſentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, becauſe of the Woman which thou haſt taken: for ſhe is a mans Wife:* To theſe we may adde the ordinance of Sacriſice, of diſtinction of cleane and vncleane beaſts; of Circumciſion, of the brother to raiſe vp ſeede to his brother that left a widow childleſſe, and diuers other conſtitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being deliuered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Diuine Law impoſed*, of which the Law of *Moſes* containeth that which is called *The old Teſtament*, may be ſaide, not onely to haue bene written in the hearts of men, before it was engrauen in ſtone, but alſo in ſubſtance to haue bene giuen in precept to the *Patriarks*. For as S. *Paul* witneſſeth of himſelfe, *I knew not ſinne, but by the Law:* ſo euer the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by ſome kinde of vnwritten law; the *Angels* intuitiuely; Men by reaſon; Beaſts by ſenſe and inſtinct, without diſcourſe; Plants by their vegetatiue powers; and things inanimate by their neceſſary motions, without ſenſe or preception.

Gen.9,6.
Gen.9,25.
Gen.34,25.
Gen.38 24.

§. IX. *Of the Morall, Iudiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture ſpeaketh not alway in one ſenſe, when it nameth the Law of* Moſes.

NOW as the word (*Law*) in generall, as is aforeſaid, hath diuers ſignifications, and is taken for all doctrine which doth preſcribe and reſtraine: ſo this Law, called the *Law of Moſes* in particular, is taken by S. *Paul* diuerſly; as ſometime for all the old Teſtament, as, *Now we know whatſoeuer the Law ſaith, it ſaith to them which are vnder the Law.*

Rom.3.19.

When it is oppoſed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Pſalmes*, it is there taken for the fiue Bookes of *Moſes*. For ſo S. *Luke* hath diſtinguiſhed them; as, *All muſt bee fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Pſalmes.*

Luc.24,44.

Rom.3.28.

When it is oppoſed to the *Goſpell*, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is iuſtified by Faith, without the works of the Law.*

Rom.6,4.
Gal.5,18.

When it is oppoſed to *Grace*, it ſignifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *ſummum ius*: as, *For ye are not vnder the Law, but vnder Grace.*

Iohn 1,17.

When it is oppoſed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or ſignes are taken for the things ſignified; as the *Sacrifice* for *Chriſt*, and the like: then it ſignifieth but ſhadowes and figures; as, *The Law was giuen by* Moſes, *but grace & truth came by Ieſus Chriſt.*

Gal.3,23.
Luc.16,6.
Heb.7,12, & 10,1.

Laſtly, when it is oppoſed to the time of *Chriſts* comming, it ſignifieth the whole policy of the *Iewes* Common-weale; as, *Before faith came, we were kept vnder the Law, &c.* Or the Law of the order and inſtitution of the *Aaronicall Prieſthood*; as, *All the Prophets and the Law*, or the Prieſts, *propheſied vnto Iohn.* And if the *Prieſthood* be changed, the Law alſo, to wit, of the *Prieſthood*, muſt needs be changed.

Rom.8,2.
Rom.7,23.

The word (*Law*) is ſometime alſo taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Intereſt, Authority, and Empire, or for conſtraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of ſinne and death, the enforcements of concupiſcence, &c.*

Iames 2,10.

But the *Written Law of Moſes*, or the Law of the Olde Teſtament, of which we now ſpeake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was firſt put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moſes*, or by him repeated, commanding Holineſſe and Iuſtice, promiſing eternall life conditionally, that is, to the obſeruers of the law, and threatning death to thoſe which breake the law in the leaſt. For, according to S. *Iames*, *Whoſoeuer ſhall keepe the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition vſed by the *Schoolemen*, in which both the Old and New law are comprehended, is thus giuen. *Lex diuina eſt diuinum decretum, hominibus præſcribens modum neceſſarium vt aptè peruenire poſſint ad ſupernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ eſt vltimus humanæ vitæ finis; The diuine Law* (ſay they) *is the decree of God, preſcribing vnto men a neceſſary meane, whereby they may aptly attaine ſupernaturall beatitude, which is the laſt end of mans life.*

Rom.7.12.

The law of *Moſes* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that euill to be auoided, in particular; as alſo it declareth, for whoſe ſake it is to bee done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*, whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Againe, the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodneſſe; the Ceremoniall of diuine ſeruice, and of holineſſe; (for externall worſhip, and the order of hallowing our ſelues vnto God is called Ceremony) and the Iudicial teacheth the particular gouernment, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Iewes*; and preſcribeth orders for iuſtice and equity. And therefore was it ſaide of Saint *Paul*, *The commandement is iuſt, holy, and good*: iuſt, or iuſtice being referred to the Iudiciall: holy, or holineſſe to the Ceremoniall; good, or honeſt to the Morall. The Iudiciall part is touching the gouernment of the Common-wealth of the *Iewes*, in which many things muſt needs be proper to that eſtate, as ſuch as were inſtituted either in reſpect of place or perſons.

The Ceremoniall is diuided into foure parts, according to the foure kindes of things of which it ſpeaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Obſeruances. To Sacrifices belong beaſts, and the fruites of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Veſſels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumciſion, the Paſſeouer, and ſuch like. For the Obſeruances, they conſiſted either in prohibition of certaine meates, as not to eate the blood and fat of beaſts: or in ſome other outward things, as in waſhings, purifyings, annointings, and attire, as not to weare mixt Garments of Linnen and Wollen: as alſo it prohibiteth other vnnaturall and vnproper commixtions, as *Thou ſhalt not yoake together in a Plough an Oxe and an Aſſe*, or caſt mingled ſeede in one field. It alſo exhorteth to naturall compaſſion, and forbiddeth cruelty euen to beaſts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be deſtroyed without any profit to man. For ſo ſome referre theſe precepts, *Thou ſhalt not kill the bird ſitting on her neſt; nor beate downe the firſt buds of the tree, nor muzzell the labouring Oxe*, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of theſe three parts of the Law of *Moſes*, but it hath as yet in ſome reſpects, the ſame power which it had before the comming of *Chriſt*. For the Morall liueth ſtill, and is not abrogated or taken away: ſauing in the ability of iuſtifying or condemning; for therein are wee commanded to loue and worſhip God: and to vſe charitie one towards another: which for euer ſhall be required at our hands. Therein alſo are we in particular directed, how this ought to bee done: which power of directing by ſpeciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth ſtill. For theſe things alſo are commanded in both Teſtaments to be obſerued: though principally for the feare of God in the one, & for the loue of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall alſo liueth in the things which it fore-ſignified. For the ſhadow is not deſtroyed, but perfected, when the body it ſelfe is repreſented to vs. Beſides, it ſtil liueth, in that it giueth both inſtruction and teſtimony of *Chriſt*, and in that it giueth direction to the Church, for ſome Ceremonies and Types of holy ſignification, which are ſtil expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before *Chriſts* comming, and in a farre leſſe degree of neceſſity.

Laſtly, the Iudiciall liueth in ſubſtance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and vniuerſall equity thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of iuſtification, the Ceremoniall as touching the vſe and externall obſeruation (becauſe *Chriſt* himſelfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were ſignes and ſhadowes) and the Iudiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the *Iewes* Common-weale and policie.

§.X. *A propoſall of nine other points to be conſidered, with a touch of the fiue firſt.*

AS for that which remaineth in the generall conſideration of the diuine written Law, it may in effect be reduced into theſe nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Maieſty of the Law-giuer.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiuing it.
4. The conueniency of the time in which it was giuen.
5. The efficacie and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old & new Teſtament.
7. The end and vſe of the Law.
8. The ſenſe and vnderſtanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is ſufficiently proued by S. *Paul*, in theſe words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandement is holy, and iuſt, and good:* which three attributes are referred, as aforeſaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall.

2. The Maieſty of the Law-giuer is approued in all his creatures: who as he hath giuen all things their liues, and beings, ſo he onely gaue the Law, who could onely giue the end & reward promiſed, to wit, the ſaluation of mankind: but he gaue it not to *Moſes* immediately, but by the miniſtery of Angels: as it is ſaid. *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator*: and in the Acts, *He gaue the Law by the ordinance of Angels.*

Galath 3,19

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiuing this Law, is in three reſpects. Firſt, in that they were prepared: Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and diſſeuered: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promiſe made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, becauſe they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and ſeuered they were, becauſe of Gods choice and election. Children of the promiſe they were, for the promiſe was made by God vnto *Abraham* and his ſeede: not vnto his ſeeds, as to *Eſau* and *Iacob*, but to his ſeede, as to *Iacob* or *Iſrael* ſingularly, of whom *Chriſt*. *Now to Abraham and his ſeede were the promiſes made: hee ſayth not to the ſeeds, as ſpeaking of many, but to thy ſeede, as of one, which is Chriſt.*

Gal. 3,16.

4. The conueniency of the time, in which it was giuen, is noted by S. *Auguſtine*: that it was about the middle time, betweene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moſes*: the Law written in the Commandements receiued by *Moſes* in the worlds yeere 2514. continued to the Baptiſme of *Iohn*: from which time, begun the Law of Grace, which ſhall continue to the worlds end. Other reaſons for the conueniency are formerly giuen.

5. The fift conſideration is of the efficacie of this Law, the ſame being a diſpoſition to,

or ſigne of our Iuſtification : but not by it ſelfe ſufficient, but as a figure of *Chriſt* in ceremonies,and a preparation to righteouſneſſe in morall precepts. For through the paſſion of *Chriſt* were ſinnes forgiuen, who taketh away the ſinnes of the world : and therefore Gal.4. S.*Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weake*; beggerly as containing no Heb.9. grace, weake as not able to forgiue and iuſtifie. The bloud of Goats and Bulles, and the aſhes of an Heifer could onely cleanſe the body; but they were figures of *Chriſts* blood, Gal.2. which doth cleanſe the inward ſoule. *For if the law could iuſtifie, then Chriſt died in vaine.*

§. XI. *Of the ſixt point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Teſtament.*

THe Old and New Teſtament differ in name,and in the meane and way propoſed for attaining to ſaluation ; as the Olde by workes, the New by grace : but in the thing it ſelfe, or obiect and remote end,they agree : which is mans happineſſe and ſaluation.

The Old Teſtament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witneſſe of Gods will, was called the Old, becauſe it preceded the New Teſtament ; which is an explication of the Old: from which the New taketh witneſſe. Yet the New of more excellencie, in that it doeth more liuely expreſſe, and openly and directly delineate the wayes of our redemption. It is alſo called the Old, to ſhew that in part it was to be abrogated : *In that he ſaith the New Teſta-* Heb.8,13. *ment, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the Old law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and deliuered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it conſtituted in a policy periſhable: but the New was giuen in a promiſe of an euerlaſting Kingdome, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps*, a Teſtament and Goſpel for euer during.

The Old Teſtament is called the Law, becauſe the firſt and cheefe part is the Law of *Moſes*, of which the *Prophets* and *Pſalmes* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Teſtament is called the Goſpell,becauſe the firſt and cheefe part thereof, is the glad tidings of our Redemption : the other Bookes, as the Epiſtles, or Letters of the *Apoſtles*, and the Acts or ſtory of the *Apoſtles*, are plentifull interpreters therof: The word *Euangelion*, ſignifying a ioyfull,happy,and proſperous meſſage, or (as *Homer* vſed it) the reward giuen to the Meſſenger, bringing ioyfull newes. It is alſo ſometime taken for a ſacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleaſing ſucceſſe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three ſignifications. Firſt, for glad tydings in generall, as in Eſay the 52. verſe 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is reſtrained , to ſigniſie that moſt ioyfull meſſage of ſaluation, as in *Luc.*2.10. whence alſo by figure it is taken for the Hiſtory of Acts.1. *Chriſt* : and ſo we vnderſtand the foure Goſpels.

Laſtly, for the preaching and diuulging the doctrine of *Chriſt*, as 1 *Cor.*9,14. & 2 *Cor.* 8,18.

The agreement of both Teſtaments (taken, I thinke, as they are diuided in volumes) is by *Danæus* compriſed in theſe foure.

In their Author.
In the ſubſtance of the Couenant, or things promiſed.
In the foundation, to wit, *Chriſt*.
In the effects, that is, in righteouſneſſe and iuſtification.

In the Author they agree, becauſe both are of God, and therefore both one Teſtament and will of God in ſubſtance of doctrine. For as there was euer one Church, ſo was there one Couenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Chriſt*, ſo doth the new Law teach *Chriſt* : the olde propoſing him as to come, the new as alreadie come ; one and the ſame thing being promiſed in both ; both tending to one, and the ſame end : euen the ſaluation of our ſoules : which according to S.*Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be ſaid, that *Moſes* did promiſe by obſeruing the Law, an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke and hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly bleſſings : yet all theſe were but figures to teach, and pledges to aſſure the Fathers of thoſe ſpirituall bleſſings by *Chriſt*; for by the earthly, he raiſed their minds to the hope of heauenly. And the Fathers notwithſtanding theſe worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themſelues ſtrangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heauenly *Hieruſalem* : according to this *Cap.* 11. *v.*13. place of the *Hebrewes* : *All theſe dyed in faith, and receiued not the promiſes, but ſaw them a farre off, and beleeued them ; confeſſing that they were ſtrangers and pilgrimes on the earth.* To *Lib. de Ciuit. Dei.*18.*c.*15. which purpoſe alſo Saint *Auguſtine* : *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes*

tendentes per promiſſa terrena æterna promitti: Few (ſaith he) *do vnderſtand the old law: not attending that by things earthly eternall are promiſed.* And S. *Hieróme: Noluit Deus paſcere Iudæos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibuſque, vt Iudæi ſomniant; God would not feed the Iewes as beaſts with corporall gifts and riches, as themſelues dreame.* And this may bee gathered out of Gods owne words, *Ego ſum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I will be your God*, proue that it was not for the preſent, or for periſhable things, that God gaue them this promiſe, but in reſpect of the future: to wit, the ſafety of their ſoules. For as God created both body and ſoule, ſo hath he of his goodneſſe, not left the better part vncared for, which liueth euer.

In Sophon. cap. 3. v. 9.

The agreement betweene the Old and New Teſtament in ſubſtance, inferres alſo the agreement in foundation. For *Chriſt* is called the foundation of the law, laide both by the *Apoſtles* and *Prophets*; in whom all the promiſes of God in the Olde and New, are aſſured: the Fathers hauing eaten the ſame ſpirituall foode, which we eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our ſinne and miſerie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, ſerueth in ſubordination to the Goſpel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and ſaluation: to which the Law ſeruing as an introduction (for to thoſe which acknowledge their ſin and miſery, God ſheweth his mercy and ſaluation) may be ſaid to agree with the Goſpel in the effect. For otherwiſe if we ſeuer the Law from ſubordination to the Goſpel, the effects are very different: the one ſheweth the way of righteouſneſſe by workes, the other by faith: the Law woundeth, the Goſpel healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Goſpel allureth; *Moſes* accuſeth, *Chriſt* defendeth: *Moſes* condemneth, *Chriſt* pardoneth. The Old reſtraineth the hand, the New the minde. *Data eſt lex quæ non ſanaret* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *ſed quæ ægrotantes probaret; The Law was giuen, not to helpe, but to diſcouer ſickneſſe:* and Saint *Chryſoſtome, Data eſt lex, vt ſe homo inueniret, non vt moribus ſanaretur, ſed vt medicus quæreretur; The Law was giuen that man might finde and know his owne imperfection: not that his diſeaſe was thereby holpen, but that he might then ſeeke out the Phyſitian.* For Chriſt came to ſaue the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moſes* was but a ſeruant, and *Chriſt* a Son; ſo the greateſt benefit was reſerued to bee brought, as by the *worthieſt* perſon, ſaith *Cyril*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

Homil. ad Rom

Heb. 7.

§. XII. *Of the reſt of the points propoſed.*

THe ſeuenth conſideration is of the end, and vſe of the law: which is to bring vs to *Chriſt*: for finding no righteouſneſſe in our owne workes, wee muſt ſeeke it in ſome other. But this is the laſt, and remote, and vtmoſt end: the next and proper end of the law, is to preſcribe righteouſneſſe, and to exact abſolute and perfect obedience to God. *Curſed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

Leuit. 18, 5.

The ſecond end of the Law, is to render vs inexcuſable before God: who knowing ſo perfect a law, do not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteouſneſſe, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and cheefe end of the law, is as hath beene ſaid, to ſend vs to *Chriſt*, and his grace, being in our ſelues condemned and loſt. For the law was deliuered with thunder, and with a moſt violent and fearfull tempeſt, threatning eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to deſigne, and preſerue, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold them in one Diſcipline, and awe, till the comming of *Chriſt*: after whom the Church was to be diſperſed ouer the whole world.

Theſe be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vſe of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirme the truth of *Chriſt*, and the new Teſtament. The vſe of the Iudiciall, to teach vs naturall equity, and right, whereto we muſt conforme our ſelues.

The ſence and vnderſtanding of the Law is double, literall and ſpirituall: by the literall we are taught the worſhip and ſeruice of God: by the ſpirituall, the figures and myſticall fore-ſpeakings of *Chriſt*.

Laſtly, for the durance or continuance of the* Law, the ſame had being vntil the paſſion of *Chriſt*: before which time, and while *Chriſt* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true ſacrifice was offered vpon the Altar of the Croſſe,

*Gen. 49, 10. The Scepter ſhall not depart from *Iuda*, nor a Lawgiuer from betweene his feet, vntil *Shilo* come.

Croſſe, then the *Iewiſh* ſacrifices and ceremonies, which were *Types* and figures of *Chriſt* (*Chriſt* being the body of thoſe ſhadowes) ceaſed to binde the conſciences any longer: the myſtery of our redemption being now by *Chriſt* and in him finiſhed. In token whereof, the vaile of the Temple rent aſunder; noting that the ceremoniall vailes and ſhadowes were now to be remoued, not that the morall law of the Commandements was hereby aboliſhed, or weakned at all: othervviſe then that it had not povver to condemn according to the *Iewiſh* doctrine, as aforeſaid. For the obſeruing of the law was by *Chriſt* himſelfe ſeuerely commanded: our loue towards God being thereby to be witneſſed. And heerein *Dauid* ſo much reioyced, as he preferred the obſeruation of the Law, before all that the world could yeeld. *In via teſtimoniorum tuorum delectatus ſum, ſicut in omnibus diuitijs; I haue been delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches*: And againe, *The law of thy mouth is good for me aboue thouſands of gold and ſiluer. This is the loue of God* (ſaith S. *Iohn*) *that we keepe his Commandement*. And that there is no excuſe for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himſelfe in *Deuteronomy* witneſſeth. *This Commaundement* (ſaith he) *which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it farre off. It is not in heauen that thou ſhouldſt ſay, Who ſhall go vp for vs to heauen, and bring it vs, and cauſe vs to heare it that we may do it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhall go ouer the Sea for vs, and bring it vs? &c. but the word is very neere vnto thee, euen in thy mouth, & in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (ſaith *Moſes*) *I haue ſet before thee this day, life and death, good and euill, in that I command thee this day, to loue the Lord thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandements, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou mayſt liue, &c.* Neither is it ſaide in vaine in Saint *Mathew*. *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, ſerua mandata; If thou wilt enter into life keepe the Commandements*: and in S. *Iohn*; *Scio quia mandatum eius vita æterna eſt; I know that his Commandement is life euerlaſting*. And if this bee the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as S. *Iohn* hath taught, to wit, that we keep his Commandements: certainly hee is but a lyar, that profeſſeth to loue God, and neglecteth to obſerue the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confeſſe it not in mans ability, without the ſpeciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (*Chriſt* only as man excepted) yet if wee rightly conſider the mercifull care which God had of his people in thoſe his Commandements, we ſhall finde in our ſelues, how wee borrow liberty, and rather let ſlip our affections, and voluntarily looſen them from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and diuine reaſon hath faſtened them, than that wee are excuſable by thoſe difficulties and impoſſibilities, which our minde (greedy of libertie) propoſeth to it ſelfe. *For this is the loue of God, that we keepe his Commandements, & his Commandements are not greeuous*, 1. Iohn 3. 12. and if wee examine euery precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our conſciences; it is not harde for any man to iudge, by what eaſie perſwaſions, we ſteale away from our owne power, as vnwilling to vſe it againſt our pleaſing deſires.

Iohn 1.5.

Deut. 30.11.12 13 & 14.
Rom. 6.10.v.6. 7,8.

Cap. 9.17.
Cap. 12,50.

§. XIII. *Of the ſeuerall Commandements of the* Decalogue: *and that the difficulty is not in reſpect of the Commandements, but by our default.*

FOr by the firſt we are commanded to acknowledge, ſerue, and loue one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? ſeeing euery reaſonable man may conceiue and know, that infinite power cannot be diuided into many infinities: and that it is of neceſſity, that by this almighty Vnity, all things haue bin cauſed, and are continued. And if bruite beaſts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his prouidence he hath alſo prouided for euery of them, *Which giueth to beaſtes their foode, &c.* there is no doubt but that they would alſo ſerue and loue him only.

Pſal. 147, 9.

The ſecond precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worſhip of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the inuention of an ill intent in the beginning, ſeeing this is generally true. *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta ſunt; All ill examples did ſpring and ariſe from good beginnings.* For their firſt erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their vertue: vntill (ſaith *Lactantius*) the deuill crept into them, and (hauing blotted out the firſt intent) working in weak and ignorant ſoules, changed the nature of the one, and the reaſon of the other, to ſerue himſelfe thereby. For what reaſonable man, if hee be not forſaken of God, will call on thoſe blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead ſtocks, more worthleſſe

Gloſſa in verb. Calum.

worthleſſe then the moſt worthleſſe of thoſe, that hauing life and reaſon, implore their helpe, which haue neither: yea, of more vilde prize and baſer, then the baſeſt of beaſts, who haue ſenſe and eſtimation? For what do we thereby (ſaith the Wiſedome of *Salomon*) *but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, aſsiſtance in our iournies of him that cannot go, and ſucceſſe in our affaires of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which he prayeth, bee more ſenſeleſſe: *Dauid* maketh a doubt. **For** (ſaith he) *they that make them are like vnto them, and ſo are all the reſt that truſt in them.*

Wiſd.13,v.19.

Pſalme 35,18.

The breach of the third Commandement, is neither perſwaded by worldly pleaſure, nor worldly profit: the two greateſt inchanters of mortall men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible diſdaine of God, vnleſſe the hate of good men, and Gods curſe, be accounted an aduantage. For as our corrupteſt nature giues vs nothing towards it, ſo can it ſatisfie no one appetite, except euerlaſting ſorrow, and hell dwell in our deſire. And therefore this ſtrange cuſtome hath the deuill brought vp among men, without all ſubtlety of argument, or cunning perſwaſion, taking thereby the greateſt and moſt ſcornfull aduantage ouer vs. For ſlaughter ſatisfieth hatred, Theft giues ſatisfaction to need, Adultery to luſt, Oppreſſion to couetouſneſſe: but this contemptuous offence of blaſphemy, and the irreuerent abuſe of Gods name, as it giueth no helpe to any of our worldly affections, ſo the moſt ſaluage Nations of the world do not vſe it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the *Sabbath* day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconuenience. For it giueth reſt to the laborer, and conſolation to their Maſters. And that this law was impoſed on man for his benefit, *Moſes* teacheth in the reaſon of the law: as in Exod. 23,12. *And in the ſeuenth day thou ſhalt reſt, that thine Oxe and thine Aſſe may reſt, and the ſonne of thy maide, and the ſtranger may be refreſhed.*

The firſt of the ſecond Table to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the ſame, is a gratitude which nature it ſelfe hath taught vs towardes them, who after God gaue vs life and being, haue begotten vs, and borne vs, cheriſhed vs in our weake and helpleſſe infancie, and beſtowed on vs the harueſt and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporall and Iudiciall ordinances, curſing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou ſhalt not Murther, that is, thou ſhalt not do the actes following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, haue made difference between ſlaughter caſuall, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (ſaith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the work ſuch as it is.* And certainly, whoſoeuer cannot forbeare to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any vſe of his owne will.

The third of the ſecond Table, commands vs from Adultery. Now, if the preſeruation of Virginity haue bene poſsible, for thouſands of Men and Women, who in all Ages haue maſtered their fleſhly deſires, and haue returned chaſte to the graue: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbeare the diſhonour and iniurie, which we offer to others by ſuch a violation, ſeeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God, and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no man liuing whom the deſire of beauty and forme hath ſo conſtrained, but he might with eaſe forbeare the proſequution of this ill: did not himſelfe giue ſucke to this Infant, and nouriſh warmth till it grow to ſtrong heate, heate til it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradiſum.

The fourth of the ſecond Table, is, that we ſhall not ſteale. And if that kinde of violent robbery had beene vſed in *Moſes* time, which many Ruffians practiſe now a-dayes in *England*, and to the diſhonor of our Nation more in *England*, than in any Region of the world among *Chriſtians*; out of doubt, he would haue cenſured them by death, and not by reſtitution, though quadruple. For I ſpeak not of the poore and miſerable ſoules, whom hunger and extreame neceſsity inforceth, but of thoſe deteſted Theeues, who to maintaine themſelues Lord-like, aſſault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man; or breake by violence into other mens houſes, and ſpend in Brauerie, Drunkenneſſe, and vpon Harlots, in one day, what other men ſometime haue laboured for all their liues: impoueriſhing whole Families, and taking the bread and foode from the mouthes of their children. And that this Commandement might eaſily be obſerued; it would ſoone appeare, if Princes would reſolue, but for a few yeeres to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and the argument of ſparing the firſt offence, that incourageth theſe Hell-hounds. And if euery man preſume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Common-wealth, but theſe men would in a ſhort time impoueriſh or deſtroy it.

The fifth Commandement of this ſecond Table, is, the prohibition of falſe witneſſe: from which if men could not forbeare, all ſurety of eſtate and life were taken away. And ſo much did God deteſt a falſe witneſſe, and a falſe accuſer, eſpecially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to ſuffer the ſame death or puniſhment, which he ſought by falſhood to lay on his brother.

The laſt of the ten Commandements forbiddeth vs to couet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wiues for concupiſcence, or their goodes for deſire of gaine. And this precept ſeemeth the hardeſt for men to obſerue; ſo eſteemed by reaſon of our fraile affections: and yet if wee iudge heereof rightly, it may bee doubted whether it extend to all our inconſiderate fancies and vaine thoughtes. For, although it be not eaſie to maſter all our ſudden paſſions, yet we may reſtraine and hinder the growing, and farther increaſe, if we pleaſe to intend our ſtrength, & ſeeke for grace. How the word *Coueting* reacheth to all thoſe it is to bee conſidered. For *Concupiſcentia*, according to ſome, *Eſt effrænatus habendi appetitus*; *An vnbrideled, or vnreſtrained appetite of hauing*: And as touching ſuch an appetite, we cannot excuſe our ſelues by any our naturall frailty, or vnaduiſed error; But as I ſuppoſe, the word *Concupiſcence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and vnbridled euill intent, or for ſome vrging inclination thereunto. All the queſtion is of the later ſort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id eſt, non deliberatus ratione, quæ eſt principium proprium actus boni aut vitioſi*; *Such paſſions, or inclinations are vnperfect acts, that is, not deliberated vpon by reaſon, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action.* And ſure, it may ſeeme, that ſo long as we reſiſt ſuch motions, they harme vs not: as they ſay, *Quamdiu refragamur nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus*; *As long as wee giue no aſſent vnto them, it is thought by ſome that they hurt vs not; and that then onely they hurt, when we ſuffer them to beare ſway.* But theſe men, as it ſeemes, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath bene forbidden in the other: for in euery Commandement, not onely the outward acte, but alſo the inward aſſent vnto euill, though it breake not out into acte, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandement and the reſt, the diſtinction of deſires is to be held: that ſome are with aſſent, and vnbridled; others bridled, and without aſſent. For ſo euen the Morall *Philoſopher* can tell vs, that the Continent man hath euill deſires, but without aſſent (for they are bridled by the ſtrength of right reaſon) as on the other ſide the Incontinent hath good deſires, but reſtrained and ſuppreſſed by contrary paſſions. The euill deſires when they are accompanied with aſſent, are in euery Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will haue any thing proper to this Commandement, wee muſt needs ſay, that the euill deſires of the Continent man (that is, euen thoſe which wee reſiſt and bridle) are heere forbidden. For though he that bridleth his euill deſires, bee much better than hee that yeeldeth vnto them: yet ſuch a man, euen according to the Heathen *Philoſopher*, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For *Ariſtotle* himſelfe makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but onely a degree vnto it: confeſsing, that though the Continent man do well in bridling his euill affections, yet he doth not all, ſeeing he ought not ſo much as to haue thẽ at all. Neither is it much more, that true diuinity deliuereth touching this matter. For, as he ſaith, that in the Continent man the hauing of theſe euill deſires, thogh he reſiſt them, is the cauſe that he cannot be called a vertuous man: ſo we, that the hauing of them is a ſinne. Only in this we excell him heere: that we are able out of diuinity to giue the true reaſon of this doctrine: which is, that euery one ſinneth, that doeth not loue God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the euill deſires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, muſt needes be ſinne: ſeeing ſuch deſires, though bridled, are a-pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleaſed God, to make vs know, that by our faithfull endeuours to keepe his commandements, we witneſſe our loue toward himſelfe: we may not ſafely giue libertie to our vanities, by caſting backe vpon God (who is iuſtice it ſelf) that he hath giuen vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandements impoſſible for vs to keepe. For, as hee is accurſed, (ſaith Saint *Hierome*) that auowes that the Law is in all things poſſible to be obſerued: ſo he hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui*

qui dicit impoſsibilia Deum præcepiſſe; *Accurſed is hee that ſaith that God hath commanded things* (in themſelues, and not through our fault) *impoſsible*. Now, as the places are many which command vs to keepe the Law: ſo is our weakeneſſe alſo in the Scriptures laide before vs, and therefore it is thus ſafely to be vnderſtood, that we ſhould without euaſion, or without betraying of our ſelues, doe our faithfull endeuours to obſerue them: which if we doe vnfainedly, no doubt, but God will accept our deſires therein. For that there is no man iuſt, *David* witneſſeth: *Enter not into iudgement with thy ſeruant, for in thy ſight no fleſh that liueth ſhall be iuſtified.* And in the firſt of *Kings*, *There is no man that ſinneth not:* And againe; *Who can ſay, I haue made my heart cleane?* But ſeeing there is no ſinne greeuous without deliberation; let euery mans conſcience iudge him, whether hee giue way willingly, or reſtraine himſelfe in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King giues to his ſubiect a commandement vpon paine of loſſe of his loue, to performe ſome ſeruice: if the ſubiect neglecting the ſame, ſeeke to ſatisfie his *Soueraigne* with ſhifting excuſes, out of doubt ſuch a Prince will take himſelfe to be derided therein.

Pſal. 143.

c.8 v.46.

Prou. 20. v.9.

§. XIIII.

If there were not any Religion nor Iudgement to come, yet the Decalogue *were moſt neceſſary to be obſerued.*

And if wee conſider aduiſedly and ſoberly, of the Morall Law, or ten Commandements, which God by the hand of *Moſes* gaue vnto his people, it will appeare that ſuch was his mercifull prouidence in the choiſe of them, as were there neither paine, nor profit adioyned to the obſeruing, or not obſeruing of them; were there no diuine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet if wee did not for our owne ſakes ſtriue to obſerue theſe Lawes, all ſociety of men, and all endeuours, all happineſſe and contentment in this life would be taken away: and euery State and common-weale in the World fall to the ground and diſſolue. Therefore, theſe Lawes were not impoſed as a burthen, but as a bleſſing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that euery man might enioy the fruites of his owne trauaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by iuſtice, order, and peace, we might liue the liues of reaſonable men, and not of beaſts; of free-men, and not of ſlaues; of ciuill men, and not of ſauages. And hereof making our humane reaſon onely Iudge, let vs ſee the inconueniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of theſe Lawes.

As firſt, what would the iſſue be if we acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater hatred, warre, and bloud-ſhed follow, than that which the difference of ceremonie, and diuerſity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, euen among thoſe Nations which acknowledge one God, and one *Chriſt*?

And what could it profit man-kinde to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, mettall, dead ſtones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loſſe of time, and an impoſſibility to receiue thence-from, either helpe or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandement bringeth there-with this diſaduantage, and ill to man, that whoſoeuer taketh the name of God in vaine, ſhall not at any time benefit himſelfe by calling God to witneſſe for him, when hee may iuſtly vſe his holy name.

The obſeruing the *Sabbath* holy, giueth reſt to men and beaſts, and nature her ſelfe requireth intermiſſion of labour.

If we deſpiſe our Parents, who haue giuen vs being, we thereby teach our owne children to ſcorne and neglect vs, when our aged yeeres require comfort and helpe at their hands.

If murther were not forbidden, and ſeuerely puniſhed, the race of mankinde would be extinguiſhed: and whoſoeuer would take the liberty to deſtroy others, giueth liberty to others to deſtroy himſelfe.

If adultery were lawfull and permitted, no man could ſay vnto himſelfe; This is my ſonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour deſcend to poſterity, no endeuour by vertue and vndertaking to raiſe Families: murthers and poyſonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and euery man ſubiect to moſt filthy and vncleane diſeaſes.

If ſtealth and violent rapine were ſuffered, all man-kinde would ſhortly after periſh, or liue as the ſaluages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enioy the fruites thereof. And ſuch is the miſcheefe of robbery, as where *Moſes* for leſſer crimes appointed reſtitution fourefold, policie of State and neceſſity hath made it death.

To permit falſe witneſſes, is to take all mens liues and eſtates from them by corruption: the wicked would ſweare againſt the vertuous: the waſter againſt the wealthie: the idle begger and loyterer, againſt the carefull and painfull laborer: all triall of right were taken away, and iuſtice thereby baniſhed out of the world.

The coueting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a diſtraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while we couet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne: our appetites are therin fed with vaine and fruitleſſe hopes, ſo long as we do but couet; and if we do attaine to the deſire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wiues or goods of our neighbours; we can look for no other, but that our ſelues ſhall alſo, either by theft or by ſtrong hand, be depriued of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there bee nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing? Surely, for our owne good, and not in reſpect of himſelfe, did the moſt mercifull & prouident God ordaine them; without the obſeruation of which, the vertues of heauenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the bleſſings giuen vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether vnprofitable, and of no vſe. For wee ſhould remaine but in the ſtate of brute beaſts, if not in a farre more vnhappy condition.

§. XV. *Of humane Law, written and vnwritten.*

HVmane Law, of which now it followeth to ſpeake, is firſt diuided into two, (*Viz.*) Written, and Vnwritten. The vnwritten conſiſts of vſage, approued by time: which *Iſidore* cals *Mores*: and he defines *Mores*: to be *Conſuetudines vetuſtate probatæ*; to bee *cuſtomes approued by antiquity, or vnwritten lawes.* Now cuſtome differeth from vſe, as the cauſe from the effect: in that cuſtome is by vſe and continuance eſtabliſhed into a Law: but yet there where the law is defectiue, ſaith *Iſidore*.

And of cuſtomes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars; the firſt are written cuſtomes, receiued and exerciſed by Nations, as the cuſtoms of *Burgundie* and *Normandie*: the ancient generall cuſtome of *England*, & the cuſtomes of *Caſtill*, and other *Prouinces*.

The ſecond are theſe petty cuſtomes, vſed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall cuſtoms are ſome written, others vnwritten.

The particular or petty cuſtomes are ſeldome written, but witneſſed by teſtimonie of the inhabitants. The cuſtomes of the *Duchie* of *Cornwall* comprehending alſo the *Stannerie* of *Deuon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* cauſes, are written in *Deuon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howſoeuer vſe and time hath made theſe cuſtomes as lawes, yet ought euery cuſtome to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præſcripta*. *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de iure ab initio non ſubſiſtit*; *That which at firſt was not grounded vpon good right, is not made good by continuance of time.* And (ſaith *Vlpian*) *quod ab initio vitioſum eſt, non poteſt tractu temporis conualeſcere*; *Courſe of time amends not that which was naught from the firſt beginning*. For theſe two defences are neceſſary in all lawes of cuſtome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law diuine, and naturall: the other, that the cauſe and reaſon be ſtrong, prouing a right birth, and neceſſary continuance: it being manifeſt, that euery cuſtome which is againſt the law, had his beginning from euill deeds, & therefore not without the former conſiderations to be allowed. And it is true, that all cuſtomes of this nature were but tollerated for a time, by the Law-makers, though they haue beene ſince continued, becauſe poſterity is not bound to examine by what cauſe their Anceſtors were thereto moued. For *non ſufficit ſimplex toleratio*. And it is in this ſort ouer-ruled in the law; *Per populum conſuetudo contra legem induci non poteſt, niſi de voluntate illius qui nouam legem, & nouam conſtitutionem ſtatuere poteſt, qui ſolus Princeps eſt*; *The people cannot bring in a new cuſtome againſt law: ſaue by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is onely the Prince.*

In Reg, Iuris. v.2.q.117. art. 1.

Vlp.l.29.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by ſome defined to be the decree or doome of practique reaſon: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* cals the Law a common precept, the aduiſement of wiſemen, & the reſtraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Iſidore* calles the Law a Conſtitution written, agreeing with Religion, fitteſt for Gouernment and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione conſiſtit*; *All that ſtands with reaſon.*

Laſtly, and more preciſely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law natural, and eternall: made by the rational diſcourſe of thoſe, that exerciſe publike authority: preſcribing neceſſary obſeruances to the ſubiect. That euery Law ought to be a righteous decree, S. *Auguſtine* teacheth, ſaying: *Mihi lex eſſe non videtur, quæ iuſta non fuerit*; *It ſeemes to be no law at all to me, which is not iuſt:* and iuſt it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no Law iuſt and legitimate (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) which the Law-makers haue not deriued from the eternall. *Nihil iuſtum atque legitimum eſt, quod non ab æterna lege ſibi homines deriuauerint.*

Greg. de Val. ex Tho, q. 91. art. 3. & q. 94. art. 2.

L. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6.

Secondly, it ought to be conſtituted by diſcourſe of reaſon, whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from the Law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to bee made by an authoriſed Magiſtracie, it cannot bee doubted, be the gouernment of what kinde ſoeuer. For it falleth otherwiſe vnder the Title of thoſe decrees called *Violentiæ*, or *iniquæ conſtitutiones*; *Violences*, or *wicked conſtitutions.*

4. *Parts.*

Tho. q. 95. art. 2.

Of humane Law there are foure properties, eſpecially anſwering theſe foure conditions in the former definition. Firſt, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: ſo euery particular of the humane Law may be reſolued into ſome principle or rule of the naturall.

Secondly, it is to be conſidered as it is referred vnto, and doth reſpect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publique authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the Law, it preſcribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And ſo is the Law as large and diuers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall vnder it. For according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex Iulia de Adulterijs, alia Cornelia de Sicarijs*; *The Law of* Iulian *againſt Adultery is one, the* Cornelian *againſt Ruffians, is another.* Now the humane Law, generally taken, is in reſpect of the firſt of theſe conſiderations, diuided into the Law of Nations, and the Ciuill.

The Law of Nations is taken leſſe or more properly; leſſe properly for euery Law which is not of it ſelfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and ſo it ſeemeth that *Vlpian* vnderſtands it: for he defineth *Ius gentium*, or *the Law of Nations*, to be that which is onely common amongſt Men, as Religion, and the worſhip of God: which is not in the very nature of this Law of Nations; but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other diuine Reuelations. But the Law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *ſentence*, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an euident principle, yet ſo probable, that all Nations doe aſſent vnto the concluſion, as that the free paſſage of *Ambaſſadours* be granted betweene enemies, &c. which Nationall Law, according to diuers acceptions, and diuers conſiderations had of the humane Law, may be ſometime taken for a *Species* of the Naturall, ſometime of the Humane.

Ius Ciuile, or the Ciuill Law, is not the ſame in all Common-wealths, but in diuers eſtates it is alſo diuers and peculiar, and this Law is not ſo immediately deriued from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of ſuch principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or eaſily aſſent vnto; becauſe they depend on particular circumſtances, which are diuers, and doe not fit all eſtates. Hereof *Vlpian*, *Ius ciuile, neque in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei ſeruit: itaq̃ cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus Iuri communi, Ius proprium, id eſt, Ciuile efficimus*; *The Ciuill Law* (ſaith he) *doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature, and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore when we adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Ciuill Law.*

In Leg. 6. t a. ff. de Iuſtitia Iure.

The Law now commonly called the Ciuill Law, had its birth in *Rome*; and was firſt written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. yeeres after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as wel out of the *Athenian*, & other *Grecian* Lawes, as out of the ancient *Romane* cuſtomes and Lawes *Regall*. The Regal Lawes were deuiſed by the firſt Kings, and called *Leges Regiæ*, or *Papyrianæ*, becauſe they were gathered by *Papyrius*, *Tarquin* then reigning. For though ſo many of the former Lawes as maintained Kingly authority, were aboli-

Dion. Hal.

C.Sigon.l.1.out of Pomponius.

ſhed, with the name; yet thoſe of *Seruius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common vtility, were continued, and were a part of the Lawes of the twelue Tables. To theſe Lawes of the twelue Tables were added (as the times gaue occaſion) thoſe made by the *Senate*, called *Senatuſ-conſulta:* thoſe of the common people, called *Plebi-ſcita:* thoſe of the Lawyers, called *reſponſa prudentum:* and the Edicts of the *Annuall Magiſtrate:* which Edicts being firſt gathethed and interpreted by *Iulian*, and preſented to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall Lawes; and the *Volume* ſtiled *Edictum perpetuum*; as thoſe and the like Collections of *Iuſtinian* afterward were.

The difference anciently betweene Lawes and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, conſiſted in this, that Lawes are the Conſtitutions made or confirmed by ſoueraigne authority (be the ſoueraignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Iuſſum Magiſtratus*, vnleſſe by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the *Officer*, who made the ſame, ſaith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam eſſe dicunt; They who aſcribe the moſt vnto an Edict, ſay that it is a Law for one yeere:* Though *Iſidore* doth alſo expreſſe by the word *Conſtitutions* or *Edicts*, thoſe Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatiues*; as *Conſtitutio vel Edictum eſt quod Rex, vel Imperator conſtituit, vel edicit; An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaime.*

Laſtly, the *Humane Law* is diuided into the *Secular*, and into the *Eccleſiaſticall*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquility of the Common-weale: the *Eccleſiaſticall* the ſpirituall good, and right Gouernment of the *Eccleſiaſticall Common-wealth*, or *Church*, *Illud naturæ legem, hoc diuinam ſpectat; That reſpecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God.* And ſo may *Ius Ciuile* be taken two wayes; firſt, as diſtinguiſhed from the Law of Nations, as in the firſt diuiſion: Secondly, as it is the ſame with the *Secular*, and diuers from the *Eccleſiaſticall*. But this diuiſion of the *Schoolemen* is obſcure. For although the *Ciuill* be the ſame with the *Secular*, as the *Ciuill* is a Law, yet the *Secular* is more generall, and comprehendeth both the *Ciuill*, and all other Lawes not *Eccleſiaſticall*. For of *Secular* Lawes, in vſe among *Chriſtian* Princes, and in *Chriſtian* Common-weales, there are three kindes; the *Ciuill* which hath euery where a voyce; and is in all *Chriſtian* Eſtates (*England* excepted) moſt powerfull; the Lawes of *England* called Common, and the Lawes of cuſtome or *Prouinciall*. In *Spaine* beſides the Law *Ciuill*, they haue the cuſtomes of *Caſtill*, and other Prouinces. In *France* beſides the *Ciuill*, the cuſtomes of *Burgundy*, *Bloys*, *Berri*, *Niuernois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous lieux ſitues & aſſis en Lodunois, ſeront gouernez ſelon les coſtumes du dit pays; All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, ſhall be gouerned according to the cuſtomes of that place.* There are alſo in *France* the cuſtomes of *Normandy*, and theſe of two kindes; Generall, and Locall; and all purged and reformed by diuers Acts of the three Eſtates. The *Charters* of confirmation of theſe ancient cuſtomes, before and ſince their reformation haue theſe words; *Nos autem, regiſtrum prædictum, vſus laudabiles, & conſuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, & authoritate Regia confirmamus; The Regiſter aforeſaide, laudable vſe, and ancient cuſtomes we praiſe, approue, and by our Kingly authority confirme.* The common Law of *England* is alſo compounded of the ancient cuſtomes of the ſame, and of certaine *Maximes* by thoſe cuſtomes of the Realme approoued. Vpon which cuſtomes alſo are grounded thoſe Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other ſmall Courts.

Art.3 tit.5. G.Cuſt.

Theſe ancient cuſtomes of *England* haue beene approoued by the Kings thereof, from age to age: as that cuſtome by which no man ſhall be taken, impriſoned, diſſeiſed, nor otherwiſe deſtroyed, but he muſt firſt be put to anſwer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute* of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient cuſtome of *England*, that the eldeſt ſonne ſhould inherite without partition. In *Germany*, *France*, and elſewhere otherwiſe, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the cuſtome for all Landes (that haue not beene reſigned into the Kings hands) that the eldeſt of the Houſe ſhall enioy the Inheritance during his owne life: and ſo the ſecond and third eldeſt (if there be ſo many brothers) before the Heire in lineall deſcent: this is called the cuſtome of *Taniſtrie*. For example, if a Lord of Land haue foure ſonnes, and the eldeſt of thoſe foure haue alſo a Sonne, the three Brothers of the eldeſt Sonne, ſhall after the death of their Brother, enioy their Fathers Lands before the Grand-childe: the cuſtome being grounded vpon the reaſon of neceſſity. For the *Iriſh* in former times, hauing alwayes liued in a ſubdiuided *Ciuill* Warre, not onely the greateſt againſt the greateſt, but euery *Baron* and *Gentleman* one againſt another, were enforſt to leaue ſucceſſors of age and ability, to defend their owne *Territories*. Now as in *Normandie*, *Burgundie*, and other Prouinces of *France*, there are certaine peculiar and petty Cuſtomes, beſides the great and generall cuſtome of the Land, ſo are there in *England*, and in euery part thereof. But the greateſt bulke of our Lawes, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament*: lawes propounded and approued by the three eſtates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, becauſe they are *Actes* of choiſe, and ſelfe-deſire. *Leges nulla alia cauſa nos tenent quàm quòd iudicio populi receptæ ſunt; The lawes do therefore binde the ſubiect, becauſe they are receiued by the iudgement of the ſubiect. Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim ſuam, cum fuerint non modò inſtitutæ, ſed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis; It is then that humane lawes haue their ſtrength, when they ſhall not onely be deuiſed, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.*

Vlp.ff.de Leg. Leg.32.

Aug.de vera relig cap 31 Gratian.in dec diſt.4. Cum in iſtis.

Iſidore faſteneth theſe properties to euery *Chriſtian* Law, that the ſame bee honeſt, that it bee poſſible, that it bee according to Nature, and according to the cuſtome of the Countrey; alſo for the time and place conuenient, profitable, and manifeſt, and without reſpect of priuate profite, that it be written for the generall good. He alſo giues foure effects of the Law, which *Modeſtinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and inſtigation: the former bindes vs by feare, to auoide vice; the latter incourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet eſſe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum; It behoueth the Law to bee a mender of vices, and a commender of vertues.* The part obligatorie or binding vs to the obſeruation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes: and it is two-fold; the one conſtraineth vs by feare of our conſciences, the other by feare of externall puniſhment. Theſe two effects the law performeth, by the exerciſe of thoſe two powers, to wit, *Coactiue* and *Directiue*.

The ſecond of theſe two effects remembred by *Modeſtinus*, is *Inſtigation*, or incoragement to vertue, as *Ariſtotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being ſuch as they ought to be, doe both by preſcribing and forbidding, vrge vs to well-doing; laying before vs the good and the euill, by the one and the other purchaſed. And this power affirmatiue commanding good, and power negatiue forbidding euil, are thoſe into which the law is diuided, as touching the matter: and in which *Dauid* comprehendeth the whole body and ſubſtance thereof: ſaying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum: Decline from euill, and do good.*

Pſalme 37.

§. XVI. *That onely the Prince is exempt from humane Lawes, and in what ſort.*

NOW whether the power of the humane Law bee without exception of any perſon, it is doubtfully diſputed among thoſe that haue written of this ſubiect, as well *Diuines* as *Lawyers*: and namely, whether Soueraigne Princes bee compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforeſaide; the one *Directiue*, the other *Coactiue*: to the power *Directiue* they ought to bee ſubiect, but not to that which conſtraineth. For as touching violence or puniſhments, no man is bound to giue a preiudiciall iudgement againſt himſelfe; and if equals haue not any power ouer each other, much leſſe haue inferiours ouer their ſuperiours, from whom they receiue their authority and ſtrength.

And ſpeaking of the ſupreme power of lawes, ſimply then is the Prince ſo much aboue the lawes, as the ſoule and body vnited, is aboue a dead and ſenſeleſſe carkaſſe. For the King is truly called, *Ius viuum, & lex animata: An animate and liuing law.* But this is true, that by giuing authority to lawes, Princes both adde greatnes to themſelues, & conſerue it; and therefore was it ſaid of *Bracton* out of *Iuſtinian*; *Meritò debet Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit vt ipſe ſit Rex; Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the law firſt attributeth to the King; for it is the law that doth make Kings.*

But whereas *Bracton* aſcribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein miſtaken. For Kings are made by God, and lawes diuine; and by humane lawes onely, declared to bee Kings. As for the places remembred by the Diuines and Lawyers, which inferre

Bract.l.1.

a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, then the bond of conſcience, and profit ariſing from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to giue an account of their actions to God onely.

Pſal. 50.
ff. de Leg.

Tibi ſoli peccaui, ſaith *Dauid*; *Againſt thee onely haue I ſinned:* therefore, the Prince cannot be ſaide to be ſubiect to the Law; *Princeps non ſubijcitur legi.* For ſeeing according to the *Schoolemen*, the Law humane is but *quoddam organum & inſtrumentum poteſtatis gubernatiuæ: non videtur poſſe eius obligatio ad eum ſe extendere, ad quem ipſa vis poteſtatis humanæ non pertinet; ſed vis poteſtatis humanæ non ſe extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa reſidet. Ergo neq; lex condita per talem poteſtatem obligare poteſt ipſum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia actiua, eſt principium tranſmutandi aliud*; *Seeing humane Law* (ſay they) *is but a kind of Organ or Inſtrument of the power that gouerneth, it ſeemes that it cannot extend it ſelfe to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of: but the Gouernour himſelfe, in whom the gouerning power doth reſide, is a perſon that cannot by himſelfe, or by his owne power be controlled. And therefore the Law which is made by ſuch a power, cannot binde the law-maker himſelfe: for euery actiue ability, is a cauſe or principle of alteration in another body,* not in the body in which it ſelfe reſides. And ſeeing Princes haue power to deliuer others from the obligation of the Law: *Ergo etiam poteſt ipſemet Princeps ſiue legiſlator ſua ſe voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare*; *Therefore alſo may a Prince or Law-maker at his owne will and pleaſure deliuer himſelfe from the bond of the Law.* Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges obſeruare neceſſitate coactionis, Princeps vero ſola voluntate ſua, & intuitu boni communis*; *The ſubiects are bound to fulfill the Law by neceſſity of compulſion, but the Prince onely by his owne will, and regard of the common good.*

Greg. de Valentia de Leg.

Now concerning the politique Lawes, giuen by *Moſes* to the Nation of the *Iſraelites*, whether they ought to be a Preſident, from which no ciuill inſtitutions of other people ſhould preſume to digreſſe, I will not preſume to determine, but leaue it as a queſtion for ſuch men to decide, whoſe profeſſions giue them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, that wee ought not to ſeeme wiſer then *God* himſelfe, who hath told vs that there are no Lawes ſo righteous, as thoſe which it pleaſed him to giue to his Elect people to be gouerned by. True it is, that all Nations haue their ſeuerall qualities, wherein they differ, euen from their next borderers, no leſſe than in their peculiar languages: which diſagreeable conditions to gouerne aptly, one and the ſame Law very hardly were able. The *Roman* ciuill Lawes did indeede containe in order a great part of the then knowne World, without any notable inconuenience, after ſuch time as once it was receiued and become familiar: yet was not the adminiſtration of it alike in all parts, but yeelded much vnto the naturall cuſtomes of the ſundry people, which it gouerned. For whether it be through a long continued perſwaſion; or (as *Aſtrologers* more willingly grant) ſome influence of the Heauens; or peraduenture ſome temper of the ſoile and climate, affoording matter of prouocation to vice (as plenty made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and oportunity to ſteale, makes the *Arabians* to be Theeues) very hard it were to forbid by Law an offence ſo common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be diſtinguiſhed from iuſt and honeſt. By ſuch rigour was the Kingdome of *Congo* vnhappily diuerted from the Chriſtian Religion, which it willingly at the firſt embraced, but after with great fury reiected, becauſe plurality of Wiues was denied vnto them, I know not how neceſſarily, but more contentiouſly then ſeaſonably. In ſuch caſes, me thinkes, it were not amiſſe to conſider that the high *God* himſelfe permitted ſome things to the *Iſraelites*, rather in regard of their naturall diſpoſition (for they were hard-hearted) than becauſe they were conſonant vnto the ancient rules of the firſt perfection. So, where euen the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and vniuſt; there may the Law, giuen by *Moſes*, worthily be deemed the moſt exact reformer of the euill, which forceth man, as neere as may be, to the will and pleaſure of his Maker. But where nature or cuſtome hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habite, with ſo long and ſo publike approbation, that the vertue oppoſing it would ſeeme as vncouth, as it were to walke naked in *England*, or to weare the *Engliſh* faſhion of apparell in *Turkie:* there may a wiſe and vpright Law-giuer, without preſumption, omit ſomewhat that the rigour of *Moſes* his Law required; euen as the good King *Hezekia* did, in a matter meerely *Eccleſiaſticall*, and therefore the leſſe capable of diſpenſation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull vnto him, that prepareth his whole heart to ſeeke the Lord God, the *God of his Fathers*, though hee be not cleanſed according to the purification of the Sanctuary: which prayer the Lord heard and granted. 2 chron. cap. 30.v.18,19.

To this effect it is well obſerued by Maſter Doctor *Willet*, that the morall Iudicials of *Moſes* doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatiuely that wee are tyed to the ſame ſeuerity of puniſhment now, which was inflicted then; but negatiuely they doe hold, that now the puniſhment of death ſhould not be adiudged, where ſentence of death is not giuen by *Moſes:* Chriſtian Magiſtrates ruling vnder *Chriſt* the Prince Iſa 9. of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the ſeuerity of *Moſes* Law, and mitigate the puniſhment of death, but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heauy: for to ſhew more rigour then *Moſes*, becommeth not the *Goſpell*.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath beene the ſubiect of many learned diſcourſes, neither wil I take vpon me, to ſpeak any thing definitiuely in a caſe which dependeth ſtill in ſome controuerſie among worthy Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Iudiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truly ſay, that the defence of it hath alwayes beene very plauſible. And ſurely howſoeuer they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and onely Law; yet ſhall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conſcience of a Iudge may reſt, with equall ſatisfaction, in making interpretation, or giuing ſentence vpon doubts, ariſing out of any Law beſides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Iudge could haue beene witneſſe, of whom *Forteſcue* that notable Bulwarke of our Lawes doth ſpeake, complaining of a iudgement giuen againſt a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*, who being accuſed by her owne Man, without any other proofe, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to aſhes: the Man who accuſed her, within a yeere after being Conuict for the ſame offence, confeſt that his Miſtris was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whoſe terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) greeuouſly lamented: but this Iudge, ſaith the ſame Authour, *Sæpius ipſe mihi faſſus eſt, quòd nunquam in vita ſua animum eius de hoc facto ipſe purgaret; He himſelfe often confeſſed vnto me, that he ſhould neuer during his life, be able to cleare his conſcience* Ca.5.3. *of that fact.* Wherefore that acknowledgement which other *Sciences* yeeld vnto the *Metaphyſiques*, that from thence are drawne propoſitions, able to proue the principles of Sciences, which out of the ſciences themſelues cannot be proued, may iuſtly be granted by all other politique inſtitutions, to that of *Moſes*; and ſo much the more iuſtly, by how much the ſubiect of the *Metaphyſiques*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens; Being as it is being*, is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium; The being of beings*, the onely good, the fountaine of truth, whoſe feare is the beginning of wiſedome. To which purpoſe well ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *Conditor legum temporalium ſi vir bonus eſt & ſapiens, illam ipſam conſulit æternam, de qua nulli animæ iudicare datum eſt; The Author of temporall Lawes, if hee be good and wiſe, doth therein conſult the Law eternall, to determine of which there is no power giuen to any ſoule.* And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Forteſcue* his diſcourſe, *Nemo poteſt melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quàm poſuit Dominus; No man can lay a better, or another foundation, then the Lord hath laide.*

CHAP. V.

The Story of the Iſraelites from the receiuing of the Law to the death of Moſes.

§. I. *Of the numbring and diſpoſing of the Hoſt of Iſrael, for their marches through the Wilderneſſe; with a note of the reuerence giuen to the worſhip of God, in this ordering of their troupes.*

When *Moſes* had receiued the Law from God, and publiſhed it among the people, and finiſhed the Tabernacle of the *Arke* and *Sanctuary*; he muſtred all the Tribes and Families of *Iſrael:* and hauing ſeene what numbers of Men fit to beare armes, were found in euery Tribe, from 20. yeeres of age vpwards; he appointed vnto them, by direction from the Lord, ſuch Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in euery Tribe moſt eminent. The number of the whole Army was 603550. able men for the wars, beſides women & children; alſo, beſides the ſtrangers which followed them out of *Ægypt*; This great Army was diuided by *Moſes* into foure groſſe and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the ſtrength of three whole Tribes.

The firſt of theſe containing 186400. able men, conſiſted of three Regiments, which may well, in reſpect of their numbers, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Iudah*, *Iſſachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Iudah* were 74600. fighting men, led by *Naaſon*: in *Iſſachar* 54400. led by *Nathaniel*: in *Zabulon* 57400. led by *Eliab*. All theſe marched vnder the Standard of the Tribe of *Iudah*, who held the Vauntguard, and was the firſt that moued & marched, being lodged and quartered at their generall incamping on the Eaſt-ſide of the Army, which was held the firſt place, and of greateſt dignity.

The ſecond Batttalion or Army, called in the Scriptures the Hoſt of *Reuben*, had ioyned vnto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched vnder the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. vnder *Elizur*: in *Simeon* 59300. vnder *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650. vnder *Eliaſaph*: Theſe had the ſecond place, and incamped on the South-ſide of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched vnder the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were ioyned the Regiments of *Manaſſe* and *Beniamin*; who, ioyned together, made in number 108100. able men. Theſe marched in the third place, incamping on the Weſt quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. vnder *Eliſhama*: *Manaſſe* 32200. vnder *Gamliel*: *Beniamin* 35400. vnder *Abidam*.

The fourth and laſt Army, or Squadron, of the generall Army, containing 157600. able men, marched vnder the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were ioyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Aſher*. And theſe had the Rereward, and moued laſt, incamping on the North-ſide. *Dan* had 62700. vnder *Ahiezer*: *Aſher* 41500. vnder *Pagiel*: *Nephtali* 53400. vnder *Ahira*.

Beſides theſe Princes of the ſeuerall Tribes, there were ordained Captaines ouer Thouſands, ouer Hundreds, ouer Fifties, and ouer Tens; as it may appeare by that mutinie and inſurrection againſt *Moſes*; *Num.* 16. v. 1. & 2. For there aroſe vp againſt *Moſes* 250. Captaines of the *Aſſembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne*: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principal Mutiners, with thoſe 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the 12. Princes of the Tribes, or Generall Colonels before ſpoken of, as by their names, *Num.* 1. is made manifeſt.

The bleſſing which *Iſrael* gaue to his children, tooke place not onely in the diuiſion of the Land of promiſe, and other things of more conſequence, long after following; but euen in ſorting them vnder their ſeuerall Standards in the wilderneſſe it was obſerued. For *Iudah* had the precedency and the greateſt Army, which alſo was wholly compounded of the Sonnes of *Leah*, *Iacobs* wife. *Reuben* hauing loſt his birth-right, followed in the ſecond place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had vndergone his Fathers curſe; and with *Gad*, the ſonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. *Ioſeph*, who in temporall bleſſings had the prerogatiue of the firſt borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and diuided into two Regiments: the younger (according to *Iacobs* prophecy) taking place before the elder. He was aſſiſted by *Beniamin*, his beſt-beloued brother, the other ſon of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldeſt ſon of *Iacobs* Concubines, was giuen the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Iacobs* prophecy. He had with him vnder his Standard none of the children of *Lea*, or *Rachel*, but onely the ſonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of theſe foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, ſur-rounded by the *Leuites*. Neere vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approch, by reaſon of theſe foure powerfull Armies which guarded the ſame: ſo was it death for any of the children of *Iſrael* to come neere it, who were not of the *Leuites*, to whom the charge was cōmitted. So ſacred was the moueable Temple of God, and with ſuch reuerence guarded and tranſported, as 22000. perſons were dedicated to the ſeruice and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their ſeuerall offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people obſerued the former order in their incampings: ſo did the *Leuites* quarter themſelues, as in an inner ſquare, on euery ſide of the Tabernacle; the *Geſhurites* on the Weſt, within the Armie, and Standard of *Ephraim*, ouer whom *Eliaſaph* commanded, in number 7500.

The Family of *Cohath* on the South-ſide, guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and betweene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the Family of *Merari*, ouer whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200. and theſe were lodged ou the North-ſide, within the Army of *Dan*; On the Eaſt-ſide, and next within thoſe Tribes and Forces which *Iudah* led, did *Moſes* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the firſt and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the other *Leuiticall* Families, was *Eleazar* the ſonne of *Aaron*, his ſucceſſour in the high Prieſt-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Iſrael*, and of their incamping and marching; the Tabernacle of God being alway ſet in the middle and center thereof. The reuerend care, which *Moſes* the Prophet, and choſen ſeruant of God, had in all that belonged euen to the outward and leaſt parts of the Tabernacle, *Arke* and *Sanctuary*, witneſſed well the inward and moſt humble zeale borne towards God himſelfe. The induſtry vſed in the framing thereof, and euery, and the leaſt part thereof; the curious workmanſhip thereon beſtowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the prouiſions; the dutifull obſeruance in the laying vp, and preſeruing the holy Veſſels; the ſolemne remouing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the prouident defence of the ſame, which all Ages haue in ſome degree imitated, is now ſo forgotten and caſt away in this ſuper-fine Age, by thoſe of the *Family*, by the *Anabaptiſt*, *Browniſt*, and other *Sectaries*, as all coſt and care beſtowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be ſerued and worſhipped, is accounted a kinde of *Popery*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous diſpoſition: inſomuch as Time would ſoone bring to paſſe (if it were not reſiſted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines, and vnder the hedges; and the Offices of the *Miniſtery* (robbed of all dignity and reſpect) be as contemptible as theſe places; all Order, Diſcipline, and Church-gouernment, left to newneſſe of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and ſoone after, as many kindes of Religions would ſpring vp, as there are Pariſh-Churches within *England*: euery contentious and ignorant perſon clothing his fancy with the *Spirit of God*, and his imagination with *the gift of Reuelation*; inſomuch, as when the *Truth*, which is but one, ſhall appeare to the ſimple multitude, no leſſe variable then contrary to it ſelfe, the Faith of Men will ſoone after dye away by degrees, and all Religion be held in ſcorne and contempt. Which diſtraction gaue a great Prince of *Germany* cauſe of this anſwer to thoſe that perſwaded him to become a *Lutheran*, *Si me adiungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab alijs: ſi me alijs adiungo, à vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, ſed quid ſequar, non habeo: If I adioyne my ſelfe to you, I am condemned by others; If I ioyne with others, I am condemned by you: What I ſhould auoide I ſee, but I know not what I ſhould follow.*

§. II. *The offerings of the twelue Princes: the Paſſeouer of the ſecond yeere: The departing of* Iethro.

NOw when *Moſes* had taken order for all things neceſſary, prouided for the ſeruice of God, written the Lawes, numbred his Army, and diuided them into the battailes and troupes before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all ſorts; The twelue Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, ſixe coue-red Chariots, and twelue Oxen to draw them, therein to tranſport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto: the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reuerence was carried vpon the ſhoulders of the ſons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was conueyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Veſſels thereto belonging, were deliuered to the *Leuites* for that ſeruice, namely to the Sonnes of *Gerſhan* and *Merari*.

Num. 6.

Beſides theſe Chariots, each of theſe Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered vnto God, and for his ſeruice in the Temple, a Charger of fine ſiluer, weighing 130. ſheckles; a ſiluer Boll of 70. ſheckles; after the ſheckle of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incenſe-Cup of gold, of ten ſheckles, which they performed at the ſame time when the Altar was dedicated vnto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their

The Hebrew *Gerah* weigheth ſixteene graines: ſo a *Gerah* of ſiluer is about three halfe-pence ſterling: the *Sicle* of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, *Exod.30.13.*) containeth 20. Gerahs; ſo a Sanctuary Sicle of ſiluer is about 7. groats, the common Sicle is but halfe as much to wit ten Gerahs: as it is vſually expounded; though *Villalpandus* labours to proue that the common and the Sanctuary Sicle were all one, Num. 9. verſe 5. Num. 10. 11. Exodus. *vlt. 34.* Numbers 9. 17.

their conqueſt, beſides the Beaſts which they offered for ſacrifice, according to the Law Ceremoniall, the weight of all the twelue ſiluer Chargers, and twelue ſiluer Bolles, amounted vnto 2400. ſheckles of ſiluer; and the weight of gold in the Incenſe-Cuppes, to 120. ſheckles of gold; which makes of ſheckles of ſiluer 1200. euery ſheckle of gold valuing ten of ſiluer, ſo that the whole of gold and ſiluer which they offered at this time, was about foure hundreth and twenty pound ſterling. This done, ***Moſes***, as in all the reſt by the Spirit of God conducted, gaue order for the celebrating of the ***Paſſeouer***, which they performed on the foureteenth day of the ſecond moneth of the ſecond yeere: and on the twentieth day of the ſame, the cloude was lifted vp from aboue the Tabernacle, as a ſigne of going forward; *Moſes* beginning his march with this inuocation to God: *Riſe vp Lord, and let thine enemies be ſcattered, and let them that hate thee, flie before thee.* Then all the people of *Iſrael* remoued from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine *Sinai*, towards *Paran*; the Armie, or great ſquadron of ***Iuda***, led by *Naaſhon*, taking the Vauntguard, followed by *Nethaneel* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Iſſachar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the reſt marched, as in the figure expreſt. And becauſe the paſſage through ſo many deſerts and mountaines, was exceeding difficult: *Moſes* leauing nothing vnforethought which might ſerue for the aduancement of his enterprize, he inſtantly intreated his Father in Law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* he calleth ***Hobab***, to accompany them in their iourney towards *Canaan*; promiſing him ſuch part and profit of the enterprize, as God ſhould beſtow on them: for this man, as he was of great vnderſtanding & iudgement (as appeared by the Counſell hee gaue to *Moſes* for the appointing of Iudges ouer the people) ſo was he a perfect guide in all thoſe parts, himſelfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at ***Midian***, or ***Madian:*** and (as it ſeemeth) a man of great yeeres and experience; for he was then the Prieſt or Prince of ***Madian***, when *Moſes* fled firſt out of *Ægypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. yeeres before this requeſt made. And though *Moſes* himſelfe had liued 40. yeeres in theſe parts of ***Arabia***, through which he was now to trauell: yet the better to aſſure his paſſage, and ſo great a multitude of ſoules, which could not be ſo few as a Million, it was neceſſary to vſe many guides, and many conducters. To this requeſt of *Moſes*, it may ſeeme by the places, *Exod.* 18.27. and *Num.* 10.30. that *Iethro*, otherwiſe called *Hobab*, yeelded not: for it is euident, that he went backe from *Moſes* into his owne Countrey. But becauſe it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the poſterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Iſraelites*, it is moſt likely that this his returne to his owne Countrey, was rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leaue of his owne Countrey, by ſetting things in order, then to abide there.

*Iudic.*1.16. & 4.11. Alſo 1 Sam.15.6. And 2 *Reg.*10.15. 1 *Chro.*2.55. Ier.35.

§. III.

The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cauſe of their turning backe to the Red Sea.

AFter this diſmiſſion of ***Hobab***, *Iſrael* beganne to march towards the *Deſerts of Paran*: and after three dayes wandring, they ſate downe at the *Sepulchers* of luſt, afterward called ***Tabeera***, or *Incenſio*: by reaſon that God conſumed with fire thoſe Mutiners and Murmurers which roſe vp in this remoue, which happened about the 23. day of the ſame Moneth. And from this 23. day of the ſecond Moneth, of the ſecond yeere, they reſted and fed themſelues with Quailes (which it pleaſed God by a Sea-winde to caſt vpon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth, to wit, all the moneth of ***Sinan*** or *Iune*: whereof ſurfaiting there dyed great numbers: from whence in the following moneth, called *Thamus*, anſwering to our *Iuly*, they went on to ***Hazeroth***, where ***Miriam*** the ſiſter of ***Moſes*** was ſtricken with the leproſie, which continued vpon her ſeuen dayes, after whoſe recouery *Iſrael* remooued toward the border of ***Idumæa***; and incamped at *Rithma*, neere *Kades Barnea*, from whence ***Moſes*** ſent the twelue diſcouerers into the Territory of ***Canaan***, both to informe themſelues of the fertility and ſtrength of the Countrey; as alſo to take knowledge of the Wayes, Paſſages, Riuers, Fords, and Mountaines. For ***Arad*** king of the ***Canaanites*** ſurprized diuers companies of the ***Iſraelites***, by lying in ambuſh neere thoſe wayes, through which the diſcouerers and ſearchers of the Land had formerlie paſt. Now, after the returne of the diſcouerers of ***Cades***, the wrath of God was turned againſt ***Iſrael***; whoſe ingratitude and rebellion after his ſo many benefits, ſo many remiſſions, ſo many miracles wrought, was ſuch, as they eſteemed their deliuerance from the

Num.11 & 33
Num.12.

Num.21.

the *Ægyptian* ſlauery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wilderneſſe* (for ſo *Moſes* calleth it) with the victory which he gaue them againſt the powerfull *Amalekites*, to be no other then the effects of his hatred, thinking that hee led Deu. 1. 19, & 27. them on and preſerued them, but to bring them, their wiues, and children to be ſlaughtered, and giuen for a prey and ſpoyle to the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*. For it was reported vnto them, by the ſearchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many ſtrong Towers and Caſtles; that many of the people were *Gyant-like*, (for they confeſt that they ſaw the ſonnes of *Anac* there) who were men of fearefull ſtature, and ſo farre ouer-topped the *Iſraelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themſelues, but as Graſhoppers in their reſpect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the reſt, wherein they both accuſed God, and conſulted to chooſe them a Captaine (or as they call it now adayes, an *Electo*) to carry them backe againe into *Ægypt*; ſo did God puniſh the ſame in a greater meaſure, than any of the former. For he extinguiſhed euery ſoule of the whole multitude (*Ioſua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promiſes, perſwaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then neere it; and at the mountaine foote of *Idumæa*, which is but narrow; laying before them the fertility thereof; and aſſuring them of victory. But as men, whom the paſſion of feare had bereaued both of reaſon and common ſenſe, they threatned to ſtone theſe encouragers to death; accounting them as men either deſperate in themſelues, or betrayers of the liues, goods, and children Num. 14. 10. of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God reſiſted theſe wicked purpoſes, and interpoſing the feare of his bright glory between the vnaduiſed fury of the multitude, and the innocency and conſtancy of his ſeruants, preſerued them thereby from their violence; threatning an intire deſtruction of the whole Nation, by ſending among them a conſuming and mercileſſe peſtilence. For this was the tenth inſurrection and rebellion, which they had made, ſince God deliuered them from the ſlauery of the *Ægyptians*. But *Moſes* Num. 14. 22. (the mildeſt or meekeſt of all men) prayed vnto God to remember his infinite mercies; alledging, that this ſo ſeuere a iudgement, how deſeruedly ſoeuer inflicted, would in- Num. 12. 3. creaſe the pride of the Heathen Nations, and giue them occaſion to vaunt, that the God of *Iſrael*, failing in power to performe his promiſes, ſuffered them to periſh in theſe barren and fruitleſſe Deſarts. Yet as God is no leſſe iuſt than mercifull, as God is ſlow to anger, ſo is his wrath a conſuming fire; the ſame being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand leſſe heauy than hoped for, he ſcourged this iniquity, ſo by the meaſure of his glory (euermore iealous of neglect and deriſion) he ſuffered not the wicked to paſſe vnpuniſhed; reſeruing his compaſſion for the innocent: whom, becauſe they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleaſed to preſerue, and in them to performe his promiſes, which haue neuer beene fruſtrate.

§. III.

Of their vnwillingneſſe to returne: with the puniſhment thereof, and of diuers accidents in the returne.

NOW when *Moſes* had reuealed the purpoſes of God to the people, and made them know his heauy diſpleaſure towards them, they began to bewail themſelues, though ouer-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, hauing alſo their appointment. And then when God had left them to themſelues, and was no more among them, after they had ſo often plaid and dallied with his mercifull ſufferings, they wold needs amend their former diſobedience by a ſecond contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrary againe to the aduice of *Moſes*; who aſſured them, that God was not among them; and that the Arke of his couenant ſhould not moue, but by His direction, who could not erre; and that the enemies ſword which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no leſſe ſharpe than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no leſſe cruell. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwayes follow thoſe counſels which carry them to their owne deſtructions: ſo the *Hebrewes*, after they had forſaken the opportunity by God and their Conducters offered: and might then haue entered *Iudæa* before their enemies were prepared and ioyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods commandement, vndertake the enterpriſe of themſelues; and ranne head-long and without aduice into the mountaines of *Idumæa*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being ioyned, and attending their aduantage, ſet on them, brake them: and of their numbers ſlaughtered the greateſt part: and following their victory and purſuite, conſumed them all the way of their flight, euen vnto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites* in reuenge of their former loſſe, and ouerthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to preuent their diſplantation and deſtruction threatned. Of which powerfull aſſembly of thoſe two Nations (aſſiſted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings ioyned together for their common ſafety) it pleaſed God to forewarne *Moſes*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to returne by thoſe painefull paſſages of the Deſerts, through which they had formerly trauelled, till they found the bankes of the red Sea againe: in which retraite before they came back to paſſe ouer *Iordan*, there were conſumed 38. yeeres; and the whole number of the 600. and odde thouſand, which came out of *Ægypt* (*Moſes*, *Ioſhua*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderneſſe, the ſtubborne and careleſſe generations were wholly worne out, and the promiſed Land beſtowed on their children; which were increaſed to 600000. and more. For beſides the double fault both of refuſing to enter the Land vpon the returne of the diſcouerers, and the preſumption then to attempt it, when they were countermaunded: it ſeemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worſhipping *Moloch*, and the Hoſt of Heauen. For although *Moſes* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and ſo doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as alſo that the *Iſraelites* worſhipped the Sunne and Moone in after-times, it is proued out of ſundry other places.

Amos 5. 25.
Acts 7.42.
2 Kin. 17. 16,
& cap.21, v.3.
& c.23. v.4, 5.
11.
2 chro.33. 3.
Hierem. c. 19. v 13. &c.

Now after the broken Companies were returned to the Campe at *Cades*, *Moſes*, according to the commaundement receiued from God, departed towardes the South from whence he came, to recouer the ſhoares of the *Red Sea*. And ſo from *Cades* or *Rithma* he remooued to *Remmonparez*, ſo called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and diuided among them. From thence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincenſe there found. From *Libnah* he croſt the Valley, and ſate downe at *Reſſa*, neere the foote of the mountaine. And after he had reſted there, he bended towards the Weſt, and incamped at *Ceelata*; where one of the *Hebrewes*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was ſtoned to death. After which, *Moſes* alwayes keeping the Valley, betweene two great ledges of mountaines, (thoſe which bound the Deſert of *Sinne*, and thoſe of *Pharan*) croſt the ſame from *Ceelata*, and marched Eaſtward to the mountaine of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the Twentieth manſion. From thence hee paſſed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thahah*, and ſo to *Thara* or *Thare*; the foure and twentieth manſion. Where *Moſes* reſted, the people began that inſolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, & *Abiram*; who for their contempt of God & his Miniſters, were ſome of them ſwallowed vp aliue, and by the Earth opening her mouth deuoured; others, euen two hundred and fifty which offered incenſe with *Korah*, were conſumed with fire from Heauen; and 14700. of their party, which murmured againſt *Moſes*, ſtricken dead with a ſudden peſtilence: one of the greateſt maruailes and iudgements of God, that hath beene ſhewed in all the time of *Moſes* his gouernment, or before. For among ſo great a multitude, thoſe lay-men who would haue vſurped Eccleſiaſticall authority, were ſuddenly ſwallowed vp aliue into the Earth with their families and goods; euen while they ſought to ouerthrow the Order, Diſcipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliouſly contending againſt the *High Prieſt and Magiſtrate*, to whom God had committed the gouernment both of his Church and Common-weale of his people. And the better to aſſure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirme them, it pleaſeth him in this place alſo to approoue by miracle the former election of his ſeruant *Aaron*, by the twelue rods giuen in by the Heads of the twelue Tribes; of which *Moſes* receiued one of euery Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and dried Wands, and on euery rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aarons* on that of *Leui*, it pleaſed God, that the rod of *Aaron* receiued by his power a vegetable ſpirit, and hauing laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before the *Arke* one night, had out both Buddes, Bloſſomes, and ripe Almonds.

Num. 33.

From *Tharah* the whole Army remoued to *Methra*; and thence to *Eſmona*; and thence to *Moſeroth* (or *Maſurit*, after Saint *Hierome*) and from *Moſeroth* to *Bexeiacan*; and ſo to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Ietabata*, the thirtieth Manſion; where from certaine fountaines of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a Riuer, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, betweene *Madian* and *Aſiongaber*.

Now although it be very probable, that at *Aſiongaber*, where *Salomon* furniſhed his Fleetes for the Eaſt *India*, there was ſtore of freſh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great Riuer in *Arabia the ſtonie*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (ſaith he) the inhabitants conueigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which deuice the King of *Arabia* releeued the Army of *Cambyſes:* yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceiued, as many times hee is, in finding theſe Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Ietabata*, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Manſion. For it was at *Punon*, that thoſe Springs are ſpoken of, which in *Deuteronomy* the tenth, and the ſeauenth *Verſe*, is alſo called *Ietabata*, or *Iotbath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the Riuer *Zared*, the next adioyning. And that theſe Springes ſhould fall into the *Red Sea*, at *Aſiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot beleeue, for the way thither is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are diuers Torrents of freſh water in thoſe ſandy parts of *Arabia:* which though they continue their courſe for a few miles, yet they are drunke vp by the hot and thirſty ſand, before they can recouer the bankes of the *Red Sea*.

Her: l. 3.

From *Ietabata*, *Moſes* directed his iourney towards the *Red Sea*, and incamped at *Hebrona*, and from thence to *Eſiongaber:* which City in *Ioſephus* time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieroms*, *Eſſia*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, hee turned towards the North, as hee was by God commanded: *Eſiongaber* being the fartheſt place towards the South-Eaſt, that *Moſes* trauailed in that paſſage.

Deut. 2.

It ſeemeth that *Eſiongaber* or *Aſiongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the poſſeſſion of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is ſaide, *That the Lord ſpake vnto* Moſes *and* Aaron *in the Mount Hor; neere the Coaſt of the Land of Edom;* ſo as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumæa*. And if *Eſiongaber*, and the other places neere the *Red Sea*, had at this preſent beene ſubiect vnto the *Idumæans*. *Moſes* would alſo haue demanded a free paſſage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumæans* obtained thoſe places: for it is ſaide; *And they aroſe out of Midian, and came to Paran, and tooke men with them*; which were thoſe companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumæa*, into *Ægypt*, when he fled from *Ioab*. Likewiſe it is ſaide of *Salomon*, that hee made a Nauy of ſhippes in *Eſiongaber* beſides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*.

Num: c: 20.
v. 13.
1 Kings 11.18

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§. V.

Of Moſes *arriuall at Zin Kades: and of the accidents while that they abode there.*

FRom *Eſiongaber* hee turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the *Wilderneſſe* of *Zin*, which is *Kadeſh:* or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Iacan*; where they ſate downe in the firſt Moneth of the fortieth yeere, after they left *Ægypt*. For at the next Manſion *Aaron* died in the firſt day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeere: the nine and thirtieth yeere taking ende at *Eſiongaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for ſo it was thought to be) or neere it, died *Miriam* or *Mary*, *Moſes* ſiſter, whoſe Sepulcher was to be ſeene in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himſelfe auoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine *Hor*, all the people murmured moſt violently againſt *Moſes*, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of water. For neither the puniſhments by fire from Heauen; by being deuoured and ſwallowed vp by the Earth; by the ſudden peſtilence, which often ſeized them; nor any miracle formerly ſhewing, either the loue or wrath of God, could preuaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and ſatiſfied in euery of their appetites: but in ſtead of ſeeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they ſuffered hunger, thirſt, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed eſtates, and caſting vngratefully on *Moſes* all their miſaduentures; yea, though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Deſerts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeere, wherein all their miſeries were to take end. And being, as it were, in the ſight of the Land promiſed, they againe as obſtinately tempted God as in former times, and neither truſted his promiſes, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purpoſes of God

Num: 20. 1.
Num. 20: 3.

Num. 20. 9. God are without beginning; ſo his mercies being without ende; he commanded *Moſes* to ſtrike a Rocke adioyning with his rod; and the waters iſſued out in a great abundance, with which both themſelues and their cattell were ſatisfied. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe God perceiued a kinde of diffidence both in *Moſes* and *Aaron*, at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promiſed, whereto perchance their worldly deſires might inuite them. But it pleaſed him to ende the trauailes of *Aaron* at the Mountaine *Hor*, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of *Hor*, 2553. *Aaron* was deſpoyled of the garments of his Prieſt-hood, and the ſame put on *Eleazar* his ſonne, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moſes* and *Eleazar* deſcended the Mountaine; but GOD receiued *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more ſeene.

Of this Mountaine called ***Hor***, otherwiſe *Moſera*, as in ***Deuteronomy*** 10.*Verſe* 6. thoſe *Horites* tooke name, which the ***Idumeans*** had formerly vanquiſhed. Some there are which make *Moſera*, which was the ſeauen and twentieth Manſion; and *Moſera* which they write *Moſeroth* for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Manſion, and is alſo called ***Hor***, to be two diſtinct places: becauſe *Moſes* in paſſing from ***Cadeſbarne*** towards *Eſiongaber*, incamped at *Moſera*, after hee departed from *Heſmona*, and before he came to ***Beniaacan***. And this *Moſera*, which is alſo called ***Hor***, he came vnto after he left *Cades*, Num. 33. where ***Miriam***, *Moſes* ſiſter dyed; the firſt being the ſeauen and twentieth, and the ſecond being the foure and thirtieth Manſion. But for ***Hor***, which is alſo called *Moſera*, it ſhould haue beene written, *Hor iuxta Moſera*; *Hor neere Moſera:* for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, diuided into diuers tops, as *Sinai* and ***Horeb*** are: Whereof the Weſt part *Moſes* calleth *Moſera*, and the Eaſt part ***Horeb.*** By the Weſt part *Moſes* encamped, as hee paſt towards the *Red Sea*, on his left hand; by the Eaſt part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards ***Moab:*** as in the deſcription of *Moſes* his paſſage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceiue.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to ***Hor***, becauſe ***Hor*** belonged to *Edom*, that *Moſes* ſent meſſengers to the Prince of ***Idumæa***, praying him that he might paſſe with the people of *Iſrael* through his Territory into the Land of ***Canaan***, which bordered it. For it was the neereſt way of all other from the Ciry of *Kadeſh*, where *Moſes* then encamped; whereas otherwiſe taking his iourney by the Riuers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and ***Iordan***, hee might haue runne into many hazards in the paſſage of thoſe Riuers, the farre way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commanded in thoſe Regions. Now the better to perſwade the Prince of ***Idumæa*** hereunto, *Moſes* remembred him, that hee was of the ſame race and family with *Iſrael:* calling him by the name of brother, becauſe both the *Edomites* and *Iſraelites* were the ſonnes of one father, to wit, *Iſaac*; inferring thereby, that hee had more reaſon to fauour and reſpect them, than hee had to aſſiſt the *Canaanites*; againſt whom *Eſau* his Anceſter had made warre, and driuen out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races deſcended of ***Cham***) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his owne name *Edom*, or *Edumæa*. He alſo making a ſhort repetition of Gods bleſſings beſtowed on them, and of his purpoſes and promiſes; aſſured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that hee would no way offend his people, or waſte his Countrey, but that hee would reſtraine his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money for whatſoeuer he vſed, yea, euen for the water, which themſelues or their Cattell ſhould Deut 2.4 drinke. For *Moſes* was commanded by God, not to prouoke the children of ***Eſau.*** But the King of ***Edumæa*** knowing the ſtrength of his owne Countrey, the ſame being neere ***Canaan***, rampard with high and ſharpe mountaines: and withall ſuſpecting, as a naturall wiſe man, that 600000. ſtrangers being once entred his Countrey, it would reſt in their willes to giue him law, reſoluedly refuſed them paſſage, and deliuered this anſwer to the Num. 20. 20. & 21. Meſſengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and reſiſt them by all poſſible meanes. And not knowing whether ſuch a deniall might ſatisfie or exaſperate, hee gathered the ſtrength of his Countrey together, and ſhewed himſelfe prepared to defend their paſſage. For, as it is written; ***Then*** Edom ***came out againſt him*** (to wit, *Moſes*) ***with much people, and with a mighty power.*** Num. c. 20. Whereupon *Moſes* conſidering, that the ende of his enterpriſe was not the conqueſt of ***Seir*** or ***Edumæa***, and that the Land promiſed was that of ***Canaan:*** like vnto himſelfe who was of natural vnderſtanding the greateſt of any man, & the skilfulleſt man of war that the world had, he refuſed

ſed to aduenture the Army of *Iſrael* againſt a Nation, which being ouercome, gaue but a paſſage to inuade others; and which by reaſon of the ſeate of their mountainous Countrey, could not but haue endangered, or (at leaſt) greatly enfeebled the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, and rendred them leſſe able, if not altogether powerleſſe, to haue conquered the reſt.

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§. VI.

Of their compaſſing Idumæa, and trauelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.

HE therefore leauing the way of *Idumæa*, turned himſelfe towards the Eaſt, and marched towards the Deſerts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* vnderſtood, and that *Moſes* had blanched the way of *Idumæa*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Iſrael* aimed at, he thought it ſafeſt, rather to find his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his owne: which he might haue done with a farre greater hope of victory, had *Moſes* beene enforſt firſt to haue made his way by the Sword through *Idumæa*, and thereby though victorious, greatly haue leſſened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwiſe than *Arad* hoped for, yet being reſolued to make triall, what courage the *Iſraelites* brought with them out of *Ægypt*, before they came neerer his owne home, leading the ſtrength of his Nation to the edge of the Deſert, he ſet vpon ſome part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great ſpace, and for the many heards of Cattell that they draue with them, could not encampe ſo neere together, but that ſome quarter or other was euermore ſubiect to ſurpriſe. By which aduantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance vnexpected, hee ſlew ſome few of the Iſraelites, and carried with him many priſoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predeceſſour, which ioyned his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gaue an ouerthrow to thoſe mutinous *Iſraelites*, Num.14.45. which without direction from God by *Moſes*, would haue entred *Canaan* from *Cadeſbarne*. For it ſeemeth that the greateſt number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, becauſe in the firſt of *Deuteronomy*, 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are ſaide to haue beaten the *Iſraelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the ſame that had a victory ouer *Iſrael*, neere *Cadeſbarne*; or if it were his Predeceſſour that then preuailed, this man finding that *Moſes* was returned from the *Red Sea*; and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was firſt to be inuaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moſes* purpoſe to compaſſe *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the Deſert to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verſe of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Iſraelites* vtterly deſtroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much miſtaken that thinke, that this deſtruction was preſently performed by the *Iſraelites*. But it is to be vnderſtood, to haue beene done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Ioſua*. For had *Moſes* at this time entred *Canaan* in the purſuit of *Arad*, he would not haue fallen backe againe into the Deſerts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and haue fetcht a weariſome and needleſſe compaſſe, by the Riuers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their coniecture to be valued at any thing, which affirme, that *Arad* did not inhabite any part of *Canaan* it ſelfe, but that his Territory lay without it, and neere the Mountaine *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. Num.33: 40. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*.

Againe, *Horma* (for ſo farre the *Iſraelites* after their victory purſued the *Canaanites*) is ſeated in the South of *Iudæa*. There is alſo a City of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no ſuch place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed preſently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to proue, that the ſame was obtained in the future, and in *Ioſua* his time, and not at the inſtant of *Arads* aſſault. For had the *Iſraelites* at this time ſackt the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day haue complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is alſo water and bread. But it was in the time of *Ioſua*, that the *Iſraelites* tooke their reuenge, and after they had paſt *Iordan*: *Ioſua* then gouerning them; who in the twelfth Chapter and foureteenth Verſe, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his

Citie ſo called; and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the *Iſraelites* purſued the *Canaanites*. And he nameth them amongſt thoſe Kings, which he vanquiſhed, and put to death.

Now after this aſſault and ſurprize by *Arad*, *Moſes* finding that all entrance on that ſide was defended, he led the people Eaſtward to compaſſe *Idumæa* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plaines of *Moab*, at that time in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*. But the *Iſraelites*, to whom the very name of a Deſert was terrible, began againe to rebell againſt their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whoſe venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentiful grace, cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement ſet vp.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moſes* leauing the ordinary way which lyeth between the *Red Sea*, and *Cœloſyria*, encamped at *Zalmona*: and thence he remoued to *Phunon*, where he erected the Brazen Serpent; making theſe iourneys by the edge of *Idumæa*, but without it. For *Phunon* was ſometime a principall City of the *Edomites*. Now where it is written in *Numbers* 21. *Verſe* 4. *That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieued the people, it* was not thereby meant that the *Iſraelites* turned backe towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonſeca*) *per viam quæ habet à latere mare rubrum*; *By the way that ſided the Red Sea*, but in deede they croſt, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Trachonitis*, and the Countries of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Eſiongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, ſo *Iſrael* to ſhunne the border of *Edom*, and to take the vtmoſt Eaſt part of *Moab*, croſt the common way towards the Eaſt, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entred the Territory of *Moab*, adioyning to the Land of *Suph*, a Countrey bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Manſion, that is, where the Mountaines ſo called take beginning, and are as yet but ſmall Mountures of Hilles, on the Eaſt border of *Moab*; From thence they recouered *Dibon Gad*, or the Riuer of *Zared*, which riſeth in the mountaines of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farre from *Petra* the *Metropolis* thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And hauing paſt that Riuer, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremie* the Prophet *Chap.* 48. *Verſe* 22. calleth the *Houſe of Diblathaim*, the ſame which afterward was deſtroyed among the reſt by *Nabuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the Riuer of *Arnon*, and encamped in the mountaines of *Abarim*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moſes* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but ſpeaketh of his remoue from the Riuer of *Zared*, immediately to the other ſide of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, betweene them and the *Amorites*: ſpeaking, as he found the ſtate of the Countrey at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*: euen from the Predeceſſour of *Balac Peor* then reigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moſes* ſent meſſengers to *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, to deſire a paſſage through his Countrey: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he deſired to giue a reaſon to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he vndertooke. And though *Edom* had refuſed him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moſes* alſo in ſending meſſengers to *Sehon*, obſerued the ſame precept, which he left to his poſterity and ſucceſſours, for a law of the warre; namely in *Deut.* 20. *Verſe* 10. in theſe words; *When thou commeſt neere vnto a City to fight againſt it, thou ſhalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open vnto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries vnto thee, and ſerue thee; but if it refuſe, &c. thou ſhalt ſmite all the males thereof with the edge of the ſword.* Which ordinance all commanders of Armies haue obſerued to this day, or ought to haue done.

§. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture, which are loſt.

Num. c.21. v. 14.

NOw concerning the Warre betweene *Iſrael* and *Sehon*, *Moſes* ſeemeth to referre a great part of this Storie to that **Booke** entituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; *The booke of Gods battailes*: and therefore paſſeth ouer many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater breuity in this place. His words after the *Geneua* Tranſlation are theſe: ***Wherefore it ſhall be ſpoken in the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Riuers of Arnon.*** The *Vulgar* copie differeth not in ſenſe from this: But the *Greeke Septuagint* vary. For the *Greeke* writes it to this effect; ***For thus it is ſaide in the Booke: The warre of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brookes of Arnon.*** *Iunius* for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Geneuian* and *Vulgar Edition*, names the Region of* *Suph*, a Countrey bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the Eaſt, as he coniectureth. The Text he readeth thus. *Idcircò dici ſolet in recenſione bellorum* Iehouæ, *contra* Vahebum *in Regione* Suph: *& contra flumina, flumina Arnonis*; *Therefore is it ſpoken in repeating of the battailes of* Iehouah, *againſt* Vaheb *in the Countrey of* Suph: *and againſt the Riuers, the Riuers of Arnon.* In which words he vnderſtands, that amongſt the warres which the Lord diſpoſed for the good of the Iſraelites, there was in thoſe times a famous memory in the mouth of moſt men, concerning the warre of *Sehon* againſt *Vaheb*, the King of the Moabites, and of his winning the Countrey neere *Arnon*, out of the poſſeſſion of the Moabites. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate predeceſſour of *Balac*, who liued with *Moſes*: though it be written that this *Balac* was the ſon of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For it ſeemes (as it is plaine in the ſucceſſion of the *Edomites*) that theſe Kingdomes were electiue, and not ſucceſſiue. And as *Iunius* in this Tranſlation vnderſtandeth no ſpeciall Booke of the battailes of the Lord: ſo others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any ſpeciall Booke be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of warres in future ages, to be waged in theſe places, and to be written in the Book of *Iudges*. *Syracides c.46.* telles vs plainly, that thoſe battailes of the Lord were fought by *Ioſua*. *Who was there* (ſaith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord.* But ſeeing the Hiſtories of the Scripture elſewhere often paſſe ouer matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Bookes, written of the ſame matter at large: therefore it ſeemeth probable, that ſuch a Booke as this there was; wherein the ſeuerall victories by *Iſrael* obtained, and alſo victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the Iſraelites, were particularly and largely written. And that the ſame ſhould now be wanting, it is not ſtrange, ſeeing ſo many other Volumes, filled with diuine diſcourſe, haue periſhed in the long race of time, or haue beene deſtroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magiſtrate. For the Bookes of *Henoch*, howſoeuer they haue beene in later ages corrupted, and therefore now ſuſpected, are remembred in an Epiſtle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen* περὶ ἀρχῶν, and by *Tertullian*.

Num. 21.

*Of the countrey of *Suph*, ſee more chap. 10. §.4. †.2. & of the force of the word *Suph*, alſo cha. 18. §.3.

Num. 21. 26.

Chron. 1, *c.* 1

That worke alſo of the Patriarch *Abraham*, ***of Formation***, which others beſtow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Bookes remembred by *Ioſua c. 10. v. 13.* and in the ſecond of *Samuel, c.1. v.18.* called the ***Booke of Iaſher***, or ***Iuſtorum***, is alſo loſt; wherein the ſtay of the Sunne and Moone in the middeſt of the Heauens is recorded, and how they ſtood ſtill till *Iſrael* had auenged themſelues of their enemies: out of which alſo *Dauid* tooke the precept, of teaching the children of *Iuda*, to exerciſe their bowes againſt their enemies.

Some thinke this to be the Booke of eternall Predeſtination, in which the iuſt are written, according vnto the ſixty and ninth *Pſalme*, *Verſe* 28. where it is ſaid; ***Let them be put out of the Booke of Life, neither let them be written with the righteous.*** Hierome thinkes, that ***Dauid*** by this Booke vnderſtood thoſe of *Samuel*; ***Rabbi Salomon***, that the Bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the actes of the iuſt ***Abraham***, of *Iſaac*, ***Iacob***, and *Moſes*, are written; Others, that it was the Booke of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentary vpon *Ioſua*, by an vnknowne Authour.

Hieron. in queſt. ſuper lib. Regum.

The booke of *Chozai*, concerning *Manaſſe*, remembred in the ſecond of *Chron.* 33. *v.*18. *&* 16. Of this booke, alſo loſt, *Hierome* conceiues that the Prophet *Iſay* was the Authour.

Hieron. in annot. in Paralip.

The ſame miſchance came aſwell to the Story of *Salomon*, written by ***Abia Silonites***, who met with ***Ieroboam***, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of ***Iſrael*** from the ſonne of ***Salomon***: as to the bookes of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to thoſe of *Ieedo* the *Seer*, remembred in the ſecond of ***Chron. c.9. v.29.*** with theſe haue the bookes of *Shemaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembred in the ſecond of *Chron. c.12. v.15.* periſhed: and that of *Iehu* the ſonne of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Iehoſaphat*, cited in the ſecond of ***Chron. c.20. v.*** 34. Alſo that booke of ***Salomon*** which the ***Hebrewes*** write ***Haſcirim***, of 5000. verſes, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, onely remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4.32. and with this diuers others of *Salomons* works haue periſhed, as his Booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beaſts, Fiſhes, &c. 1 *Kings* 4.33. with the reſt remembred by *Origen*, *Ioſephus*, *Hierome*, *Cedrenus*, *Ciccus Aſculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of theſe and other Bookes many were conſumed with the ſame fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Hieruſalem*. But let vs returne thither where wee left.

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§. VIII.

Of Moſes *his ſparing the iſſue of* Lot; *and of the Giants in thoſe parts*; *and of* Sehon *and* Og.

WHen *Moſes* had paſt *Arnon*, he incamped on the other ſide thereof at *Abarim*, oppoſite to the City of *Nebo*; leauing the City of *Midian* on his left hand, and attemping nothing vpon the *Moabites* on that ſide. For *Moab* did at this time inhabite on the South-ſide of *Arnon*, hauing loſt all his ancient and beſt Territory, which was now in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moſes* was commanded by God not to moleſt *Moab*, neither to prouoke them to battaile, God hauing giuen that Land to the children of *Lot*; the ſame which was anciently poſſeſt by the *Emims*, who were men of great ſtature, and comparable to thoſe Giants called *Anakims*, or the ſonnes of *Anac*.

Deut.2.v.9.& 10,11,& 12.

God alſo commanded *Moſes* to ſpare the *Ammonites*, becauſe they likewiſe were deſcended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence thoſe Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it ſeemeth that all that part, eſpecially to the Eaſt of *Iordan*, euen to the Deſert of *Arabia*, as well on the Weſt, as on the Eaſt-ſide of the Mountaines of *Gilead*, was inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promiſed, the *Iſraelites* did not at any time paſſe thoſe Mountaines to the Eaſt of *Baſan*, but left their Countrey to them, as in the deſcription following is made manifeſt. We find alſo, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: ſo theſe Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it ſelfe, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which ſometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Ioſua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greateſt man of the *Anakims*. There had alſo beene Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chiefe City was *Aroer* or *Ar*, neere the Riuer of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gaue the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the ſame ancient *Canaanites*: and their chiefe City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were alſo called *Zuzims*, which is as much to ſay, as *Viri robuſti, horrendiq́, Gigantes*; *Strong men, and fearefull Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the ſame Prouince, and not farre to the North of *Aroer*.

Ioſ.15.v.13.& 14.v.15.

Now *Moſes* hauing paſt *Arnon*, and being encamped at *Abarim*; and hauing (as before) ſent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a paſſage through his Countrey, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conqueſt vpon *Vaheb* the *Moabite*, which Nation the *Amorites* eſteemed but as ſtrangers and vſurpers, (themſelues being of the ſonnes of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refuſed to grant *Iſrael* any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter *Moſes* with as much ſpeede as he could, becauſe *Moſes* encamped in the Countrey of his new conqueſts, to wit, the Plaines of *Moab*; the two & fortieth and laſt Manſion: which *Moſes* waſted with the multitude of his people, and cattell. Towards him therefore haſting himſelfe, they encountred each other at *Iahaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and diſcomfited: and the victory ſo purſued by *Moſes*, as few or none of the *Amorites* eſcaped. He alſo ſlaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Eſſebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as thoſe of *Baſan* alſo were: and deſcended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus*: for *Moſes* calleth the *Baſanites* alſo *Amorites*. And although *Iſrael* might now haue taken a ready way and paſſage into *Iudæa*: being at this time, and after this victory at the bankes of *Iordan*: yet he knew it to be perilous to leaue ſo great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of *Baſan* or *Traconitis*: and therefore he led on his Army to inuade *Og*: a perſon of exceeding ſtrength and ſtature: and the onely man of marke remaining of the ancient Giants

Deut.1.v.8.

of thoſe parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defenced: lying betweene the Mountaine of ***Hermon*** (which Mountaine, ſaith *Moſes*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites Shenir*) and the Riuer of *Iordan*. And it befell vnto the King of *Baſan* (who attended *Moſes* comming at *Edrei*) as it did vnto *Sihon*: for he and his ſonnes periſhed, and all his Cities were taken and poſſeſt. After this, *Moſes* with-drawing himſelfe backe againe to the mountaines of *Abarim*, left the proſequution of that warre vnto *Iair* the ſonne of *Manaſſe*: who conquering the Eaſt parts of *Baſan*, to wit, the Kingdome of *Argob*, euen vnto the Nations of the *Geſſuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities: called the ſame after his owne name *Hauoth Iair*: of all which conqueſts afterward the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe* poſſeſt the North part as farre as *Edrei*, but the Eaſt part that belonged to *Sihon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountaines of *Gilead* adioyning, was giuen to *Reuben* and vnto *Gad*.

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§. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, and of Moſes *his death.*

AFter theſe victories, and while *Iſrael* ſoiourned in the valley of *Moab*, the *Madianites* and *Moabites* (ouer both which Nations it ſeemeth that *Balac* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chiefe) ſought, according to the aduice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrewes* to the loue of their daughters, and by perſwading them to honour and ſerue their Idols, to diuide them both in Loue and Religion among themſelues: thereby the better both to defend their owne intereſt againſt them, as alſo to beate them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adioyning. The *Iſraelites* as they had euer beene inclined, ſo were they now eaſily perſwaded to theſe euill courſes, and thereby drew on themſelues the plague of peſtilence, whereof there periſhed 24000. perſons: Num.25.v.9. beſides which puniſhment of God, the moſt of the offenders among the *Hebrewes*, were by his commandement put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the ſonne of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi* a daughter of one of the chiefe of the *Midianites*, the plague ceaſed, and Gods wrath was appeaſed. For ſuch was the loue and kindneſſe of his all-powerfulneſſe, reſpecting the ardent zeale of *Phineas* in perſequuting of *Zimri* (who being a chiefe among the *Hebrewes*, became an Idolater) as he forgaue the reſt of *Iſrael*, and ſtayed his hand for his ſake.

In this valley it was that *Moſes* cauſed the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601730. of which as his laſt enterpriſe, Num.26.v.51. he appointed 12000. to be choſen out, to inuade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Moabites* practiſed with *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*: and after that ſought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worſhip of the true God, to the ſeruice of *Beth-Peor*: and to the reſt of their barbarous Idolatry. Ouer which companies of 12000. *Moſes* gaue the charge to *Phineas*, the ſonne of *Eleazar* the high Prieſt: who ſlew the fiue Num.31.v.8. Princes of the Midianites, which were, or had lately beene, the vaſſals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Ioſuah*. Theſe fiue Princes of the Midianites ſlaine by *Eleazar*, were at this time Ioſ.c.13.v.21. but the vaſſals of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Eui*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba*, the Dukes of *Cap.13.21.* *Sehon*, ſaith *Ioſuah*. He ſlew alſo all the men, male-children, and women: ſauing ſuch as had not yet vſed the company of men, but thoſe they ſaued, and diſperſt them among the children of *Iſrael* to ſerue them.

And *Moſes* hauing now liued 120. yeeres, making both his owne weakeneſſe of body Deut. 31. v. 2. knowne to the people, and his vnability to trauaile: and alſo that he was fore-warned of his end by the Spirit of God: from whom hee receiued a new commandement to aſcend Deut.31.v.2 the Mountaines of *Abarim*, and thereon to render vp his life: He haſtned to ſettle the Gouernment in *Ioſua*: whom hee perſwaded with moſt liuely arguments to proſequute the conqueſt begunne, aſſuring him of Gods fauour and aſſiſtance therein. And ſo hauing ſpent theſe his later dayes after the Conqueſt of *Og* and *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and expoſition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint *Auguſtine*) vſing both arguments, prayers, and threats vnto the people: *Aug l.4. d: Mirab. ſacr. Script.* which he often repeated vnto them; thereby to confirme them in knowledge, loue, feare, and ſeruice, of the all-powerfull God: He bleſſed the twelue Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with ſeuerall and moſt comfortable bleſſings: prayſing the greatneſſe and goodneſſe Deut.33.

neſſe of him, vnto whom in his prayers he commended them: He alſo commanded the Prieſts to lay vp the Booke of the Law, by the ſide of the *Arke* of God: The laſt that he indited was that Propheticall Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heauens and I will ſpeake, and let the Earth heare the words of my mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and ſorrowes of this life, vnto that reſt which neuer afterward hath diſquiet, hee was buried in the Land of *Moab*, ouer againſt *Beth-peor:* but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day, which happened in the yeere of the World 2554.

Deut. 32. 1.

Deut. 34. v. 6.

§. X.

Obſeruations out of the Story of Moſes, *how God diſpoſeth both the ſmalleſt occaſions, and the greateſt reſiſtances, to the effecting of his purpoſe.*

NOw let vs a little, for inſtruction, looke backe to the occaſions of ſundry of the great euents, which haue beene mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moſes*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promiſe, and fore-choiſe of this people) hee wrought in all things elſe by the *medium* of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And ſo we ſhall find that the feare which *Pharaoh* had of the increaſe of the *Hebrewes*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cauſe of the ſorrowes and loſſe, which befell himſelfe, and the *Ægyptian* Nation: which numbers when hee ſought by cruell and vngodly policies to cut off and leſſen, as when hee commanded all the male-children of the *Hebrewes* to be ſlaine, God (whoſe prouidence cannot be reſiſted, nor his purpoſes preuented by all the fooliſh and ſaluage craft of mortall men) moued compaſſion in the heart of *Pharao's* owne daughter, to preſerue that child, which afterward became the moſt wiſe, and of all men the moſt gentle and milde, the moſt excellently learned in all Diuine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliuerer of his oppreſſed brethren, and the ouerthrow of *Pharao*, and all the flower of his Nation; euen then, when he ſought by the ſtrength of his men of Warre, of his Horſe, and Chariots, to tread them vnder, and bury them in the duſt. The griefe which *Moſes* conceiued of the iniuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrewes* in his owne preſence, moued him to take reuenge of the *Ægyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatning him to diſcouer the ſlaughter of the *Ægyptian*, moued him to flie into *Midian:* the contention betweene the Shepheards of that place, and *Iethro's* Daughters, made him knowne to their Father: who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of thoſe Siſters: and in that ſolitary life of keeping of his Father in lawes ſheepe, farre from the preſſe of the World, contenting himſelfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Heardſ-man, God found him out in that Deſert, wherein hee firſt ſuffered him to liue many yeeres, the better to know the wayes and paſſages through which he purpoſed that he ſhould conduct his people, toward the Land promiſed: and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his will and diuine pleaſure for his returne into *Ægypt*. The like may be ſaide of all things elſe, which *Moſes* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Story of *Iſrael* before remembred. There is not therefore the ſmalleſt accident, which may ſeeme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no conſequence: but that the ſame is cauſed by God to effect ſomewhat elſe by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greateſt worldly importance, either preſently, or in many yeeres after, when the occaſions are either not conſidered, or forgotten.

Chap. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Iſraelites had dealing after *their comming out of Ægypt; and of the Men of renowne* in other Nations, about the times of *Moſes* and *Ioſua*, *with the ſumme of the Hiſtory* of Ioſhua.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Iſraelites were to haue Warre, were diuers wayes, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.

IN like manner if we looke to the quality of the Nations, with whom the *Iſraelites*, after their comming out of *Ægypt*, had to doe, either in the *Wilderneſſe*, or afterward: we ſhall find them long before-hand, by the diſpoſing prouidence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in reſpect that they were moſt of them of the iſſue of *Canaan*, or at leaſt of *Ham*: aud the reſt (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Iſmaelites*) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the *Iſraelites* ſtill continued ſtrangers, and ſeparate from them: and ſo partly in this reſpect, and partly by ancient iniuries or enmities, and partly by reaſon of diuerſity in Religion, were theſe Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the *Iſraelites*: and ſo to ſerue for ſuch purpoſes as God had reſerued them for. To make theſe things more manifeſt, wee muſt vnderſtand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountaines of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the ſame mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of *Arnon* on the Eaſt: by the way of *Ægypt*, and the *Red Sea* on the South: and by the Mediterran Sea on the Weſt: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one ſpringing from the ſonnes of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but thoſe of *Sem*, were but as ſtrangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with * one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greateſt part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and Poſſeſſors of thoſe Territories: by proceſſe of time diuided into ſeuerall Families and names: whereof ſome of them were of eminent ſtature and ſtrength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. Theſe (as men moſt valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabite the vtter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the reſt were the *Zidonians*, *Iebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Heuites*, *Hetites*, and others, who tooke name after the ſonnes of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrey in generall was ſtill called.

* It ſeemeth alſo that *Hus*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, & *Buz* his Brother, planted themſelues in the Eaſtſide of *Iordan*, about *Baſan*: where they finde the Land of *Hus*: in which *Iob* dwelt as one of the iſſue of *Hus* the Sonne of *Nachor*, & *Elihu*, his friend which is called a *Buzit*. See hereafter cha. 10. §. 7.

As for the *Hebrewes* which deſcended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Familie, and ſtrangers in that Countrey: eſpecially the *Iſraelites*, and this was ſome cauſe that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them: no more then the *Philiſtims* did, who deſcended alſo of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himſelfe being a ſtranger, was highly eſteemed and honoured among them: eſpecially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the Weſt part of *Iordan*: yet now euen they which deſcended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in thoſe parts, were alienated in affections from the *Iſraelites*: as holding them ſtrangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the reſt of the iſſue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity, than of their old petigree from *Abraham*.

Exod. 17. 16.

True it is, that theſe Nations deſcended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themſelues and matched with the *Canaanites* and others, had ſo farre poſſeſt themſelues of the borders of thoſe Regions, as they began to be equall in ſtrength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not ſuperiour. For of *Lot* came thoſe two great Families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Eſau* the *Idumæans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Iſmael*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Abraham*, came the *Iſmaelites*, with whom are ioyned as of the ſame Nation, the *Amalekites*, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to haue beene a Tribe of *Edom*, becauſe *Eſau* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifeſt reaſon conuinceth

Deut. 11. 5.

Deut.c.11 v.5 uinceth it to haue beene otherwiſe. For the *Iſraelites* were forbidden to prouoke the *Edomites*, or doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwiſe *Amalek* was curſed, and endleſſe Exod.c.17, v.16. warre decreed againſt him: but hereof more elſewhere, Chap. 8. §.3. Of *Iſmaels* eldeſt ſonne *Naboth* ſprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathai*. Now euen as *Abra-* Gen. 17. *ham* beſought God to bleſſe *Iſmael*, ſo it pleaſed him both to promiſe and performe it. For of him thoſe twelue Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betweene *Hauilath* vpon *Tigris*, and *Sur* which is the Weſt part of the *Deſert of Arabia Petræa*. Yet howſoeuer the ſtrength of theſe later named Nations, which deſcended from *Abraham*, were great: it is not vnlikely, but that ſome reaſon which moued them not to fauour the entrance of the *Iſraelites* into *Cannan*, was in reſpect of feare: becauſe all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any ſtranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all theſe Families before named, were not ſo vnited, in and among themſelues, but that they had their ielouſies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more ſtrong than themſelues, whether they ſtood apart or vnited, they were taught by the care of their owne preſeruation, to ioyne themſelues together againſt *Iſrael*: though they did it nothing ſo maliciouſly and reſoluedly as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumæans* onely denied the *Hebrewes* a paſſage: which the *Moabites* durſt not denie: becauſe their Countrey lay more open; and becauſe themſelues had lately beene beaten out of the richeſt part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites*, their Countrey lay altogether out of the way, and the ſtrength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the *Amorites*, was interiacent: and beſides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was ſtrong, by reaſon of the mountaines which diuided it from *Baſan*. Againe, that which moued the *Moabites* in their owne reaſon not much to interrupt Num.c.21. v.24. *Iſrael*, in the conqueſt of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was that the *Moabites* might hope after ſuch time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moſes*, that themſelues might recouer againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying betweene the mountaines of *Arabia* and *Iordan*: But as ſoone as *Sehon* was ſlaine, and that the King of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceiued that *Moſes* allotted that valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, he began to practiſe with *Balaam* againſt *Iſrael*, and by the daughters of *Midian* as aforeſaide, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Moabites* by ſpeciall occaſion were more and more ſtirred vp to enmity againſt *Iſrael*. And as for diuers of the reſt that were deſcended from *Abrahams* kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, betweene the Authors of their Petigrees, God permitted ſome enmities to be as it were preſages of future quarrels, which in the poſterity might be the eaſier incenſed, by the memory of old grudges: and withall by ſome diſdaine from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Iſmaelites* being deſcended from the eldeſt ſonne of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldeſt ſonne of *Iſaac*, *Iacob*, being but a ſecond ſonne, of a ſecond brother; thoſe Princes which were deſcended of the elder Houſes, being naturall men, might ſcorne to giue place, much leſſe to ſubiect themſelues to their inferiours, as they tooke it: and for a more aggrauation, the iſſues of *Eſau* Princes of *Edumæa*, might keepe in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Iacobs* taking his Gen.25. Gen.27. Gen.33.14. aduantage, and that he was deceiued of his fathers bleſſing alſo by him: and that *Iacob* after reconciliation came not vnto him as he promiſed, into *Seir* or *Idumæa*.

So alſo in the poſterity of *Iſmael*, it might remaine as a ſeede or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the inſtigation of *Sara*, caſt out into the *Deſert*, with his mother *Hagar*: and had therein periſhed, but that it pleaſed God by his Angell to releeue them. *Iſmael* alſo had an *Ægyptian* both to his mother and to his wife: and *Amalec* was alſo an *Horite* by his mother: which *Horites* were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Edumæans* alſo, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternall line deſcended of the *Canaanites*. For Gen.36. *Eſau* tooke two wiues of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the daughter of *Elon*, the *Hittite*, and the other *Aholibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon* the *Heuite*, Lord of *Seir*, before the ſame was conquered by *Eſau*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumæa*.

Laſtly, it appeareth that all thoſe Families of the *Iſmaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, *&c.* were in proceſſe of time corrupted, and drawne from the knowledge and worſhip of God, and became Idolaters, infected and ſeduced by the conuerſation of thoſe people among whom they dwelt, and by thoſe wiues of the *Canaanites* which they had married: onely a few of the *Kenites* and thoſe *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof *Iethro* was Prieſt, or Prince, or both, worſhipped the true and euer-liuing God.

§.II.

§.II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the Iſraelites.

Of the Kings of the *Canaanites*, deſcended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better *Petigree*) we find foure named by *Moſes*: and one and thirty remembred by *Ioſua*, though few of theſe named, otherwiſe than by the Cities ouer which they commanded: to which each of them had a ſmall Territory adioyning, and no other Dominion. Theſe Canaanites in a generall conſideration are to be vnderſtood for all thoſe Nations, deſcended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Iebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Gergeſites*, *Heuites*, *&c.* and ſo here we vnderſtand this name in ſpeaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and ſo alſo we call the Countrey of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promiſe: for God hath appointed that the ſeauen principle Families ſhould be rooted out: and that his owne people ſhould inherite their Lands and Cities. But if we conſider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Iordan*, on the Eaſt, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt: in which narrow Countrey, and in the choyſeſt places thereof, thoſe *Canaanites* which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The firſt King of theſe Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemer*, of the *Heuites*, whom *Simeon* and *Leui* ſlew, together with his ſonne *Sichem*, in reuenge of their ſiſters rauiſhment.

Gen.34.

Arad was the ſecond King which the Scriptures haue remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the dead Sea; the ſame which ſurpriſed *Iſrael*, as they encamped in the *Wilderneſſe* in the edge of *Edumæa*.

Num.21.1.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Eſſebon*, who before *Moſes* arriuall had beaten the *Moabites* out of the Weſt part of *Arabia Petræa* or *Nabathea*, and thruſt them ouer *Arnon* into the Deſerts, the ſame whom *Moſes* ouerthrew in the plaines of *Moab*: at which time he tooke *Eſſebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*.

Num. 21. 24.
Ioſ.9. Ioſeph. ant.lib 4.c.5.

Preſently after which victory, *Og* was alſo ſlaine by *Iſrael*, who commanded the North part of that Valley betweene the Mountaines *Traconi* or *Galaad* and *Iordan*, who was alſo a King of the *Amorites*.

Num.21.35.

The fift was *Adonizedek* King of the *Iebuſites*, and of *Hieruſalem*, with whom *Ioſua* nameth foure other Kings.

Hoham, King of *Hebron*.
Piram, King of *Iarmuth*.
Iapia, King of *Lachis*: and
Deber, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* ouerthrowne in battell: and hanged by *Ioſua*. After this ouerthrow *Ioſua* nameth *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, and
Iobab, King of *Madon*: whom he alſo ſlaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this *Iabin* ſeemed to haue ſome Dominion ouer the reſt; for it is ſaide in the Text, *For* Hazor *before times was the head of all thoſe Kingdomes*.

Ioſua 10.
Ioſeph.ant.lib. 5.cap.1.
Ioſua 11. v.10

After theſe *Adonibezek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confeſt that he had cut off the thumbes of the hands and feete of ſeauenty Kings, inforcing them to gather crummes vnder his Table: who, after *Iuda* and *Simeon* had vſed the ſame exequution vpon himſelfe, acknowledged it to be a iuſt reuenge of God: this King was carried to *Hieruſalem* where he died.

Iud.1. Ioſeph. lib.5, cap.2.

The laſt King named is *Iabin* the ſecond, who as it ſeemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Ioſua*. For at ſuch time as he employed *Siſara* againſt *Iſrael*, whom he oppreſt twenty yeeres, after the death of *Ehud*, He inhabited *Hazor*. This *Iabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by *Debora*) ouerthrew; and his Captaine *Siſara* had by *Iael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a naile driuen into his head while he ſlept in her Tent: *Iabin* himſelfe periſhing afterward in that warre.

ud.4.
1
Iud. 4.
Pſal. 83.

The *Madianites* had alſo their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathea*: to the South-eaſt of the Dead Sea. They deſcended from *Madian*, *Abrahams* ſonne, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* ſurnamed *Gethegleus* or *Iethres*, ſaith *Ioſephus*, called *Iethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the firſt of *Iudges*, the ſonne of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Iexanis*, or *Iokſham*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*,

Ioſeph. l.5,c.6.
Exod.3.

Cedron: pag. 34.

thura, was Prieſt or Prince of the ***Madianites*** by the Red Sea: whoſe Daughter or Neece, *Moſes* married: and of whom I haue ſpoken elſewhere more at large. This *Iethro* if he were not the ſame with ***Hobab***, muſt be his father: and this ***Hobab*** had ſeauen daughters. He guided *Moſes* in the *Wilderneſſe*: and became one of the *Iſraelites*: of him deſcended the ***Kenites***, ſo called of his father *Raguels* ſurname, of which ***Kenites*** was *Heber*, which had peace with *Iabin* the ſecond, euen now remembred.

Iud. 1.

At ſuch time as *Saul* inuaded the ***Amalekites***, he knowing the good affection of the ***Kenites*** to *Iſrael*, gaue them warning to ſeparate themſelues: and yet the ***Kenites*** had ſtrong ſeates, and liued in the mountaines of the Deſerts.

1 Sam. 15. 6.

The Kings of the ***Canaanites***, and ***Madianites***, and the ***Amalekites***, as many as I find named, were theſe:

1. ***Homer*** the ***Heuite*** of ***Sichem***
2. *Arad* of the South parts
3. *Sehon of Eſſebon*
4. *Og of Baſan*
5. *Adonizedek* the *Iebuſite*, King of ***Hieruſalem***
6. ***Hoham*** of ***Hebron***
7. *Piram* of *Iarmuth*
8. *Iapia* of *Lachis*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*
10. *Iabin* of *Hazor*
11. *Iobab* of *Modon*
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Iabin* the ſecond King of *Hazor*.

Ioſ. 10.

Ioſ. 11.

Of the *Madianites* theſe:

* *Eui* or *Euis*.

Rekam or *Recem* who built ***Petra*** the *Metropolis* of ***Petræa***, ſo called by the ***Greekes***: and by *Eſai*. cap. 16, verſe 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as ***Petra***: and ſo alſo it is called 2 *Reg.* 14.7. where it is alſo called ***Ioktheel***.

Zur

Hur and

Reba

¶ *Oreb*

Zeb

Zebah

Zalmunna.

* Theſe fiue were firſt all at one time Kings of ſeueral portions of the *Madianites*: ſlaine by *Phinehas* and the 12000 which hee led againſt them: Num. 31: v. 8. ¶ Theſe foure laſt were likewiſe at one time, ſlaine in the purſuite of *Gideons* victory: Iud. c. 7. v. 25, & cap. 8. v. 12.

After the death of ***Barac***, ***Iudge of Iſrael***, the foure laſt named of theſe ***Madianite*** Kings, vexed *Iſrael* ſeuen yeeres: till they being put to flight by ***Gideon***, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and ſlaine by the *Ephraimites*, at the paſſage of ***Iordan***, as in the 6. 7. and 8. of *Iudges* it is written at large. Afterward in the purſuite of the reſt, ***Gideon*** himſelfe laide hands vpon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Zalmunna*, and exequuted them, being priſoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there periſhed 120000. of the ***Madianites*** and their confederates. Of the ***Idumæans***, ***Moabites***, and ***Ammonites***, I will ſpeake hereafter in the deſcription of their Territories.

§. III.

Of the Amalekites, and Iſmaelites.

OF the Kings of the ***Amalekites*** and *Iſmaelites*, I finde few that are named, and though of the *Iſmaelites* there were more in number than of the reſt (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according vnto the promiſe of God made vnto *Abraham*) yet the ***Amalekites***, who together with the ***Midianites*** were numbred among them, were more renowned in *Moſes* time than the reſt of the *Iſmaelites*. So alſo were they when *Saul* gouerned *Iſrael*. For *Saul* purſued them from *Sur* vnto ***Hauilah***, to wit, ouer a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſert*. The reaſon to me ſeemeth to be this: That the twelue Princes which came of *Iſmael*, were content to leaue thoſe barren *Deſerts* of ***Arabia Petræa***, called ***Sur***, ***Paran***, and ***Sin***, to the iſſue of ***Abraham*** by ***Cethura***, that

Gen. 17. 20. Iud. c. 7.

that ioyned with them (for ſo ſeeme the *Amalekites* to haue beene,and ſo were the *Madianites:*) themſelues taking poſſeſſion of a better ſoyle in *Arabia* the Happy, and about the Mountaines of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*. For *Nabaioth* the eldeſt of thoſe twelue Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*, which was very fruitfull though adioyning to the *Deſert*,in which *Moſes* wandred,afterward called *Nabathea:* the ſame which neighboureth *Iudæa* on the Eaſt-ſide. They alſo peopled a Prouince in *Arabia* the Happy,whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathei* (*B*) changed into (*P*).

Kedar, the ſecond of *Iſmaels* ſonnes,gaue his owne name to the Eaſt-part of *Baſan*, or *Batanea*,which was afterward poſſeſt by *Manaſſe*,ſo much thereof as lay within the mountaines *Traconi*,or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*,and *Plinie Cedræans*.

Abbeel ſate downe in the *Deſert Arabia*, neere the Mountaines which diuide it from the Happy: and gaue name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

Mibſam was the Parent of the *Maſamancuſes*, neere the Mountaine *Zamath*, in the ſame *Arabia* the Happy.

The *Raabens* were of *Miſhma:* who ioyned to the *Orchens*, neere the *Arabian* gulfe, where *Ptolomy* ſetteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumæans*, betweene the *Adubens* and *Raabens:* where the Citie *Dumeth* ſometimes ſtood.

Of *Maſſa* the *Maſſani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar* the *Athritæ*,who bordered the *Napatheans* in the ſame Happy *Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountaines, where alſo the City of *Thema* is ſeated.

Of *Ietur* the *Ituræans* , or *Chamathens:* of whom *Tohu* was King in *Dauids* time.

Of *Naphri* the *Nubeian Arabians:* inhabiting *Syria Zoba:* ouer whom *Adadezer* commanded, while *Dauid* ruled *Iſrael*. *Plin.l.6.c.28.*

Cadma, the laſt and twelfth of *Iſmaels* ſonnes, was the Anceſtor of the *Cadmonæans:* who were afterward called *Aſitæ:* becauſe they worſhipped the fire with the *Babylonians*. *Iunius.*

The *Amalekites* gaue their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Ægyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans Aretas*, as Names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the firſt that fought with *Moſes*, after he paſt the Red Sea: when of all times they flouriſhed moſt, and yet were vanquiſhed. *Exod.17.*

Afterward they ioyned with the *Canaanites*, and beate the *Iſraelites* neere *Cadesbarne*. *Num.14.* After the gouernment of *Othoniel*, they ioyned them with the *Moabites:* after *Barac* with the *Madianites:* and inuaded *Iſrael*. God commanded that as ſoone as *Iſrael* had reſt; they ſhould roote out the name of the *Amalekites:* which *Saul* exequuted in part, when he waſted them from the border of *Ægypt*, to the border of *Chaldæa:* from *Hauilah* to *Shur*.

In *Dauids* time they tooke *Siklag* in *Simeon:* but *Dauid* followed them, and ſurpriſed them, recouering his priſoners and ſpoiles. *1 Sam.30.* And yet, after *Dauid* became King, they againe vexed him,but to their owne loſſe. *2 Sam.8.12.*

In *Ezekias* time as many of them as ioyned to *Edumæa* were waſted and diſplanted by the children of *Simeon*. *1 Chron.4.*

§. IIII.

Of the inſtauration of ciuility in Europe about theſe times, and of Prometheus *and* Atlas.

THere liued at this time, and in the ſame age together with *Moſes*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily ſtrength, as in all ſorts of learning. And as the World was but euen now enriched with the written Law of the liuing God, ſo did Art and Ciuility (bred and foſtered farre off in the Eaſt, and in *Ægypt*) begin at this time to diſcouer a paſſage into *Europe*,and into thoſe parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Aſia* and *Iudæa*. For if *Pelaſgus* beſides his bodily ſtrength, was choſen King of *Arcadia*,becauſe he taught thoſe people to erect them ſimple Cottages,to defend them from raine and ſtorme: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who before liued for the moſt part, by Hearbes and Rootes: wee may thereby iudge how poore, and wretched thoſe times were, and how falſely thoſe Nations haue vaunted of thoſe their antiquities accompanied not onely with ciuill learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge. And it was in this age of the World, as

both

Aug l.18.c.8: de Ciuit: Dei.

Æſchyl: in Prom. vinct. In c.8. lib.18. de Ciuit. Dei.

L. Viues ex Heſ.

both *Euſebius* and Saint *Auguſtine* haue obſerued, that *Prometheus* flouriſhed: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formaſſe homines, quia optimus ſapientiæ doctor fuiſſe perhibetur*; *Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, becauſe he was an excellent teacher of wiſedome*: and ſo *Theophraſtus* expoundeth the inuention of fire aſcribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inuenta ſapientiæ pertinere*; *To haue reference to wiſe inuentions*: and *Æſchylus* affirmeth, That by the ſtealing of *Iupiters* fire, was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the Starres, and other celeſtiall bodies. Againe, it is written of him, that he had the art ſo to vſe this fire, as thereby he gaue life to Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, thoſe people among whom hee liued, had nothing elſe worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucaſus*, his entrailes the while deuoured by an *Eagle*, was meant the inward care and reſtleſſe deſire he had to inueſtigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heauenly bodies, for ſo it is ſaide: *Ideò altiſſimum aſcendiſſe Caucaſum, vt ſereno cælo quàm longiſſimè aſtra, ſignorum obitus & ortus ſpectaret*; *That he aſcended Caucaſus, to the end that he might in a cleere skye diſcerne afarre off the ſettings and riſings of the Starres*: though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwiſe, and others diuerſly.

Of this Mans knowledge Æſchylus *giues this* teſtimonie.

Aeſchyl. in Prom. vinct.

Aſt agebant omnia
Vt ſors ferebat: donec ipſe repperi
Signorũ obitus, ortuſq́; qui mortalibus
Sunt vtiles: & multitudinem artium
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremq́; Muſarum auxi ego Memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.

But Fortune gouern'd all their workes, till when
I firſt found out how Starres did ſet and riſe:
A profitable art to mortall men:
And others of like vſe I did deuiſe:
As letters to compoſe in learned wiſe
I firſt did teach: and firſt did amplifie
The Mother of the *Muſes Memorie.*

Aug: lib. 18. c:3. D: Ciuit. Dei.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* farre more ancient, and but 94. yeeres after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* ſayes that he liued at once with *Inachus*, who liued with *Iſaac*.

There liued alſo at once with *Moſes*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the ſonnes of *Iapetus*, of whom though it be ſaide, that they were borne before *Moſes* dayes, and therefore are by others eſteemed of a more ancient date: yet the aduantage of their long liues gaue them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Beſides theſe ſonnes of *Iapetus*, *Æſchylus* findes two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Heſperus*, who being famous in the Weſt, gaue name to the Euening, and ſo to the euening Starre. Alſo beſides this *Atlas* of *Libya* or *Mauritania*, there were others, which bare the ſame name: but of the *Libyan*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that thoſe Mountaines which croſſe *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adioyning tooke name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* beſtowes on *Atlas*, the ſonne of *Neptune*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tuſculan* queſtions, affirmeth that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by thoſe names to expreſſe diuine knowledge. *Nec verò* Atlas *ſuſtinere cælum, nec* Prometheus *affixus Caucaſo, nec ſtellatus* Cepheus *cum vxore traderetur, niſi diuina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxiſſet*; *Neither ſhould* Atlas *be ſaide to beare vp heauen, nor* Prometheus *to be faſtened to Caucaſus, nor* Cepheus *with his wife to be ſtellified; vnleſſe their diuine knowledge had raiſed vpon their names theſe erroneous fables.*

Orpheus ſometime expreſt *Time* by *Prometheus*, ſometime he tooke him for *Saturne*; as *Rheæ coniux alme Prometheu*. But that the ſtory of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction:

a fiction: and that he liued about this time, the moſt approued Hiſtorians and Antiquaries, and among them *Euſebius* and Saint *Auguſtine* haue not doubted; For the great iudgement which *Atlas* had in *Aſtronomy*, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, were his daughters called by the names of conſtellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*: Others attribute vnto him the finding out of the Moones courſe, of which *Archas* the ſonne of *Orchomenus* challengeth the inuention. Of this *Arcas Arcadia* in *Peloponneſus* tooke name; and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone. *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be vnderſtood, ſaith *Natalis Comes*, before there had beene any obſeruation of the Moones courſe: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that beſtow the finding out thereof vpon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Iſacius Tzetzes*, a curious ſearcher of antiquities, gaue it *Atlas* of *Libya*: who beſides his gifts of minde, was a man of vnequalled and incomparable ſtrength: from whom *Thales* the *Mileſian*, as it is ſaide, had the ground of his *Philoſophy*.

Lib.18.cap.8: de Ciuit: Dei.

Ouid: de faſt: l:1.

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§. V.

Of Deucalion *and* Phaeton.

ANd in this age of the World, and while *Moſes* yet liued, *Deucalion* reigned in *Theſſalie*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argiues*. This *Deucalion* was the ſonne of *Prometheus*, ſaith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Heſiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Heſiodus* gaue him *Pandora* for mother; the reſt *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odyſſees*, makes *Deucalion* the ſonne of *Minos*: but he muſt needes haue meant ſome other *Deucalion*; for elſe either *Vlyſſes* was miſtaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Vlyſſes* after his returne from *Troy*, fained himſelfe to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was ſonne to this later *Deucalion*, the ſonne of *Minos*: but this *Minos* liued but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* ſerued in that warre) and this *Deucalion* the ſonne of *Prometheus*, who liued at once with *Moſes*, was long before. In the firſt *Deucalions* time happened that great inundation in *Theſſalie*: by which in effect euery ſoule, in thoſe parts, periſhed, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and ſome few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this floud in *Theſſalie*, thoſe people exceeded in all kinde of wickedneſſe and villanie: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractiue of Gods vengeance, ſo did all that Nation for their foule ſinnes periſh by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all mankinde drew on them that generall deſtruction by the floud vniuerſall. Onely *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God ſpared, were both of them eſteemed to be louers of Vertue, of Iuſtice and of Religion. Of whom *Ouid*:

Clem: Alex: ſtrom: lib: 1.
Strabo: lib: 9.

Non illa melior quiſquam, nec amantior æqui
Vir fuit: aut illa reuerentior vlla dearum.

No man was better, nor more iuſt than hee:
Nor any woman godlier than ſhee.

It is alſo affirmed that *Prometheus* fore-told his ſonne *Deucalion* of this ouer-flowing; and aduiſed him to prouide for his ſafety: who hereupon prepared himſelfe a kinde of Veſſell, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calles *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And becauſe to theſe circumſtances, they afterward adde the ſending out of the Doue, to diſcouer the waters fall and decreaſe, I ſhould verily thinke that this Story had beene but an imitation of *Noahs* floud deuiſed by the *Greekes*, did not the times ſo much differ, and Saint *Auguſtine* with others of the Fathers and reuerent Writers approue this ſtory of *Deucalion*. Among other his children *Deucalion* had theſe two of note, *Hellen* of whom *Greece* had firſt the name of *Hellas*, and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is ſaide to haue begot *Delphus*, which gaue name to *Delphos*, ſo renowned among the Heathen for the *Oracle* of *Apollo* therein founded.

Auguſt: de Ciuit: Dei: l.18: c.10. ex Euſebio & Hieronymo.

And that which was no leſſe ſtrange and maruailous than this floud, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time alſo happened vnder *Phaeton*; not onely in *Æthiopia*, but in *Iſtria*, a Region in *Italie*, and about *Cumæ*, and the Mountaines of *Veſuuius*: of both which the *Greekes*, after their manner, haue inuented many ſtrange fables.

§. VI.

Of Hermes Triſmegiſtus.

BVt of all other which this age brought foorth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the moſt famous, and renowned; the ſame which was alſo called *Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter maximus*; and of the *Greekes*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name; and how to diſtinguiſh, and ſet them in their owne times, both S. *Auguſtine* & *Lactantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was eſteemed the God of Theeues, the God of Wreſtlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the ſame with that *Mercury*, of whoſe many workes ſome fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certaine of the *Greekes* reckon fiue *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in *Ægypt*, and there worſhipped; one, the ſonne of *Nilus*, whoſe name the *Ægyptians* feared to vtter, as the *Iewes* did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercury*, which ſlew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Ægypt*, is ſaide to haue deliuered literature to the Ægyptians, and to haue giuen them Lawes. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Ægypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* alſo confirmeth, ſaying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which ſlew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwiſe *Theuet*; whom *Philo Biblius* writeth *Taautus*; the Ægyptians *Thoyth*; the *Alexandrians Thot*; and the *Greekes* (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatho*, who liued about the warre of *Troy*, giues the inuention of letters. But Saint *Auguſtine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both Ægyptians, calles neither of them the ſonne of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to haue ſlaine *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury*, the ſlayer of *Argus*, to be the grand-childe of that *Atlas*, which liued while *Moſes* was yet young. And yet *L: Viues* vpon Saint *Auguſtine* ſeemes to vnderſtand them to be the ſame with thoſe, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the reſt haue remembred. But that coniecture of theirs, that any *Græcian Mercury* brought letters into *Ægypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifeſt, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledge which the *Greekes* had, was tranſported out of *Ægypt* or *Phœnicia*; and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Græcian* into *Ægypt*. For they all confeſſe, that *Cadmus* brought letters firſt into *Bœotia*, either out of *Ægypt*, or out of *Phœnicia*: it being true, that betweene *Mercurius*, that liued at once with *Moſes*, and *Cadmus*, there were theſe deſcents caſt; *Crotopus* King of the *Argiues*, with whom *Moſes* liued, and in whoſe time about his tenth yeere *Moſes* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleuen yeeres; after him *Danaus* fifty yeeres; after him *Lynceus*: in whoſe time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arriued in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true, that any *Mercurius* about *Moſes* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the ſlaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Ægypt*. Neither did either of thoſe two *Mercuries* of *Ægypt*, whom Saint *Auguſtine* remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moſes* found out Letters and taught the vſe of them to the *Iewes*; of whom the *Phœnicians* their Neighbors receiued them; and the *Greekes* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this inuention was alſo aſcribed to *Moſes*, for the reaſon before remembred; that is, becauſe the *Iewes* and the *Phœnicians* had them firſt from him. For euery Nation gaue vnto thoſe men the honour of firſt Inuentors, from whom they receiued the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, vpon part of whoſe workes hee Commenteth, to haue beene foure deſcents after *Moſes*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calles *Atlas*, that liued with *Moſes*, the maternall grand-father of the firſt famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counſailer and Inſtructer of that renowned *Iſis*, wife of *Oſiris*. But *Ficinus* giueth no reaſon for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* inſtructed *Iſis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that ſuch an inſcription was found on a pillar erected on the Tombe of *Iſis*. *Lod. Viues* vpon the ſixe and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Booke of Saint *Auguſtine*, *De Ciuitate Dei*, conceiueth, that this *Mercury*, whoſe workes are extant, was not the firſt which was entituled, *Ter maximus*, but his Nephew or grand-child. * *Sanchoniaton*, an ancient *Phœnician*, who liued ſhortly after *Moſes*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the *Scribe* of *Saturne*, and called by the *Phoenicians*, *Taautus*; and by the *Ægyptians Thoot*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many yeeres which he is ſaide

Lod. Viues out of *Cicero in Aug. de Ciuit. l. 8. c. 26.*

Euſeb. l. 1, c. 6, de Præp. Euan.

Virg. lib. 4, Aeneid.

Ficin. in Præfat. Pæmand: Mercurij Triſmegiſti.

* Or *Sanchoniatho*: See *Euſeb de præp: Euang: lib: 1: c. 6:*

ſaid to haue liued, to wit, three hundred yeeres, gaue occaſion to ſome Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by thoſe which haue collected the grounds of the *Ægyptian* Philoſophie and Diuinitie, he is found more ancient than *Moſes*: becauſe the Inuentor of the *Ægyptian Wiſedome*, wherein it is ſaid, that *Moſes* was excellently learned.

Viues in lib: 8. c. 26. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.

It is true, that although this *Mercurie* or *Hermes* doth in his Diuinitie differ in manie particulars from the Scriptures, eſpecially in the approuing of Images, which *Moſes* of all things moſt deteſted; yet whoſoeuer ſhall read him with an euen iudgement, will rather reſolue, that theſe workes which are now extant, were by the *Greekes* and *Ægyptian* Prieſts corrupted, and thoſe fooleries inſerted, than that euer they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and Spirit deuiſed. For there is no man of vnderſtanding, and maſter of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the ſame Tract, thoſe things which are directly contrarie in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moſes* excepted) there was neuer any man of thoſe elder times that hath attributed more, and in a ſtile more reuerend and diuine, vnto almighty God, than he hath done. And there fore if thoſe his two Treatiſes, now among vs; the one conuerted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had beene found in all things like themſelues: I thinke it had not beene perilous to haue thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moſes* himſelfe; and that the *Ægyptian Theologie* hereafter written, was deuiſed by the firſt, and more ancient *Mercurie*, which others haue thought to haue been *Ioſeph*, the ſon of *Iacob*: whom, after the expoſition of *Pharaohs* dreames, they called *Saphanetphane*, which is as much to ſay, as *abſconditorum repertor*; *A finder out of hidden things*. But theſe are ouer-venturous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Enuie & aged time hath partlie defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him: of whom, whoſoeuer he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this ſort: *Hic ſcripſit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem diuinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Maieſtatem ſummi ac ſingularis Dei aſſerit, iiſdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem*; *Hee hath written many bookes belonging to, or expreſſing the knowledge of diuine things, in which hee affirmeth the Maieſtie of the moſt High and one God, calling him by the ſame names of God and Father, which wee doe.* The ſame Father alſo feareth not to number him among the *Sybils* and *Prophets*. And ſo contrary are theſe his acknowledgements to thoſe Idolatrous fictions of the *Ægyptians* and *Græcians*, as for my ſelfe I am perſwaded, that whatſoeuer is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inſerted. For thus much himſelfe confeſſeth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & Spiritus; & omnia in ipſo, & ſub ipſo ſunt. Verbum enim ex eius eſſe prodiens, perfectiſſimum exiſtens, & generator & opifex, &c.* *God* (ſaith hee) *the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and Spirit: and all things are in him and vnder him. For his Word out of himſelfe proceeding, moſt perfect, and generatiue, and operatiue, falling vpon fruitfull nature, made it alſo fruitfull and producing.* And hee was therefore (ſaith *Suidas*) called *Ter maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus eſt: in Trinitate vnum eſſe Deum aſſerens*; *Becauſe hee ſpake of the Trinitie, affirming that there is one God in Trinitie.* *Hic ruinam* (ſaith Ficinus) *præuidit priſcæ Religionis, hic ortum nouæ fidei, hic aduentum Chriſti, hic futurum iudicium, reſurrectionem ſæculi, beatorum gloriam, ſupplicia peccatorum*; *This* Mercurie *foreſaw the ruine of the olde or ſuperſtitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the comming of Chriſt, the future iudgement, the reſurrection, the glory of the Bleſſed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.*

Maſius.

L.1.c.6.fol.4.

In Præf Merc. Triſmeg.

To this I will onely adde his two laſt ſpeeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platoniſt*, and by *Volteran* out of *Suidas*. *Hactenus fili pulſus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumq; poſt paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis abſolutus diſceſſero, videtoie ne me quaſi mortuum lugeatis: Nam ad illam optimam beatamq; Ciuitatem regredior, ad quam vniuerſi ciues mortis conditione venturi ſunt. Ibi namq; ſolus Deus eſt ſummus Princeps: qui ciues ſuos replet ſuauitate mirifica: ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam exiſtimant, mors eſt potius dicenda quam vita*; *Hitherto, O Sonne, being driuen from my Countrey, I haue liued a ſtranger and baniſhed man: but now I am repairing home-ward againe in ſafety. And when I ſhall after a few dayes (or in a ſhort time) by being looſed from theſe bonds of fleſh and blond depart from you, ſee that you doe not bewaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that beſt and bleſſed Citie, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) ſhall repaire. Therein is the onely God, the moſt high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with a ſweetneſſe more then* *marueilous: in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death then a life.* The other, and that which ſeemeth to be his laſt, is thus conuerted by others, agreeing in ſenſe but not in words with *Suydas: O cælum magni Dei ſapiens opus, teq́; O vox patris quam ille primam emiſit, quando vniuerſum conſtituit mundum,* adiuro per *vnigenitum eius verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miſeremini mei; I adiure thee O heauen, thou wiſe worke of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he firſt vttered, when he framed the whole World, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Haue mercy vpon me.*

But *Suydas* hath his inuocation in theſe words: *Obteſtor te cælum magni Dei ſapiens opus, obteſtor te vocem Patris quam loquutus eſt primùm, cum omnen mundum firmauit, obteſtor te per vnigenitum Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius eſto; I beſeech thee O heauen, wiſe worke of the great God, I beſeech thee O voyce of the Father, which hee ſpake firſt when he eſtabliſhed all the world, I beſeech thee by the onely begotten Word containing all things, be fauourable, be fauourable.*

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§. VII.

Of Iannes *and* Iambres, *and ſome other that liued about thoſe times.*

L. Viues in l. 8. Auguſt. de Ciu. D. c. 26.

There were alſo in this age both *Æſculapius*, which after his death became the God of *Phyſicians*, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Viues* thinkes in his Commentary vpon *Auguſtine, de Ciuitate Dei. lib.* 8. and alſo thoſe two notorious Sorcerers, *Iannes* and *Iambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that euer had beene heard of to this day: and yet *Moſes* himſelfe doth not charge them with any familiarity with Diuels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that ſeldome came out of his mouth; how-euer by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophiſtæ* or *Venefici* and *Incantatores*, Sophiſts, poyſoners, and Inchanters: by *Hierome, ſapientes & malefici*; Wiſe men, and euill doers: and ſo by *Vatablus*, who alſo vſeth the word *Magi*. The *Greeke* it ſelfe ſeemes to attribute ſomewhat of what they did to naturall *Magick:* calling them, φαρμακοὺς, workers by drugs. The *Geneuian, Sorcerers and Inchanters:* Iunius *Sapientes, præſtigiatores & Magi*. Magicians and Wiſemen here by him are taken in one ſenſe: and Preſtigiators are ſuch, as dazell mens eyes, and make them ſeeme to ſee what they ſee not: as falſe colours, and falſe ſhapes. But as ſome vertues and ſome vices are ſo nicely diſtinguiſhed, and ſo reſembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (Religion and ſuperſtition hauing one face and countenance) ſo did the workes and workings of *Moſes*, and of *Pharaos* Sorceres appeare in outward ſhew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the ſame art and gift of knowledge. For the Diuell changeth himſelfe into an *Angell* of light: and imitateth in all he can the wayes and workings of the moſt High. And yet on the contrary euery worke which ſurmounteth the wiſedome of moſt men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the helpe or miniſtery of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath giuen to naturall things, are ſuch as where he alſo beſtoweth the knowledge to vnderſtand their hidden and beſt vertues, many things by them are brought to paſſe, which ſeeme altogether impoſſible, and aboue nature or art: which two ſpeculations of workes of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabaliſts* diſtinguiſhed by theſe names; *Opus de Bereſith, & opus de mercana:* the one they call *Sapientiam naturæ; The Wiſedome of nature:* the other *Sapientiam diuinitatis; The Wiſedome of diuinity:* the one *Iacob* practiſed in breeding the pied Lambes in *Meſopotamia*, the other *Moſes* exerciſed in his miracles wrought in *Ægypt*, hauing receiued from God the knowledge of the one in the higheſt perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other ſo farre as it pleaſed God to proportion him, both which he vſed to his glory that gaue them: aſſuming to himſelfe nothing at all, either in the leaſt or moſt. Alſo Saint *Auguſtine* noteth, that from the time that *Moſes* left *Ægypt*, to the death of *Ioſua*, diuers other famous men liued in the World, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inuentions, were numbred among the Gods: as *Dionyſius* otherwiſe *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Græcians* the vſe of the Vine in *Attica:* at which time alſo there were inſtituted *Muſicall* playes to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regaine his fauour, who brought barrenneſſe and ſcarcity vpon that part of *Greece*, becauſe they reſiſted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who ſpoyled his Temple and ſet it on fire: ſo did *Ericthonius* inſtitute the like games

Exod. 9. 11.

to *Minerua:* wherein the Victor was rewarded with a preſent of *Oyle*, in memory of her that firſt preſt it out of the Oliue.

In this age alſo *Xanthus* rauiſhed *Europa:* and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, which three are alſo giuen to *Iupiter* by other Hiſtorians. To theſe Saint *Auguſtine* addeth *Hercules*; the ſame to whom the twelue labours are aſcribed, natiue of *Tyrinthia* a City of *Peloponneſus:* (or as others ſay, onely nurſed and brought vp there) who came into *Italy*, and deſtroyed many Monſters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Euſebius* ſurnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philoſtratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Ægyptian: Manifeſtum fit, non Thebanum* Herculem, *ſed Ægyptium ad Gades perueniſſe, & ibi finem ſtatuiſſe terræ* (ſaith *Philoſtratus*;) *It is manifeſt that it was the Ægyptian* Hercules, *and not the Theban, which trauailed as farre as the ſtreights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth.* In this time alſo while *Moſes* wandered in the Deſerts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

Lib. de Ciuit. Dei, cap. 12.

Philoſt. l. 2.

But whoſoeuer they were, or how worthy ſoeuer they were that liued in the dayes and age of *Moſes*, there was neuer any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleaſed God to worke greater things; whom he fauoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he ſo often appeared; neuer any man more familiar and conuerſant with Angels; neuer any more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge; neuer a greater Prophet in *Iſrael*. He was the firſt that receiued and deliuered the Law of God entire; the firſt that left to poſterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuerſall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the deteſtation of Idolatry, and the puniſhment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth *Moſes* the beloued of God and Men, whoſe remembrance is bleſſed. *He made him* (ſaith the ſame Authour) *like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the ſight of Kings, ſhewed him his glory, cauſed him to heare his voyce, ſanctified him with faithfulneſſe and meekeneſſe, and choſe him out of all men.*

Syrac. 45. 12. 3

He is remembred among prophane Authours; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick:* by *Megaſtenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long liues which the *Patriarchs* enioyed before the floud, remembred by *Moſes*, *Eſtieus*, *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, *Hecatæus*, *Elanicus*, *Acüſilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander the Hiſtorian*, confirme. The vniuerſall floud which God reuealed vnto *Moſes*, *Beroſus*, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, and others haue teſtified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confuſion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Eſtieus*, and *Sybilla* haue approued. *Beroſus* alſo honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecatæus* wrote a Booke of him. *Damaſcenus* before cited, ſpeaketh of *Abrahams* paſſage from *Damaſcus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the Bookes of *Moſes*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very ſame of *Abraham*, which *Moſes* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the ouerthrow thereof by diuine power, he ſaith that *Abraham*, borne in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camerina*, or *Vrien*, excelled all men in wiſedome: and by whom the Aſtrology of the *Chaldeans* was inuented. *Is iuſtitia pietateq; ſua* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of the ſame Authour) *ſic Deo gratus fuit, vt diuino præcepto in Phœnicem venerit, ibiq; habitauerit; For his iuſtice and piety he was ſo pleaſing vnto God, as by his commandement he came into Phœnicia, and dwelt there.* Likewiſe *Diodorus Siculus*, in his ſecond Booke and fifth Chapter, ſpeaketh reuerently of *Moſes:* There are many other among prophane Authours, which doe confirme the Bookes of *Moſes*, as *Euſebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Goſpell*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Laſtly, I cannot but for ſome things in it commend this notable teſtimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moſes* in theſe words. Moſes *enim affirmabat, docebatq; Ægyptios non rectè ſentire, qui beſtiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemq; Afros & Græcos, qui Dijs hominum figuram affinxerunt: id verò ſolum eſſe Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod cælum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cuius profectò imaginem, nemo ſanæ mentis, alicuius earum rerum, quæ penes nos ſunt, ſimilem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni ſimulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum conſtituendum, ac ſine aliqua figura colendum:* Moſes *affirmed and taught, that the Ægyptians thought amiſſe, which attributed vnto* God *the Images of beaſts and cattell: Alſo that the Africans and Greekes greatly erred in giuing vnto their Gods the ſhapes of men: whereas that onely is God indeede, which containeth both vs, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heauen, the World, and the nature of all things, whoſe image,*

Strabo l. 16.

image, doubtleſſe, no wiſe man will dare to faſhion out vnto the likenes of thoſe things, which are mongſt vs: That therefore (all deuiſing of Idols caſt aſide) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected vnto him, and he to be worſhipped without any figure at all therein.

Now concerning the *Ægyptian* wiſedome, for which the *Martyr Stephen* commen-*Act.c.7.v.22.* ded *Moſes*, ſaying, *That Moſes was learned in all the wiſedome of the Ægyptians, and was mighty in his works and words*; the ſame is collected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus, Diogenes, Laertius, Iamblicus, Philo Iudæus*, and *Euſebius Cæſarienſis*, and diuided into foure parts, *viz.* Mathematicall, Naturall, Diuine, and Morall.

In the Mathematical part, which is diſtinguiſh't into *Geometrie, Aſtronomie, Arithmetick*, and *Muſicke*; the ancient *Ægyptians* exceeded all others. For *Geometry* which is by interpretation, meaſuring of grounds, was vſefull vnto them: becauſe it conſiſting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yeerely ouerflowne and confounded, ſo as no man could know what in right belonged vnto him.

For the ſecond part, to wit, *Aſtronomie*, the ſite of the Countrey being a lenell and ſpacious Plaine, free and cleere from the clouds, yeelded them delight with eaſe, in obſeruing and contemplating the riſings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmeticke alſo, which is the knowledge of numbers, they ſtudied; becauſe without it, in *Geometrie* and *Aſtronomie*, nothing can be demonſtrated or concluded. But of *Muſicke* they made no other account, nor deſired farther knowledge, than ſeemed to them ſufficient to ſerue and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wiſedome, which handleth the principles, cauſes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from *Peripateticall Philoſophie*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and liuing creatures haue their being; that Heauen is round like a Globe; that all Starres haue a certaine fouent heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceed and bee from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets haue their proper ſoules, &c.

The Diuine part of this wiſedome, which is called *Theologie*, teacheth and beleeueth that the world had a beginning, and ſhall periſh; that men had their firſt originall in *Ægypt*; partly by meanes of the temperateneſſe of that Country, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heate are offenſiue; and partly through the fertilitie, that *Nilus* giueth in thoſe places; That the ſoule is immortall, and hath tranſmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worſhipped by the names of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and diuers Images, becauſe the true ſimilitudes of the Gods is not knowne; that many of the Gods haue beene in the eſtate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits beſtowed on mankinde, haue beene Deified; that thoſe beaſts, whoſe Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: becauſe vnder thoſe Enſignes they preuailed ouer their enemies. Moreouer, the *Ægyptian* Diuines had a peculiar kinde of writing, myſticall and ſecret, wherein the higheſt points of their Religion and worſhip of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar ſort, were obſcured.

Clem.Strõ.l.5. *Clemens* diſtributeth the whole ſumme of this later *Ægyptian* learning into three ſeuerall ſorts, *viz. Epiſtolar*, which is vſed in writing common Epiſtles; *Sacerdotall*, which is peculiar to their Prieſts; and *Sacred*; which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kindes: the one proper, which it expreſſed by letters Alphabeticall in obſcure and figuratiue words; as for example, where it is written: The *Ibis* by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: becauſe Light is an Image of Diuine beauty; the other ſymbolicall, or by ſignatures, which is threefold, *viz.* Imitatiue, Tropicall, and Ænygmaticall: Imitatiue, which deſigneth things by characters, like to the things ſignified, as by a Circle the Sun; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it ſelfe: Tropicall or transferent, which applies the diuers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to ſignifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods, and of men. So with the *Ægyptian* Diuines, the Image of an Hawke ſignifieth God, the figure of the Hornet ſignifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird *Ibis* ſignifieth the Moone:

by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulneſſe: by a Lyon, Fortitude: by a Horſe, Liberty: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fiſh, Hatred is to be vnderſtood: Ænigmaticall is a compoſition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which ſenſe, the monſtrous Image of a Lyons body hauing a Mans head, was grauen on their Temples and Altars, to ſignifie, that to men all diuine things are Ænigmaticall and obſcure. So the Image of the Sunne ſet on the head of a Crocodile, (which liueth aſwell in the Waters, as on Land) expreſſeth that the Sunne nouriſheth Meteors in the Ayre, aſwell from the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Eare, ſignifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and Gouerning all things. The Scythians are thought to haue been delighted with this kinde of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* ſending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the *Scythians*, with ruine and deſtruction of his Kingdome, vnleſſe he would acknowledge ſubiection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Mouſe, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-ſhare: which *Orontopagas*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to ſignifie, that by the mouſe, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their ayre: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their lands: were ſignified to be ready to be deliuered to *Darius*, as their Soueraigne Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another conſtruction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did haſten away, as a Bird through the Ayre, or creepe into holes as a mouſe, or runne into the waters which they had paſſed as a Frog, they ſhould not eſcape his armes, but either be ſlaine, or being made Captiues, Till his grounds. The ſame Hiſtory is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*. *Herod: l. 4.*

The fourth and laſt part, which is Morall and Politique, doth containe eſpecially the Lawes, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter Maximus* deuiſed: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Aſclepius*, hath written ſo many things of God, worthy of admiration; aſwell (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis*) of the *Trinity*, and of the comming of *Chriſt*, as of the laſt and fearefull day of *Iudgement:* that (as ſaith the ſame Authour, the opinion being alſo ancient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philoſopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Bookes of Myſteries of the Ægyptians, taking two very ancient Hiſtorians for his Authours, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menætus*, affirmeth that this *Mercury* was not onely the Inuentor of the Ægyptian Philoſophy, but of all other learning, called, the *Wiſedome of the Ægyptians* before remembred: and that he wrote of that ſubiect 36525. Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Bookes; of Aereall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celeſtiall a thouſand; which becauſe they were out of the Ægyptians language conuerted by certaine learned Philoſophers into the naturall *Greeke*, they ſeemed to haue beene firſt written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Bookes of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *wiſedome of the Ægyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. of *Phyſicke* ſixe bookes; of the orders of *Prieſts* ten; and of *Aſtrology* foure. *Clem: Strom: l. 6.*

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§. VIII.

A Briefe of the Hiſtory of Ioſua; *and of the ſpace betweene him and* Othoniel: *and of the remainders of the* Canaanites; *with a note of ſome Contemporaries to* Ioſua: *and of the breach of Faith.*

AFter the death of *Moſes*, and in the one and fortieth yeere of the Egreſſion, in the firſt moneth called *Niſan*, or *March*, *Ioſua* the ſonne of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wiſedome, tooke on him the gouernment of *Iſrael:* God giuing him comfort, and encouraging him to paſſe the Riuer of *Iordan*, and to poſſeſſe, and diuide among the *Iſraelites* the Land promiſed.

The beginning of *Ioſuas* rule Saint *Auguſtine* dates with the reigne of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth King in *Aſſyria*; with *Corax* the ſixteenth King in *Sicyonia*, when *Danaus* gouerned the *Argiues*; and *Ericthonius*, *Athens*. *Lib: 18: de Ciuit. Dei, c: 11.*

Ioſua imitating in all things his Predeceſſor, ſent ouer *Iordan* certaine diſcouerers to view the ſeate and ſtrength of *Ierico*, the next City vnto him on the other ſide of the Riuer, which he was to paſſe ouer. Which diſcouerers being ſaued, and ſent backe by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, becauſe ſhee kept a Tauerne or Vitling-houſe, made *Ioſua* know that the Inhabitants of *Ierico*, and thoſe of the Countrey about it, hearing of the approach *Ioſ: 2: 1.* *Ioſ: 2: 11.*

of

Ioſ. 2. 11.
Ioſ. 3. 1.
Ioſ. 3. 3.
Ioſ. 3. 13.

of *Iſrael*, had loſt courage. Whereupon the day after the returne of the Spies, which was the ſixth day of the one and fortieth yeere after the Egreſſion, *Ioſua* remooued from *Sittim* in the plaines of *Moab*, and drew downe his Armie to the bankes of the Riuer *Iordan*; and gaue them commandement to put themſelues in order to follow the *Arke of God*, when the *Leuites* tooke it vp, and moued towards the Riuer; giuing them withall this forcible encouragement, That they ſhould thereby aſſure themſelues of his fauour and preſence who is Lord of all the world, when the Riuer of *Iordan* ſhould be cut off and diuided, and the waters comming from aboue ſhould ſtand ſtill in a heape, whereby thoſe below towards the *Dead ſea* wanting ſupply, they might paſſe ouer into the land of *Canaan* with dry feet.

Ioſ. 1. 12.

Hee alſo commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*, to prepare themſelues (according to their Couenant made with *Moſes*) to march in the head of the reſt, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the Deſerts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, thoſe of the Tribe of *Iuda* had performed. For theſe Tribes being already prouided of their habitations, and Countrie and Cities of the *Amorites*, by the helpe of the reſt, conquered for them: It agreed with iuſtice and equalitie, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe of *Manaſſe* ſhould alſo aſſiſt their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies poſſeſſion.

Ioſ. 4. 19.
Ioſ. 5. 2.
Aug. q. 3. in Ioſ.
Thom. part 3. quæſt. 70. art. 4. ad. 3.

On the banks of *Iordan* they reſted themſelues from the ſixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the firſt moneth *Niſan*, or *March*, they paſt ouer to the other ſide, taking with them twelue ſtones from the drie ground in the middeſt of the Riuer: which, for a memorie of that miracle by God wrought, they ſet vp at *Gilgal*, on the Eaſt ſide of the Citie of *Ierico*, where they encamped the firſt night. At which place *Ioſua* gaue commandement, that all borne in the laſt fortieth yere in the Deſerts ſhould be circumciſed, which ceremonie to that day had beene omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. *Auguſtine* giueth for cauſe, The peoples contempt of their ſuperiours. *Thomas* excuſeth it in this ſort; That the *Iſraelites* knew not the certaine time of their remouing from one place to another: *Damaſcen*, That it was not needfull by circumciſion to diſtinguiſh them from other Nations, at ſuch time as they liued by themſelues, and a-part from all Nations.

Ioſ. 5. 10.

On the fourteenth day of the ſame Moneth, the children of *Iſrael* celebrated the *Paſſeouer* now the third time; firſt, at their leauing *Ægypt*; ſecondly, at Mount *Sinai*; and now at *Gilgal*. After which being deſirous to taſte of the fruits of the Countrie, and hauing, as it were, ſurfeted on *Man*, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof.

Ioſ. 14. 3.
Ioſ. 18.

And as *Moſes* began to diſtribute thoſe Regions beyond *Iordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Baſan*, and *Sihon* held, ſo did *Ioſua* performe the reſt; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, hee gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and diſtribution was not done at once, but at three ſeuerall times; firſt, by *Moſes* to *Gad*, *Ruben*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*, of the Lands ouer *Iordan*; Secondly, by *Ioſua*, to the Tribe of *Iuda*, *Ephraim*, and the other halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*, about the fifth yeere of his gouernment; proued in the 14. of *Ioſua*, *v.* 10. and a third diuiſion was made to the other ſeuen Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Ioſua* ſeated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

The victories of *Ioſua* againſt the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are ſo particularly ſet downe in his owne books, as I ſhall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whoſe Storie I chiefly note theſe particulars. Firſt, how in the beginning of the warre, thoſe little Kings or *Reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not ſo much vnderſtanding, as to vnite themſelues together againſt the *Iſraelites*; but according to the cuſtome of thoſe eſtates, from whoſe Gouernours God hath taken away all wiſedome and fore-ſight, they left thoſe of their owne Nation, which were next the inuaders, to themſelues, and to their owne defences; hoping that the fire kindled ſomewhat farre off, might againe haue been quenched, ere it could ſpread it ſelfe ſo farre as their owne Territories and Cities. But after ſuch time as *Ierico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities conſumed; fiue of thoſe 31. Kings (all which at length periſhed in that warre) ioyned themſelues together, firſt attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themſelues to *Ioſua*. Onely fiue (the reſt looking on to the ſucceſſe) namely, the King of the *Iebuſites*, in *Iebus*, or *Hieruſalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Iarmoth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addreſt themſelues for reſiſtance: whoſe Armie beeing by *Ioſua* ſurpriſed and broken, themſelues deſpairing to eſcape by flight, and hopeleſſe of mercy by ſubmiſſion, creeping into a Caue vnder ground, were thence by *Ioſua* drawne forth and hanged. In the proſequution of which victory he alſo tooke *Makkedath*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the reliefe whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar* haſtened, and periſhed. After which *Ioſua* poſſeſt himſelfe of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, aud *Debir*, deſtroying the Cites with their Princes.

Ioſ: 10.
Ioſ: 10:

In the end, and when the South Countries were poſſeſt, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made duſt: the reſt of the *Canaanites*, guided by the ouer-late counſailes of neceſſitie, vnited themſelues, to make one groſſe ſtrength and body of an Armie: which *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, practiſed and gathered together, by *Ioſua* diſcouered, as the ſame reſted neere the Lake of *Merom*, he vſed ſuch diligence, as he came on them vnawares; and obtaining abſolute victory ouer then, he proſecuted the ſame to the vttermoſt effect. And, beſides the ſlaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reſeruing the reſt for *Iſrael* to inhabite and enioy.

Secondly, I note, that *Ioſua* ſhewed himſelfe a ſkilfull man of Warre, for that in thoſe ancient times he vſed the ſtratageme of an ambuſh in taking of *Ai*; and in that hee broke the Armies of the firſt fiue Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by ſurpriſe. For he marched all night from his campe at *Gilgal*, and ſet on them early the next day; when he ouerthrew *Iabin* and his confederates, After which, making the beſt profit of his victory, he aſſaulted the great Citie of *Hazor*.

Ioſ: 10. v. 9.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the ſtay of the Riuer *Iordan* at the Springs, ſo as the Armie of *Iſrael* paſt it with a drie foote; the fall of *Ierico* by the ſound of the Hornes; the ſhowres of Haile-ſtones, which fell vpon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them periſhed than by the ſword of *Iſrael*: againe, the arreſt of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was ſo much the more lengthened, as the *Iſraelites* had time to execute all thoſe which fled after the ouerthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a worke onely proper to the all-powerfull God.

Ioſ: 3. v. 13.
Cap: 10. v. 11.

Fourthly, out of the paſſage between *Ioſua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is ſo plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all euaſion, it admitteth no diſtinction, nor leaueth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiouſnes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Æquiuocation*. For, notwithſtanding that theſe *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Heuites*, expreſly and by name, by the commandement of God to be rooted out, and notwithſtanding that they were liers, and deceiuers, and counterfeits, and that they did ouer-reach, and as it were, deride *Ioſua*, and the Princes of *Iſrael*, by faining to bee ſent as Embaſſadours from a farre Countrie, in which trauaile their clothes were worne; their bread mouldie, which they auowed to haue been warme for newneſſe when they firſt ſet out; their barrels and bottels of wine broken; their ſhoes patcht; and their ſacks rent and ragged: Yet *Ioſua* hauing ſworne vnto them by the Lord God of *Iſrael*, hee durſt not, though vrged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but hee ſpared both their Liues, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Ioſ: 9. 7.
Ioſ: 9. from the *5.* to the *13. Verſe.*

Now if euer man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promiſe made, *Ioſua* had it. For firſt, the commandement which he receiued from God to root out this Nation among the reſt, preceded by farre the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, hee might iuſtly haue put theſe men to the ſword, and haue ſackt their Cities; if there be any euaſion from a promiſe made, whereof the liuing God is called to witneſſe. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* he gaue peace, becauſe hee knew them to be a people hated of God. Hee told them, that if they were of the *Heuites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a ſtrange people that he gaue faith, & to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Iſrael* had done in *Ægypt* and ouer *Iordan*, ſought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Iſrael* made with theſe craftie *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the ſame place, That the *Iſraelites* accepted their tale, that is, beleeued what they had ſaid, *and counſailed not with the mouth of the Lord*. Fourthly, theſe men who were knowne Idolaters, and ſerued thoſe Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apiſh Religion, as all Worſhippers of Images are, could not challenge the witneſſe of the true God, in whom they beleeued not. I ſay therefore, that if euer man might haue ſerued himſelfe by any euaſion or diſtinction, *Ioſua* might iuſtly haue done it. For hee needed

Ioſ: 9. 7.
Ioſ. c. 9. v. 14.

not in this caſe the helpe of *Æquiuocation*, or *Mentall Reſeruation.* For what hee ſware, he ſware in good Faith; but he ſware nothing, nor made any promiſe at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithleſſe ſubtiltie of man ſhould borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promiſes he made in the name of God, were made to the liuing God, and not to the dying Man, hee held them firme, and inuiolable, notwithſtanding that they, to whom he had ſworne it, were worſhippers of the Deuill.

For it is not, as faithleſſe men take it, that he which ſweareth to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a King, and ſweareth by the name of the liuing Lord, and in his preſence, That this promiſe (if it be broken) is broken to a man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promiſe in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that we therein neglect: we therein profeſſe that we feare him not, and that we ſet him at nought and defie him. If hee that without Reſeruation of honour giueth a lie in the preſence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour giue the lie to the King himſelfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giueth Faith in the preſence of God, promiſeth in his name, and makes him a witneſſe of the Couenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promiſe, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake thoſe Contracts which haue beene made in former times, and confirmed by publike faith. For though it were 400. yeeres after *Ioſua*, that *Saul*, euen out of deuotion, ſlaughtered ſome of thoſe people deſcended of the *Gibeonites:* yet God who forgat not what the Predeceſſors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Iſraelites* had ſworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a conſuming famine; and could not be appeaſed, till ſeuen of *Sauls* ſonnes were deliuered to the *Gibeonites* grieued, and by them hanged vp.

And certainely, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous diſtinction, or by a God-mocking equiuocation, to ſweare one thing by the name of the liuing God, and to reſerue in ſilence a contrary intent: the life of man, the eſtates of men, the faith of Subiects to Kings, of Seruants to their Maſters, of Vaſſals to their Lords, of Wiues to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trialls of right, will not onely be made vncertaine, but all the chaines, whereby free men are tied in the world, be torne aſunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot paſſe) that wee enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that warres take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that ſweareth by the name of God, doth aſſure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witneſſe, and in whoſe preſence he that taketh the oath hath promiſed? I am not ignorant of their poore euaſions, which play with the ſeuerity of Gods Commandements in this kinde: But this indeed is the beſt anſwere, That hee breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whoſoeuer hath faith and the feare of God, dares not doe it.

The *Chriſtians* in the *Holie Land* when they were at the greateſt, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Ægypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely loſe it againe, but were ſoone after beaten out of the *Holie Land* it ſelfe: by reaſon (ſaith *William* of *Tyre*, a reuerend Biſhop which wrote that ſtorie) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadech*, and his Vicegerent, The *Soldan Sanar*; who being ſodainely inuaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turke Syracon* to their aide: whoſe Nephew *Seladine*, after hee had made *Ægypt* his owne, beat the *Chriſtians* out of the *Holie Land*; neither would the woodden Croſſe (the very *Croſſe*, ſay they, that Chriſt died on) giue them victorie ouer *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their laſt refuge: ſeeing they had forſworne themſelues in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the holy Ghoſt, *That he that ſpeaketh lies, ſhall be deſtroyed*, and that *the mouth which vttereth them, ſlaieth the ſoule:* how much more perillous is it (if any perill be greater than to deſtroy the ſoule) to ſweare a lye? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perſwaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungarie* after his great victory ouer *Amurath* the *Turk*, & when the ſaid King had compelled him to peace, the moſt aduantagious that euer was made for the Chriſtians, to breake his Faith, and to prouoke the *Turke* to renew the warre. And though the ſaid King was farre ſtronger in the field than euer; yet hee loſt the battaile with 30000. *Chriſtians*, and his owne life. But I will ſtay my hand: For this firſt volume

Pſame 5.6.
Wiſd.1.11.

volume will not hold the repetition of Gods iudgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it againſt *Infidels*, *Turkes*, or *Chriſtians* of diuers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oathes now-a-daies, is rather made a matter of cuſtome than of conſcience.

It is alſo very remarkeable; That it pleaſed God to leaue ſo many Cities of the *Canaanites* vnconquered by *Iſrael*, to ſcourge and afflict them, by fore-ſeeing their Idolatrie, and as it is ſaid in the Scriptures, *To be Thornes in their eyes to proue them, and to teach them to make Warre.* For theſe Cities hereafter named did not only remaine in the *Canaanites* poſſeſſion all the time of *Ioſua*; but ſoone after his death, the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforſt to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hardeſt acceſſe. And thoſe of *Iuda* were not able to be Maſters of their owne Vallies; becauſe, as it is written in the *Iudges*, *The Canaanites* had Chariots of Iron. And thoſe principall Cities which ſtood on the Sea-ſide, adioyning vnto *Iuda*, were ſtill held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philiſtims*: as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Aſdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*.

Ioſu.23.
Iudg:1.&
Iudg.3.v.2.
Iudg.1 v.34.
Iud:1.v.19.
Ioſ:11.v.19.
Sam.1.17.4.

Neither did the children of *Manaſſe* ouer *Iordan* expell the *Geſhurites*, nor the *Maachathites*: which inhabited the North parts of *Baſan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nepthalims* poſſeſſe themſelues of *Bethſhemiſh*: nor of *Bethanah*, but they inforſt thoſe *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Aſher* expell the *Zidonians*, nor thoſe of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlab*, *Achzib*; *Heblah*, *Aphike*, and *Rehob*, nor inforce them to tribute. No more could *Zabulon* enioy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but receiued tribute from them. Alſo the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*: and among the children of *Manaſſe*, on the Weſt of *Iordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bethſhean*, *Taacnach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megaddo*; yea *Hieruſalem* it ſelfe did the *Iebuſites* defend aboue foure hundred yeeres, euen till *Dauids* time.

Ioſ. 13.v.13
Iud:1.v.31.
Ioſ:16.v.10.
Iud:2.v.27.

Now *Ioſua* liued one hundred and ten yeares, eighteene of which he gouerned *Iſrael*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expreſſed in the Scriptures, which cauſeth diuers to coniecture diuerſly of the continuance. *Ioſephus* giues him fiue and twentie yeeres, *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twentie: And *Maſſeus* ſixe and twentie: *Maimonius* cited by *Maſſius*, fourteene: *Ioannes Lucidus*, ſeuenteene: *Caietanus*, ten: *Euſebius* giueth him ſeuen & twentie: and ſo doth S. *Auguſtine*: *Melancthon*, two and thirtie: *Codoman*, fiue and twentie. But whereas there paſſed 480. yeres from the deliuerie of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*, vnto the building of the Temple, it is neceſſary that wee allow to *Ioſua* onely eighteene of them; as finding the reſt ſupplied otherwiſe, which to mee ſeemes the moſt likely, and as I thinke, a well approued opinion.

The ſame neceſſitie of retaining preciſely 480. yeeres from the departure out of *Ægypt* vnto the building of the Temple, conuinceth of errour, ſuch as haue inſerted yeeres betweene *Ioſua* and *Othoniel*, of whom *Euſebius* findes eight yeres, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which hee giueth his reaſon in his foure and twentieth and laſt Chapters vpon *Ioſua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine yeeres: *Bucholzer* and *Reuſner* but one, *Codoman* twentie, and *Nicephorus* no leſſe than three and thirtie: whereas following the ſure direction of theſe 480. yeeres, there can be no void yeeres found betweene *Ioſua* and *Othoniel*, vnleſſe they be taken out of thoſe eighteene aſcribed vnto *Ioſua* by the account already ſpecified. The prayſes and acts of *Ioſua* are briefly written in the ſixe and fortieth Chapter of *Eccleſiaſticus*, where among many other things it is ſaid of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord?*

Euſeb.Præp. Euang:

That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, becauſe it is ſaid in the laſt Chapter, *v.26. And* Ioſua *wrote theſe words in the booke of the law of God*: which ſeemeth rather to haue been meant by the couenant which *Ioſua* made with *Iſrael* in *Sichem*, where they all promiſed to ſerue & obey the Lord: which promiſe *Ioſua* cauſed to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were *Caietan* and *Abulenſis*: *Theodoret* doth likewiſe conceiue that the book of *Ioſua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled *Liber Iuſtorū*; remembred by *Ioſua* himſelfe, and others, that it was the work of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion vpon theſe words of the 26. verſe, *And Ioſua wrote theſe words, &c.* this place hath nothing in it to proue it, for when the people had anſwered *Ioſua*; *The Lord our God wil we ſerue, & his voice will we obey*, it followeth that *Ioſua* made a couenant with the people, and wrote the ſame in the booke of the Law of God.

1.10. 13.
ſ:laſt v.24.v 26:

There liued at once with *Ioſua*, *Ericthonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke beaſts together, thereby to till the ground with more eaſe and ſpeed: And about the ſame time the fiftie Daughters of *Danâus* (as it is ſaid) ſlew the fiftie Sonnes of *Ægyptus*, all but *Lynceus* who ſucceeded *Danâus*, if the tale be true. There liued alſo with *Ioſua*, *Phœnix*, and *Cadmus*, and neere the end of *Ioſuas* life, *Iupiter* is ſaid to haue rauiſhed *Europa* the Daughter of *Phœnix*, (afterward marryed to *Aſterius* King of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But S. *Auguſtine* reports this rauiſhment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sonnes of *Iupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, & *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the warre of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in perſon a young or ſtrong man at the ſame *Troian* war. And ſo doth *Neſtor* reckon vp in the Councell of the *Greeks*, *Theſeus* and *Perithous* for men of Antiquitie, and of ages paſt: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of theſe. But hereof elſewhere.

Lib.18.c:12. De Ciuit. Dei.

Homer, Odyſſ. & Iliad.

Hom: Iliad.1.

Chap. VII.

Of the Tribes of Iſrael, that were planted in the borders of Phœnicia, with ſundrie Stories depending vpon thoſe places.

§. I.

The Proœme to the deſcription of the whole Land of Canaan, with an Expoſition of the name of Syria.

THE ſtorie of the *Iudges* ought to follow that of *Ioſua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the *Iewes* was gouerned by Kings, of which ſo many of them as ruled the tenne Tribes, ſhall be remembred when we come to the deſcription of *Samaria*: but becauſe the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and *Theaters*, whereon the greateſt part of the Story paſt, with that which followeth, hath been acted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better vnderſtanding of both) to make a *Geographicall* deſcription of thoſe Regions: that all things therein performed by the places knowne, may the better be vnderſtood, and conceiued. To which purpoſe (beſides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I haue beſtowed on euery Tribe his proper portion: and doe ſhew what Cities and Places of ſtrength were by the *Iewes* obtained: and what numbers it pleaſed God to leaue vnconquered; by whom hee might correct and ſcourge them, when vngratefull for his many graces, they at ſundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored thoſe deafe and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Diuina bonitas* (ſaith Auguſtine) *ideo maximè iraſcitur in hoc ſeculo, ne iraſcatur in futuro: & miſericorditer temporalem adhibet ſeueritatem, ne æternam iuſtè inferat vltionem*; *The Diuine goodneſſe is eſpecially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully vſe temporall ſeuerity, that it may not iuſtly bring vpon vs eternall vengeance.*

To the Cities herein deſcribed, I haue added a ſhort Story of the beginnings and ends of diuers Kingdomes and common-weales: and to helpe my ſelfe herein, I haue peruſed diuers of the beſt Authors vpon this ſubiect: among whom, becauſe I finde ſo great diſagreement in many particulars, I haue rather in ſuch caſes aduentured to follow mine owne reaſon, than to borrow any one of their old patternes.

And becauſe *Canaan*, with *Palæſtina* of the *Philiſtims*, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sihon* Kings of *Baſan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but ſmall Prouinces of *Syria*: it ſhall be neceſſarie, firſt to diuide and bound the generall, and ſo to deſcend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

Syria, now *Soria*, according to the largeſt deſcription, and as it was anciently taken, imbraced all thoſe Regions from the *Euxine* Sea, to the Red Sea: and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which looke into *Pontus*, called *Leucoſyrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it ſhorter,

Ptol. Aſia: tab: 4.

Ptol.5.

ſhorter, and from the coaſt of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, vnto *Idumæa* towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sunne riſing, and the *Mediterran* Sea Weſtward: it then containeth beſides *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, *Arabia* the *Deſert*, and *Arabia Petræa*, that Region alſo which the *Greekes* call *Meſopotamia*, the *Hebrewes Syria*, of the two Riuers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for ſo *Aram Nahairaijm* is expounded: alſo *Padan Aram*: that is, *Iugum Syriæ*, becauſe the two Riuers goe along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edeſſa, ſometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the *Metropolis* of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many ſmall Prouinces, as *Cœleſyria* which the Latines call *Syria Caua*, becauſe it lay in that fruitfull Valley betweene the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, and *Antylibanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were ſeated. Then *Damaſcena* or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the Citie *Damaſcus*, and the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, the Regall ſeate of the *Adades*, the firſt Kings of *Syria*. Adioyning to it was the Prouince of *Sophene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*: ouer which *Adadezer* commanded in *Salomons* time. Then *Phœnicia* and the people *Syraphœnices*: and laſtly *Syria Palæſtina* bordering *Ægypt*: of which *Ptolomie* maketh *Iudæa* alſo a part: and to that Prouince which *Moſes* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giueth the name of *Syria Iudæa*.

Aurogall.a.

1. K. 11.

Herod in Polym: Dio: l. 27.

Ptol: Aſiæ: tab. 4.

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§. II.

Of the bounds of the land of Canaan, and of the promiſes touching this Land.

BVt that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and ſtretcheth from behinde *Lybanus* to the great *Deſerts* betweene *Idumæa* and *Ægypt*: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the Weſt, and the Mountaines of *Hermon*; *Galaad* and *Arnon* towards the Eaſt: the ſame Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi* or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolomie Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Sonne of *Cham*, *& lingua appellata fuit* Canaan; *The language was alſo called* Canaan, ſaith *Montanus*: and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrewes*: who tooke name from *Heber*, the Sonne of *Sale*, according to S. *Auguſtine*. But *Arias Montanus* not ſo well allowing of this deriuation, makes it a common name to all thoſe of *Noahs* Sonnes, which paſt ouer *Euphrates* towards the Weſt Sea. For the word *Heber*, ſaith hee, is as much as *tranſiens* or *tranſmittens*, *of going* or *paſsing ouer*. And becauſe the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certaine abiding: therefore as he thinks, they were by the *Ægyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were paſſengers, which is alſo the opinion of *C.Sigonius*, and of *Euſebius* long before them both. It had alſo the name of *Iudæa* from *Iuda*; and then afterwards intuled The holy Land, becauſe therein our *Sauiour Chriſt* was borne and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was againe diuided into foure; namely, into *Edom*, (otherwiſe *Seir*, or *Edumæa*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Iudæa*. *Galilee* is double, the *ſuperior* called *Gentium*, and the *inferiour*: and that *Galilee* and *Iudæa* are diſtinguiſhed, it is plaine in the *Euangeliſts*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*.

Strab: l.10:

Caleb: f. 62:

Euſeb: Præp: Euang: l.7. c. 3

Math: 2: Luke 2. Iohn 4:

Now beſides theſe prouinces of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæſtina* (both which the Riuer of *Iordan* boundeth; ſauing that *Phœnicia* ſtretcheth a little more Eaſterly towards *Damaſcus*) that part alſo to the Eaſt of *Iordan*, and within the Mountaines of *Hermon Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwiſe *Traconi*, fell to the poſſeſſion of halfe *Manaſſe*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* alſo: aſwell becauſe anciently poſſeſt by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enioyed by the *Iſraelites*, which Eaſtermoſt parts are againe diuided intn *Baſan* or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Macbati*, *Geſſuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are knowne to the latter *Coſmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in generall: and by the names of *Tracontis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, *&c.* of which I will ſpeake in their proper places.

But where *Moſes* deſcribeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Geneſis*, hee maketh no mention of the later Prouinces, which fell to *Manaſſe*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for theſe be his words, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou commeſt to Gerar vntill Azzah* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Countrey North and South: then it followeth in the Text; *And as thou goeſt vnto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboijm, euen vnto Laſha*: by which words *Moſes* ſetteth downe the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomie* it ſeemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written; *All the places whereon the ſoale of your feet ſhall tread, ſhall be yours:*

Deut: 11. 24.

your coaſt ſhall be from the wilderneſſe and from Libanon, and from the Riuer Perah, vnto the vttermoſt Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this deſcription agreeth with the former: only *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*: and the *Wilderneſſe* for *Gerar* and *Azzah*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent Eaſt and Weſt, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promiſed ſtretcheth it ſelfe both ouer *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſert* as farre as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Iſraelites* neuer poſſeſt; nor at any time did ſo much as inuade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceiue that by the Riuer *Perah*, was meant *Iordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this place of *Ioſua*: 23 v. 4. *Behold, I haue diuided vnto you by lot theſe Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Iordan with all the Nations that I haue deſtroyed, euen vnto the great Sea Weſtward.*

And though it be true that *Dauid* greatly enlarged the Territorie of the Holie Land: *Vadian. Epitō. triū terræ partium cap. Palæſtina.* yet as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it put *per gentes in amicitiam receptas*. For *Dauid* did not at any time enter ſo farre to the Eaſt as *Aſſyria*, or *Babilonia*. Neither doth the not poſſeſſing of all theſe Countries giue aduantage to thoſe that would make any irreligious cauill, as touching the promiſe of God to the Iſraelites vnperformed: For when both their Kings, Magiſtrates, and People, fell from his worſhip and ſeruice, it pleaſed him not onely to incloſe them within that Territorie, which was for ſo many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elſewhere to ſubiect them vnto thoſe Idolatrous Nations, whoſe falſe and fooliſh Gods themſelues alſo ſerued and obeyed. And ſure the promiſe by which the *Hebrewes* chaimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the laſting inioying thereof, to wit, *Deut.11.v.21.* *as long as the heauens were aboue the earth*, was tied to thoſe conditions, both in the Verſes preceding, and ſubſequent; which the Iſraelites neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other then all mankinde could or can expect; who knew that all ſorts of comforts from the mercifull goodneſſe of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we perſeuer in his loue, ſeruice, and obedience. So in the eight Verſe of the eleuenth of *Deuteronomie*, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition ioyned to the proſperity of Iſrael. *Deut.11.* For therein it is written, *Therefore ſhall yee keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be ſtrong, and goe in, and poſſeſſe the Land, whither yee goe to poſſeſſe it. Alſo that you may prolong your dayes in the Land which the Lord ſware vnto your Fathers, &c.*

The like condition was alſo annexed to the enioying of the land conquered, and the poſſeſſion thereof, ſo long as the heauens were aboue the earth. *Deut.11.* *For if yee keepe diligentlie*, ſaith hee, *all theſe commandements, which I command you to doe, that is, to loue the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord caſt out all theſe Nations before you, and yee ſhall poſſeſſe great Nations, & mightier than you.* And here, though it be manifeſt, that by reaſon of the breach of Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worſhip of his all-powerfull Maieſtie, to the Idolatrie of the Heathen, the conditionall promiſes of God were abſolutely void, as depending vpon obedience vnperformed: yet I cannot miſlike that expoſition of *Melancthon*: *For*, ſaith hee, *Oſtendit promiſsionem præcipuam non eſſe de hoc Politico regno*; *He ſheweth that his chiefe promiſe is not of a ciuill Kingdome.* To which agrees that anſwere, which S. *Hierome* made to a certaine Heretique in his Epiſtle *ad Dardanum*, who accuſed S. *Hierome* that he ouerthrew the reputation of the *Iewes* Storie, & brought the truth thereof in queſtion, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegorie*, and *ad illam duntaxat viuentium terram quæ in cœlis eſt*; (that is) *Onely to that Land of the liuing which is in Heauen. Quoniam tota Iudæorum Regio adeo anguſta ſit ambitu, vt vix longitudinem habeat 160. milliarium, latitudinem verò 40. & in his etiam regiones, loca, vrbes & oppida ſunt plurima, nunquam à Iudæis occupata, ſed tantùm diuina pollicitatione promiſſa*; *Becauſe the whole Countrey of the Iewes is ſo narrow in compaſſe, that it ſcarce hath 160. miles in length, & 40. miles in breadth, and in theſe are Countries, places, Cities, & many Townes, which the Iewes neuer poſſeſt, but were onely granted by diuine promiſe.* In like manner the ſame Father ſpeaketh vpon *Eſay* touching the bleſſings promiſed vnto *Hieruſalem*: where hee hath theſe words: *De quo diſcimus Hieruſalem nequaquam in Palæſtinæ Regione petendam: quæ totius* *Cap.49.14.* *Prouinciæ deterrima eſt: & ſaxoſis montibus aſperatur, & penuriam patitur ſitis: ita vt cæleſtibus vtatur pluuijs, & raritatem fontiū ciſternarū extructione ſoletur: ſed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, feſtinauerunt ſtructores tui*; *From whence*, ſaith he, *we learne, that Hieruſalem is not to be ſought in that region of Palæſtina, which is the worſt of the whole Prouince, & ragged with*

with craggie Mountaines, and ſuffereth the penurie of thirſt: ſo as it preſerueth raine water, and ſupplieth the ſcarcitie of Wells by building of Ceſternes; but this Hieruſalem is in Gods hands, to which it is ſaid, Thy builders haue haſtened: ſo farre S. *Hierome*, where alſo to preuent miſtaking, he thus expoundeth himſelfe. *Neq; hoc dico in ſuggillationem terræ Iudææ, vt Hæreticus Scycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam hiſtoriæ veritatem: quæ fundamentum eſt intelligentiæ ſpiritualis, ſed vt decutiam ſupercilium Iudæorum: qui Synagogæ anguſtias latitudini Eccleſiæ præferunt. Si enim occidentem tantùm ſequuntur literam, & non ſpiritum viuificantem: oſtendant terram promiſsionis lacte & melle manantem; Neyther* (ſaith hee) *ſay I this to diſgrace the land of Iudæa (as the Hereticall ſycophant doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the Hiſtorie, which is the foundation of ſpirituall vnderſtanding, but to beat down the pride of the Iewes: which enlarge the ſtraits of the Synagogue farther then the breadth of the Church: for if they follow onely the killing letter, and not the quickening ſpirit, let them ſhew the Land of promiſe, flowing with milke and honnie.*

By this it may alſo be gathered, howſoeuer it be vnlikely (ſeeing the Weſt-bound in the place, *Deut.* 11.24. had his truth in the literall ſenſe, that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the Eaſt bound, ſhould be taken onely in a ſpirituall ſenſe) yet neuertheleſſe: that *Hieroms* opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be vnderſtood for *Euphrates*: and that the promiſe it ſelfe was neuer ſo large: much leſſe the plantation and conqueſt of *Iſrael.*

And now for a more particular deſcription of this Holy Land, becauſe *Aſher*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*, held the Northermoſt part, and were ſeated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with theſe three, taking *Aſher* for the firſt: of which Tribe yet before I ſpeake, I muſt admoniſh the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to bee mentioned, that he remember that many names by reaſon of the diuers fancies of Tranſlators, are diuerſly expreſſed, ſo that to the vnskilfull they may ſeeme diuers, when they are one and the ſame: the reaſon of this diuerſitie (as by thoſe learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly becauſe the ancient Editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old Tranſlators imagined others vowels then now the *Hebrew* editions haue; and partly becauſe the Ancient expreſſed or omitted diuers conſonants, otherwiſe than the latter doe thinke fit.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

†. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Aſher.

THe *Aſherites* deſcended of *Aſher* the Sonne of *Iacob* by *Zelpha*, the handmaid of *Lea*, were increaſed while they abode in *Ægypt*, to the number of 41500. and odde perſons, all men aboue twenty yeeres of age, and able to beare armes at the time, when they were muſtered by *Moſes* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number periſhing in the Deſerts, there remained of their iſſues, beſides women and children 53400. bodies fit for the warres: which paſt the Riuer of *Arnon*, into the Plaines of *Moab*, and after the Conqueſt of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phœnicia*, from *Zidon* and the fields of *Libanus*, vnto *Ptolomais Acon* alongſt the Sea-coaſt: containing thirtie Engliſh miles or thereabout: and from the Mid-land ſea to the Eaſt border ſome twelue miles: though *Antoninus* makes it ſomewhat larger. *Ant. Itin.* This part of *Canaan* was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oile, and Wheate, beſides the *Balſamum*, with other pleaſant and profitable commodities: according to that *Prophecie*, Aſſer *pinguis panis*: Concerning *Aſſer*, his bread ſhall be fat: *And he ſhall giue pleaſures for a King.* *Gen.* 49.

†. II.

Of Zidon.

THe firſt City ſeated on the North border of the Territorie of *Aſſer*, was **Zidon**, which *Ioſua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for ſtrength and magnitude. The *Greekes* and

Iuſtin. l. 18.

Q. Curtius make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Iuſtine* deriues the name from t
bundance of fiſh found on thoſe ſhores: whereof it hath beene called *Zidona*. But t

Gen: 10. Ioſeph

was farre more ancient, *Moſes*, *Ioſua*, and *Ioſephus* witneſſe, the ſame being founde
Zidon the eldeſt of *Canaans* Sonnes: and ſo ſtrong it was in *Ioſuas* time, as neithe
himſelfe attempt it, neither could the *Aſſerites*, or any of their ſucceſſors maſter it:
continued all the time of the *Iudges* and *Kings*, euen vnto the comming of *Chriſt*, a
interchangeably gouerned, by their owne Princes or other Magiſtrates: though a

Eſa: 23. Hier: 47. Ezek. 28. & 32. Zac. 9.

ding to the warnings and threats of the *Prophets Eſay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacha*
was often afflicted both by the enemies ſword, and by the peſtilence.

Zidon is ſeated on the very waſh of the *Phœnician* Sea, which is a part of the *Medit*
or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the Riuer *Leontis*
to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*: which ſtandeth betweene it and *Tyre*, the diſtanc
tweene which two great and famous cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14. thouſand

Paleſt. Seig: f. 19. Vadian. Phœn. f. 278: Strab. l. 16.

ſaith *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and ſo doth *Weiſſinbu*
his deſcription of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred fur
make fiue and twentie miles. This difference of diſtance as well betweene theſ
known Cities, as all the reſt, make it ouer-difficult to deuiſe any new ſcale to the M
and deſcription of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memorie: The ſtory which *Ze*
Philoſopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time conſumed and lo
ſeemeth to bee more ancient then *Tyre*; which was alſo built by the *Zidonians*.

Strab: l. 16.

Strabo noteth, *Homer* ſpeaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Tyre*, becauſe
but a member of *Zidon*, and a Citie ſubiect to the Kings thereof: though it be true

Zach: 9. v. 2. Herod: l. 5: Plin: l: 5. c. 9.

after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became farre more reno
opulent, and ſtrong: From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zorobabel* their principall worke
both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flouriſhed
ſorts of learning, ſo did it in all other Mechanicall Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Z*
calling them the wiſe *Zidonians*. The Citie was both by Nature & Art exceeding
hauing a Caſtle or Citadell on the North-ſide, ſtanding vpon an vnacceſſible Rock
compaſſed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Chriſtians, was held and
ded by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Caſtle it hath on the South
the Port of *Ægypt*, which the Templers guarded. It alſo ſent many other *Colonies*
that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as vnto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Bœotia* in *Gr*

Strabo and *Plinie* giue the *Zidonians* the inuention of * Glaſſe, which they vſed t
of thoſe ſands which are taken out of the Riuer *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterr*
neere *Ptolomais* or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of thoſ
Glaſſes which they make at *Murana*: of which S. *Hierome* and *Plinie*: Zidon *inſig*
tifex vitri: Zidon *vitrarijs officinis Nobilis*; Zidon *a famous Glaſſemaker, or a skilf*
ker in Glaſſe-houſes.

* It ſeems that euen in *Ioſuas* time they practiſed glaſſe-making, whence *Iunius* for *Miſphreboth maijm*, which *ad verbū* is as much as *combuſtiones aquarū*, redes *fornaces vitrarias*. *Ioſ.* 11. 8. as it ſeems, becauſe theſe fornaces were where there was ſtore of water, either for the mouing of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other neceſſary vſes. But there are others that take them for ſalt pits, & other againe for hot baths. The forme of *Aſtoreth* (or *Aſtarte*) ſeemeth to haue been a ſheep, for *Deut.* 7: 13: the word in the plurall number ſignifieth ſheepe: & this may confirm *Auguſtins* opinion, that *Aſtarte* was *Iuno*: for the forme of her husband *Iupiter Hammon* was a Ram.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the reſt of the *Canaanites*) worſhippers
and *Aſtaroth*: which Idols though common to the other of the iſſue of *Canaan* (as
gathers out of 1. *Sam.* 31. 10. and *Iud.* 10. 6.) yet eſpecially and peculiarly were a
ted the Gods of the *Zidonians*: as appeares 1. *Kings* 11. 5. in the ſtorie of *Salomo*
latrie: where *Aſtaroth* is called the God of the *Zidonians*: and 1. *Reg.* 16. 33. in th
of *Achab*, the chiefe worſhipper of *Baal*, where it is ſaid that hee marrying *Iez*
Daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worſhipped their *Baal*. Diuers *Baals* & diue
roths in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appeares by the plurall names
lim and *Aſtaroth*, 1. *Sam.* 12. 10. and elſewhere: for euen the name *Aſtaroth*, as I a
med by a skilfull *Hebritian*, is plurall: the ſingular being *Aſtoreth*: whence *Iud.* 2
Septuagint reade ἐλάτρευσαν ταῖς ἀστάρταις: *They worſhipped the Aſtarties*. The occaſion of t
multiplying of their *Baals*, and *Aſtoreths*, may be diuerſly vnderſtood: either in
of the diuerſitie of the formes of the Images, or of the worſhip in diuers places,
ſtories depending vpon them: which (as fables vſe to be) were doubtleſſe in di
ties diuers. *Auguſtine quæſt.* 19. *in Iudg.* thinks *Baal* and *Aſtarte* to be *Iupiter* and
the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Iuno* by ſuch a name as *Aſtarte*.
3. *de Nat. Deorum*, making diuers *Goddeſſes* of the name of *Venus*, expounds th
to bee *Aſtarte*: whom hee makes to bee borne of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to hau
the Wife of *Adonis*: as alſo *Macrob*, 2. *Saturn. cap.* 21. ſaies that *Adonis* was w

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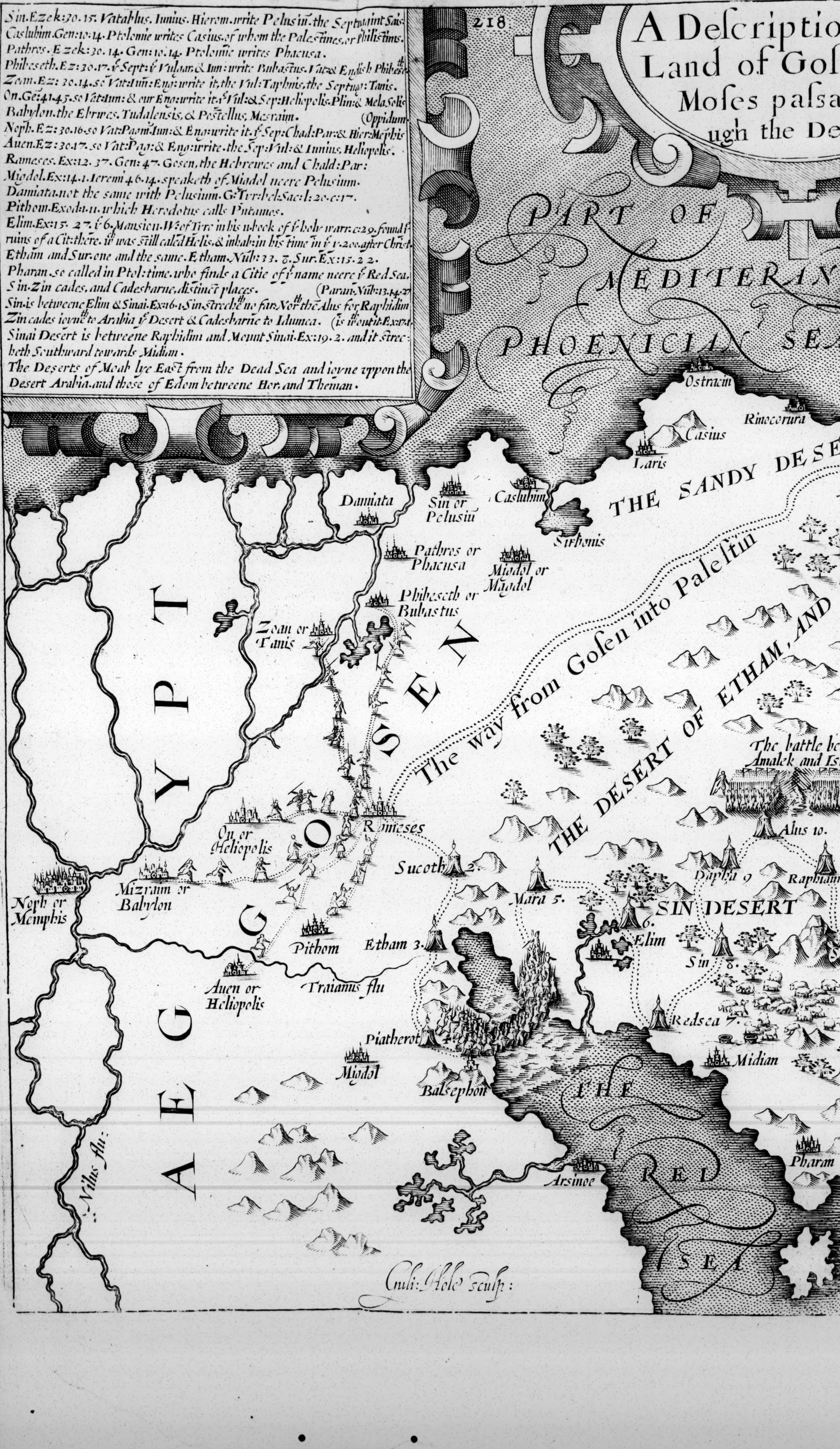

Sin. Ezek: 30. 15. Vatablus. Iunius. Hierom. write Pelusiū. the Septuaint Sais:
Caslubim. Gen: 10: 14. Ptolomie writes Casius. of whom the Palestines, or Philistims.
Pathros. Ezek: 30. 14. Gen: 10. 14. Ptolomie writes Phacusa.
Phibeseth. Ez: 30. 17. ye Sept: ye Vulgar. & Iun: write Bubastus. Vat: & English Phibeseth
Zoan. Ez: 30. 14. so Vat: Iun: Eng: write it, the Vul: Taphnis, the Septuag: Tanis.
On. Ge: 41. 45. so Vat: Iun: & our Eng: write it. ye Vul: & Sep: Heliopolis. Plin: & Mela Solis
Babylon. the Ebrues. Tudalensis, & Postellus, Mesraim. (Oppidum.
Noph. Ez: 30. 16. so Vat: Pagni. Iun: & Eng: write it. ye Sep: Chad: Par: & Hier: Mephis
Auen. Ez: 30. 17. so Vat: Pag: & Eng: write. the Sep: Vul: & Iunius, Heliopolis.
Rameses. Ex: 12. 37. Gen: 47. Gosen, the Hebrewes and Chald: Par:
Migdol. Ex: 14. 1. Ieremi 46. 14. speaketh of Migdol neere Pelusium.
Damiata. not the same with Pelusium. G: Tyr: bel: Sac: l: 20. c: 17.
Pithom. Exod: 1. 11. which Herodotus calls Putames.
Elim. Ex: 15. 27. ye 6. Mansion. W: of Tyre in his 11. book of ye holy warr: c: 29. found ye
ruins of a Cit: there. wch was still caled Helis, & inhab: in his time in ye y. 200. after Christ.
Etham and Sur. one and the same. Etham. Nub: 33. 8. Sur. Ex: 15. 22.
Pharan. so called in Ptol: time. who finds a Citie of yt name neere ye Red Sea.
Sin. Zin cades, and Cadesbarne, distinct places. (Paran. Nub: 13. 14. 27
Sin. is betweene Elim & Sinai. Ex: 16. 1 Sin strecheth no far. Northe Alus for Raphidim
Zin cades ioyneth to Arabia ye Desert & Cadesbarne to Idumea. (is without it. Ex: 17. 1.
Sinai Desert is betweene Raphidim and Mount Sinai. Ex: 19. 2. and it strec:
heth Southward towards Midian.
The Deserts of Moab lye East from the Dead Sea and ioyne uppon the
Desert Arabia. and those of Edom betweene Hor. and Theman.

A Description
Land of Gos
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PART OF
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PHOENICIAN SEA
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Rinocorura
Casius
Laris
THE SANDY DESE
Caslubim
Damiata
Sin or Pelusiū
Sirbonis
Pathros or Phacusa
Migdol or Magdol
Phibeseth or Bubastus
Zoan or Tanis
The way from Gosen into Palestin
THE DESERT OF ETHAM, AND
AEGYPT
GOSEN
The battle be
Amalek and Is
Alus 10.
Rameses
On or Heliopolis
Sucoth 2.
Dapha 9
Raphidim
Mara 5.
SIN DESERT
6. Elim
Mizraim or Babylon
Noph or Memphis
Pithom
Etham 3.
Sin 8.
Auen or Heliopolis
Traianus flu
Redsea 7.
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THE RED SEA
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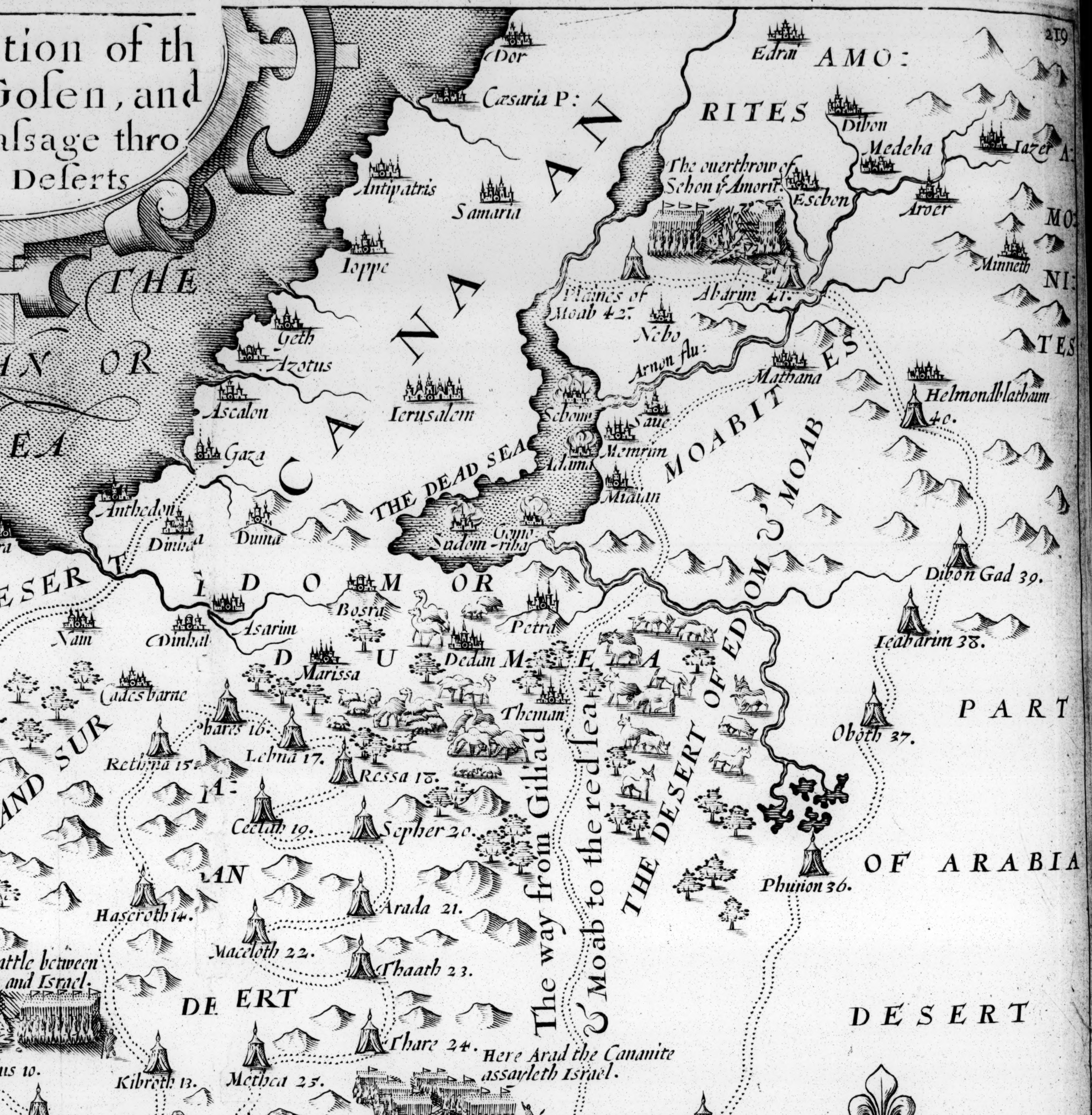
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AMO:
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Edrai
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The ouerthrow of Sehon & Amorit:
Escbon
Aroer
Minneth
Plaines of Moab 42.
Abarim 41.
Nebo
Arnon flu:
Mathana
Saue
Memrim
Miaian
MOABITES
Helmondblathaim 40.
MO
NI:
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IDOMEA OR DUMEA
Nain
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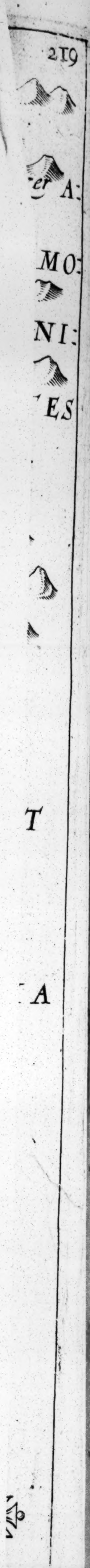
Asarim
Bosra
Petra
Dedan
Marissa
Theman
Cades barne
AND SUR
Retmna 15.
Ebarus 16.
Lebna 17.
Ressa 18.
Ceelah 19.
Sepher 20.
Hascroth 14.
Arada 21.
Maceloth 22.
Thaath 23.
Battle between and Israel.
DESERT
Thare 24.
Here Arad the Cananite assayleth Israel.
Kibroth 13.
Methca 25.
Raphaim 11.
Esmona 26.
Maseroth 27.
Hor 34.
Sinai 12.
Benaaran 28.
Galgad 29.
Ietabatha 30.
Ebro 31.
32 Esiongaber
Pharam
Eloth
SINUS ELANI TICU
Zin cades 33.
The way from Giliad & Moab to the red sea
THE DESERT OF EDOM & MOAB
Dibon Gad 39.
Ieabarim 38.
Oboth 37.
Phunon 36.
Salmona 35.
PART OF ARABIA
DESERT
THE DESERT OF ZIN CADES
PART OF THE HAPPI ARABIA



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n commonly worſhipped of the *Aſſyrians:* and *Hierome* vpon *Ezek.*8.44. notes
mmuz (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is the name of
mong the *Syrians.* So that it may ſeeme that in the worſhip of *Aſtarte* or *Venus*,
bewaile her Huſband *Adonis:* as alſo the *Græcians* did in their ſongs of *Adonis:*
for Adonis *the faire, dead is* Adonis *the faire.* Howbeit others in that place of *E-* κλαίετε κελὸν Α᾽δωνιν.
t without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the
g for *Oſiris* in the ſacrifice of *Iſis:* whoſe loſſe of her Husband *Oſiris*, was as fa-
the *Ægyptian* Idolatry, as with the *Græcians, Venus* loſſe of *Adonis.* And to this a-
at which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iſide & Oſiride*; that *Oſiris* with the *Ægyptians* is cal-
uz: which word may ſeeme to be the ſame with *Ezekiels Thammuz.* But how-
heſe *Zidonians* were thus anciently foſtered with the milke of Idolatry: yet they
re apt to receiue the Doctrine and Goſpell of *Chriſt* after his Aſcenſion, than
s: who had beene taught by *Moſes* and the *Prophets* ſo many yeeres, whereof our
in *Mathew* and *Luke: Woe be to the Corazin, &c. for if the great workes which were* *Mat.11.v:20.*
hee, had beene done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, &c. but I ſay vn-
ſhall be eaſier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of iudgement, than for you.
ceiued a *Chriſtian* Biſhop with the firſt: who was afterward of the Dioceſſe of
ut in the yeere of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the *Saracens:* and
ed in their poſſeſſion till *Baldwinus* the firſt, then King of *Hieruſalem:* in the yeere
by the helpe of the *Danes* and *Norwaies*, who came with a Fleete to viſite the holy
nd tooke Port at *Ioppa*, it was againe recouered, the commandement thereof being *Tyr.11: Bell: Sacr.14.*
Euſtace Gremer, a Noble man of that Countrey. And again in the yeere 1250. *Vitriac. c.27.*
eedified and ſtrengthened by *Lodowicke* the French King: while he ſpent foure
n the Warre of the holy Land. Laſtly, in the yeere 1289. it was reconquered *Niger Poſtellus.*
Saracens: and is now in poſſeſſion of the *Turke*, and hath the name of *Zai.*

†. III.

Of Sarepta, with a briefe Hiſtory of Tyre in the ſame Coaſt.

pta, or after the *Hebrew*, *Sarphath*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, between
nd the Riuer called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) ſtan-
the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent wine growing neere
which *Sidonius:*

Vina mihi non ſunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæq; Sareptano palmite miſſa bibas.

I haue no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna wine*,
Nor any for thy drinking of *Sarepta's* vine.

is City had alſo a *Biſhop* of the Dioceſſe of *Tyre:* after it came to the *Saracens* and
s, as the reſt: and is now called *Saphet*, ſaith *Poſtellus.*
t farre from *Sarepta* was ſituate that ſometime famous City of *Tyre*, whoſe fleetes
ppes commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders
f: during which time of greatneſſe and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Vtica*, *Leptis*, and
ge in *Affrica*, of which *Virgil. Vrbs antiqua fuit, Tyrij tenuere Coloni, Carthago.* And *Virgil: l.1*
ge was therefore called *Punica quaſi Phœnicum*, a *Colonie* of the *Phœnicians.* In
they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz.* In *Italie, Nola:* in *Aſia* the leſſe, *Dromos A-* *Plin.l.5:c:19.*
, which City the *Scholiaſt* of *Apollonius* placeth neere the Riuer *Phyllis*, in *Bi-* *Marcelin.l.22*
.
had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor:* and ſo it is written in *Ioſua* the 19. taking
from the ſituation; becauſe built on a high Rocke, ſharpe at one end. The *Latines*, *Gellius:l.4,c.6*
eems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*; for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Oſtrum Sar-*
n, by which name *Iuuenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it vpon a high
whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being ſtill knowne by the
of the ancient *Tyre:* and becauſe it was a *Colonie* of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet

Eſay

Cap: 23. *Eſay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*; which *Trogus* alſo confirmeth, though **Beroſus** by affinity of name makes *Thiras* the ſonne of *Iaphet* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for ſo much the Prophet *Eſay* alſo witneſſeth, Cap: 23. *Is not this your glorious City, whoſe antiquity is of ancient dayes?*) yet, that *Thiras* the ſonne of *Iaphet* ſet himſelfe in the boſome of the **Canaanites** who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region: I ſee nothing to perſwade me.

Iuſtin: l: 18 But that new *Tyre* in after-times ſo renowned, ſeemeth to be the worke of *Agenor*: Curt: l. 4: and of this opinion was *Curtius:* and *Ioſephus*, and *Euſebius* make this City elder than Euſeb: in chro: *Salomons* Ioſeph: ant: l. 8 Temple 240. yeeres: *Cedrenus* 361. who alſo addeth that *Tyrus* the wife of cap: 2: *Agenor* gaue it her name: but of *Agenor* I will ſpeake more at large in the ſtory of their Cedren: p. 1: 17. Kings.

For ſtrength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receiue Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Iland, 700. paces from the Ezek. 28: 2: 27 continent: and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middeſt of the Sea, as ſome reade, or as verſe 3. others in the inner-moſt part of the Sea, whence hee calleth it *ſituate at the entry of the Sea*, Eſai: 23: 3: as alſo the ſame Prophet calleth it *the Mart of the people for many Iles:* and *Eſay a Mart of the Nations:* and ſo Proude, Wealthy, and Magnificent was this City, as the Prophet 27: 8. *Eſay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

It excelled both in learning, and in manu-facture: eſpecially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, ſaith *Iulius Pollux*, was firſt found out by **Hercules** Dogge, who paſſing along the Sea-coſt, and eating of the Fiſh *Conchilis* or *Purpura:* the haire of his lippes became of that colour. It worſhipped the ſame Idols that *Zidon* did: ſauing that **Hercules** became their *Patron* in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* preſented him with a Crowne of gold, and other gifts, deſiring to remaine his friends and allies, anſwered them that he had vowed a ſacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their City, and the Anceſter of the *Macedonians* Kings: and muſt therefore enter it. Whereupon they ſent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountaine of old *Tyre:* where he might performe that ceremony: but this auailed not. For *Alexander* was not ſo ſuperſtitious, as ambitious; he deſired to enter the Towne, which being denied, he as one whom no perill could feare, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ſhips as he could, and brought from *Libanus* ſo great a number of *Cedars*, and ſo many weighty ſtones, from the old City of *Tyre* adioyning, as notwithſtanding that his materials were often waſht away with the ſtrength of the Sea and the Tides, yet he neuer reſted, till hee had made a foote paſſage from the Continent to the Iland: and hauing once approached their Walles, he ouer-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (hauing filled the body of force with the violent mouing Spirit of reſolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that reſiſted; after which he cauſed 2000. more to be hung vp in a ranke all alongſt the Sea-ſhore: which exequution vpon cold blood he performed (as ſome Authours affirme) vpon the iſſues of thoſe ſlaues which had formerly ſlaine all their Maſters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Gouerne- Ioſeph. ant. Iudæ: l. 11, c. 8. ment to themſelues. This victory of *Alexander* ouer the *Tyrians*, *Ioſephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* reuolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the laſt *Satrapa* or Prouinciall Gouernour, which *Darius* ſeated in *Samaria:* the ſame who hauing married his Daughter to *Manaſſe*, brother to *Iaddus* the high Prieſt of *Hieruſalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might be built on the Mountaine *Garizim* ouer *Samaria:* that the forces of the *Iewes* being diuided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Prieſthood he beſtowed on his ſon in law *Manaſſe*, whom the *Iewes* oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, De bell. ſacr. l: 13: c. 4. and with a **Gentile:** but while *Alexander* beſieged **Gaza**, *Sanaballat*, whom **Guil.** *Tyrius* calleth *Sanabula*, died.

Long before this deſolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanaſſer* the *Aſſyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Aſſyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the reſt of *Syria*, became enuious of the beauty, riches, and power of that City. He beſieged it both on the Land-ſide, and with threeſcore ſhippes of Warre held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any ſupply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelue ſaile ſcattered that fleete, and tooke 500. Ioſep: Ant. lib. 9: cap. 14. priſoners of the *Aſſyrians:* notwithſtanding, the *Aſſyrian* continued his reſolution, and lay before it by his Lieutenants fiue yeeres,but with ill ſucceſſe. And this ſiege *Menander Epheſius*,cited by *Ioſephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as hee found the Story among the *Annalls* of the *Tyrians* (which the ſaide *Menander* conuerted into *Greeke*) adding,that *Elulæus*,whom *Tyrius* calleth *Heliſæus*, was then King of *Tyre*, hauing gouerned the ſame ſixe and twenty yeeres. Soone after this repulſe of *Salmanaſſar*, and about 200. yeeres before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonoſor* at ſuch time as he deſtroyed *Hieruſalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeede gaue to *Alexander* the example of that deſpairefull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonoſor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the ſtrength of the Sea,the ſame cawſey and paſſage was againe broken downe, and demoliſhed.

Et cont. Ap. 1: Guil. Tyrius de Bell. Sacr. 13. 4. Ioſeph: Ant. lib. 9. cap. 5.

Againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, for many yeeres, the *Tyrians* defended themſelues: for ſo long did theſe *Babylonians* continue before it, *As euery head was made bald, and euery ſhoulder made bare*, ſaith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Eſay* had manifeſtly foretold the deſtruction of this proude place In the end and after thirteene yeeres ſiege or more, the *Tyrians* deſpoiled of all their hopes, and remembring ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, hauing prepared a conuenient number of ſhippes, abandoned their City, tranſporting with themſelues the ableſt of all that remained: and with their wiues, children, and portable riches ſayled thence into *Cyprus*,*Carthage*,and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: ſo as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein,either to ſatisfie ſo many labours and perils,or any perſon vpon whom to auenge themſelues for the loſſe of ſo many bodies in that Warre: It pleaſed God in recompence thereof (who ſtrengthened this reſolution, as in a worke of his owne)to make *Nabuchodonoſor* victorious ouer the *Ægyptians*: and gaue him that Kingdome and the ſpoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierome* noteth, that God leaueth not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happineſſe reſerued for his *Seruants* and *Saints*: yet ſuch is the boundleſſe goodneſſe of God,as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporall bleſſings.

Eze. 29. 18. Iſai: 23, &c.

Ezek. 29: 19:

Now of this enterpriſe of *Nabuchodonoſors* againſt *Tyre*, prophane Hiſtorians haue not beene ſilent. For both *Diocles*,and *Philoſtratus* (as *Ioſephus* citeth them) the one in his ſecond Booke, the other in his *Phœnician* Hiſtories remember it.

Ioſe: ant. l. 10 c. 13.

After theſe two great *Vaſtations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*: this City of *Tyre* repaired and recouered it ſelfe againe: and continued in great glory about 300 yeers, euen to the comming of our *Sauiour Chriſt*: and after him flouriſhed in the *Chriſtian* Faith neere 600. yeeres: the *Archbiſhop* whereof gaue place to none but to the *Patriarke* of *Hieruſalem* onely, who within his owne Dioceſſe and foureteene great Cities,with their Biſhops and Suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwiſe *Porphiria*, *Acon*, or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæſarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthoſia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Tortoſa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the yeere 636. it was with the reſt of that beautifull Region of *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtina*, ſubiected to the cruell and faithleſſe *Saracen*. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whoſe tyranny it ſuffered with the other *Paleſtine* Cities 488. yeeres.

Gur: Tyr: bell: ſac.

In the yeere 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hieruſalem*; but in vaine: yet in the yeere 1124. by *Guaremonde*, *Patriarke* of *Hieruſalem*, *Vicegerent* to *Baldwine* the ſecond, with the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, and their fleete of Gallies, it was againe recouered, and ſubiected to the Kings of *Hieruſalem*, and ſo it remained 165. yeeres.

Gul. Tyr. 11: Bell ſacr. 17.

Finally, in the yeere 1189. *Saladine* hauing firſt taken *Hieruſalem*,remoued his whole Army and ſate downe before *Tyre*: drawing his fleete of ſhippes and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Chriſtian power.

The Citizens finding themſelues reduced into great famine, and many other miſeries, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleete, and ſallying out reſoluedly vpon his armie,ſlew ſo great numbers of them,and followed their victory with ſuch fury, as that the *Saracens* forſaking their Trenches and Tents, remoued in great diſorder and diſhonour. Two yeeres after which victory the body of that famous *Fredericke Barbaroſſa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Chriſtians* enemies ouer a Riuer vnfoordable, periſhed by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedrall* Church of *Tyre*, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garniſhed and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeeres before therein buried: but in the yeere 1289. the Saracens againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth ſubiect to the Turkes.

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†. IIII.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

Plin.lib.5.c.19
In deſcrip.terr. ſanct:

THe third City alongſt the coaſt of the Sea, which the *Aſſerites* could not obtaine, on the South bound of *Aſſer* was *Acho*, which was the ancient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authours affirme that it tooke name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolomy*. *Plinie* calleth it *Ace:* and otherwiſe the *Colonie* of *Claudius*. It had alſo the name of *Coth*, or *Cod*, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hactipos*.

Ptolomæus Philometer.

1 Macc. 1: 10.

1 Macc.11. 18

But laſtly, it was intituled *Ptolomais* after the name of one of the *Ægyptian Ptolomies:* which City alſo as it is, 1 *Mac.* 11. another of the *Ptolomies*, infideliouſly wreſted from his ſonne in law *Alexander*, which called himſelfe the ſonne of *Antiochus Epiphanes:* the ſame *Alexander* hauing married *Cleopatra* daughter of the ſaide *Ptolomie* not long before. Therein alſo was *Ionathan Macchabæus* treacherouſly ſurprized and ſlaine, as it is 1 *Mac.* 12.48. by the perfidiouſneſſe of *Tryphon*, whom ſoone after *Antiochus* purſued, as it is in the Story enſuing: and by like reaſon about the ſame time was the aforeſaide *Alexander* in the warre againſt *Demetrius*, one of the ſonnes of *Antiochus* the great with whom *Ptolomie* ioyned, ouerthrowne & treacherouſly murthered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian:* to whom he fled for ſuccour: and his head preſented vnto his father in law *Ptolomie:* who enioyed not the glory of his victory and treaſon aboue three dayes, for God ſtrucke him by death.

Ant. Itin.

Herrold:

G.Tyr.bell.ſacr. lib.10. cap. 28 Herold l.1. bell.ſacr.tit.7. & lib.2.cap.2 & alibi.

For the beauty and ſtrength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his regall ſeate; two parts of the ſame being inuironed by the Sea, and the Port for ſafety and capacity not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This City is diſtant from *Hieruſalem* ſome foure and thirty miles: foure miles to the North from the Mountaine *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Caſtrum Lamberti:* from *Tyre*, *Antonius* maketh it two and thirty *Italian* miles. In the middeſt of the City there was a Tower of great ſtrength, ſometime the Temple of *Bel-zebub:* and therefore called the Caſtle of Flies, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetuall light, like vnto that called *Pharus* in *Ægypt:* to giue comfort in the night to thoſe ſhippes, which came neere and ſought that part. It had in it a Biſhops ſeate, of the Dioceſſe of *Tyre*, after it became *Chriſtian:* but in the yeere 636. (a fatall yeere to the Chriſtians in thoſe parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the Saracen. In the yeere 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the firſt, by the helpe of the Gallies of *Genoa:* to whom a third of the reuenew was giuen in recompence. Againe, in the yeere of our Lord God, one thouſand one hundred foureſcore and ſeuen, *Saladine* King of *Ægypt*, and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the yeere of Chriſt, one thouſand one hundred ninety and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, it was repoſſeſſed and redeliuered to the Chriſtians. Laſtly, in the yeere 1291. it was by the fury of the Saracens beſieged with an Army of 150000. entred, ſackt, and vtterly demoliſhed: though in ſome ſort afterward reedified, and it is now *Turkiſh*.

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†. V.

Of the Caſtle of Saint George.

Broch.

Itin. 4.

Of the place & memory of his death. See Chap. 9. §. 1.

FIue miles from *Ptolomais* towards the Eaſt, is the Caſtle of Saint *George* ſeated, in which he was borne: the Valley adioyning bearing the ſame name. And though for the credit of Saint *Georges* killing the Dragon, I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe: yet I cannot but thinke, that if the Kings of *England* had not ſome probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was ſtrange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Succeſſours royally haue continued, ſhould haue borne his name, ſeeing the World had not that ſcarcity of Saints in thoſe dayes, as that the *Engliſh* were driuen to make ſuch an erection vpon a fable, or perſon fained. The place is deſcribed by *Adrichomius* in his deſcription of *Aſſer*, to haue beene in the fields of *Libanus:* betweene the Riuer *Adonis*, and *Zidon:* his owne wordes are theſe: ***Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longè à Beryto, memorant inclytum Chriſti Militem*** D.Georgium, ***Regis filiam ab immaniſsimo Dracone aſſeruâſſe: eamq́; mactata beſtia parenti reſtituiſſe. In cuius rei memoriam Eccleſia poſtmodum fuit ædificata; In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called*** Cappadocia,***not farre from*** Berytus,***men ſay that the famous Knight of Chriſt Saint*** George,***did reſcue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and hauing killed the beaſt, deliuered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deede a Church was after built there:*** Thus farre ***Adrichomius.*** His Authours he citeth ***Lodouicus Roman. Patric. Nauigationum l.1.c.3.*** and ***Bridenbach Itin.5.*** The Valley vnder this Caſtle ſometime called *Aſſer*, was afterward called the Valley of Saint ***George.*** If this authority ſuffice not, we may rather make the Story allegoricall, figuring the victory of *Chriſt*, than accept of *George* the ***Arrian*** Biſhop, mentioned by ***Am. Marcellinus.***

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†. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

BEtweene *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* alongſt the Sea coaſt, was the ſtrong City of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which Saint *Hierome* calleth *Achziph*, and *Ioſephus Ecdippos*, *Plinie Ecdippa*, one of thoſe which defended it ſelfe againſt the ***Aſſerites. Belforreſt*** findes *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Caſtle of ***Alexander*** to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelue ſearchers of the Land which ***Moſes*** ſent from ***Cadesbarne***,trauailed as farre to the North as *Roob*, or ***Rechob***,in the Tribe of ***Aſſer***, which ***Rechob***,as alſo ***Berothæ*** which by ***Ezekiel cap.47. verſe 16.*** is placed in theſe North borders,belonged in ***Dauids*** time to the King ***Hadarhezer***, as it may be gathered out of the ſecond of ***Samuel*** the 8. chap. and 8.verſe, and chap.10. verſe 6. and it defended it ſelfe againſt the ***Aſſerites***, as ***Zidon,Tyre, Achziph,Ptolomais***, *Alab*, ***Helbah***, and ***Aphek*** did.

Hieron. de Locis Hebr.
Ioſ.Bell. Iud: l.1.c.11.
Plin.l.5.c.19.

This ***Aphek*** it was,whoſe wall falling downe, ſlew ſeuen and twenty thouſand of ***Benhadads*** Souldiers, after that a hundred thouſand had beene ſlaughtered by the *Iſraelites*, vnder the conduct of ***Ahab.*** Here ***Iunius*** finds that the ***Philiſtims*** encamped a little before the battaile at ***Gilboa***,though in his note vpon the firſt of ***Samuel***, the 9.and 1.he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battaile the ***Arke*** was taken)to haue beene in ***Iuda.*** Of which *Ioſ.*15.and 53. and in the ſecond of ***Kings*** 13.17. he reades, ***Fortiter***,for,***in Aphek.*** Where others conuert it, ***Percutiens Syros in Aphek.***

1 Kin.20.29.
1 Sam.29 1.

The next place alongſt the coaſt is ***Sandalium***, firſt called ***Schandalium*** of ***Schander***, which we call ***Alexander***, for ***Alexander Macedon*** built it,when he beſieged ***Tyre:*** and ſet it on a point of Land which extendeth it ſelfe into the Sea, betweene ***Acziba*** and ***Tyre:*** which Caſtle ***Baldwine*** the firſt rebuilt and fortified; in the yeere of ***Chriſt*** 1157.when he vndertooke the recouery of ***Tyre.***

Not much aboue a mile from this Caſtle, there ariſeth that moſt plentifull Spring of water, which ***Salomon*** remembreth, called ***the Well of liuing Waters:*** from whence not onely all the fields and plaines about ***Tyre*** are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawne: but the ſame Spring, which hath not aboue a bow-ſhot of ground to trauaile till it recouer the Sea, driueth ſixe great Milles in that ſhort paſſage, ſaith ***Brochard.***

Cant.4.
Itin.1.

Within the Land,and to the Eaſt of ***Acziba***,and ***Sandalium***,ſtandeth ***Hoſa:***and beyond it,vnder the Mountaines of ***Tyre***, the City of ***Achſaph***,or ***Axab***, or after Saint ***Hierome Aciſap***,a City of great ſtrength,whoſe King amongſt the reſt was ſlaine by ***Ioſua***, at the waters of ***Merom.***

Ioſ.12.20.

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†. VII.

Of Thoron, Giſcala, and ſome other places.

FArther into the Land towards ***Iordan***, was ſeated the Caſtle of ***Thoron***, which ***Hugo de Sancto Abdemare*** built on the Eaſter-moſt Hilles of ***Tyre***,in the yeere 1107.thereby to reſtraine the excurſions of the ***Saracens***, while they held ***Tyre*** againſt the ***Chriſtians:*** the place adioyning being very fruitfull,and exceeding pleaſant. From this Caſtle the Lords of ***Thoron***, famous in the Story of the Warres for the recouery of the Holy Land, deriue their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the bleſſed ***Virgin***, in which ***Humfrey*** of ***Thoron***, Conſtable to ***Baldwine*** the third,King of ***Hieruſalem***,lyeth buried: There were fiue Caſtles beſides this within the Territory of ***Aſſer:***

whereof foure are ſeated almoſt of equall diſtance from each other: to wit, *Caſtrum Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Caſtrum Regium*, and *Belfort:* The firſt neere the Sea vnder the Hilles of *Saron:* the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort*, and *Regium*, ſtand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and Fellowſhip of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights* (by which they defended themſelues, and gaue ſuccour to other *Chriſtians* at ſuch time as the *Saracens* poſſeſt the beſt part of the vpper *Galilee*) the chiefe of which Order was in *Ptolomais Acon*. The firſt Fortreſſe was for beauty and ſtrength called *Belfort*, ſeated in the high ground vpon the Riuer *Naar*, neere the City *Rama:* of which in this Tribe *Ioſ*. 19.29. for which the *Vulgar* reades *Horma:* making the article a part of the word, and miſtaking the vowels: from the ſiege of this Caſtle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine* King of *Syria* and *Ægypt*, was by the *Chriſtians* Army raiſed, and with great loſſe and diſhonour repulſed.

Herold. l.2.c:4 Continuationis Bell. ac.

To the Eaſt of *Belfort*, is the ſtrong City of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which Saint *Hierome* calleth *Chalab*, one of thoſe that defended themſelues againſt *Aſſer*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not farre thence did.

Towards the South from *Roob* they place *Gabala* (which *Herod*, ſurnamed the *Aſcalonite* rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabol*, *Quod Syrorum lingua diſpicere ſignificat* (ſaith *Weiſhenburg*) ſo called, becauſe *Hiram* of *Tyre* was ill pleaſed with thoſe twenty Cities, ſeated hereabout, which *Salomon* preſented vnto him in recompence of thoſe prouiſions ſent him for the building of the Temple. Others thinke this *Chabol* or *Cabul*, containing a circuit of thoſe twenty Cities giuen to *Hiram*, to haue beene without the compaſſe of the holy Land: though bordering *Aſher* on the North-ſide: as it is ſaide, 1 *Reg*. 9. 11. that they were in *Regione limitis:* that is, in *limite Regionis*, in the border of the Countrey: for it was not lawfull, ſay they, to giue to ſtrangers any part of the poſſeſſions allotted to the *Iſraelites:* howſoeuer, that after *Hiram* had refuſed them, they were peopled by the *Iſraelites*, it appeares 2 *Chron*. 8. 14. And it ſeemes they were conquered by *Dauid* from the *Syri Rechobeæ*, whoſe City *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in theſe parts.

Ioſep ant. 13. 21. & 15 10.

Iun. annot. in 1 Reg. 9. 11.

2 Sam. 10. 6:

Almoſt of equall diſtance from the Caſtle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Giſcala*, and *Gadara:* of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed ouer *Iordan*: *Giſcala* was made famous by *Iohn* the ſonne of *Leui*, who from a meane eſtate gathering together foure hundred Theeues, greatly troubled all the vpper *Galilee:* at ſuch time as the *Romans* attempted the conqueſt of *Iudæa*: by whoſe practiſe *Ioſephus*, who then commanded in the vpper *Galilee*, was greatly indangered: whereof himſelfe hath written at large, in his ſecond Booke of thoſe Warres. This *Iohn* betraying in all he could the City of *Giſcala* (whereof he was natiue) to the *Roman State:* and finding a reſiſtance in the City, gaue opportunity, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarins*, to ſurprize it: who at the ſame time forſt it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Ioſepus* authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by compoſition. They find alſo the Cities of *Cana Maior*, and * *Cades*, (or *Cedeſſa*) of the firſt was that *Syro-phœnician*, whoſe Daughter *Chriſt* deliuered of the euill Spirit. Neere the other, they ſay, it was that *Ionathas Machabæus* ouerthrew the Army of *Demetrius*.

Cap. 26:

* See *Kadeſh* in *Nephthalim*.

Math: 15. Mark. 7. Macca.:1. 73. Ioſephus Antiq. 13. cap. 8.

There are beſides theſe forenamed Cities within the Tribe of *Aſſer*, diuers others: as on the South border, and neere the Sea, *Meſſall* or *Miſheall:* within the Land [a] *Beſara*, [b] *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemec*, ſtanding on the South border betweene *Aſher* and *Zabulon:* on the North ſide ioyning to *Syro-phœnicia*, is the City of *Hethalon*, or *Chethlon*, the vtmoſt of the holy Land that way: vnder which towards the Sea is *Chali*, and then [c] *Enoch* ſuppoſed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his ſonne *Enoch*, but without probability, as I haue formerly proued: there are others alſo beſides theſe, as *Ammon* or *Chammon*, of which *Ioſ*. 19.28. where alſo we reade of *Nebiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beton:* the Cities of *Alcath*, or *Chelcath*, *Habdon*, and *Rechob*, and *Miſheal*, which wee haue already mentioned, were by the *Aſſerites* giuen to the *Leuites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made, *Iudges* 1. 30. to which out of *Ioſua* wee may adde *Ebron*, *Ambad*, and others, on which no ſtory dependeth; and therefore I will not peſter the deſcription with them.

[a] Of which *Ioſephus in vita ſua*.

[b] Of both which *Ioſ. 19. 27. Ezek. 47. 15.*

[c] Or *Enoſa. Ioſeph. ant. lib. 1: cap: 4.*

Ioſ. 21. 30:

†. VIII.

†. VIII.

Of the Riuers and Mountaines of Aſſer.

THe Riuers to the North of *Aſſer*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Ziegler* ioyneth *Lycus*, *Ptolomie*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neere *Berytus*: which Riuer of *Leontis*, *Montanus* drawes neere vnto *Zidon*: finding his head notwithſtanding, where *Ptolomie* doth, betweene *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath alſo a Riuer called *fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brochard* intituleth *Eleutherus*: for which hee alſo citeth *Plinie*, and the firſt of *Machabees* the 11. Chapter, but neither of thoſe authorities proue *Eleutherus* to be in *Aſſer*: for this Riuer falleth into the Sea at the Ile of *Aradus*: not farre from *Balanæa*, witneſſe *Ptolomie*: and therefore *Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Poſtellus Velana*: which Riuer boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North-ſide: to which *Strabo* alſo agreeth: but this principall Riuer of *Aſſer*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Chriſtianus Schrot* out of the mouth and Papers of *Peter Laicſtan* (which *Laicſtan* in this our age both viewed and deſcribed the Holy Land) calleth the maine Riuer *Fons hortorum Libani*: and one of the ſtreames which runneth into it from the North-ſide, *Naar*, and another from the South-weſt, *Chabul*: of the City adioyning of the ſame name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is alſo another Riuer deſcribed by *Adrichome*, named *Iepthael*, which I finde in no other Authour, and for which he citeth the nineteenth of *Ioſua*, but the word [d] *Ghe* which is added there to *Iepthael*, is not taken for a Riuer, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the *Vulgar*, the *Geneua*, and *Arias Montanus* turne it. There is alſo found in *Aſſer*, the Riuer of *Belus*, remembred by *Ioſephus* and *Tacitus*, which is alſo called *Pagidas*, ſaith * *Plinie*: out of the ſands of this Riuer are made the beſt Glaſſe, which ſometime the *Zidonians* practiſed: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is knowne to flow from out the Lake *Cendeuia*, as all *Coſmographers* both Ancient and Moderne, and the later Trauailers into thoſe parts witneſſe. It is true that the Riuer of *Chiſon* taketh water from *Chedumim*: but not in that faſhion which *Montanus* hath deſcribed it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus*: but farther to the *South* betweene *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witneſſe *Ziegler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Aſiæ.Tab.4.

Plin.l.9.

Aſiæ Tab. 4. Poſt.Orthoſian & Eleutherū eſt Tripolis.

[d] The word *Nachal* is ambiguous, either for a Valley or for a Riuer: but this word *Ghe* is alway a valley, as in *Gehinnon* and *Geſſemanim*. *Ioſeph lib.2. Bell Iud.c.3.*

* *L.5.c.19.* in *Ioſua, c. 19.v. 26.* It is called *Shicor*, of which name many vnderſtand an other ſtreame. *Ioſ.13 3.* which running by *Petra* of *Arabia*, falleth into the Lake *Sirbonis*, & diuideth *Egypt* from the promiſed land whereabout they place *Rhinocolura*, for which city *Iunius* taketh *Sichor* in that place of *Ioſua*: but howſoeuer whether this *Sichor*, *Ioſ.13.3* be a Riuer or a city, it appears that this name is found, both in the North bound of the holy Land, *Ioſ. 19.26.* & in the South bound, *Ioſ. 13. 3.*

Beſides theſe Riuers there are diuers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of liuing waters adioyning to *Tyre*: and [a] *Maſerephot*, or after Saint *Hierome*, *Maſerephotmaim*, whoſe Well filled by the floud of the Sea adioyning, (they ſay) the Inhabitants by ſeething the water make ſalt thereof, as at *Nantwich*.

[a] See the marginall Note aboue in the ſecond Section of this Paragraph.

The Mountaines which bound *Aſſer* on the North, are thoſe of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœleſyria*: two great ledges of Hilles, which from the Sea of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, extend themſelues farre into the Land Eaſt-ward: foure hundreth ſtadia or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that length he giueth to the Valley of *Cœleſyria*: which thoſe Mountaines incloſe: but *Plinie* giues them 1500. furlongs in length from the Weſt (where they begin at *Theipſophon*, or *Deifacies*, neere *Tripolis*) to the Mountaines of *Arabia* beyond *Damaſcus*: where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. Theſe ledges where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Baſan*, from the *Deſert Arabia*, are called *Hermon*: which *Moſes* alſo nameth *Sion*, the *Phœnicians Syrion*, and the *Amorites Sanir*, neither is this any one Mountaine apart, but a continuation of Hilles: which running farther Southerly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad* or *Gilead*: the ſame being ſtill a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Hieremy* proueth: *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*: noting that this *Galaad* is the higheſt of thoſe Hilles of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knowes them by the name of *Traconitæ*: and *Ptolomie* by *Hippus*. *Arias Montanus* calleth theſe Mountaines bordering *Aſſer*, *Libanus*, for *Antilibanus*, contrary to all other *Coſmographers*, but he giueth no reaſon of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, becauſe according to *Tacitus*, the higheſt of them are couered with Snow all the Summer, the *Hebrew* word *Libanos* (ſaith *Weiſſenburg*) ſignifieth whiteneſſe. Others call them by that name of the Frankincenſe which thoſe Trees yeeld: becauſe λίβανος is alſo the *Greeke* word for that Gumme.

Strab.l.10.

Plin.l.5.c.20.

Deut.4.48.

Strab.l.10.

Pto.Aſiæ. Tab. 4. Sueton.

Niger out of *Aphrodiſeus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus*, there falleth a kinde of hony dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard ſugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the *Latine* word *Saccarum*.

Nig.pag.503.

The Riuers which *Libanus* beſtoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, *Chryſorrhoas*, *Iordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The reſt of the Mountaines of *Aſſer*, are thoſe Hilles aboue *Tyre*, and the Hilles of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitfull: but thoſe are but of a low ſtature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nebo*, or the Mountaine of *Abarim*, in *Reuben*, *Moſes* beheld *Libanus* threeſcore miles diſtant.

§. IIII.
THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

†. I.
Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis, and Abila.

The next Portion of the Land of *Canaan* bordering *Aſher*, was the vpper *Galilee*: the greateſt part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the ſonne of *Iacob* by *Billa*, the hand-maide of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Ægypt*, were increaſed to the number of 53400. perſons, able men to beare armes, numbred at Mount *Sinai*: all which leauing their bodies in the *Deſerts*, there entred the Holy Land of their Sonnes 45400. beſides, Infants, Women, and Children, vnder twenty yeeres of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of *Iordan*, and the Hilles of *Libanus* adioyning, as farre South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the Weſt by *Aſher*, and on the Eaſt and South-eaſt by *Iordan*.

On the North-ſide of *Libanus*, and adioyning to this Territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) alſo inhabite, in which Tract and vnder *Libanus*, was the City of *Heliopolis*: which the heighth of the Mountaines adioyning ſhadowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. *Poſtellus* calles it *Balbec*; Niger, *Marbech*; and *Leonclauius*, Beallebeca.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great Cities in *Ægypt*: the firſt called *On*, by the *Hebrewes*, and the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt*, otherwiſe *Bethſemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; *The City of the Sunne*: into which, ſaith *Vlpian*, *Seuerus* the *Roman Emperour* ſent a *Colonie*: the other *Geſtelius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* alſo findeth a City in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is alſo in the ſame Valley adioyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the Region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, ouer which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Berenice* the Queene commanded.

Abila alſo gaue name to the Region adioyning, of which *Lyſanius* the ſonne of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Gouernour: whereof *Ptolomie* gaue it the addition of *Lyſanij*, and called it *Abila Lyſanij*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophiſter*, was natiue, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Aphileus*, not *Abileus*. After that this City of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had receiued the *Chriſtian* Faith, *Priſcillinus* became the Biſhop thereof: ſlaine afterward by our *Brittiſh Maximus* at *Treuer*. For diſtinction of this City (if it be not the ſame, as it may be thought to be the ſame) it is to be remembred that in the Tribe of [a] *Manaſſe*, ioyning vpon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another City of the ſame name, ſauing that it is written with an (*E*) for an (*I*) and called *Abela*, remembred in the 20. Chapter of the ſecond of *Samuel*. The ſame *Ioſephus* calles *Abelmachea*, and *Hierome Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel* for diſtinction ſake it is written, *Abel Beth-Mahaca*, (for belike it was the Towne of *Mahaca*, the wife of *Macir*, the ſonne of *Manaſſe*, the Father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronlces* it is called *Abel-Maijm*. This City *Ioab* beſieged: becauſe *Seba* the ſonne of *Bichri*, who rebelled againſt *Dauid*, fled thereinto for ſuccour: but a certaine wiſe woman of the City perſwading the people to caſt *Seba* his head ouer the wall, *Ioab* retired his Army. The ſame City was afterward taken by the King of *Damaſcus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalaſar*.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to ſignifie bewailing, or a plaine ground, and therefore no maruell, that many Townes (with ſome addition for diſtinction ſake) were thus called: for euen of bewailing many places tooke name, as *Bochim*, *Iudg*. 2.4. and

Guil Tyr. Bell. ſacri. l. 9. *c.* 15. Theod. 4 *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Mela. l.* 3. *c.* 9. *Iuſtin. Geſtel in itinerar. Ioſep. in plurib. locis. Euſeb.* 8. *Demonſt. Vol. l.* 11. *f.* 243.

[a] Alſo a third in *Ephraim* called *Abel Meckola*, and a fourth in *Reuben*, called *Abel-Sittim*, alſo *Abel-Mitſraim*, at the Foord of *Iordan*, and (as it ſeems) in the ſame Tribe of *Reuben*, of all which in that which followes: to which alſo we may adde *Abel-Magnum*, the name as ſome thinke of a City, otherwiſe called *Bethſhemes*, neere the border of the *Philiſtims*, or according to others of the great ſtone in the border.

1 *Sam*. 6. 18.
Ioſeph. ant. l. 7. *cap*. 10.
2 *Sam*. 20.
1 *King*. 15.
2 *King*. 15.

and ſo doubtleſſe * *Abel-Miſraim*, *Gen.*50.11. and yet *Iunius* in his note vpon *Num.*33. 49. thinkes that *Abel-Sittim* was ſo called, rather by reaſon of the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*,) and ſo perhaps *Abel-Meholah* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Towne of *Eliſha* the Prophet: alſo *Abel-Vinearum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Iephta* purſued them.

* And *Abel Magnum. 1 Sam.*6.18. *Iudg.*7.24.& *1 Reg.*19 15. *Iudg*:11.35.

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†. II.

Of Hazor.

IN this Tribe of *Nephtalim*, was that famous City of *Iabin*, in *Ioſua's* time called *Aſor* (or after the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt*, *Haſzor*) by *Ioſephus*, *Aſora*; by *Iunius*, * *Chatzor*: which *Laicſtan* names *Heſron*; the Regall City, and *Metropolis* of *Canaan*: ſeated in the Weſt part of *Nephta'im*, towards *Aſher*. In this City was that great *Rendeuous*, and aſſembly of thoſe foure and twenty Kings againſt *Ioſua*: who being all ouerthrowne, ſlaine, and ſcattered, this their powerfull City was by *Ioſua* taken and burnt to duſt. But in proceſſe of time the ſame being rebuilt by the *Canaanites*, a ſecond King *Iabin*, 137. yeeres after the death of this firſt *Iabin*, inuaded the *Iſraelites*: and being ordained of God to puniſh their Idolatry, he preuailed againſt them, and held them in a miſerable ſeruitude twenty yeers: till *Debora* the Propheteſſe ouerthrew *Siſera*, *Iabins* Lieutenant, and his Army, neere the Mountaine *Tabor*. This City *Salomon* reſtored at ſuch time as hee alſo reedified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Ægypt*, with [a] *Megigdo*, *Bethoron*, and other Cities; but about 260. yeeres after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalaſar*, King of the *Aſſyrians*. It is now, ſaith *Adrichomius*, called *Antiopia*: it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*. There is another City of this name in the Territory of *Beniamin*, ſeated on the confines of *Aſcalon*, called the new *Hazor*, [b] ſaith *Hierome*.

* Of two other Cities of this name in *Iuda*, ſee cha. 9. §.1. Of a fourth in *Beniamin*, ſee that which follows in this place of a fifth in this Tribe of *Neptalim*, called *Hen-Chatſor* we reade, *Ioſ.* 19.37. to which we may adde *Chatſor-Henan*, in the vttermoſt North Eaſt of *Manaſſe*, ouer *Iordan*. *Ez.*47 *Num* 34 8. alſo in *Simeon*, *Chatſar-Suſima*, of which, 1 *Chron.*4.31. which alſo is called *Chatſar-Suſa*, and *Chatſar-Gadda*, and laſtly, *Chatſar-Shu'eb*, another City of *Simeon*. *Ioſ.*19.3.

[a] *1 Kings* 9.

[b] *Hieron. loc. Hebr. l. E.* Out of *Nehem.*11.33. as it ſeemes.

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†. II.

Of Cæſarea Philippi.

THere was alſo on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned City of *Lais*, or *Laÿſch*, as *Iunius* writes it, or *Leſchen*; which City the children of *Dan* (being ſtraitned in their Territory vnder *Iuda*) inuaded and maſtered; and gaue it the name of their owne Parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Geneſis* the foureteenth, at which place *Abraham* ſurprized *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, and followed his victory as farre as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the diuiſion of *Syria*, otherwiſe called *Sophena*. And after the poſſeſſion of the *Danites*, it had the ioynt name of *Leſchem-Dan*. *Weiſſenburg* writes it *Lacis*, the *Geneua Laiſh*, Ioſephus, *Dana*; Beniamin, *Balina*; Breidenbach, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witneſſe *Neubrigenſis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the *Monke*, and *Poſtellus*: who alſo taketh this City to be the ſame, which in *Mathew* the 15. *verſe* 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greeke* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in Saint *Marke* ſpeaking of the ſame ſtory, *Dalmanutha*. At ſuch time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it ſeemeth that it was either a free City, of the alliance and confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or elſe ſubiect vnto the Kings thereof; for it is written in the eighteenth of *Iudges*, *And there was none to helpe, becauſe Lais was farre from Zidon: and they had no buſineſſe with other men*, for it was aboue thirty Engliſh miles from the *Mediterran* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

Iudg.18.27. Ioſ.19.47.

Iudg. 18.

Chap.8. 10.

Verſe 28.

In after-times when theſe Regions became ſubiect to the State of *Rome*; it had the name of *Paneas*, from a Fountaine adioyning ſo called: and therefore *Ptolomie* calles it *Cæſarea Paniæ*. *Hegeſippus* calles it *Parnium*, ſaith *Weiſſenburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy: for in *Hegeſippus* ſet out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum* without an (*R*): and at ſuch time as *Philip* the ſonne of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Gouernour of *Traconitis*, ſometime *Baſan*; this City was by him amplified and fortified; and both to giue memory to his owne name, and to flatter *Tiberius Cæſar*, he called it * *Cæſarea Philippi*: and ſo it became the *Metropolis*, and head City of *Traconitis*: and one of the firſt Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the ſucceeding age greatly adorned: by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as

*Plin. l.*5 *c* 15.

*Heg.l.*1 *c.*35.

* Of another *Cæſaria* (or *Cæſarea*) called *Cæſarea Paleſtina*. See hereafter in the former part of *Manaſſe*.

Of *Diocæſaria*, i. e *Sephoris* in *Zabulon*. *Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 7. c. 14. Niceph. l. 6. c. 15.*

nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: ſo in Saint *Hieromes* time the Citizens remembred their former *Paneas*, and ſo recalled it, with the Territory adioyning by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Chriſt* healed of a bloudy iſſue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a conſtant Faith: who afterward, as ſhee was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindfull of Gods goodneſſe, and no leſſe gratefull for the ſame, as *Euſebius* and *Nicephorus* report, cauſed two *Statues* to be caſt in pure Copper: the one repreſenting *Chriſt, as neere as it could be moulded:* the other made like her ſelfe, kneeling at his feete, and holding vp her hands towards him. Theſe ſhee mounted vpon two great Baſes or *Pedeſtals* of the ſame Metall, which ſhee placed by a Fountaine neere her owne Houſe: both which (ſaith *Euſebius*) remained in their firſt perfection, euen to his owne time: which himſelfe had ſeene, who liued in the Reigne of *Conſtantine* the Great. But in the yeere after *Chriſt* 363. that Monſter *Iulian Apoſtata*, cauſed that worthy Monument to be caſt downe, and defaced: ſetting vp the like of his owne in the ſame place: which Image of his was with fire from Heauen broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts, ſundered and ſcattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time liuing. The truth of this accident is alſo confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fifth booke, and twentieth Chapter.

This City built by the *Danites*, was neere the ioyning together of thoſe two Riuers which ariſing from the ſprings of *Ior* and *Dan*, the two [a] apparant Fountaines of *Iordan*: in a ſoyle exceeding fruitfull, and pleaſant; for, as it is written, *Iudges* 18. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the World*. In the fields belonging to this City it was that Saint *Peter* acknowledged *Chriſt* to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was anſwered, *Tu es* Petrus, *& ſuper hanc Petram, &c.* After this City receiued the *Chriſtian* faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeate: and it ranne the ſame fortune with the reſt, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Chriſtians*: vnder *Fulch* the fourth King of *Hieruſalem*, and after the death of *Godfry* of *Bullion*, the King of *Damaſcus* wreſted it from the *Chriſtians*; and ſhortly after by them againe it was recouered. Laſtly, now it remaineth with all that part of the World ſubiected to the *Turke*.

[a] *Ioſephus* in the booke of the Iewiſh war 18. ſaith, that *Philip* the *Tetrarch* caſt chaffe into a Fountaine called *Phiala*, diſtant 120. ſtadia North-eaſt from *Ceſarea*, which chaffe being carried vnder ground was caſt vp againe at *Paniū* or *Dan*, wherby it is coniectured that the firſt Spring of *Iordan* is from this Fountaine called *Phiala*, from whence *Ior* and *Dan* receiue their waters.

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†. IIII.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

AMong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capharnaum* is not the leaſt: ſo often remembred by the *Euangeliſts*. This City had the honour of *Chriſts* preſence three yeeres: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he firſt preached and taught the Doctrine of our ſaluation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Eſay* 9. *The people that walked in darkneſſe, haue ſeene a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the ſhadow of death, vpon them hath the light ſhined.*

Capharnaum was ſeated on *Iordan*, euen where it entreth into the Sea of *Galilee*: in an excellent and rich ſoyle: of whoſe deſtruction *Chriſt* himſelfe prophecied in theſe words. *And thou Caphernaum which art lifted vp vnto heauen, ſhalt be brought downe to Hell, &c.* which ſhewed the pride and greatneſſe of that City: for it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were ſome markes of this Cities magnificence in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himſelfe confeſſeth: it being then a reaſonable Burge or Towne: yet thoſe that haue ſince, and long ſince ſeene it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Saliniac* affirme, that it then conſiſted but of ſix poore Fiſher-mens houſes.

The Region of ten principall Cities called *Decapolitana* or *Decapolis*, is in this deſcription often mentioned, and in Saint *Mathew*, *Marke* and *Luke*, alſo remembred; but I find no agreement among the *Coſmographers*, what proper limits it had: and ſo *Plinie* himſelfe confeſſeth; for *Marius Niger* ſpeaking from others, bounds it on the North by the mountaine *Caſius* in *Caſiotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Ægypt* and *Arabia*; by which deſcription it imbraceth *Phœnicia*, a part of *Cœleſyria*, all *Palæſtina*, and *Iudæa*.

Math. 4: *Marke* 7. *Luke* 8. *Niger. cōment. Aſiæ 4. f. 503.*

Plinie alſo makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, hee numbreth foure of them to be ſituated towards *Arabia*: to wit, firſt theſe three, *Damaſcus*, *Opotos*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was firſt called *Amana*, ſaith *Stephanus*, or as I gheſſe *Amona* rather, becauſe it was the chiefe City of the *Ammonites*, knowne by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptolo. Philadelphus* gaue it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*,

Plin. l. 5. c. 18. *Opotos* a City ſtanding in the Valley of *Cœleſyria* watered by *Chryſorroas* as *Damaſcus* is. *Plin. l. 5.*

ſometime *Niſa*, built (as is ſaide) by **Bacchus**, in memory of his Nurſe, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of *Bethſan*; for the ſixth he ſetteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœleſyria*, which was alſo called *Antioch* and *Seleucia*:) but it is *Gadara* in *Baſan*, which *Plinie* in this place meaneth, ſeated on an high hill, neere the Riuer of *Hieromaix*. This Riuer *Ortelius* takes to be the Riuer *Iaboc*: which boundeth *Gad* and *Manaſſeh* ouer *Iordan*: but he miſtaketh it; for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, betweene *Hippos* and *Geraſa*, whereas *Iaboc* entreth the ſame Sea betweene *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the ſeuenth he nameth * *Hippos*, or *Hippion*, a City ſo called of a *Colonie* of Horſemen there garriſond by *Herod*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Galilæan* Sea, deſcribed hereafter in the Tribe of *Manaſſe* ouer *Iordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is alſo called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, ſeated in the South border of the Region ouer *Iordan*, called *Peræa*. For the ninth *Gelaſa*, which *Ioſephus* takes to be *Geraſa*: and *Geraſa* is found in *Cœleſyria* by *Ioſephus*, *Hegeſippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomie* (whom I rather follow) in *Phœnicia*. The tenth and laſt, *Plinie* nameth *Canatha*, and ſo doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calles *Gamala*, but *Hegeſippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Baſan* ouer *Iordan*, ſo called, becauſe thoſe two Hilles on which it is ſeated, haue the ſhape of a Camell. But the collection of theſe ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Salignіac*, which makes them to be theſe; *Cæſarea Philippi*, and *Aſor*, before remembred, *Cedes Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capharnaum*, *Bethſaida*, *Iotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethſan*. For all other Authours diſagree herein, and giue no reaſon for their opinion. One place of the *Euangeliſt* Saint *Mathew* makes it manifeſt, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract betweene *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed againe from the coaſts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came vnto the Sea of Galilee, through the middeſt of the coaſts of Decapolis*: ſo that it was bounded by *Damaſcus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phœnician* Sea, betweene *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the Weſt: by the Hilles of *Gelbo* and *Bethſan* on the South: and by the Mountaines *Tracones*, otherwiſe *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the Eaſt: which is from Eaſt to Weſt the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neere the ſame diſtance which may be each way forty Engliſh miles.

* *Plinie* hath *Hippon Dion*, for which *Volaterran* reads *Hippidion*, *Ortelius* takes them for two Cities.

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†. V.

Of Hamath.

BVt to looke backe againe towards *Libanus*, there is ſeated neere the foote thereof the City of * *Hammath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they ſay) the Countrey adioyning taketh name: the ſame which *Ioſephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathenſis*: a *Iacobus Zeigler*, *Ituræa*. *Ituræa Regio tenet borealia tribus Nepthali, per montem Libanum vſq; Trachones.* The Countrey of *Ituræa*, ſaith he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nephthali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calles *Trachonitis Ituræa*, he miſtakes the ſeate of this Region: and ſo doth *Mercator*. For indeede were *Ituræa* (which *Hegeſippus* calles *Peræa*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the ſame with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it ſelfe is farre more to the Eaſt than *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Traconitis* lieth betweene *Cæſarea Philippi*, and the Mountaines *Trachones*: which the *Hebrewes* call *Gilead*: and this *Hammath* or *Chammath* is ſeated vnder *Cæſarea*, towards the Sea Weſt-ward. And it ſeemeth that this miſtaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cœleſyria*, beyond the Mountaines *Trachones*, which [b] *Hierome* vpon *Amos* calles *Antiochia*, with *Hammath* or *Hamath* the leſſer in *Phœnicia*, and *Nephtalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our Tranſlation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron*. 8. 3. is ſet farre from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numbers* 34. *verſe* 8. and *Numbers* 13. *ver.* 22. and in *Ezekiel* 47. 16. In the firſt of which places it bordereth the Land of promiſe, theſe being the words: *From Mount Hor you ſhall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *vntill it come to Hamath*: In the

* The *Septuagint* write it *Ammath*, Hierome *Em th*, Ioſephus *Amath*: *Ioſ*: *c.* 19. *v.* 35. *Chammath*, *c.* 21 *v.* 32: *Chammath-Dor*, in the firſt of *Chron* 6. 76. *Chammon*, 2 *Kin.* 14. 8. *Chammath-Iebudæ*, as *Iunius* reades it, whereas alſo for further diſtinction there is added (in Iſrael) to note that it was of old belonging to *Iuda*, though ſeated in *Iſrael*, that is, in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes, the other *Chamath*, being in *Syria Soba*. a *Zeiglier. in Neptal.*

[b] So *Hierome* in his Comment in *Amos*, *c.* 6 *v.* 2. where there is mention of *Hamath* the great, as it ſeemes, for diſtinction from the other in *Nephthalim*, though *Matt. Beroaldus* reiecting *Hierome*, rather follow the opinion of *Zeigler* aboue mentioned, as indeede it cannot eaſily be iuſtified, that either one or other of theſe is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the ſame City which *Ioſua* 19. 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephthalim*, was alſo called *Chamath* (whence the word *Hamath* & *Emath*, were framed) it may be gathered partly becauſe the other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron*. 8. 3. for diſtinction is called *Chamath Tſeba*, as this (as it may ſeeme by *Ioſ*. 21. 32.) was *Chamath Dor*-

the ſecond place thus: *So they went vp, and ſearched out the Land from the Wilderneſſe of Sin, vnto Rehob to goe to Hamath:* Then in *Ezekiel: The Weſt part alſo ſhall be the great Sea from the border, till a man come ouer againſt Hamath:* that is, the coaſt of the Sea ſhall bee the Weſt border from the Southermoſt part of the holy Land, till you come directly ouer againſt *Hamath* Northward: from whence if a line be drawne to the Sea, it will touch the walles of *Zidon:* which is [c] the Northweſt corner of the holy Land. Now that this *Hamath* or *Hammath*, which *Moſes* alſo made the confine of the holy Land, is that of *Nephthalim*, both the reference which it hath to the Weſt Sea, and the City of [d] *Rehob* adioyning prooue it: the other *Hamath* or *Emath* (being farre remoued and beyond the forenamed mountaines, which incloſe all thoſe Lands which *Iſrael* euer had poſſeſſion of) is that *Emath*, which is alſo called *Ituræa*, witneſſe [e] *Stella* and *Laicſtan*; and not that in *Nephtalim*, where [f] *Ionathas Macchabæus* attended the Army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and remoued by night.

For though *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Ituræa* (and therefore it is ſaide to be *finitima Galilææ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning ouer the mountaines *Traconis*, and ſo it ſtretcheth into the plaines of the Territory of *Ituræa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was *Tetrarch* or *Preſident* both of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis:* both which are ouer *Iordan* towards the Eaſt. But *Chamath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the Weſt ſide of *Iordan* towards the *Mediterran* Sea.

The Countrey *Ituræa* was ſo called of *Iethur* one of the ſonnes of *Iſmael*, it is placed in the bounds of *Cæleſyria* and *Arabia* * the Deſart.

The people *Ituræi* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent Archers: Of whom *Virgil:*

Ituræos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the *Ituræans* bowes were made.

This City *Chamath* or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim* ſeemes to haue beene as ancient as the other in *Ituræa*, both built by *Amatheus* the eleuenth ſon of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *Dauid*, this, or the other had *Tohu* for King, it is not certaine; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountaines, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*, were both neighbours to *Damaſcus:* of whoſe ſubiugation *Tohu* reioyced, becauſe *Hadadeſer* whom the *Damaſceni* came to helpe, was his enemy. This *Tohu* fearing the ſtrength and proſperity of *Dauid*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich preſents, and with many ancient veſſels of gold, ſiluer, and braſſe.

But it ſeemeth that *Dauid* in ſuch great ſucceſſe would not haue had peace with *Tohu*, if he had beene King of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tſoba:* which City *Salomon* after his Fathers death made himſelfe Maſter of, as a part of the lands (* in the larger and conditionall promiſe) allotted by God to the children of *Iſrael*.

But this *Hammath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after diuers mutations and changes both of name and fortune, being, as it hath beene ſaide, poſſeſſed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While Saint *Hierome* liued, it remained a City well peopled, knowne to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greekes* by *Epiphania*.

†. VI.

Of Reblatha and Rama, and diuers other Townes.

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath* towards *Iordan* ſtandeth the Citie *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountaine *Daphnis*: which falleth into the lake of *Merom*. Heereunto was

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and *Chamath Iudæ*, as we haue noted, *2 Reg 24*. Secondly, becauſe *Num. 34. 8.* and alſo *Ezekiel 47, 10.* *Chamath* in the North ſide of the holy Land, is placed too neere the Weſt corner, to be that *Chamath-Tſoba:* for in the line which ſhould make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Moſes* to name neuer a place Eaſtward along all the breadth of the holy Land, vntill we come to *Hermon* (for ſo they expound Mount *Hor, Num. 34. 7.*) and beyond *Hermon* Eaſtward in this North ſide, they make him to name diuers Townes, firſt *Chamath*, then *Tſedad*, then *Ziphron*, and laſtly, *Chatſar-henan*, a thing moſt vnlikely: ſeeing *Iſrael* had little or nothing Eaſtward beyond *Hermon*. Therefore we muſt needes expound *Hor* to be one of the Hilles neere *Sidon*, and ſo thoſe Townes, as they are named to lie in order on the North ſide of *Aſher, Nephthalim*. and *Manaſſes:* and in like manner thoſe in *Ezekiel:* firſt, *Checlon*, then *Chamath*, and ſo in order, *Berotha, Sibraim, Tſedad, Chauran, Chatſar-henan.*

[c] Of which *Ioſ. 19. 35.*

[d] Which *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, in *Ioſua 19. 28.* is placed in *Aſher* towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephthalim*.

[e] *Tilemanus, Stella* and *Peter Laicſtan*, in their Tables of the holy Land.

[f] *Ioſeph. Ant. 13. 8.*

* That it doth properly belõg to *Arabia*, the name of *Ietur Iſmaels* ſonne, whoſe iſſue ſetled in the *Arabiaes*, may in part giue witneſſe. Alſo the place of the 1 Chro. 5. 19. confirmes it where *Ietur* is named among the *Hagarens*, againſt whom the *Rubenites* & *Gadites* made war, & whoſe countrey they poſſeſt in the time of *Ieroboam*, as their fore-fathers had done in the time of *Saul* after his conqueſt of the *Amalekites, Chro. 1. ca. 15. ver. 10.* where the country is placed at the Eaſt of *Gilead*.

* Of the larger promiſe expreſt *Deut. 1. 7.* where *Euphrates* is named for one of the bounds; ſee *cap: 7. §. 2.*

Hieron. de Locis Hebr.

was *Zedekias* brought priſoner, after his ſurprize in the fields of *Iericho:* and deliuered to *Nabuchodonoſor:* who to be auenged of *Zedekia's* infidelity, beyond the proportion of pietie, firſt cauſed the Princes his children to be ſlaine in his preſence: and to the end that this miſerable ſpectacle might be the laſt that euer he ſhould behold in this world, and ſo the moſt remembred, he commanded both his eyes preſently to be thruſt out: and binding him in yron chaines, he was led a ſlaue to *Babylon,* in which eſtate he ended his life. Of which ſeldome-exampled calamitie, though not in expreſſe words, *Hieremie* the Prophet fore-told him in *Hieruſalem* not long before: But *Ezechiel* thus directly, ſpeaking in the perſon of God, *I will bring him to Babel to the Land of the Chaldæans, yet ſhall he not ſee it, though he ſhall die therein.*

There are beſides theſe before remembred, many other ſtrong Cities in *Nephthalim,* as that which is called [a] *Cedes:* there are two other of the ſame name, one in [b] *Iſachar,* another in *Iuda,* of which *Ioſ.*15.23. and therefore to diſtinguiſh it, it is knowne by the addition of [c] *Nephtalim,* as *Iudg.*4. It is ſeated on a high hill, whence *Ioſ.*20.7. *Kedeſh in Galilea in monte Nephtali: Ioſephus* calls it *Cedeſis,* and in Saint *Hieroms* time it was called *Cidiſſus. Belforeſt* greatly miſtakes this *Cedes,* and confounds it with *Cades* in the *Deſart* of *Pharan.*

After the King thereof among other of the *Canaanites* periſhed by the hand of *Ioſua,* it was made a Citie of refuge, and giuen to the *Leuites.* Herein was *Barac* borne; who ouerthrew the Armie of the ſecond *Iabin* of *Hazor,* at the Mount *Tabor.* It was ſometime poſſeſt by *Teglatphalaſſer,* when he waſted all *Nephtalim:* afterward by the *Romans,* and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolitan* Region: When it had imbraced the Chriſtian faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeate, but in time it fell with the reſt into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turkes,* and by them it was demoliſhed.

From *Cedes* ſome foure *Italian* miles towards the South-weſt, ſtandeth *Sephet,* otherwiſe *Zephet,* which was alſo one of the ten *Decapolitan* Cities: a place exceeding ſtrong, and for many yeeres the inexpugnable Fortreſſe of the *Chriſtians,* and afterward of the *Saracens;* for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of thoſe Regions, both In-land and Maritimate neere it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim,* ſeated North-ward neere *Sephet:* this is to be noted; that there are () diuers places of this name in *Palæſtine,* all ſituate on Hills: and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebræis excelſum; Ramah with the Hebrewes is high.*) Alſo that from this *Rama Ioſ.*19.36. they reade *Arama,* making the article (which it hath in the *Hebrew,* as being a name of diuers Towns) to be a part of the word: whence caſting away the aſpiration, they read *Arama.* From *Sephet* towards the Weſt they place * *Bethſemes,* of which *Ioſ.*19.38. which defended it ſelfe againſt *Nephtalim, Iud.*1.33. but paid them tribute. On the other ſide of *Sephet* towards the Eaſt was *Bethanath,* who alſo kept their Citie from the *Nephtalims.*

Adioyning to which ſtandeth *Carthan* [d] or *Kiriathaym* a Citie of the *Leuites,* not farre from the Mountaine out of which the ſprings of *Capharnaum* ariſe, called *Mons Chriſti:* a place by our Sauiour often frequented: as alſo then when calling his Diſciples together, he made choiſe of twelue, which he called and ordained to be his *Apoſtles* or Meſſengers: of which place or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the [e] *Euangeliſts.*

Adioyning to theſe are *Magdalel,* a place of ſtrength, [f] and *Meſaloth,* of which we reade that it was forced by *Bacchides* in the time of the [g] *Macchabees:* alſo (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berothaes* of *Nephtalim.* For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, [h] one neere *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek.* 47.6. another (vpon a weake coniecture out of *Ioſeph. ant. l.*5.*c.*2.) he therefore placeth in this tract neere the waters of *Merom;* becauſe the Kings that ioyned with *Iabin* againſt *Ioſua,* which incamped at the waters of *Merom, Ioſ.*11.5. are by *Ioſephus* ſaid to haue incamped at the Citie *Berotha* in *Galilee,* not farre from *Cedeſa ſuperior,* which is alſo in *Galilee:* all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* ſeeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the vpper *Galilee* or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles.* The ſame *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neere *Abela* (of which *Abela* or *Abel-beth Mahacah* we haue ſpoken alreadie) this he doth vpon a coniecture touching the place 2.*Sam.*20.14. where ſome reade *Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim:* but the better reading is, *& omnes Berim,* that is, *with all the Beræi:* for *Shebah* being of *Beniamin* (in which Tribe alſo there is a Citie called *Berotha* or *Beeroth*) drew the men of that Citie after him.

To the North of *Berotha* of *Nephtalim* ſtandeth *Sebarim* vnder *Libanus,* remembred by

Ezek.

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*Hierem.*52.11. *&c.*

*Ezek.*21.52.

[a] Or *Kedeſh, Ioſ.*19.37. & 20.7. & 21.32 *item Iud.* 4.6.

[b] 1. *Chron* 6.72. which *Ioſ.*19.20 is called *Kiſhion.*

[c] Sometime *Kedeſh* in *Galilea,* 1.*Chron.*6.76: *Ioſ* 12.22. 2.*Reg:* 15 29.

() See in *Beniamin,* and in *Ephraim.*

* Other Cities there were of this name, (which is as much as *domus ſolis*) as that in *Iuda,* 2 *Kin.*14 15. where *Ioaſh* King of the ten tribes ouercame *Amaſia* of *Iuda,* of which alſo I vnderſtād the place, *Ioſ.*21.16. & 1 *Sam.*6.14. & 2.*Chrō.*29.18. A third as it ſeemes was in *Dan.* 1.*Kin* 4.9. which *Ioſ.*19.41. is written *Hirſhemes,* which is as much as *Ciuitas ſolis. Iud* 1 31.

[d] So it appears by comparing of the places. *Ioſ* 21.32. and 1.*Chr.*6.76. *Adrichomius* both here and elſewhere deceiued by the double name, makes two of one: although I deny not but that there was another *Kiriathaim* in *Reuben,* of which *Ioſ.*13.19.

[e] *Mark* 3. *Math.*10. *Acts* 1. *Math.*5.6 7.

[f] *Ioſ.*19.38.

[g] 1. *Mac.*9.2.

[h] *Barathena Ptolomæo in fine Arabiæ deſerta: Iunio eadem cum Berothai vna ciuitatum Hadadezeris,* 2.*Sam cap* 8.*v.*8. *Ioſ.*18.25.

Ezek.47. and *Aroſeth gentium*, neere the waters of *Merom* or *Samochonitis*, the Citie of *Siſara* Lieutenant of the Armie of the ſecond *Iabin*: from whence not farre off towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a ſtrong Citie: beſides many others, whereof I find no particular ſtorie of importance: as *Ser* in *Ioſuà c.19.v.35.* called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the firſt of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Aſſedim* & *Ser*. Then *Adama* which they call *Edama*: alſo *Hion* which they call *Ahion*, of which in the Bookes of *Kings*. Then the ſtrong Citie of *Cinnereth* after called *Gennezareth*, whence we reade of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*, the ſame Lake which is alſo called the Sea of *Tiberias*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which * *Mac.1.9.2.* alſo diuers others named, *Ioſ.19.* as *Vcuca* or *Chukkok*: *Horem* and *Azanoth-tabor* (which they place towards the Eaſt parts) and out of the ſame place of *Ioſua*, *Iirzon*, *Lakkum Iepnael*, *Heleb*, and [k] *Reccath*, which two laſt they place neere *Cæſarea Philippi*: To theſe they adde out of *Ioſua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*: for which two *Iunius* readeth *Foſſa Adamæi*, making it no Towne but a Ditch caſt by ſome of *Adameth*, as it ſeemes; or at leaſt the cuſtodie of which March or Limit belonging to the Towne. To theſe out of *Num.34.10.* they adde *Sephana*, which *1.Sam.30.21.* ſeemes to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tichon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.47.16.* and the later out of *Ioſua 19.33.* it may appeare by *Iunius* his Tranſlation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former hee readeth *Mediana*, and for the latter *Quercetum*. The Citie of [l] *Nephthalim* which they make the natiue place of *Tobie*, and *Naaſſon* neere vnto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* Tranſlation, *Tob.7.7.* but in the *Greeke* Text there is no ſigne, neither of the one nor of the other.

Aſtroth. Hierõ. Iud.4. Lyr. in Iud.4.
Ioſ.19.37.
1.Reg 15.20.
2.Reg.15 29.
Marc.6.53.
Luc 5.1.

* This place of the *Macchab.* warrants no *Galgala* or *Gilgal* in *Nepthali*, but may well be vnderſtood of *Gilgel* in *Beniamin* or in *Manaſſe*.

[k] This *Reccath* or *Racath* *Iunius* thinkes that it is the ſame with *Karthan* (one of theſe being made of the other by Tranſpoſition of letters) of which *Karthan* wee haue noted already, that it is alſo called *Kiria-thaym*. [l] In the place, *1 Reg.4.* is, which alſo they bring to prooue that there was a Citie called *Nepthalim*, as it is euident by the following Verſes: the Tribe of *Nephthalim* is meant, and not any Citie of that name.

§. V.

THE TRIBE OF ZABVLON.

OF *Zabulon* or *Zebulon*, another of the ſonnes of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were muſtered at Mount *Sinai* 57400. able men, beſides women, children, and aged vnable perſons: all which dying in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their iſſues 65000. fit to beare armes: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Aſher* to the Riuer *Chiſon*: Southward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterran*, Eaſt and Weſt.

The Cities within this Tribe which border *Aſher*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea ſhore, of which *Ioſeph. Ant.13.c.19.* *Debbaſet* of * which *Ioſ.19.11.* *Iekonam* or *Iokneham* (whoſe King was [a] ſlaine by *Ioſua*, and the Citie was giuen to the *Leuites*) and *Gaba* after called the Citie of Horſemen, of a Regiment there garriſond by *Herode*. Then the City which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, (or the *Citie of men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, [b] burnt to the ground by *Ceſtius*, Lieutenant of the *Romane* Armie. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth Citie of [c] *Elon* Iudge of *Iſrael*, becauſe hee is called *Zabulonita*: not marking that in the ſame place, he is ſaid to be buried at *Aialon*.

To the Eaſt of this City of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Ioſ.19.15.* on the border of *Aſher*: and beyond it the leſſer [d] *Cana* of *Galilee*, where *Chriſt* conuerted Water into Wine: the natiue Citie of *Nathaniel*, and as it is thought, of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountaines of *Zabulon*: and then the Citie of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended it ſelfe againſt *Zabulon*. Then *Berſabe* which ſtandeth in the partition of the vpper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Ioſephus* againſt the *Romanes*. Not farre from hence ſtandeth *Shimron* of *Meron* whoſe King was ſlaine by *Ioſua*.

Then *Damna* or *Dimna*, a Citie of the *Leuites*: then *Noa* or rather *Neha*, of which *Ioſ.19.13.* Then *Dothan* or *Dothain*, where *Ioſeph* found his brethren feeding their flockes: the ſame wherein *Elizæus* beſieged by the *Syrians*, ſtrooke them all blinde.

Beyond it towards the Eaſt they imagine [e] *Amthar* or *Amathar*: then *Remmon* of the *Leuites*. The laſt of the Cities on the North border of *Zabulon* is *Bethſaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, ſituate on the *Galilæan* Sea, and watered by the ſprings of *Capharnaum*, the natiue Citie of the Apoſtles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein *Chriſt* did manie miracles, but theſe people being no leſſe incredulous then the *Capharnaims*, and others,

* *Ioſua.12.22*
[a] *Ioſ.2 bel.19*
[b] *Ioſ.2.bel.22.*
[c] *Iud 12.12.*

[d] The greater *Cana* is in the Tribe of *Aſſer*. *Ioſ.21.2.* *Nathaniel* is ſaid to bee of *Cana* in *Galilee*. Of *Simon* it may be doubted: for *Angelus Caninius* reads *Mat.10.4.* *Simon Kannites*, which word *Luc.6.* is, hee thinketh, to be expounded by *Zelotes*.

[e] The *Hebrew* *Hammethoar*, (for which the Vulgar hath *Amthar*, *Ioſ.19.13.*) *Vatablus* expounds *quæ gyrat*; *Iunius* ioynes it with the word going before it, and reads *Rimmonemo Methoarũ*, *Mat.8.11.* *Mark.1.6.* *Luke 4.10.*

thers, receiued the ſame Curſe of threatened Miſeries, as *Woe bee vnto thee Bethſaida, &c.*

Alongſt the Weſt border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethſaida*, was the ſtrong Caſtle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Marie Magdalen*, not long ſince ſtanding.

And beyond it the ſtrong and high ſeated Citie of *Iotapata*: fortified by *Ioſephus* in the *Roman* Warre: but in the end after a long ſiege ſurpriſed by *Veſpaſian*, who ſlaughtered many thouſand of the Citizens, and held 1200. priſoners, whereof *Ioſephus* the Hiſtorian was one.

The laſt and greateſt of the Cities on that * Sea and the Lake of *Genezareth* within *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilæan* Sea alſo changed name and was called the Sea of the Citie *Tiberias*, ſo named in the honour of *Tiberius Cæſar*; it was one of the ten Cities, and the *Metropolis* of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greateſt and laſt of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our *Sauiour* called *Matthew*, from the toll or cuſtome houſe, to be an Apoſtle, and neere vnto it raiſed the daughter of *Iairus* from death: it was built (as *Ioſephus* reports) by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the reigne of *Tiberius Cæſar*: in the moſt fruitfull part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of *Sepulchers*: *Quum iuxta noſtras leges* (ſaith hee) *ad ſeptem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet; whereas by our law hee ſhould be ſeuen daies held as vncleane, who inhabited in ſuch a place*: by which words, and by the whole place of *Ioſephus* it appeares, that this *Tiberias* is not (as ſome haue thought) the ſame as the old *Cinnereth*, which was ſeated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephtalim*.

* The names of the chiefe Cities ſeated about this Sea, or lake, through which *Iordan* runneth, where *Capernaum*, *Tiberias*, *Bethſaida*, *Gadara*, *Tarichea*, and they adde *Cinnereth*, which in foretimes gaue name to the Lake and Countrie.

Math. 9.

Luc. 5.

Neere vnto this *Tiberias*, at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Veſpaſian* the Emperour encamped againſt *Tiberias*: More into the Land toward the South-weſt is *Bethulia*, ſeated on a very high Hill, and of great ſtrength, famous by the ſtory of *Holofernes* and *Iudith*, ſuch as it is. Neere which ſtandeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adioyning vnto it, *Capharath* fortified by *Ioſephus* againſt the *Romans*: and *Iapha* an exceeding ſtrong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie ſlew 15000. of the Citizens; and caried away aboue two thouſand priſoners.

Ioſe. Ant. 18. 3.

Ioſeph. 10. 15.

Adrich in Zab.

Ioſe. in vit. ſua.

Ioſep. 2 *Bel.* 25.

On the South ſide are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Leuites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Ioſephus* in his owne life, then *Iaſie* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Ioſ.* 19. 12.) for hee thinkes that it is not that *Iapha* of which wee ſpake but now out of *Ioſephus*. *Iideala* of which *Ioſ* 19. 15. *Hierome* calls it *Iadela*: vnder it Weſtward, *Legio*, (afterward a Biſhops ſeate) and the Citie *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding ſtrong, remembred *Iudith* 7. 3. otherwiſe *Chelma*. Betweene *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the Citie *Saffa* or *Saffra*, the birth-Citie of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *Iames* and *Iohn*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Ioſephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, ſaith *Hegeſippus* and *Hierome*, was called *Diocæſarea*; the Citie of *Ioachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*; it was called by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, and by him, as *Ioſephus* ſpeakes, made the head and defence of *Galilee*; in another place he ſaith, *Vrbium Galilæarum maximæ Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Veſpaſian* ere he wanne it. *Herod Antipas* when he made it the Regall ſeat of the nether *Galilee*, and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much to ſay as Imperiall, ſaith *Ioſephus*; and it is now but a Caſtle called *Zaphet*.

Ioſua 21. 35 otherwiſe *Kiſloth Thabor*, as *Iunius* thinkes vpon *Ioſ* 19. 12 whence 1. *chro.* 6. 77. it is called *Thaber*.

Iohan de Monteuilla, c. 4 & 20.

Ioſep. ant. 18 3. & *in vita ſua.*

To the South-Weſt of this *Sephoris* or *Diocæſarea* was that bleſſed place of *Nazareth*, the Citie of *Marie* the Mother of *Chriſt*; in which hee himſelfe was conceiued; it ſtandeth betweene Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran Sea*. In this Citie hee abode chiefly foure and twenty yeeres, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the *Chriſtians* afterward were for many yeers. It was erected into an *Archbiſhopricke* in the following age. Neere vnto it are the Cities *Buria* (afterward well defended againſt the *Turkes*) and *Nahalal*, of which *Ioſ.* 19. 15. and *Iud.* 1. 30. where it is called *Nahalal*: and *Ioſ.* 21. 35. where it is a Citie of the *Leuites*, neere the Sea; adioyning to the Riuer of *Chiſon* is *Sarid*, noted in *Ioſua* for the vttermoſt of *Zabulon*.

In this Territorie of *Zabulon* there are diuers ſmall Mountaines: but *Tabor* is the moſt renowned, by the Apparition of *Moſes* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Chriſt* in the preſence of *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*: vnto whom *Moſes* and *Elias* appeared; in memorie whereof on the top of the Mountaine, the *Empreſſe Helen* built a ſumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe Riuer of *Zabulon* is *Chiſon*, which riſing out of *Tabor*, runneth with one ſtreame Eaſtward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with another ſtreame Weſtward into the great Sea. This Riuer of *Chiſon* where it riſeth, and ſo farre as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim* or *Cadumim*: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to be the ſame which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorſeus*: though others diſtinguiſh them, and ſet *Chorſeus* by *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ*. There is a ſecond Torrent or Brooke that riſeth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a riuer riſing out of the Fountaines of *Capharnaum*, which falleth alſo into the ſame Sea, and neere *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Dotham*, from the name of the Citie, from which it paſſeth Eaſtward to *Bethſaida*, and ſo ioyning with *Iordanis paruus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Iephthael*, which *Ioſua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See *Laicſtans* Map in *Ortelius*.
Ioſ.19.14.

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§. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.

THe next adioyning Territorie to *Zabulon*, to the South and Southweſt, was *Iſachar*, who inhabited a part of the neather *Galilee*, within *Iordan*: of whom there were increaſed in *Ægypt*, as appeared by their muſters at Mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and warlike men, who leauing their bodies with the reſt in the Deſerts, there entred the Holy Land, 64300.

Tarichea in Sueton.

The firſt Citie of this Tribe neere the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, diſtant from *Tiberias* eight Engliſh mile, or ſomewhat more; a Citie wherein the *Iewes* (by the practice of a certaine mutinous vpſtart, *Iohn* the ſonne of *Leui*) tooke armes againſt *Ioſephus* the Hiſtorian, then Gouernour of both *Galilees*. This Citie was firſt taken by *Caſſius*, and 3000. *Iewes* carried thence captiue; and afterward with great difficultie by *Veſpaſian*, who entred it by the Sea ſide, hauing firſt beaten the *Iewes* in a ſea-fight vpon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*; he put to the ſword all ſorts of people, and of all ages: ſauing that his furie being quenched with the riuers of bloud running through euery ſtreet, he reſerued the remainder for ſlaues and bond-men.

Ioſ.21.28. Kiſhion, which *1 Chr.6.72.* is called *Kedeſh*.

Ioſua. 19.
1 Sam.4 1.
1 Sam.3. 19.
1 Kings 20.26.
In the latter two places *Iunius* makes *Aphek* in *Aſſer*, according to *Ioſ.19 30.* in the firſt hee placeth it in *Iuda*, out of *Ioſ.15.53.*
1 Kings 20.
1 Kings 20.23.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Ceſion*, or *Ciſhion*, of the *Leuites*, and then *Iſachar*, remembred in the firſt of *Kings c.4.v.17.* then *Abes* or *Ebets*, *Ioſ.19.20.* and *Remeth*, of which *Ioſ.19.21.* otherwiſe *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron.6.73.* or *Iarmuth*, *Ioſ.21.29.* this alſo was a City of the *Leuites*, from whoſe Territorie the Mountaines of *Gilboe* take beginning: and range themſelues to the *Mediterran* Sea, and towards the Weſt as farre as the Citie of *Iezreel*, between which and *Ramoth*, are the Cities of *Bethpheſes*, or *Bethpaſſes*, according to *Zeigler*; and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*, neere which *Saul* ſlew himſelfe: vnder thoſe, *Aphec* or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Iſachar*: betweene which and *Suna*, he ſaith, that the *Philiſtims* incamped againſt *Iſrael*, & afterward againſt *Saul*: a Land thirſtie of bloud, for herein alſo, ſaith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Reguli* aſſiſting *Benhadad*, incountered *Achab*: and were ouerthrowne and ſlaughtered: to whom the King of *Iſrael* made a moſt memorable anſwere, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which was, *Tell*, Benhadad, *Let not him that girdeth his harneis boaſt himſelfe, as he that putteth it off*: meaning that glorie followed after victorie, but ought not to precede it. In the yeere following, in the fields, as they ſay, adioyning to this Citie, was the ſame vaine-glorious *Syrian* vtterly broken and diſcomfited by *Acab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites* or *Syrians* ſlaine: before which ouerthrow the ſeruants and Counſailors of *Benhadad* (in deriſion of the God of *Iſrael*) told him, *That the Gods of Iſrael were Gods of the Mountaines: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines, they ſhould ouercome them.*

Iudith 1.8. & *7.3.*
1 Chron. 6.73.
Ioſ. 21.29.

Vnder *Aphec* towards the Sea they ſet the Citie of *Eſdrelon*; in the plaines of *Galilee*, ſo called alſo the great field of *Eſdrelon*, and *Maggedo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphec* to bee ſeene, ſaith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After theſe are the Cities of *Caſaloth*, of which, 1. *Machab.9.2.* *Anem* or *Hen-Gannim* of the *Leuites*, and *Seeſima* or *Shahatſima*, the Weſt border of *Iſachar*, of which *Ioſ.19.22.* From hence ranging the Seacoaſt, there is found the Caſtle of *Pilgrimes*: a ſtrong Caſtle inuironed with the Sea, ſometime the ſtore-houſe and Magaſine of the *Chriſtians*, and built by the Earle of S^t^. *Giles* or *Tolouſe*.

From the Caſtle of *Pilgrimes* the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermoſt ſhore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not farre from the Riuer *Chiſon*, where *Elijah* aſſembled all the Prophets and Prieſts of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab* and the people aſſembled, to make triall whether the God of *Iſrael*, or the Idoll of *Baal* were to be worſhipped, by laying a ſacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Prieſts of *Baal* prayed, and cut their owne fleſh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in deriſion told them that their God *was either in purſuite of his enemies not at leyſure, or perchance a-ſleepe, &c.* but at the prayer of *Elijah* his fire kindled, notwithſtanding that he had cauſed the people to caſt many Veſſells of water thereon: by which miracle the people incenſed, ſlew all thoſe Idolaters on the bankes of *Chiſon* adioyning.

At the foot of this Mountaine to the North ſtandeth *Caiphas*, built, as they ſay, by *Caiphas* the high Prieſt. It is alſo knowne by the name of *Porſina* and *Porphyria*, ſometime a *Suffragane* Biſhops ſeate. Returning againe from the Seacoaſt towards *Tiberias* by the bankes of *Chiſon*, there are found the Citie of *Hapharaim* or *Aphraim*, and the Caſtles of *Mezra*, and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the Riuer *Chiſon*: a beautifull Citie while it ſtood, in the Gates whereof *Chriſt* raiſed from death the widdowes onely ſonne.

Luc.7.

Then *Seon* or *Shion* named *Ioſ.*19. betweene the two Hills of *Hermon*, in *Iſachar*: beyond it ſtandeth *Endor*, famous by reaſon of the Inchauntreſſe that vndertooke to raiſe vp the body of *Samuel* at the inſtigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it ſtands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith* named *Ioſ. c.*19.*v.*19.20. Then *Dabarath* as it is named, *Ioſ.*21.28. or *Dobratha*, as it is named, 1.*Chron.*6.72. This Citie (which ſtretcheth it ſelfe ouer *Chiſon*) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the *Leuites*.

Next to *Daberath* is *Arbela* ſituate, neere the Caues of thoſe two Theeues which ſo greatly moleſted *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It ioyneth on one ſide to the Mountaine of *Iſachar* or *Hermon*, and on the other to the Valley of *Ieſrael*: which valley continueth it ſelfe from *Bethſan* or *Scythopolis*, the Eaſt border of *Iſachar*, euen to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are incloſed by the Mountaines of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermon*, and the Riuer *Chiſon* on the North. In theſe* plaines *Gedeon* ouerthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they thinke, *Saul* fought againſt the *Philiſtims*: *Achab* againſt the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* againſt the *Saracens*.

*Called *Campus Magnus*, 1.*Mac.* 12.49. and *Harbathæ* for *Harabath*. 1.*Macc.* 5.23. & 9.2.
*Iudg.*6.
1.*Sam.*31.
1.*Kin.*20.

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§. VII.

THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE OF MANASSE.

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†. I.

Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therſa, and others.

THe next Tribe which ioyneth it ſelfe to *Iſachar* towards the South, is the halfe of *Manaſſe*, on the Weſt ſide of *Iordan*. *Manaſſes* was the firſt begotten of *Ioſeph*, the eleuenth ſonne of *Iacob*. His mother was an *Ægyptian*, the daughter of *Putiphar*, Prieſt and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manaſſes* with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Iacob*, were by adoption numbred amongſt the ſonnes of *Iacob*, and made vp the number of the twelue *Patriarkes*.

Of *Manaſſe* there were increaſed in *Ægypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being conſumed in the *Deſarts*, there entred of their iſſues, 52700. bearing armes. The Territory which fell on this one halfe of *Manaſſe*, was bounded by *Iordan* on the Eaſt, and *Dora* vpon the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt, *Ieſrael* on the North, and *Machmata* is the South border.

The firſt and principall Citie which ſtood in this Territorie was *Bethſan*, ſometime *Nyſa*, ſaith *Plinie*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurſe there buried, of the ſame name; which *Solinus* confirmes. Afterward when the *Scythians* inuaded *Aſia* the leſſe, and pierſt into the South, to the vttermoſt of *Cœloſyria*, they built this Citie a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the Citie of *Scythians* giuen by the *Greekes*.

*Plin.lib.*5.*c.*18

Theſe barbarous Northren people conſtrained the *Iewes* to fight againſt their owne

Nation and kindred, by whoſe hands when they had obtained victorie, they themſelues ſet on the *Iewes* which ſerued them, and ſlew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the vtmoſt towards the South of *Cælesyria* : and *Strabo* ioynes it to *Galilee*. It is ſeated betweene *Iordan* and the Hills of *Gilboe*, *in aulone ad montes acrabitenæ*, ſaith *Zeigler*. But I finde it in the Eaſt part of the Valley of *Ieſrael* neere *Iordan* : after that, *Iordan* ſtrengtheneth it ſelfe againe into a Riuer, leauing the Sea or Lake *Genezareth*. Notwithſtanding, *Montanus* deſcribes it farre to the Weſt, and towards the *Mediterran* Sea, neere *Endor*, contrarie to *Stella*, *Laicſtan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the beſt Authors. This Citie was the greateſt of all thoſe of *Decapolis* : but the children of *Manaſſe* could not expell the inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it *Sane* an enemie, or *Beth-ſan*, the houſe of an enemie.

udg 1. Ioſ 17. & de Bell. ſacr.

Ouer the walls of this *Bethſan* the *Philiſtims* hung the bodie of *Saul*, and his ſonnes ſlaine at *Gilboe*. It had, while the *Chriſtian* Religion flouriſhed in thoſe parts, an *Archbiſhop*, who had nine other *Biſhops* of his Dioceſſe, numbred by *Tyrius*, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the ſame was afterward tranſlated to *Nazareth*. The later trauailers in thoſe parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillers and other pieces of excellent marble, which witneſſe the ſtatelie buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and deſolate Village.

Hierō. in Epiſt. ad Euagr. & in Loc. Hebr.

From *Bethſan* keeping the way by *Iordan*, they finde an ancient Citie called *Salem*, which Citie the ancient *Rabbines*, ſaith *Hierome*, doe not finde to be the ſame with *Hieruſalem* : there being in the time of *Hierome* and ſince, a towne of that name, neere *Scythopolis* before remembred, which if the place of Scripture, *Gen.* 13. 18. doe not confirme, where the *Vulgar* readeth *tranſiuitq; in Salem vrbem Sichemorum* (for which others reade *venit incolumis ad Ciuitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper name, but an adiectiue) yet the place *Iohn* 3. 13. where it is ſaid, that *Iohn* was baptizing in *Ænon* neere *Salem*, may ſomewhat ſtrengthen this opinion, and yet it is not vnlikely that this *Salem* of which S. *Iohn* ſpeaketh, is but contracted of *Shahalim*, of which in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, 1. *Sam.* 9. 4. This word *Iunius* maketh to bee the plurall of *Shuhal* : of which wee reade, 1. *Sam.* 13. 17. for as for that which is added out of *Canticles* 6. 12. of *Shulammitis*, as if it had beene as much as a Woman of this *Saleim*, neere *Ænon*, it hath no probality.

This City *Bezek* by the place, *Iud.* 1. 3: ſeemeth to haue beene in *Iuda*.

Ioſe ant. 6. *c.* 5. *Sam.* 1. *c.* 11.

Not farre from thence where they place *Salem*, they find *Bezech* the Citie of *Adonibezet*, *Ioſephus* calls it *Bala*, here it was that *Saul* aſſembled the ſtrength of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieue *Iabeſh Gilead*, againſt *Naaſh* the *Ammonite* : who would giue them no other conditions of peace, than to ſuffer their right eyes to be thruſt out. Neere *Bezech* is the Citie of *Bethbera* or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Iudg.* 7. 24. in the ſtorie of *Gideon* : and then *Ephra* or *Hophra*, wherein *Gedeon* inhabited: in the border whereof ſtood an Altar conſecrated to *Baal*, which hee pulled downe and defaced; and neere it that ſtone, on which *Abimelech* the Baſtard ſlew his 70. brothers: a Heatheniſh cruelty, practiſed by the *Turke* to this day; and not farre hence, betweene the Village of *Aſophon* and *Iordan*, *Ptolomeus Lathurus* ouerthrew *Alexander* King of the *Iewes*, and ſlaughtered as *Ioſephus* numbreth them 3000. but according to *Timagenes* 50000. after which victory, as *Ptolomie* paſt by the Villages of the *Iewes*; he ſlew all their women, and cauſed the young children to be ſod in great caldrons, that the reſt of the *Iewes* might thereby thinke that the *Ægyptians* were growne to be men-eaters, and ſtrike them with the greater terror.

Ioſ. l. 15. *c.* 21. *ant.*

* This *Aner Iunius* vpon 1. *Chron* 6. 70. makes to bee the ſame with *Tahanac*, of which *Ioſ.* 21: 25. *Hierome* names it from *Aner* the Confederate of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 14. 13. *Ioſua* 12. 17.

1 *King.* 14.

Towards the Weſt and on the border of *Iſachar*, they place the Cities of * *Aner* of the *Leuites*, and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Iunius*, *Iudg.* 7. 22. placeth in *Ephraim*, it was the habitation of *Heliſæus* the Prophet, numbred among thoſe places, 1. *Reg.* 4. 12. which were giuen in charge to *Baana* by *Salomon*, to whoſe charge alſo *Tahanac* belonging, a place of great ſtrength, which at the firſt reſiſted *Ioſua*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their Citie giuen to the *Leuites*.

In the bodie of this Territory of *Manaſſe*, but ſomewhat neerer *Iordan*, than to the *Mediterran* Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, *Therſa*, whoſe King was one of thoſe that *Ioſua* ſlew : which the Kings of *Iſrael* vſed for their Regall ſeate, till ſuch time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Ieroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her ſons health: who knowing her, though ſhe were diſguiſed, told her of her ſonnes death.

The ſecond was *Thebes* neere *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Ægypt*, and

Greece, of great fame: in the aſſault of the Tower of this Towne, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Baſtard *Abimelec* was wounded by a waighty ſtone, throwne by a Woman ouer the Wall, who deſpairing of his recouery, commanded his Page to ſlay him outright, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid that hee periſhed by the ſtroke of a Woman. But others ſet this Citie in *Ephraim* neere *Sichem* or *Neapolis*. *Iudg. 9. v. 54.*

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the Territory adioyning is called *Acrabatena*, (one of the ten *Toparchies* or Gouernments in *Iudæa*) for which *Hierome*, 1. *Macc.* 5. reades *Arabathena*: but in the *Greeke* it is *Acrabatine*: *Iſidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This Citie had one of the largeſt Territories of all *Palæſtine* belonging to the Gouernour thereof. *Ioſephus* remembreth it often, as in his ſecond Booke of the *Iewes* Warres, *c.* 11. 25. 28. & elſewhere. *Hier. Mac. 1. c. 5.*

The difference betweene a *Tetrarchie* and a *Toparchie*, was, that the firſt was taken for a Prouince, and the other for a Citie with ſome leſſer Territory adioyning, and a *Tetrarch* is the ſame with *Præſes* in Latine, and *Preſident* in Engliſh, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdome: and thereof ſo called: *Plinie* nameth ſeuenteen *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had foure, and ſo hath the Kingdome of *Ireland* to this day, *Lemſter*, *Vlſter*, *Connath*, and *Mounſter*. *Plin. l. 5.* *Euſeb. in Chrō*

To the South-weſt of *Acrabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam* or *Bilham*, & *Gethremmon* of the *Leuites*: but *Iunius* out of *Ioſ.* 21. 25. and 1. *Chron.* 6. 70. gathers that theſe two are but one: and that *Iiblehām Ioſ.* 16. 11. is another name of the ſame Citie.

Then is *Ieſrael* a Regall Citie, ſet at the foot of the Mountaines of *Gilboe*, towards the South-weſt: herein *Iezabel* by a falſe accuſation cauſed *Naboth* to be ſtoned, to the end ſhe might poſſeſſe his Vineyard adioyning to the Citie, which *Naboth* refuſed to ſell, becauſe it was his inheritance from his Father.

Ioram alſo was caſt vnburied into the ſame field: for which his Mother *Iezabel* murthered *Naboth*. *King. 2. cap. 2.*

Toward the Sea from *Ieſrael* is the Citie which they call *Gaber*: in whoſe aſcent as *Ahaziah* King of *Iuda* fled from *Iehu*, when he had ſlaine *Ioram*, he was wounded with the ſhot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Maggeddo* adioyning. The Scripture calls this Citie of *Gaber*, *Gur*. *2. Kin. 9. 27.*

Then *Adadremmon*, neere vnto which the good King *Ioſias* was ſlaine by *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, in a War vnaduiſedly vndertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Aſſyria* againſt the King thereof; by the commandement of God: whom *Ioſias* thought to reſiſt in his paſſage. It was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbor Citie to *Adadremmon* was *Maggeddo*, often remembred in the Scriptures; whoſe King was ſlaine among the reſt by *Ioſua*: yet they defended their Citie for a long time againſt *Manaſſe*. The Riuer which paſſeth by the Towne, may perhaps be the ſame which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorſeus*: and not that of which we haue ſpoken in *Zabulon*. For becauſe this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of thoſe that haue deſcribed the Holy Land, delineate no ſuch Riuer. *Moore* onely ſets it downe in his *Geographie* of the twelue Tribes: but the Riuer which paſſeth by *Maggeddo*, he vnderſtandeth to be but a branch, falling thereinto. *Laicſtan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Iudges*: *Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the waters of Maggeddo.* But theſe Authors, and with them *Stella*, giue it no other name then the Torrent ſo called. *Iud. 1. c. 5.* *Ioſ 12. 17.*

But ſeeing that ancient *Coſmographers* ſtretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia*, euen to *Sebaſte* or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* farre beyond it on the Sea-coaſt: And *Ioſephus* calls *Cæſaria Palæſtinæ* a Citie of *Phœnicia*, yea *Laurentius Coruinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as farre as *Geza*: ſeeing alſo *Ptolome* ſets downe *Chorſeus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Iudæa*: this Riuer running Eaſt and Weſt paralell with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the Citie, which it watereth, is the ſame which *Ptolome* in his fourth Table of *Aſia* calleth *Chorſeus*. The later trauailers of the holy Land call *Maggeddo Subimbre* at this day. *Strab. l. 16.* *Ioſep. l. 15. c. 13.* *Niger.*

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†. II.

Of Cæſaria Palæſtinæ, and ſome other Townes.

From *Maggeddo* toward the Weſt, and neere the *Mediterran* Sea, was that glorious Citie of *Cæſaria Palæſtinæ*: firſt, the Tower of *Straton*: the ſame which *Plinie* calls

Ioſep.l.15.c.13.

Apollonia: though *Ptolomie* ſets *Apollonia* elſewhere, & toward *Ægypt*, between this City and *Ioppe*, to which *Veſpaſian* gaue the name of *Flauia Colonia.* It was by *Herod* re-built, who therein laboured to exceed all the workes in that part of the world. For beſides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and poliſht marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might looke ouer the Seas farre away, with the high and ſtately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harborow of great capacitie, being in former times but an open Bay: and the winde blowing from the Sea the Marchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the ſtrength of their cables and Anchors. This worke he performed with ſuch charge and labour, as the like of that hath not been found in any Kingdom, nor in any age: which, becauſe the Materialls were fetcht from farre, and the waight of the ſtones was ſuch as it exceedeth beliefe, I haue added *Ioſephus* owne words of this work, which are theſe: *Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ claſsi recipiendæ ſufficere: & in viginti vlnarum profundum, prægrandia ſaxa demiſit: quorum pleraq; pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine nouem-pedali: fuerunt quædam etiam maiora, minora alia; To mend this inconuenience of place* (ſaith Ioſephus) *hee compaſt in a Bay wherein a great fleete might well ride: and let downe great ſtones twenty fadome deepe: whereof ſome were fifty foot long, eighteen foot broad, aud nine foot thicke: ſome bigger, and ſome leſſer.* To this he added an arme or cawſie of two hundred foote long, to breake the waues: the reſt hee ſtrengthened with a ſtone wall, with diuers ſtately Towers thereon builded: of which the moſt magnificent he called *Druſus*, after the name of *Druſus* the ſonne in law of *Cæſar*: in whoſe honour he intituled the Citie it ſelfe, *Cæſaria* of *Palæſtine*: all which he performed in twelue yeeres time. It was the firſt of the Eaſterne Cities that receiued a Biſhop: afterward erected into an Archbiſhopricke, commanding twentie others vnder it, ſaith *Tyrius*.

L.4.c.12.bell. ſacr.

S. *Hierome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Euſebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Gelaſius* to haue beene Biſhops thereof. In this Citie was *Cornelius* the *Centurion* baptized by Saint *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apoſtle: S. *Paul* was heerein two yeres priſoner, vnder the *Preſident Fœlix*, vnto the time and gouernment of *Porcius Feſtus*: by whom making his appeale, he was ſent to *Cæſar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was paſſing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a God by his flatteries, hee was ſtricken with an Angell vnto death, ſaith *Ioſephus*.

To the North of *Cæſaria* ſtandeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as ſome reade, *Ioſ.* 1. 2. ſo called (ſaith *Adrichomius*) becauſe it ioyneth to the Sea, whoſe King was ſlaine by *Ioſua.* But *Iunius* for in *Naphoth Dor*, reades *in tractibus Dor*: and ſo the *Vulgar, in regionibus Dor*; although 1. *Reg.* 4. 11. for the like ſpeech in the *Hebrew* it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Ioſua* call it *Nepheth-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Ioſ.* 12. 23. *Iudg.* 1. 27.) may ſeeme to be *Dor*. It was a ſtrong and powerfull Citie, and the fourth in account of thoſe twelue Principalities or *Sitarchies*, which *Salomon* erected. *Iunius* vpon *Macchab.* 15. 11. placeth it betweene the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the Riuer *Cherſeus*: for ſo ſome name the Riuer *Chorſeus*, of which we haue ſpoken already.

Macc.1 13.15.

Into this Citie, for the ſtrength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, where hee was by the ſame *Antiochus* beſieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000. Horſe: the ſame perfidious villain that receiued 200. talents for the ranſome of *Ionathan Macchabæus* (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then ſlew him: and after him ſlew his owne Maſter, vſurping for a while the Kingdome of *Syria.* It had alſo a Biſhops ſeate of the Dioceſſe of *Cæſaria.*

Gul.Tyr. de Bell. ſacr.l.10. c.6.

From *Cæſaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for beſides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Euangeliſts*, they finde in theſe parts neere the Weſt Sea, another of the ſame name. Of *Gabe Hierome in locis Hebracis.* The famous *Galgal* or *Gilgal*, was in *Beniamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they ſay, it was whoſe King was ſlaine by *Ioſua.*

Mac.1.7.v.31.

Then *Antipatris* ſo called of *Herode*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Macchabees* it was called *Capharſalama*: in the fields whereof *Iudas Macchabæus* ouerthrew a part of the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an armie drawn into *Iudæa* by a traiterous *Iew*, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Prieſt-hood, firſt vnder *Bacchides*, and then vnder *Nicanor.* To this was S. *Paul* carried priſoner from *Hieruſalem*, conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the *Iewes*. In after-times the Armie of *Godfrey* of *Bulion* attempted it in vaine: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in thoſe daies with a Biſhops ſeate, but it is now a poore Village called *Aſſur*, ſaith *Brochard*. Neere vnto this Citie the Prophet *Ionas* was three daies preſerued in the bodie of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæſaria*, ſtandeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Ceſtius* the *Romane* waſted with fire and ſword, becauſe the *Iewes* which dwelt at *Cæſaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of *Moſes*. Neere vnto it is the Mountaine of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein hee hid an hundreth Prophets, and fedde them, after which he himſelfe is ſaid to haue obtained from God the Spirit of Propheſie alſo.

Chap. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phœnicia.

§. I.

The bounds and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdome: and of the inuention of Letters aſcribed to them.

BEcauſe theſe fiue Tribes, of *Aſſer*, *Nephtalim*, *Zabulon*, *Iſſachar*, and the halfe of *Manaſſe*, poſſeſt the better part of that ancient Kingdome of *Phœnica*, to wit, of ſo much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*: I haue therefore gathered a briefe of thoſe Kings which haue gouerned therein: at leaſt ſo many of them as time (which deuoureth all things) hath left to poſteritie: and that the reſt haue periſhed, it is not ſtrange; ſeeing ſo many volumes of excellent learning in ſo long a race and reuolution, and in ſo many changes of Eſtates and Conqueſts of Heathen Princes, haue beene torne, caſt away, or otherwiſe conſumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very vncertaine: but all *Coſmographers* doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Caſiotis*, ends: moſt of them bounding it by *Orthoſia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomie* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the Riuer *Eleutherus*, that falls into the Sea at the Iland of *Aradus*, ſomewhat to the North of *Orthoſia*, and ſtretching from thence alongſt the coaſt of the *Mediterran* ſea, as farre as the Riuer of *Chorſeus*, which ſeemes to be that which the *Iewes* call the Torrent or Riuer of *Mageddo*. *Plinie* extends it farther, and comprehends *Ioppe* within it: *Coruinus* and *Budæus*, *Ioppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud priſcos appellata* (ſaith *Budæus*) *quæ nunc Palæſtina Syriæ dicitur*; *It was called Phœnicia of old* (ſaith he) *which now is called Palæſtina of Syria*.

Pto.4.Tab. Aſia.

Plin.lib 5.c.19

Strabo comprehends in this Countrey of *Phœnicia*, all the Sea ſide of *Iudæa*, and *Paleſtina*, euen vnto *Peluſium*, the firſt Port of *Ægypt*. On the contrary *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it vp in *Cæleſyria*, which hee boundeth not. But for my ſelfe I take a middle courſe, and like beſt of *Ptolomies* deſcription, who was ſeldome deceiued in his owne Art. It had in it theſe famous Maritimate Cities (beſides all thoſe of the Ilands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthoſia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ*: and by reaſon of the many Ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Eaſterne world: and they were abſolute Kings of the *Mediterran* Sea.

Strab.l.16.
Budæ.de Aſ l.4

The ancient Regall Seate of thoſe Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the firſt ſonne of *Canaan*: and the people then ſubiect to that people were called *Zidonians*: the ſame ſtate continuing euen vnto *Ioſuas* time. For till then it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* alſo confirmeth in his ſecond Booke of *Vandall warres*. But in proceſſe of time the Citie of *Tyre* adioyning became the more magnificent: yet according to the Prophet, it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them firſt built and peopled.

Eſay 23.

But after the death of *Moſes*, and while *Ioſua* yet gouerned *Iſrael*, *Agenor* an *Ægyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his ſons of *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, F. 17. *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (ſay *Cedrenus* & *Curtius*) and built & poſſeſt the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (ſo called after the name of his ſecond Son) the vſe of letters: which alſo *Cadmus* in his purſuite after his ſiſter *Europa* taught the *Græcians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when hee ſurpriſed *Tyre*, had ſtollen her thence: of which the Poets deuiſed the fable of *Iupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that ſtealth was alſo ſuppoſed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the firſt firſt King of *Phœnicia*: and findes *Cadmus* his ſucceſſour: whom hee calleth his grandchild: and it ſeemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: becauſe the ſucceſſors of *Dido* held that name alwayes in reuerence, making it apart of their owne, as *Aſdrubal*, *Hannibal*: which memorie *Virgil* alſo toucheth in theſe Verſes:

Hic Regina grauem gemmis auroq; popoſcit
Impleuitq; mero pateram: quam Belus *& omnes*
A Belo *ſoliti.*

The Queene anon commands the waighty bowle
(Waightie with precious ſtones and maſſie gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* vs'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it ſeemes to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Anceſtor to theſe *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Iupiter Belus*, the ſonne of *Neptune* by *Libya*, the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Sonne of *Telegonus*, according to *Euſebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the and of *Cecrops* time, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, *Moſes* left *Ægypt*: *Agenors* ſucceſſor liuing at once with *Ioſua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the ſame time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither doe I denie, but that he gaue that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Sonne. But in ſtead of the building of *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, it is probable that hee repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nabuchodonoſor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true that *Agenor* was of the ſame Nation, and brought vp in *Ægypt*: where he learnt the vſe of letters (*Ægypt* flouriſhing in all kinde of learning in *Moſes* time) or were he by Nation an *Ægyptian*, yet it is very likely that either he came to ſaue his own Territory: or otherwiſe to defend the coaſt of *Canaan*, from the *Iſraelites*: who were by *Moſes* led out of *Ægypt*, to the great loſſe and diſhonour of that Nation: and by *Ioſua* conducted ouer *Iordan*, to conquer and poſſeſſe the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Ægyptians*, by reaſon of the loſſe which they receiued by the hand of God, in the Red Sea, and by the ten plagues caſt on them before that, and by the ſlaughter of ſo many of the Male children at the ſame time, could not hinder the *Hebrewes* from inuading *Canaan* by Land: which alſo they knew had ſo many powerfull Nations to defend it: the *Deſerts* inter-jacent, and the ſtrong *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Emorites* and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Ægypt* hauing ſuch Veſſels, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in vſe: did not in all probability neglect to Garriſon the Sea coaſt, or aſſiſt *Agenor* with ſuch forces, as they had to ſpare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the *Philiſtims* which held the ſhores of *Canaan*, next adioyning vnto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now as it appeareth by the courſe of the ſtorie, thoſe Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was ſaid to haue built (that is, to haue fortified and defended againſt *Ioſua*, and againſt C. 19. v. 29. the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Ioſua* called the ſtrong Citie, *Accho* afterward *Ptolomais*, *Aczib* and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in thoſe dayes.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, eſpecially by Sea, it appeares, firſt by their defence againſt *Iſrael*: ſecondly by this, that *Dauid* and *Salomon* could not maſter them: but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it ſelfe 13. yeers againſt a King of Kings, *Nabuchodonoſor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the prouidence of God, ſeemed vnreſiſtable) ſpent more time in the recouery of *Tyre*, than in the cõqueſt of all the Cities in *Aſia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Beroſus* out of *Ioſephus*, who conceiues that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyras* the ſonne of *Iaphet*. And for the Region it ſelfe, though *Caliſthenes* deriue it *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the *Greekes* from the word *Phonos*, of ſlaughter, becauſe the *Phœnicians* ſlew all that came on their coaſts, yet for my ſelfe I take it that *Phœnix* the ſonne of *Agenor* gaue it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his ſonne in *Greece*, were the Inuentors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the diſpute vnneceſſary.

The *Æthiopians* affirme that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the firſt light of all thoſe Arts, Sciences, and ciuill Policies, which they afterward profeſt, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himſelfe was inſtructed by the *Libyans*: to wit, from the South and Superior *Ægyptians*: from whom thoſe which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they ſay, borrowed their Diuinitie and Philoſophie: and from them the *Greekes*, then barbarous, receiued Ciuilitie. Againe, the *Phœnicians* challenge this inuention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Ægyptians* at all; neither doe they allow that *Agenor* and his ſonnes were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*.

Phœnices primi (famæ ſi creditur) auſi
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.

Lucan. l.5.3.

Phœnicians firſt (if fame may credit haue)
In rude Characters dar'd our wordes to graue.

And that *Cadmus* was the ſonne of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Ægyptian*, it appeareth by that anſwere made by *Zeno*; when he in a kinde of reproach was called a ſtranger and a *Phœnician*:

Si patria eſt Phœnix, quid tum? nam Cadmus *& ipſe*
Phœnix; cui debet Græcia docta libros.

Athen. 1. Dipnoſ.

If a *Phœnician* borne I am, what then?
Cadmus was ſo: to whom *Greece* owes
The Bookes of learned men.

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Ioſephus* the Hiſtorian confirmes a great part of his Antiquities. The *Thracians* againe ſubſcribe to none of theſe reports: but affirme conſtantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flouriſhed among them: when *Atlas* liued in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Ægypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, ſome of the French doe not bluſh to maintaine, that the ancient *Gaules* taught the *Greekes* the vſe of Letters, and other Sciences. And doe not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as thoſe *Gaules*, and that they ſent their ſonnes hither to be by them inſtructed in all kinde of learning?

Ioſeph. contra Appionem.

Laſtly, whereas others beſtow this inuention on *Moſes*, the ſame hath no probabilitie at all, for he liued at ſuch time as Learning and Arts flouriſhed moſt, both in *Ægypt*, and *Aſſyria*, and hee himſelfe was brought vp in all the learning of the *Ægyptians*, from his infancie.

But true it is, that letters were inuented by thoſe excellent Spirits of the firſt age, and before the generall floud: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom elſe God knowes; from whom all wiſedome and vnderſtanding hath proceeded. And as the ſame infinite God is preſent with all his Creatures, ſo hath he giuen the ſame inuention to diuers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for euen in *Mexico*, when it was firſt diſcouered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of thoſe *Hierogliphicks*, anciently vſed by the *Ægyptians*, and other Nations; and ſo had thoſe *Americans* a kinde of *Heraldrie*; and their Princes differing in *Armes* and *Scutchions*, like vnto thoſe vſed by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations. ***Iura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c. Naturall Lawes are common and generall.***

Iuriſcon.

§. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

BVt whatſoeuer remaineth of the ſtorie and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the bookes of *Zeno*, *Sachoniatho*, *Mnaſeas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the ſame is to bee gathered out of the Scriptures, *Ioſephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor liued at once with *Ioſua*, to whom ſucceeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and ſo farre towards the North as *Aradus*, tooke the name of *Phœnicia*: what King ſucceeded *Phœnix* it doth not appeare: but at ſuch time as the *Græcians* beſieged *Troy*, *Phaſis* gouerned *Phœnicia*.

In *Hieremies* time, and while *Iehoiakim* ruled in *Iuda*, the *Tyrians* had a King apart: for *Hieremie* ſpeaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of ſeuerall Kings.

Chap. 27. v. 3.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith hee inuaded *Greece*, *Tetramneſtus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia*, about *Tyre*, & *Zidon*: who commanded, as ſome writers affirme, *Xerxes* fleete, or rather, as I ſuppoſe, thoſe 300. Gallies, which himſelfe brought to his aide: for at this time it ſeemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Perſian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and pettie Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were ſubiected by *Nabuchodonozor*; of whoſe conqueſts in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* prophecied.

Tennes, though not immediately, ſucceeded *Tetramneſtus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Booke.

L. 4.

Strato, his ſucceſſor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, becauſe of his dependancie vpon *Darius*, and that his Predeceſſors had ſerued the Eaſt Empire againſt the *Græcians*. But diuers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betweene *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were conſumed 130. yeeres and ſomewhat more betweene *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* eſteemed the more vnworthy of reſtitution, becauſe (ſaith *Curtius*) he rather ſubmitted himſelfe by the inſtigation of his Subiects (who foreſaw their vtter ruine by reſiſtance) than that he had any diſpoſition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Athē. l. 12. c. 13

Hieron. l 1. cont. Iouin.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenæus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill liuing: and moſt voluptuous; alſo that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women-dancers, and ſingers: whom hee to this end chiefly inuited, and aſſembled: that hauing beheld the moſt beautifull and liuely among them, he might recouer them for his owne vſe and delights. Of the ſtrange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of theſe coaſts, S. *Hierome* and others make mention: who hauing heard that the *Perſians* were neer him with an Armie too waighty for his ſtrength, & finding that he was to hope for little grace, becauſe of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the *Ægyptians*: he determining to kill himſelfe, but fainting in the execution, his wife being preſent, wreſted the ſword out of his hand and ſlew him: which done, ſhee alſo therewith pierced her owne bodie, and died.

After *Alexander* was poſſeſt of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driuen thence, He gaue the Kingdome to *Hephæſtion*, to diſpoſe of: who hauing receiued great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whoſe houſe he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith, and willingly offered to eſtabliſh him therein: but this Citizen no leſſe vertuous than rich, deſired *Hephæſtion* that this Honour might be inferred on ſome one of the bloud and race of their ancient Kings: and preſented vnto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*, *Iuſtine Abdolomius*, and *Plutarch Alynomus*: who at the very houre that he was called to this regall Eſtate, was with his owne hands working in his Garden, ſetting hearbs and rootes, for his reliefe and ſuſtenance: though otherwiſe a wiſe man and exceeding iuſt.

Theſe were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whoſe eſtate being afterward changed into Popular or *Ariſtocraticall*: and by times and turnes ſubiected to the Emperours of the Eaſt: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly deliuered in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appeare: *Ioſephus* the Hiſtorian, as is ſaide, had many things wherewith hee garniſhed his Antiquities from the *Tyrian* Chronicles: and out of *Ioſephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be begathered a deſcent of ſome twenty Kings of the *Tyrians*, but theſe Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Epheſius*, doe in no ſort agree in the times of their raignes; nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the firſt King of the *Tyrians*, that *Ioſephus* and *Theophilus* remember: whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the ſame perchance that the ſonne of *Sirach* mentioneth in his fourtie and ſixth Chapter, ſpeaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*.

Cap. 46.

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* ſucceeded, if he be not one and the ſame with *Abibalus*. *Dauid* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus*) conſtrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom alſo *Dauid* complaineth, *Pſal.* 83.

Præp. Euang. l. 9. c. 4.

Hiram ſucceeded *Suron*, whom *Ioſephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* ſometime *Hieronimus*, ſometime *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras Chiram*. He entred into a league with *Dauid*, and ſent him *Cedars* with Maſons and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in *Hieruſalem*: after he had beaten thence the *Iebuſites*. The ſame was he that ſo greatly aſſiſted *Salomon*: whom he not onely furniſhed with *Cedars*, and other Materials towards the raiſing of the Temple, and with great ſummes of mony, but alſo he ioyned with him in his enterprize of the Eaſt *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furniſhed *Salomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the moſt excellent Nauigators: & lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not onely mention in diuers places of Scripture, but in *Ioſephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his 3d booke, in *Tatianus* his Oration againſt the *Greekes*: and in *Zonaras* Tome the firſt. This Prince ſeemed to be very mighty and magnificent, hee deſpiſed the 20. Townes which *Salomon* offered him; he defended himſelfe againſt that victorious King *Dauid*: & gaue his daughter in marriage to *Salomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whoſe ſake he was contented to worſhip *Aſteroth*, the Idoll of the *Phœnitians*. *Hiram* liued 53. yeeres.

2. Sam 5. &c.
2. Sam. c. 5.
1 Kin. c. 1. 9. 20
1. Chron. 14.
2. Chron. 2. 8. 9
1. King 11.

Baleaſtartus whom *Theoph. Antiochenus*, calleth *Bazorus*, ſucceeded *Hiram*, King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7. yeeres according to *Ioſephus*.

Theoph. 17. yeeres.

Abdaſtartus the eldeſt ſonne of *Baleaſtartus*, gouerned 9. yeeres, and liued but 20. yeeres according to *Ioſephus*: but after *Theophilus* hee reigned 12. yeere, and liued 54. who being ſlaine by the foure ſonnes of his owne Nurſe, the eldeſt of them held the Kingdome 12. yeeres.

Aſtartus brother to *Abdaſtartus*, recouered the Kingdom from this Vſurper, and reigned 12. yeeres.

Aſtarimus, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother followed *Aſtartus*, and ruled 9. yeeres, and liued in all 54.

Ioſeph. 54
Theoph. 58

Phelles the fourth ſonne of *Baleaſtartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, ſlew *Aſtarimus*, and reigned 8. moneths, liued 50. yeares.

Theoph.

Ithobalus (or *Iuthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) ſon to the third brother *Aſtarimus*, who was the chiefe Prieſt of the *Goddeſſe Aſtarta*, which was a dignity next vnto the King, reuenged the death of his father, and ſlaughtered his Vnckle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. yeeres, the ſame which in the firſt Kings, chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whoſe daughter *Iezabel*, *Achab* married.

Ioſeph. 32.
Theoph. 12.

Badezor or *Bazor* the ſonne of *Ithobalus* or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Iezabell*, ſucceeded his Father, and reigned 6. yeeres, and liued in all 45.

1. King. 16. 31
Ioſeph 6 yeeres
Theoph. 26.

Mettimus ſucceded *Badezor*; & reigned but 9. yeeres (ſaith *Ioſephus*) he had two ſons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters *Eliſa* and *Anna*.

Ioſeph. 9.
Theoph. 29.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettimus* his Father 40. yeeres, and liued 56. In the ſeuenth yeere of whoſe reigne, *Eliſa* ſailed into *Affrica*, and built *Carthage*, 143. yeeres and 8. moneths, after the Temple of *Salomon*: which by our accompt was 289. yeeres after *Troy* taken, and 143. before *Rome*; and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and *Dido* muſt be farre out of ſquare. For *Pygmalion* couetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his ſiſter *Eliſa*, ſlew him traiterouſly as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we beleeue *Iuſtine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Eliſa* fearing to be deſpoiled of her husbands treaſure, fled by Sea into *Affrica*, as aforeſaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to purſue, he was by his mothers teares, and by threats from the *Oracle* arreſted. *Barca* accompanied his ſiſter, and aſſiſted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him ſprang that noble Family of the *Barcæ* in *Affrica*, of which race deſcended many famous Captaines, and the great *Hanniball*. *Seruius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, becauſe of her man-like acts, others from *Iedidia*, a ſurname of *Salomon*.

Iuſtin. l. 11.
Virgil. l. 1.

Eluleus ſucceeded **Pygmalion**: and reigned 36. yeeres: the ſame that ouerthrew the fleet of *Salmanaſſar*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithſtanding which, he continued his ſiege before it on the Land ſide fiue yeeres, but in vaine.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* gouerned the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himſelfe to be as wiſe as *Daniel*: and that he knew all ſecrets (ſaith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince dyed, or was ſlaine in that long ſiege of *Nabuchodonoſor*: who ſurrounded and attempted *Tyre*, 13. yeeres together, ere he preuailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. yeeres a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonoſor*: for after his death, it was gouerned by diuers *Iudges*, ſucceeding each other: Firſt, by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Prieſt, *Mittonus*, and *Geraſtus*, who held it among them ſome 7. years, and odde months: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one yeere: after him *Merbalus* ſent from *Babylon* 4. yeeres: after him *Irom* ſent thence alſo, 20. yeeres. In the 17. of whoſe reigne *Cyrus* beganne to gouerne *Perſia*.

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§. III.

Of Bozeus *his conceit, that the Edumæans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them receiued and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true God.*

OF the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a diſcourſe of diuers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Tract at large, intituled *de ruinis Gentium*. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea in all things vnder heauen, haue proceeded from his ordinance who onely is vnchangeable, and the ſame for euer; yet whereas the ſayde *Bozius*, inforcing heere-hence, that the proſperity and ruine of the *Tyrians*, were fruites of their embracing or forſaking the true Religion, to proue this his aſſertion, ſuppoſeth the *Tyrians* to haue bene *Edumæans*, deſcended from *Eſau*, *Iacobs* brother: firſt, it can hardly be beleeued that *Tyre*, when it flouriſhed moſt in her ancient glory, was in anie ſort truly deuout and religious. But to this end (beſides the proofe which the Scriptures giue of *Hirams* good affection when *Salomon* built the Temple) hee brings many coniecturall arguments; whereof the ſtrongeſt is their petigree and deſcent: it being likely in his opinion, that the poſterity of *Eſau* receiued from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, he endeuours to ſhew, partly by weake reaſons, painefully ſtrained from ſome affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than waight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, & others witneſſe, that the *Tyrians* came from the Red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards giuen to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Conſidering therefore that all the coaſt of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) vnder the *Edumæans*: as *Elah* and *Eſiongaber*; or vnder the *Amalekites*, who deſcended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Eſau*, whoſe cheefe City was *Madian*, ſo called of *Madian* the ſonne of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whoſe poſterity did people it: the conſequence appeares good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Iſrael*. Heereunto he addes, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worſhip of *Aſtartis*, the Idoll of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being *Phœnicians*, themſelues differed much in their Philoſophy from the idolatrous cuſtomes of the Greekes. That in *Teman*, a Towne of the *Edumæans*, was an *Vniuerſity*, wherein as may appeare by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who diſputed with *Iob*, Religion was ſincerely taught.

Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. 5. c. 7.

Such is the diſcourſe of *Bozius*, who labouring to prooue one *Paradoxe* by another, deſerues in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his People: neither is it true that they were *Edumæans* at all. In what Religion *Eſau* brought vp his children, it is no where found written, but that himſelfe was a prophane man, and diſauowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expreſſe. That his poſterity were Idolaters, is directly proued in the 25. Chapter of the ſecond booke of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetuall enemies to the Houſe of *Iſrael*, ſaue onely when *David* & ſome of his race, Kings of *Iuda*, held them in ſubiection, who knowes not? or who is ignorant

rant of *Dauids* vnfriendly behauiour amongſt them, when firſt they were ſubdued? Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, betvvene *Tyrus* & Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held ſuch good correſpondence with *Dauid*: euen then when *Ioab* ſlew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their deuotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the *Edomites* were ſo ill intreated. It ſeemeth that the piety and ancient wiſedome of *Eliphaz* the *Themanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumæans* puniſhed, for being ſuch as *Dauid* in his owne dayes found them. Although indeede the City of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reaſon with *Iob*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the ſame name, lying Eaſt from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adioyning to *Hus*, the Country of *Iob*: and to *Such* the City of *Bildad* the *Suhite*, as both ſuch *Chorographers* who beſt knew thoſe parts, do plainly ſhew, and the holy Text makes manifeſt. For *Iob* is ſaid to haue exceeded in riches; and *Salomon* in wiſedome, all the people of the Eaſt; not the inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Paleſtina*. True it is that *Eliphaz* the ſonne of *Eſau* had a ſonne called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in thoſe dayes to take name of their ſonnes, I no where finde. And *Iſmael* alſo had a ſon called *Thema*: of whom it is not vnlike that *Theman* in the Eaſt had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chap. of the booke of *Iudges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, & all they of the Eaſt are called *Iſmaelites*. And he that wel conſiders how great and ſtrong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durſt giue battaile to the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleeue that ſuch a people were deſcended from one of *Eſau* his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberleſſe muſt the forces of all *Edom* haue beene: if one Tribe of them, yea one Family of a Tribe had beene ſo great? ſurely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adioyning could not haue held them. But we no where finde that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*: or aſſiſted the *Amalekites*: when *Saul* went to roote them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it ſelfe, if diſtinct from the *Iſmaelites*. The like may be ſaid of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being ſon to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtles was no *Edomite*. And thus much in generall for all the *Seigniory* of the Red-ſea coaſt, which *Bozius* imagines the *Edumæans* to haue held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held ſome places as *Elan* and *Eſiongaber* on the Red Sea ſhore, yet in *Moſes* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moſes* himſelf ſaith, that *Iſrael* did compaſſe all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* ſtood, *Moſes* muſt needs haue known it: becauſe he had ſoiourned long in that Country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Ægypt*.

But coniecturall Arguments, how probable ſoeuer, are needleſſe in ſo manifeſt a caſe. For in the 83. *Pſal. Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as diſtinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authors ſhew, and *Bozius* himſelfe confeſſeth, were *Canaanites*, as appeares, *Gen. c.* 10. *v.* 15. *&* 19. appointed by God to haue bene deſtroyed, and their Lands giuen to the children of *Aſſer*, *Ioſ.* 29. becauſe they were Idolaters, and of the curſed ſeede of *Canaan*, not Couſins to *Iſrael*, nor profeſſors of the ſame Religion. For though *Hiram* ſaid, *Bleſſed bee God that hath ſent King Dauid a wiſe ſonne*: we cannot inferre that he was of *Dauids* Religion. The *Turke* hath ſayde as much of *Chriſtian* Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is, that the *Sidonians* then worſhipped *Aſtaroth*; and drew *Salomon* alſo to the ſame Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* ayded *Salomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his owne ends, receiuing therefore of *Salomon* great prouiſion of Corne, and Oyle, and the offer of 20. Townes or Villages in *Galilee*. And if wee rightly conſider things, it will appeare that *Hiram* in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Salomon*, He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is ouer-peſtered: being otherwiſe apt to yeelde ſilkes: as the *Andarine* ſilkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oyle, which he wanted, he gaue that which he could well ſpare to *Salomon*. Alſo Gold for Land: wherein *Salomon* was the wiſer; who hauing got the gold firſt, gaue to *Hiram* the worſt Villages that he had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleaſed. But it was a neceſſary policy which inforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Iſrael*. For *Dauid* had ſubdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, euen to *Euphrates*: thorough which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carrie and re-carrie their Wares on Camels, to their fleets on the Red Sea, and backe againe to *Tyrus*: ſo that *Salomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to paſſe, could haue cut off their Trade.

But the *Iſraelites* were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to ſhare with the *Tyrians* in their aduentures. Yet *Salomon* as *Lord* of the Sea-townes, which his Father had taken from the *Philiſtims*, might haue greatly diſtreſſed the *Tyrians*, & perhaps haue brought them euen into ſubiection. Which *Hiram* knowing; was glad (and no meruaile) that *Salomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his Fathers treaſure, in magnificent workes, than in purſuing the conqueſt of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly ayded him, and ſent him cunning workmen, to encreaſe his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and inſtruments of pleaſure.

As theſe paſſages betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram*, are no ſtrong Arguments of pietie in the *Tyrians*: ſo thoſe other proofes which *Bozius* frames negatiuely vpon particular examples, are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no man knowes. It ſeemes to me, that hauing more cunning than the *Greekes*, and being very ambitious, he would faine haue purchaſed diuine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his houſe obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of ſuch hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but ſingle examples. Euery ſaluage Nation hath ſome wiſedome excelleth the Vulgar, euen of ciuill people. Neither did the morall wiſedome of theſe men expreſſe any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to ſay, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not knowne to haue taught Idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Vtica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all *Colonies* of the *Tyrians* (of which I thinke, the Ilands before mentioned in the Red Sea to haue beene, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, euen from their firſt beginnings: therefore, the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were ſo likewiſe.

This their Idolatry from *Salomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would haue vs thinke them to haue beene formerly a ſtrange kinde of deuout *Edomites*. In which fancie he is ſo peremptory, that he ſtyleth men of contrary opinion, *impios politicos*, as if it were impiety to thinke that God (who euen among the Heathen, which haue not knowne his name, doth fauour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honeſty, with temporall happineſſe. Doubtleſſe, this doctrine of *Bozius* would better haue agreed with *Iulian* the *Apoſtata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Aſſyrians*, *Greeks*, *Romanes*, and all thoſe Nations of the *Gentiles*, did then proſper moſt, when they drew neereſt vnto the true Religion: what may be ſaide of the foule Idolatry which grew in *Rome*, as faſt as *Rome* it ſelfe grew: and was enlarged with ſome new ſuperſtition, almoſt vpon euery new victory? How few great battailes did the *Romanes* win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to ſome new God, or ſome new Honor to one of their olde Gods? yea, what one Nation, ſaue onely that of the *Iewes*, was ſubdued by them, whoſe Gods they did not afterward entertaine in their City? Onely the true God, which was the God of the *Iewes*, they reiected, vpbraiding the *Iewes* with him, as if he were vnworthy of the *Romane* Maieſty: ſhall we hereupon enforce the lewd and fooliſh concluſion which Heathen writers vſed againſt the *Chriſtians* in the *Primitiue Church*: That ſuch Idolatry had cauſed the Citie of *Rome* to flouriſh, and that the decay of thoſe abhominations did alſo bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought ſo, if proſperitie were a ſigne or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeale of *Bozius*, who writing againſt thoſe whom he falſely termes impious, giues ſtrength to ſuch as are impious indeed. But ſuch indiſcretion is vſually found among men of his humour; who hauing once either fooliſhly embraced the dreames of others, or vainely faſhioned in their owne braines any ſtrange *Chimæra's* of Diuinity, condemne all ſuch, in the pride of their zeale, as *Atheiſts* and *Infidels*, that are not tranſported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pitty is it, that ſuch mad dogges are oftentimes incouraged by thoſe, who hauing the command of many tongues, when they themſelues cannot touch a man in open and generous oppoſition, will wound him ſecretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whoſe head was Ephraim.

§. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

HAuing now paſt ouer *Phœnicia*, wee come to the next Territorie adioyning: which is that of *Ephraim*: ſometime taken *per excellentiam* for the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the ſecond ſonne of *Ioſeph*, whoſe yſſues when they left *Ægypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Deſarts*, (*Ioſua* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children growne to be able men 32500. who ſate downe on the Weſt ſide of *Iordan*, betweene *Manaſſe*, and *Beniamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Iordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the Eaſt and Weſt.

Pſal.59.78. 108.Par.25.

The firſt and chiefe Cittie which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdome of *Iſrael*, built by *Amris* or *Homri* King thereof, and ſeated on the toppe of the Mountaine *Somron*, which ouer-looketh all the bottome, and as farre as the Seacoaſt. It was afterward called *Sebaſte*, or *Auguſta*, in honour of *Auguſt. Cæſar*. This City is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the firſt building; for as *Brochard* obſerueth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which *Brochard* found greater then thoſe of *Hieruſalem*, tell thoſe that behold them, what it was when it ſtood vpright: for to this day there are found great ſtore of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewne and carued ſtone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the ſonnes of *Hircanus* the high Prieſt: reſtored and built by the firſt *Herod* the ſon of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cæſar* called it *Sebaſte*. Herein were the Prophets *Heliſæus*, and *Abdias* buried: and ſo was *Iohn Baptiſt*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Grecian* Monkes.

Neere *Samaria* toward the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine, *Ieroboam* erected one of his golden Calues, to be worſhipped: with which he ſeduced the *Iſraelites*.

In ſight of this Mountaine of *Bethel*, was that ancient City of *Sichem*; after the reſtauration called *Neapolis*, now *Peloſa*, and *Napolaſa*: It was deſtroyed by *Simeon* and *Leui*, in reuenge of the rauiſhment of their ſiſter *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* euened with the ſoyle. *Ieroboam* raiſed it vp againe: and the *Damaſcens* a third time caſt it downe.

Sichar. Ioh.4.5
Maborthan.
Ioſeph.11.ant.1

Vnder *Sichem* toward the Sea ſtandeth *Pharaton* or *Pirhathon* on the Mountaine *Amalec*, the Citie of *Abdon* Iudge of *Iſrael*. And vnder it *Bethoron* of the *Leuites*, built as it is ſaid by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Nere to this Citie *Iudas Macchabæus* ouerthrew *Seron* and *Lyſias*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This City had *Salomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Iudg.12:15.
2 King.13.

Betweene *Bethoron* and the Sea, ſtandeth *Samir*, of which *Ioſ.* 10. And *Saron* whoſe King was ſlaine by *Ioſua*: it is alſo mentioned *Acts 9.35*. and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Cæſarea Palæſtinæ*, extendeth it ſelfe, alongſt the coaſt as farre as *Ioppe*, ſaith *Adrichome*. Though indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly giuen to this Valley, but to euery fruitfull plaine Region; for not onely this Valley is ſo called, to wit, betweene *Cæſarea* and *Ioppe*, but that alſo betweene the Mountaine *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for ſo S. *Hierome* vpon the fiue and thirtieth Chapter of *Eſay*, interprets the word *Saron*: and ſo doth the ſame Father in his Commentaries vpon *Abdia*, reade *Saron* for *Aſſaron*: vnderſtanding thereby a Plaine neere *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Dioſpolis*, or the City of *Iupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Iudæa*, the fift in dignity (or the third after *Pliny*) where Saint *Peter* (*non ſua ſed Chriſti virtute*) cured *Æneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Anti-libanus* to *Ioppe Sarona*. This *Ioppe*

Ioſ.c.12.18.

Act.5.
Luc.23.
Niger.Com.4.
Aſiæ fol 503.
14.

was burnt to the ground by the *Romanes*, thoſe Rauens and ſpoylers of all Eſtates, diſturbers of Common-weales, vſurpers of other Princes Kingdomes; who with no other reſpect led than to amplifie their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themſelues, after murthering one another, became a prey to the moſt ſaluage and barbarous Nations.

Of this Saint *George* ſee more aboue in this 2. booke. C.7.§.3.4 5.

In *Dioſpolis* (ſaith *Will.* of *Tyre*) was S. *George* beheaded, and buried: in whoſe honour and memory *Iuſtinian* the Emperour cauſed a faire Church to be built ouer his Tombe, theſe be *Tyrius* his words: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Ioppe, per latè patentem planitiem Elutheriam pertranſeuntes, Liddam quæ eſt Dioſpolis, vbi & egregij Martyris* Georgij *vſque hodiè Sepulchrum oſtenditur, peruenerunt, eius Eccleſiam quam ad honorem eiuſdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum,* Auguſtus Iuſtinianus *multo ſtudio & deuotione prompta ædificari præceperat, &c. They hauing left* (ſaith he) *on the right hand, the Sea Townes Antipatris, and Ioppe, paſsing ouer the great open plaine of Elutheria, came to Lidda, which is Dioſpolis: where the ſumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr* S. George *is at this day ſhewed; whoſe Church, when the Godly & Orthodox Prince of the Romanes, High and Mighty* Iuſtinian *had commanded to bee built, with great earneſtneſſe and preſent deuotion, &c.* Thus farre *Tyrius*, by whoſe teſtimonie, wee may coniecture that this S. *George* was not that *Arrian* Biſhop of *Alexandria*; but rather ſome better *Chriſtian*: for this of *Alexandria* was ſlaine there in an vprore of the people, and his aſhes caſt into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet alſo it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Chriſtian*, than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, *How long ſhall this Sepulcher ſtand?* occaſioned the vprore of the people againſt him: as fearing leſt he would giue attempt to ouerthrow that beautifull Temple. This alſo *Marcellinus* reports; who though he ſay that this *Georgius* was alſo deadly hated of the *Chriſtians*, who elſe might haue reſcued him: yet hee addeth, that his aſhes, with the aſhes of two others, were therefore caſt into the Sea, leſt if their Reliques had bene gathered vp, Churches ſhould be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather thinke that it was not *Georgius*, whoſe name liues in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius* aboue cited, witneſſeth to haue bene buried at *Lidda* or *Dioſpolis*. The ſame alſo is confirmed by *Vitriac*. S. *Hierome* affirmes that it was ſometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Chriſtians* inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Biſhop *Suffragan*,

L.22,c.11.

Salig. Tom 6. c. 4.

See in the Tribe of *Beniamin, cap.* 12. §.1.

Sam.1.25.v.5.

Neere to *Lidda* or *Dioſpolis* ſtandeth *Ramatha* of the *Leuites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the natiue Citie of *Ioſeph*, which buried the body of *Chriſt*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*; one they ſet in the Tribe of *Iuda* neere *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they ſay, adioyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the ſame with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama*, in the Hils of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* liued, and wherein he is buried.

Ant.13.21. de Bell.ind. 1.6.

From hence to the North alongſt the coaſt are *Helon*, or *Aialon* of the *Leuites*, of which 1.Chron.6. *Apollonia*, of which *Ioſephus* in his Antiquities, and in the war of the *Iewes*. Alſo *Balſaliſa* (for which *Iunius*, 2.*Reg*.4,42. reades *planities Shaliſtæ*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Iunius* vpon 1. *Sam*. 6. where we reade of the Land of *Shaliſha*, findeth it in *Beniamin*.

On the other ſide of the Mountaines of *Ephraim* ſtandeth *Goſna*, one of the *Toparchies* or Cities of gouernment, the ſecond in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Iudg.2.9. It is called *Thimnath Chores. Ioſ.19.50.*

Hieron. in locis Hebr.

Then *Thamnath-ſara*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Thimnath-Serach*: one alſo of the ten *Toparchies* or *Præſidencies* of *Iudæa*, which they call *Thamnitica*; a goodly City and ſtrong, ſeated on one of the high Hils of *Ephraim*; on the North of the hill called *Gaas*; which City and Territory, *Iſrael* gaue vnto their Leader *Ioſua*; who alſo amplified it with buildings, neere which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in S. *Hieroms* time, and ouer it the *Sunne* engrauen, in memory of that greateſt of wonders, which God wrought in *Ioſuas* time.

Macca.1.7.40

In the places adioyning ſtandeth *Adarſa*, or *Adaſa*; where *Iudas Maccabeus* with 3000. *Iewes* ouerthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*; neere to *Gaſer* or *Gezer* which *Ioſua* tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the *Leuites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharao* of *Ægypt*; the people all ſlaine, and the Citie razed; *Salomon* re-built it.

To the Eaſt of this place is the Frontier Citie of *Ieſleti*, of which *Ioſ.* 16.3. otherwiſe *Pelethi*, whence *Dauid* had part of his *Prætorian* Souldiers, vnder the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous Mountaine and Citie of *Silo*, whereon the *Arke* of God was kept ſo many yeeres, till the *Philiſtims* got it.

To this they ioyne the Citie of *Machmas* or *Michmas*: in which *Ionathas Maccabæus* inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It ſtandeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hieruſalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

See in *Beniamin.*
Maccab. 1. 9. *v. vlt.*

Then the Village of *Naioth* where *Saul* prophecied; and neere it *Ephron*, one of thoſe Cities which *Abijah* recouered from *Ieroboam*; after the great ouerthrow giuen him. Then *Kibtſaim*, of the *Leuites*, of which *Ioſua* 21.22. which *Iunius* thinks to be the ſame with *Iokmeham*, of which 1 *Chro.* 6.28. As for *Abſaloms Baalaſor*, which they finde hereabout, *Iunius* reades it in the *Plaine of Chatzor*; and findes it in the Tribe of *Iuda*; as *Ioſ.* 15. we reade of two *Chatzors* in that Tribe; one neere *Kedeſh*, *v.* 23. and the other the ſame as *Chetzron*, *v.* 25.

Kin 1. *c.* 4. and ſee *Rama in Beniamin.*

In this Tribe alſo they finde the Citie of *Mello*; whoſe Citizens, they ſay, ioyned with the *Sichemites* in making the Baſtard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Salomon* raiſed a Tribute vpon the people. But it ſeemes that *Mello* or *Millo* is a common name of a ſtrong Fort or Cittadell: and ſo *Iunius* for *domus Millo*, reades *incolæ munitionis*, and for *Salomo ædificabit Millo*, he reades *ædificabat munitionem*, and ſo the *Septuagint* reade τὴν ἄκραν in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Salomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hieruſalem*.

Iud. 9. *verſ.* 6. & 20.
1 *Reg.* 11 27.
Vatablus expounds *Millo* in this place, *locum publicum neceſſarium ciuibus Ieroſolymitanis atque Iſraelitis.*

The other Cities of marke in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whoſe King was ſlaine by *Ioſua*; and *Ianoach* or *Ianoah* ſpoyled by *Teglatphalaſſar*; *Pekah* then gouerning *Iſrael*; with diuers others, but of no great fame. The Mountaines of *Ephraim* ſometime ſignifie the greateſt part of the Land of the Sonnes of *Ioſeph*, on the Weſt of *Iordan*: ſeuerall parts whereof are the Hill of *Samron* or *Samaria*, 1 *Reg.* 16.24. * the Hill of *Gahas*, *Iudg.* 2.9. the Hill of *Tſalmon* or *Salmon*, *Iudg.* 9.48. the Hils of the Region of *Tſuph* or *Tſophim*, *Iudg.* 9.5. where *Rama-Tſophim* ſtood, which was the Citie of *Samuel*.

2 *King.* 15.29.
Ioſ. 17. *v.* 15.16
* Alſo the Hill of *Phineas*, where *Eleazar* the high Prieſt the ſon of *Aaron*, was buried, *Ioſ.* 24.33. And the two tops of Hils, *Gerizzim* where the bleſſings, & *Hebal* where the curſings were to be read to the people: of which *Deut.* 11. & 27. & *Ioſ.* 8.

The great plenty of fruitfull Vines vpon the ſides of the Mountaines, was the occaſion that *Iacob* in the Spirit of Prophecie, *Gen.* 49.22. compared *Ioſephs* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manaſſe*, to the branches of a fruitfull Vine planted by the Well ſide, and ſpreading her [a] Daughter-branches along the Wall: which *Allegory* alſo *Ezekiel*, *c.* 22. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the tenne Tribes, whoſe head was *Ephraim*) proſequutes: as alſo in his Lamentation for *Iuda*, he followeth the other *Allegorie* of *Iacob*, *Gen.* 49.9. comparing *Iuda* to a Lyon. Vpon the top of one of the higheſt of theſe Hils of *Ephraim*, which ouer-looketh all the plaines on both ſides of *Iordan*, they finde the Caſtle called *Dok*: which they make to be the ſame with *Dagon*, of which *Ioſeph.* 1. *Bell. Iudg. c.* 2. in which Caſtle as it is, 1 *Macc.* 16. *Ptolomie* moſt traiterouſly, at a banquet, ſlew *Simon Maccabeus* his Father in Law.

Among the Riuers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembred in the ſecond of *Samuel*, *c.* 23. *v.* 30. where though *Iunius* reade *Hiddai ex vna vallium Gahaſi*: yet the Vulgar and *Vatablus* reade *Giddai* of the Riuer of *Gaas*. Alſo in this Tribe they place the Riuer of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great droughth: where he was [b] fed with the Rauens: and after that the Riuer was dried vp, he trauailed (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieued by the poore Widow of *Zarepta*, whoſe dead ſonne he reuiued, and increaſed her pittance of Meale and Oyle: whereby ſhe ſuſtained her life.

[a] It ſeemeth that *Iacob* in this prophecie the rather vſeth the word *Daughters* for *branches*, thereby the more plainly to ſignifie *Colonias*: which in the *Hebrew* phraſe are called *Daughters* of the *Metropolis*: as in *Ioſua* and elſewhere often.

[b] 1 *Reg.* 17. 5.
1 *Reg.* 17.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from Ieroboam *to* Achab.

OF the firſt Kings of *Iſrael*, I omit in this place to ſpeake: and reſerue it to the *Catalogue* of the Kings of *Iuda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diuiſion from *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, now it followeth to ſpeake. The firſt of theſe Kings *Ieroboam*, the ſonne of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite* of *Zereda*, who being a man of ſtrength & courage, was by *Salomon* made ouer-ſeer of the buildings of the Munition in *Hieruſalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* & *Manaſſe*: & ſo many of them as wrought in thoſe works. During which time as he went from *ſalem*, he encountred the Prophet *Ahijah*: who made him know that hee was by God deſtinied to be King of *Iſrael*: and to command ten of the twelue Tribes. After this fearing that thoſe things might come to *Salomons* knowledge, he fled into *Ægypt* to *Shiſhak*, whom *Euſebius* calleth *Oſochores*, whoſe Daughter he married: the Predeceſſor of which *Shiſhak* (if not the ſame) did likewiſe entertaine *Adad* the *Idumæan*, when he was carried yong into *Ægypt* from the furie of *Dauid*, and his Captaine *Ioab*; which *Adad*, the King of *Ægypt* married to his Wiues ſiſter *Taphnes*; vſing both him and *Ieroboam* as inſtruments to ſhake the Kingdome of *Iudæa*; that himſelfe might the eaſilier ſpoile it, as he did: for in the fift yeare of *Rehoboam*, *Shiſhak* ſackt the Citie of *Hieruſalem*, and carried thence all the treaſure of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, and all the ſpoiles which *Dauid* tooke from *Adadezer* of *Soba*, with the preſents of *Tohu*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an ineſtimable value.

1 King.14.

This *Ieroboam* after the death of *Salomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to gouerne the *Iſraelites*, and from a meane man exalted to that ſtate: yet preferring the policies of the world before the ſeruice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule ſhould repaire to *Hieruſalem* to doe their vſuall Sacrifices, they might be drawne from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calues, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worſhip (an imitation of the *Ægyptian Apis*, ſaith S. *Ambroſe*, or rather of *Aarons* Calfe in *Horeb*) further he made election of his Prieſts out of the baſeſt and vnlerned people. This King made his chiefe ſeate and Palace at *Sichem*: Hee deſpiſed the warning of the *Iudæan* Prophet, whom *Ioſephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas Ioel*: his hand there-after withered, and was againe reſtored: but continuing in his Idolatry; and hardned vpon occaſion that the Prophet returning was ſlaine by a Lyon, *Ahijah* makes him know, that God purpoſed to roote out his poſterity.

Ambroſe vpon the 1. Chap. of the Epiſtle to the *Romanes*.

1 King.11 12. 13.14. 15.Chron.13.

He was afterward ouerthrowne by *Abia* King of *Iuda*, and died after hee had gouerned two and twenty yeeres; whom *Nadab* his ſon ſucceeded: who in the ſecond yeere of his raigne, together with all the race of *Ieroboam* was ſlaine, and rooted out by *Baaſha*, who raigned in his ſtead: ſo *Nadab* liued King but two yeeres.

Baaſha the ſonne of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made warre with *Aſa* King of *Iuda*: he ſeated himſelfe in *Therſa*: and fortified *Rama* againſt *Iuda*, to reſtraine their excurſions. Hereupon *Aſa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damaſcus* againſt him, who inuaded *Nepthalim*, and deſtroyed many places therein: the meane while *Aſa* carried away the Materials, with which *Baaſha* intended to fortifie *Rama*; but being an Idolater, he was threatned by *Iehu* the Prophet, that it ſhould befall his race, as it did to *Ieroboam*: which afterward came to paſſe: He ruled foure and twenty yeeres and died.

1 King. 15 & 16.

To *Baaſha* ſucceeded *Ela* his ſonne, who at a feaſt at his Palace of *Therſa*, was in his cups ſlaine by *Zambris* after he had raigned two yeeres: and in him the prophecie of *Iehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris ſucceeded *Ela*, and aſſumed the name of a King ſeauen dayes; But *Ambris* in reuenge of the Kings Murther, ſet vpon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*; and incloſed him in *Therſa*, and forſt him to burne himſelfe.

1 King.16.

Ambris or *Homri* ſucceeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regall ſeate from *Therſa* to *Samaria*: which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambris* was alſo an Idolater, no leſſe impious than the reſt: and therefore ſubiected to *Tabremmon*, King of *Syria*; the Father of *Benadad* according to *Euſebius Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this ſhould ſtand, I doe not well conceiue; ſeeing *Benadad* the Sonne of *Tabremmon* was inuited by *Aſa* King of *Iuda*, to aſſaile *Baaſha* King of *Iſrael*, the Father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* raigned twelue yeeres, ſixe in *Therſa*, and ſixe in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

1 King.16.

1 King.15.

§. III.

Of Achab *and his Succeſſors, with the captiuitie of the ten Tribes.*

AChab or *Ahab* ſucceeded *Omri*, who not onely vp-held the *Idolatrie* of *Ieroboam*, borrowed of the *Ægyptians*: but he married *Iezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Ieroboam* followed the Religion of his *Ægyptian* Wife: ſo did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*:

nian: and erected an Altar and a Groue to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He ſuffered *Iezabel* to kill the Prophets of the moſt high God. *God* ſent famine on the Land of *Iſrael*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* preuailed in the triall of the Sacrifice, and killeth the falſe Prophets: and afterward flyeth for feare of *Iezabel*.

Benadad, not long after, beſieged *Samaria*: and taken by *Achab*, was by him ſet at libertie: for which the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michæas*) reproueth him: afterward he cauſed *Naboth* by a falſe accuſation to be ſtoned. Then ioyning with *Ioſaphat* in the warre for the recouery of *Ramoth*, he was ſlaine as *Michæas* had foretold him.

Hee had three ſonnes named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Ioram*, and *Ioas*: beſides ſeauentie other ſonnes by ſundry wiues and Concubines.

Ochozias ſucceeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruiſed himſelfe by a fall: and ſent for counſaile to *Beel-zebub* the God of *Acharon*. *Eliah* the Prophet meeteth the meſſenger on the way: and miſliking that *Ochozias* ſought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the meſſenger, If there were not a God in *Iſrael*? *Ochozias* ſendeth two Captaines, and with each fiftie ſouldiers to bring *Eliah* vnto him, both which with their Attendants were conſumed with fire. The third Captaine beſought mercie at *Eliahs* hands, and he ſpared him, and went with him to the king; auowing it to the king that he muſt then die, which came to paſſe in the ſecond yeare of his raigne.

Beelſebub was the ſame with *Belus*, and *Pluto*, ſaith *Viginere* vpon *Liui*. *2 Kings 1.*

Ioram the brother of *Ochozias* by *Iezabel*, ſucceeded: He allured *Ioſaphat* king of *Iuda*, and the king of *Edom* to aſſiſt him againſt the *Moabites*, who refuſed to pay him the tribute of 20000. ſheepe. The three kings wanted water, for themſelues and their Horſes, in the Deſarts. The Prophet *Eliſha* cauſeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* are ouerthrowne: their king flyeth to *Kirharaſeth*, and being beſieged, according to ſome Expoſitors, burnt his ſonne on the wals as a Sacrifice, whereat the three kings moued with compaſſion, returned and left *Moab*, waſting and ſpoiling that Region. Others, as it ſeemes with better reaſon, vnderſtand the Text to ſpeake of the ſonne of the king of *Edom*, whom they ſuppoſe in this irruption to haue beene taken priſoner by the *Moabites*, and that the king of *Moab* ſhewed him ore the wals, threatning, vnleſſe the ſiege were diſſolued, that he would offer him in ſacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the king of *Edom* beſought thoſe of *Iuda* and *Iſrael* to breake off the ſiege for the ſafety of his ſonne: which when the other kings refuſed to yeeld vnto, & that *Moab* according to his former threatning had burnt the king of *Edoms* ſonne vpon the rampire, that all the aſſailants might diſcerne it, the king of *Edom* being by this ſad ſpectacle inraged, forſooke the party of the other kings; for want of whoſe aſſiſtance the ſiege was broken vp.

2 Kings 3.

After this the king of *Aram* ſent to *Ioram*, to heale *Naaman* the Captaine of his Armie of the Leproſie. The anſwere of *Ioram* was; Am I God to kill, and to giue life, that he doth ſend to heale a man from his Leproſie: adding, that the *Aramite* ſought but matter of quarrell againſt him. *Eliſha* hearing thereof, willed the king to ſend *Naaman* to him; promiſing that hee ſhould know that there was a Prophet in *Iſrael*, and ſo *Naaman* was healed by waſhing himſelfe ſeauen times in *Iordan*. *Eliſha* refuſed the gifts of *Naaman*. But his ſeruant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the ſellers of ſpirituall gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians* of *Simon Magus*.

2 Kings 1.5.

Afterward *Benhadad* king of *Aram* or *Damaſcus*, hauing heard that this Prophet did diſcouer to the king of *Iſrael* whatſoeuer the *Aramite* conſulted in his ſecreteſt councell, ſent a troupe of horſe to take *Eliſha*: all whom *Eliſha* strooke blinde, and brought them captiues into *Samaria*: *Ioram* then asked leaue of the Prophet to ſlay them, *Eliſha* forbad him to harme them: but cauſed them to be fed and ſent back to their own Prince in ſafetie.

The king of *Aram* notwithſtanding theſe benefits, did againe attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extreame famine. *Ioram* imputeth the cauſe thereof to the Prophet *Eliſha*. *Eliſha* by prayer cauſed a noiſe of Charriots and armour to ſound in in the ayre, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the ſiege; an act of great admiration, as the ſame is written in the ſecond of *Kings*. After this, when *Azael* obtained the kingdome of *Syria* by the death of his Maiſter, *Ioram* entring vpon his frontire, tooke *Ramoth Gilead*: in which war he receiued diuers wounds, and returned to *Ieſrael* to be cured. But whileſt he lay there, *Iehu* (who commanding the armie of *Ioram* in *Gilead*, was anointed king by one of the children of the Prophets ſent by *Eliſha*) ſurprized and

2 Kings 7.

and ſlew both him and all that belonged vnto him, rooting out the whole poſteritie of *Ahab*.

Iehu who reigned after *Iehoram*, deſtroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but alſo their religion; for which he receiued a promiſe from God, That his ſeed ſhould occupie the Throne vnto the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the idolatry of *Ieroboam*, for which he was plagued with greeuous warre, wherein hee was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who ſpoiled all the Countries to the Eaſt of *Iordan*: in which warre hee was ſlaine, ſaith *Cedrenus*: whereof the Scriptures are ſilent. *Iehu* reigned 28. yeeres. Pag. 86.

Ioachaz or *Iehoahaz* the ſonne of *Iehu* ſucceeded his father, whom *Azael* and his ſon *Benhadad* often inuaded, and in the end ſubiected, leauing him onely 50. horſe, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot; and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like duſt beaten into powder. *Ioachaz* reigned 17. yeeres. 2 King. 13.

After *Ioachaz Ioas* his ſonne gouerned *Iſrael*, who when hee repaired to *Eliſha* the Prophet as hee lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promiſed him three victories ouer the *Aramites*: and firſt commanded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and *Eliſha* couered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window weſtward (which was toward *Damaſcus*) and then ſhoot an arrow thence out. Hee againe willed him to beate the ground with his arrowes, who ſmote it thrice, and ceaſed: The Prophet then told him, that hee ſhould haue ſmitten fiue or ſixe times, and then he ſhould haue had ſo many victories ouer the *Aramites* as he gaue ſtrokes. And ſo it ſucceeded with *Ioas*, who ouerthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recouered the Cities and Territorie from *Benhadad* the ſonne of *Azael*, which his Father *Ioachaz* had loſt. He alſo ouerthrew *Amazia* King of *Iuda*, who prouoked him to make the warre, whereupon he entred *Hieruſalem*, and ſacked it with the Temple. This *Ioas* raigned ſixteene yeeres and died; in whoſe time alſo the Prophet *Eliſha* exchanged this life for a better. 2 King. 14

Ieroboam the third from *Iehu*, followed *Ioas* his father, an Idolater as his predeceſſors; but he recouered all the reſt of the lands belonging to *Iſrael*, from *Hamath* which is neere *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty yeeres.

Zacharias the fift & laſt of the houſe of *Iehu*, ſlaine by *Shallum* his vaſſal, who reigned in his ſtead, gouerned ſix moneths. *Shallum* held the kingdome but one month, being ſlaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem who tooke reuenge of *Shallum*, vſed great cruelty to thoſe that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of thoſe that were with childe. This *Menahem* being inuaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thouſand talents of ſiluer, which hee exacted by a Tribute of fifty ſhekels from euery man of wealth in *Iſrael*. *Menahem* gouerned twenty yeeres. 2 King. 16. 19.

Pekahiah or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras Phaceſia*, ſucceeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres, he was ſlaine by *Phaca* or *Pekah* the Commander of his army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekahs* time, *Phulaſſar* or *Tiglat-Phylaſſar* inuaded the kingdome of *Iſrael*, and wan *Iion*, *Abel-Bethmaaca*, *Ianoach*, *Kedeſh*, *Haſor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captiues into *Aſſyria*: he was drawne in by *Achas* king of *Iudæa* againſt *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the laſt of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being waſted by *Pekah* of *Iſrael*, and by *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, did a third time borrow the Church riches, & therewith ingaged the *Aſſyrian*, who firſt ſuppreſſed the Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*, and then of *Iſrael*: and this inuiting of the great *Aſſyrian*, was the vtter ruine of both States, of *Iſrael* and of *Iudæa*. *Pekah* reigned twenty yeeres. 2 King. 15. 25.

Then *Hoſhea* or *Oſea*, who ſlew *Pekah*, became the vaſſall of *Salmanaſſar*; but hoping to ſhake off the *Aſſyrian* yoke, he ſought aide from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* king of *Ægypt*: which being knowne to the *Aſſyrian*, he caſt him into priſon, beſieged *Samaria*, and maſtred it: carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into *Niniuie* in *Aſſyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Eaſterne Regions, and there diſperſed them: and replanted *Samaria* with diuers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthæ* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a riuer in *Perſia*, or rather in *Arabia Deſerta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding vpon *Syria*, and with thoſe of *Sepharuaÿm* (a people of *Sephar* in *Meſopotamia* vpon *Euphrates*, of whoſe conqueſt *Senacherib* vaunteth) alſo with thoſe of *Aua*, which were of the ancient *Auins*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philiſtims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling neere vnto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted ont: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, called *Hauæi*, willing to returne to their ancient ſeates. To theſe he added thoſe of *Chamath* or *Ituræa*, the ancient enemies of the *Iſraelites.* and ſometime the Vaſſalls of the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*, which ſo often afflicted them. And thus did this *Aſſyrian* aduiſe himſelfe better than the *Romanes* did. For after *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* had waſted the Cities of *Iudæa*, and *Hieruſalem*, they carried the people away captiue: but left no others in their places, but a very few ſimple labourers, beſides their owne thin Garriſons, which ſoone decayed: and thereby they gaue that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who neuer could be driuen thence againe to this day.

And this tranſmigration, plantation, and diſplantation, hapned in the yeare of the world 3292. the ſixth yeare of *Ezekiah* King of *Iuda*: and the ninth of *Hoſea* the laſt King of *Iſrael*,

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1.	*Ieroboam,*	Raigned	22	Yeares.
2.	*Nadab,*		2	Yeares.
3.	*Baaſha,*		24	Yeares.
4.	*Ela,*		20	Yeares.
5.	*Zambris,*		7	Dayes.
6.	*Omri,*		11	Yeares.
7.	*Achab,*		22	Yeares.
8.	*Ochozias,*		2	Yeares.
9.	*Ioram,*		12	Yeares.
10.	*Iehu,*		28	Yeares.
11.	*Ioachaz,*		17	Yeares.
12.	*Ioas,*		16	Yeares.
13.	*Ieroboam,*		41	Yeares.
14.	*Zacharias*		6	Moneths
15.	*Shallum,*		1	Moneth.
16.	*Menahem,*		10	Yeares.
17.	*Pakahia,*		2	Yeares.
18.	*Phaca,*		20	Yeares.
19.	*Hoſea.*		9	Yeares, about whoſe time writers differ.

Chap. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Iuda, Reuben, Gad, and the other halfe of Manaſſe.

§. I.

Of Dan, whereof Ioppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Townes.

NOw following the coaſt of the *Mediterran* Sea, that portion of Land aſſigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, ioyneth to *Ephraim*, whereof I ſpake laſt: of which family there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting men, all which leauing their bodies with the reſt in the *Deſarts*; there entred the Holy Land of their ſons 66400. bearing armes. V.46. The firſt famous Citie in this Tribe on the Sea-coaſt was *Ioppe*, or *Iapho*, as in the 19. of *Ioſua*: one of the moſt ancienteſt of the World, and the moſt famous of others on that coaſt, becauſe it was the Port of *Hieruſalem*. From hence *Ionas* imbarked himſelfe when he fled from the ſeruice of God, towardes *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this Citie receiued many changes: and while *Iudas Macchabæus* gouerned the *Iewes*, the *Syrians* that were Garriſond in *Ioppe*, hauing their fleete in the Port, inuited 200. principall Citizens aboord them, and caſt them all into the Sea: which *Iudas* reuenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which ſought to eſcape to the ſword. Macc.2.12

It was twice taken by the *Romanes*, and by *Ceſtius* the Lieutenant vtterly burnt and ruined. But in the yeere of *Chriſt*, 1250. *Lodouick* the French King gaue it new Walles and Towers: It is now the *Turkes*, and called *Iaffa*. There are certaine Rockes in that Port, wherunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was faſtned with chaines: & from thence deliuered from the Sea-Monſter by *Perſeus*. This Fable (for ſo I take it) is confirmed by *Ioſephus*, *Solinus*, and *Plinie*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his office of *Ædileſhip*, ſhewed the bones of this Monſter to the people of *Rome*. S. *Hierome* vpon *Ionas* ſpeakes of it indifferently.

L.3.1 15. de bel Iud. Solin. c. 47. Pli l.5 c.9

2. Mac. 12.

De Bell. ſacr.

The next vnto *Ioppe* was *Iamnia*, where *Iudas Macchabæus* burnt the reſt of the *Syrian* fleet: the fire and flame whereof was ſeene at *Hieruſalem* 240. furlongs off. It had ſometime a Biſhops ſeate, ſaith *Will.* of *Tyre*; But there is no ſigne of it at this time, that ſuch a place there was.

F.244.

After *Iamnia* is the Citie of *Geth* or *Gath*, ſometime *Anthedon*, ſaith *Volatteran*. And ſo *Montanus* ſeemes to vnderſtand it. For he ſets it next to *Ægypt*, of all the *Philiſtim* Cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volaterran* giues neither reaſon nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolomie* ſets *Anthedon* farre to the South of *Ioppe*: And *Geth* was the firſt and not the laſt (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the *Philiſtims*: and about ſixteene miles from *Ioppe*; where S. *Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the ſame name. It was ſometime the Habitation and *Seminarie* of the *Anakims*: ſtrong and Giant-like-men, whom *Ioſua* could not expell, nor the *Danites* after him: nor any of the *Iſraelites*, till *Dauids* time: who ſlew *Goliath*, as his Captaines did diuers others, not much inferiour in ſtrength and ſtature vnto *Goliath*.

Hieron. in Micheam.

Roboam the Sonne of *Salomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the ſonne of *Amazia* deſtroyed it againe. It was alſo laid waſte by *Azael* King of *Syria*. *Fulke* the fourth King of *Hieruſalem*, built a Caſtle in the ſame place out of the olde ruines. Whether this *Geth* was the ſame that *Will.* of *Tyre* in the holy Warre cals *Ibÿlin*, I much doubt: the error growing by taking *Geth* for *Anthedon*.

L.21.c.18.

Not farre from *Geth* or *Gath* ſtandeth *Bethſemes*, or the houſe of the *Sunne*. In the fields adioyning to this City (as is thought) was the *Arke* of God brought by a yoke of two Kine, turned looſe by the *Philiſtims*: and the *Bethſemites* preſuming to looke therein, there were ſlain of the Elders 70. and of the people 50000. by the ordinance of God. After which ſlaughter & the great lamentation of the people: it was called the great **Abel*, ſaith S. *Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* finds three other Cities of this name; one in [a]*Nephtalim*: another in *Iuda*: and another in *Iſachar*. *Hierome* finds a fifth in *Beniamin*.

Sa.1.c.6.v.18.

*Or rather not the Citie it ſelf but the great ſtone in the field, vppon which ſtone the *Philiſtims* ſet the *Arke*, the change being eaſy from *Eben* or *Aben*, which ſignifyeth a ſtone, to *Abel*, which ſignifieth mourning.

[a] See in *Nepth.* C.7 § 4.† 6.

Keeping the Sea-Coaſt, the ſtrong City of *Accaron* offereth it ſelfe, ſometime one of the fiue *Satrapies*, or Gouernments of the *Philiſtims*. S. *Hierome* makes it the ſame with *Cæſaria Palæſtinæ*. *Plinie* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of thoſe that defended it ſelfe againſt the *Danites* & *Iudæans*. It worſhipped *Beel-zebub* the God of Hornets or Flies. To which Idoll it was that *Ahaziah* King of *Iſrael*, ſent to enquire of his health: whoſe meſſengers *Eliah* meeting by the way, cauſed them to returne, with a ſorrowfull anſwer to their Maſter. This City is remembred in many places of Scripture.

2 King. 1.

Chriſtianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron* or *Ekron*. This *Azotus* or *Aſdod* was alſo an habitation of the *Anakims*, whom *Ioſua* [b] failed to deſtroy, though he once poſſeſt their Citie. Heerein ſtoode a ſumptuous Temple, dedicated to the [c] Idoll *Dagon*: the ſame Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it ſelfe, after the *Ark* of God was by the *Philiſtimes* carried into their Temple: and in the ſecond fall, it was vtterly broken and defaced. Neere it was that famous [d] *Iudas Macchabæus* ſlain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, the Lieutenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Ionathas*: and the reſt of the Citizens being put to the ſword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idoll therein conſumed with fire: neere which alſo hee ouerthrew *Apollonius*.

but was beſieged by *Pſammetichus*, the Father of *Pharao Neco* for 29. yeeres together, whence *Ier* 25 v.20. ſpeakes of the reſidue of *Aſhdod*, to wit, the greateſt part hauing periſhed in this ſiedge.

[c] *1 Sam.* 5. 4.

[d] *Macc.* 1 c. 9.

Macc. 1. c. 10.

Gabinius the *Romane* re-built it. It had a Biſhops ſeate while Chriſtianity flouriſhed in thoſe parts. But in S. *Hieromes* time it was yet a faire Village. And this was the laſt of the Sea-Townes within the Tribe of *Dan*.

Ioſ 19.41.

Iud. 13, 25, &c 18. v. 2.

The Citties which are within the Land Eaſtward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountaine of *Æthiopia*, wherein *Philip* the Apoſtle baptized the *Eunuch*, are *Tſorah*, or *Sarara*, and *Eſthaol*, and between them *Caſtra Danis* neere *Hebron*: though this place where *Sampſon* was borne, may ſeeme by the words, *Iud.* 18, 12. to bee in the Tribe of

Iudah, as the other alſo were bordering Townes betweene *Dan* and *Iuda*.

After theſe within the bounds of *Iuda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they finde *Gedor*, or as it is 1. *Mac.*15. *Cedron*, which *Cendebæus* the Lieutenant of *Antiochus* fortified againſt the *Iewes*, and neere which himſelfe was by the *Macchabees* ouerthrowne.

1.Mac.15.16.

Then *Modin* the Natiue Citie of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whoſe Sepulcher the ſeuen Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth, as they ſerued for a marke to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeeres after their firſt ſetting vp, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witneſſe.

There are beſides theſe the Citie of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the Citie of the woods: ſeated in the border of *Iuda*, *Beniamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the *Arke* of God remained twenty yeeres in the houſe of *Aminadab*: till ſuch time as *Dauid* carried it thence to *Hieruſalem*: Of this place (as they ſay) was *Zacharias* the ſonne of *Barachias*, or *Iehoida*, who was ſlaine betweene the Temple and the Altar: alſo *Vrias* whom *Ioachim* King of *Hieruſalem* ſlaughtered as we finde in *Ieremie*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it vpon preſumption than warrant, I omitte: as that of *Caſpin* taken with great ſlaughter by *Iudas Machabæus*: and *Lachis*, whoſe King was ſlaine by *Ioſua*, in which alſo *Amazias* was ſlaine: The ſame which *Senacherib* tooke, *Ezekias* raigning in *Iuda*.

Alias Cariathbaal & Baal, or Baalpharoſim.1.Sam.7.1 & 2.Sam.6.2.
2 Chron.24.22
Mat.23.33.
Ier.26.20.
2.Macc.12.13.
Ioſ 12.11.
2.Reg.14.19.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, ſee in *Ioſua* C. 19. from the *Verſe* 41. where alſo it is added that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they inuaded *Leſhem*, and inhabited it: which City after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæſarea Philippi*, as before, and made the *Metropolis* of *Ituræa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coaſts this *Philip* was *Tetrarch*: but of this Citie ſee more in *Nephtalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountaines of fame.

It hath two Riuers or Torrents: the Norther-moſt riſeth out of the Mountaines of *Iuda*: and paſſing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whoſe bankes are plentifull of Vines which haue no ſeedes or ſtones: The wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, taſte, and ſauour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, ſo called from the Riuer, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampſon* loued.

Hierō. in Eſay. & Micheam 1
Broch.
Breid.
Iud.16 4.

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§. II.

THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

THe Tribe of *Simeon* takes vp the reſt of the Sea-coaſt of *Canaan*, to the border of *Ægypt*: who being the ſecond Sonne of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were increaſed of that Familie while they abode in *Ægypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their liues in the *Deſarts*, there entred the Land of Promiſe of their iſſues 22200. bearing armes, who were * in part mixed with *Iuda*, and in part ſeuered, inhabiting a ſmal Territorie on the Sea-coaſt, belonging to *Edumæa*. of which the firſt Citie adioyning to *Dan*, was *Aſcalon*.

* And therefore no maruel that diuers places named, *Ioſ.* 15. in the large portiō of *Iuda* be reckoned in this Tribe: ſee *Ioſ.19.v.1: & 9.* where thus much is expreſly noted.

The *Reguli* or pettie Kings thereof were called *Aſcalonitæ*: of which *Volaterran* out of *Xanthus*, in the Hiſtorie of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Aſcalus* were the ſons of *Hymenæus*: and that *Aſcalus* being imployed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Armie in *Syria*, falling in loue with a young Woman of that Countrie, built this Citie, and called it after his owne name: the ſame hath *Nicolaus* in his Hiſtorie, ſaith *Volaterran*.

Volat.Geog.l. 11.fol.244.

Diodorus Siculus in his third booke remembreth a Lake neere *Aſcalon*, wherein there hath beene a Temple dedicated to *Derceto*, the Goddeſſe of the *Syrians*; hauing the face of a Woman, and the bodie of a Fiſh: who, as I haue ſaid before, in the ſtorie of *Ninus*, was the Mother of *Semiramis*, fained to be caſt into this Lake, and fedde and releeued by Doues. And therefore was the Doue worſhipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

> *Alba Palæſtino ſancta Columba Syro.*

> The white Doue is for holy held, in *Syria Palæſtine*.

It was one of the chiefeſt and ſtrongeſt Cities of the *Philiſtims*. It bred many learned

men

Vol. vt ſupra.

men (ſaith *Volaterran*) as ***Antiochus***, ***Soſus***, ***Cygnus***, ***Dorotheus*** the Hiſtorian, and ***Artemidorus***, who wrote the ſtorie of ***Bithynia***.

Adrich. in Trib. Simeon.

In *Aſcalon*, as ſome ſay, was that wicked ***Herod*** borne, that ſeeking after our Sauiour, cauſed all the Male-children of two yeeres olde and vnder to be ſlaine. In the Chriſtian times it had a Biſhop, and after that, when it was by the ***Saladine*** defaced, ***Richard*** King of ***England***, while he made Warre in the Holy Land, gaue it a new wall and many buildings. ***Eius muros cum*** Saladinus ***diruiſſet***, Richardus ***Anglorum Rex inſtaurauit***, ſaith ***Adrichomius***.

2. Sam. 1.

In *Dauids* time it was one of the moſt renowned Cities of the ***Philiſtims***: for hee nameth *Gath* and *Aſcalon* onely, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul* and *Ionathan*: not ſpeaking of the other three. *Tell it not in Gath, nor publiſh it not in the ſtreetes of Aſcalon*: It is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinius* reſtored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

Vol. l. 11.

Steph. de Vrb. Iud. 1. 6. 16. 1 King. 6. & alib.

Next to *Aſcalon* ſtood *Gaza* or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrewes* call *Hazza*, the *Syrians Azan*: of ***Azonus*** (as they ſay) the ſonne of ***Hercules***. Other prophane writers affirme, that it was built by *Iupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* giues the building thereof to *Cambyſes* the *Perſian*; becauſe belike hee re-built it, and *Gaza* in the *Perſian* tongue is as much to ſay as Treaſure. This *Gaza* was the firſt of the fiue *Satrapies* of the *Philiſtims*: and the South bound of the Land of *Canaan* towards *Ægypt*. But this Citie was farre more ancient than *Cambyſes*, as it is prooued by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the ſtrength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At ſuch time as *Alexander Macedon* inuaded the Empire of *Perſia*, it receiued a Garriſon for *Darius*: in deſpight whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long ſiege demoliſhed, & was called *Gaza* of the *Deſart*.

Ioſe. 13. ant. 19.

Macc. 1. 15. Broch. Itin. 7.

Alexander Ianneus King of the Iewes ſurprized it: and ſlew fiue hundred Senators in the Temple of *Apollo* which fled thither for Sanctuarie: but this *Gaza* was not ſet vp in the ſame place againe, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had ouerturned, but ſomewhat neerer the Sea ſide: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the *Macchabees*, and gaue many wounds to the *Iewes* till it was forſt by *Simon*: of which hee made ſo great account, as that hee purpoſed to reſide therein himſelfe, and in his abſence left *Iohn* his Soune and Succeſſor to bee Gouernour. In *Brochard* his time it was ſtill a goodly Citie, and knowne by the name of *Gazara*.

Hiſt. trip. l. 6. c. 4. Niceph. 10. hiſt. cap. 4.

At the very out-let of the Riner of *Beſor*, ſtandeth *Maioma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priuiledge of a Citie was giuen by the great ***Conſtantine***, and the place called *Conſtance* after the name of the Emperons Sonne. But *Iulian* the *Apoſtata* ſoone after fauouring the *Gazeans*, made it ſubiect vnto them, and commanded it to bee called *Gaza maritima*.

Ioſep. 13. Ant. 19. 21.

On the other ſide of *Beſor*, ſtandeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Ianneus*, reſtored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the fauorite of *Auguſtus*.

Ioſ. 13. ant. 19. 21. 14. &c.

* *Iunius* cals it *Vallis Ægypti* the name of the ſtreame ſeemes to be *Sichor*. See in *Aſſer*, Chap. 7. § 3. †. 8. in the margent

[a] *Epiph. tom. 2. in refut. Manich. & in Ancorato. Gen. 10. 19.*

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* ouerthrew the great ***Antiochus***: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whoſe Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name of * *the Torpent of Ægypt*, till the *Septuagint* conuerted it *Rinocura*: to difference it, *Eſ. 27. 12.* giuing the name of the Citie to the Torrent that watereth it. *Plinie* calls it *Rhinocolura*; and *Ioſephus*, *Rhinocorura*: [a] *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was diuided by lot, betweene the three Sonnes of *Noah*.

Within the Land and vpon the Riuer of *Beſor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth between *Kadeſh* & *Shur*, *Gen. 20. 1.* That it was neere to the Wilderneſſe of *Beer-ſhebah*, it appeares *Gen. 20. 31.* and therefore no maruell that as elſewhere *Beer-ſhebah*, ſo ſometime *Gerar*, bee made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of olde a diſtinct Kingdome from the *Philiſtim Satrapies*, the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; Saint *Hierome* ſaith that afterward it was called *Regio ſalutaris*; *the healthy Countrie*: ſo that it was no maruell that *Abraham* and *Iſaac* liued much in thoſe parts. Of King *Aſa's* conqueſt of the Cities about *Gerar*, ſee *2. Chron. 14. 14.*

1. Sam. 30.

More within the Land was *Siceleg* or *Tſiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *Dauid* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philiſtims* had left his carriages there, but *Dauid* followed them ouer the Riuer of *Beſor*, and put them to the ſlaughter, and recouered the prey.

Ioſe. 10. 11. 12.

Next *Dabir* ſometime *Cariath-Sepher*, the Citie of Letters, the Vniuerſitie, as they ſay, or *Academie* of old *Palaſtine*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it ſeemes it had the name of

of

Daema: *Ioſua* 15.49. it is called *Vrbs Sannæ*: from the name, as it ſeemes, of ſome of the *Anakims*, as **Hebron** was called *Vrbs Arbahi*. For euen hence alſo were theſe Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by **Othoniel**, incouraged by **Calebs** promiſe of his Daughter in marriage: but that **Ioſua** and the Hoaſt of *Iſrael* were at the ſurpriſe, it appeares *Ioſ*. 10 39. This Citie *Ioſ*.21.15. is named among thoſe which out of *Simeon* and **Iuda** were giuen to the *Leuites*. And hence it ſeemes they attribute it to this Tribe.

*Ioſ.*11.*v.*21:

Beſides theſe, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of leſſe fame, as *Haijn*, of which *Ioſ*.19.7, which alſo *Ioſ*.21.16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Leuites*, giuen out of the portion of *Iuda* and *Simeon* (for which *Iunius* thinkes *Haſham* is named 1.*Chron*.6.59. though * in the place of *Ioſua* theſe two are diſtinguiſhed) alſo *Tholad* * ſo named 1.*Chron*.4.29. for which *Ioſua* 19.4. wee haue *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Suſa* ſo named *Ioſua* 19.5. for which *Ioſua* 15. we haue *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in ſignification: for **Gadda** is *Turma*, and *Suſa Equitatus*.

* And alſo 1.*Chron*. 4.31.

In the ſame places of *Ioſua* and of the *Chronicles Chorma* is named, which they thinke to be the ſame with that of which *Numb*. 14.45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* purſued the *Iſraelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountaines of *Edumæa*. For *Iſrael* fled not that way: but backe againe to the Campe, which lay to the South of *Edumæa*, in the *Deſart*.

Deut. 1.

The ſame places alſo name *Beerſheba* in this Tribe: ſo called of the Oath betweene *Abraham* and *Abimelec*: neere vnto which **Hagar** wandred with her Sonne *Iſmael*. It was alſo called the Citie of *Iſaac*, becauſe hee dwelt long there. While the *Chriſtians* held the Holy Land, they laboured much to ſtrengthen this place, ſtanding on the border of the *Arabian Deſart*, and in the South bound of **Canaan**. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simeon* which are named in the places of *Ioſua*, and of the *Chronicles* aboue noted, becauſe they helpe vs nothing in ſtorie, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Iuda*, certaine of this Tribe being ſtrengthened in their owne Territories, paſſed to * *Gedor*, as it is, 1 *Chron*. 4.39. (the ſame place which *Ioſ*. 15.36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the iſſue of **Cham**: where they ſeated themſelues: as alſo fiue hundred others of this Tribe, deſtroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountaines of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

Gen.21.31.

* As it ſeemes in the Land of *Iuda*. See in the firſt *Paragraphe* of this Chapter in the Cities of *Dan*.

The Moutaines within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampſon* the chiefeſt: vnto which hee carried the Gate-poſt of *Gaza*. The Riuers are *Beſor*, and the *Torrent* of *Ægypt* called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Aſſer*.

Iud.16.3.

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§. III.

THE TRIBE OF IVDA.

OF *Iuda* the fourth Sonne of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Ægypt* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) periſhed in the *Deſarts*. And of their ſonnes there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing armes: Agreeable to the greatneſſe of this number was the greateſt Territorie giuen, called afterward *Iudæa*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to **Dan** and *Simeon* included. And many Cities named in thoſe Tribes, did firſt, as they ſay, belong vnto the Children of *Iuda*: who had a kinde of Soueraigntie ouer them: as *Succoth*, *Cariathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethſemes*, *Tſiglag*, *Beerſheba*, and others. The multitude of people within this ſmall Prouince (if it be meated by that ground giuen to this Tribe onely) were incredible, if the witneſſe of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when **Dauid** numbred the people, they were found fiue hundred thouſand fighting men.

The Cities of *Iuda* were many. But I will remember the chiefeſt of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which ſtandeth in the entrance of *Iudæa* from *Idumæa*: whoſe King firſt ſurprized the *Iſraelites* as they paſſed by the border of **Canaan** towards **Moab**, and tooke from them ſome ſpoyles, and many priſoners: who being afterward ouerthrown by the *Iſraelites*, the ſonnes of *Keni*, the Kinſmen of *Moſes*, obtained a poſſeſſion in that Territorie: who before the comming of the *Iſraelites*, dwelt betweene *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Num.21.*v*.3.
Ioſ. 12 *v*.14.
Iud.1. *v*.16.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumæa* and the South, *Aſcenſus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed: the next to *Arad*: ſo called becauſe of Scorpions, which are ſaid to bee in that

Num.34.4.
Deut. 8.15.

that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Hierome* thinkes that the name of the *Toparchie* called *Acrabathena* was denominated: of which we haue ſpoken in *Manaſſes*. On the South ſide alſo of *Iudæa* they place the Cities of *Iagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Aſhna*, *Iethnam*, and *Aſor* or *Chatſor*, moſt of them Frontier Townes.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places ſo called: one beſides this in the body of *Iuda*, of which the *Deſart* and Forreſt adioyning tooke name: where *Dauid* hid himſelfe from *Saul*. After theſe are the Cities of *Eſron*, *Adar*, *Karkah* and *Aſemona*, or *Hatſmon*, of no great fame.

Iudg. 15. 8. 1. Chrō. 11. 6. Iun. out of the *1. Chron. 4. 32.* notes that this *Hetham* though it were within the bounds of *Iuda* belonged to *Simeon*. *Ioſ. 15. 48. Hierom in loc. Hebr.*

Turning now from *Idumæa* towards the North, wee finde the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Aſor*, or *Chatſor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochoes*: of all which ſee *Ioſ. 15.* alſo *Carioth* by *Ioſua. c. 15. v. 25.* called *Kerioth*: whence *Iudas* the Traitor was called *Iſ-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then *Hetham* the abode of *Sampſon* which *Rehoboam* reedified. Beyond theſe towards the North border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the Citie of *Iethar*, or *Iatthir*, belonging to the *Leuites*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Iethira*: and inhabited altogether with *Chriſtians*: neere vnto this City was that remarkeable battaile fought betweene *Aſa* King of *Iuda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithſtanding beaten and put to flight: *Aſa* following the victory as farre as *Gerar*, which at the ſame time he recouered.

2. Macc. 12. 35.

Not farre from *Iether*, ſtandeth *Iarmuth*, whoſe King was ſlaine by *Ioſua*, and the City ouerturned. Next vnto it is *Mareſa* the natiue Citie of the Prophet *Michæa*: Betweene it and *Odolla*, *Iudas Macchabæus* ouerthrew *Gorgias*, and ſent thence ten thouſand *Dragmas* of ſiluer to be offered for Sacrifice.

Gen. 38. v. 1. Ioſ. 12. 15.

1. Sam. 23. 1.

Odolla or *Hadullam* it ſelfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by *Ioſua*, and the King thereof ſlaine. *Ionathas Macchabæus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila* or *Keila* afterward *Echela*, where *Dauid* ſometime hid himſelfe: and which afterward he deliuered from the aſſaults of the *Philiſtims*: neere which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whoſe monument remained, and was ſeene by S^t. *Hierome*.

Neere it is *Hebron*, ſometime called *the Citie of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reaſon of this name they giue as if it ſignified the Citie of foure: becauſe the foure *Patriarchs*, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Iacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but ſuppoſed: and it is plaine by the places, *Ioſua* 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that *Arbah* here doth not ſignifie foure, but that it was the name of the Father of the *Giants* called *Anakim*, whoſe ſonne as it ſeemes *Anak* was: and *Achiman*, *Sheſhai*, and *Talmai* (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Ioſ. 15.*) were the ſons of this *Anak*, *Num. 13. 23.* The name of *Anak* ſignifieth *Torquem*, a chaine worne for ornament; and it ſeemes that this *Anak* inriched by the ſpoyles which himſelfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold, and ſo got this name: and leauing the cuſtome to his poſteritie, left alſo the name: ſo that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amiſſe be expounded by *Torquati*.

The Citie *Hebron* was one of the ancienteſt Cities of *Canaan*, built ſeuen yeres before *Tſoan* or *Tanis* in *Ægypt*: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part giuen, to wit, the Villages adioyning, and the reſt to the *Leuites*. It had a Biſhop in the *Chriſtian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Conſtantine*.

Ioſ. 10. v. 11.

Not farre hence they finde *Eleutheropolis* or the free Citie, remembred often by Saint *Hierome*. Then *Eglon* whoſe King *Dabir* aſſociated with the other foure Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hieruſalem*, *Hebron*, *Iarmuth*, and *Lachis*, beſieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Ioſua* vtterly ouerthrowne. From hence the next Citie of fame was *Emaus*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Gouernment or *Præſidencies* of *Iudæa*. In ſight of this Citie *Iudas Macchabæus* (after hee had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gaue a third ouerthrow to *Gorgias* Lieutenant to *Antiochas*.

Macc. 1. 3. Euſeb. in Chrō. Broch. Itin. 6.

In the yeare 1301. it was ouerturned by an earth-quake, ſaith *Euſebius*. In the *Chriſtian* times it had a Biſhops ſeate of the Dioceſſe of *Cæſaria* of *Palæſtine*.

From *Emaus* toward the West Sea there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader* or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which and of *Gederoth* * *Ioſ. 15. v. 36.* and 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Ioſua* followed the ſlaughter of the fiue Kings before named, a Citie of great great ſtrength in the Valley of ^a *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, 1. *Sam.* 17. 2. whence (as it ſeemes) they ſeat it neere vnto *Soco*, and vnto *Lebna* of the *Leuites*.

* Alſo 1. *Chrō.* 4. 39. as is aboue remembred in the Tribe of *Simeon*.

[a] *Iunius* for *in Valle Terebinthi* hath *in valle querceti*. *Vatablus* keeps the *Hebrewe* reading *in valle Elah*.

Leuites. It reuolted from the ſubiection of the *Iewes* while *Ioram* the ſonne of *Ioſaphat* ruled in *Hieruſalem*: And next vnto this ſtandeth *Maceda*, which *Ioſua* vtterly diſpeopled.

On the other ſide of *Emaus* towards the Eaſt ſtandeth *Bethſur*, otherwiſe *Bethſora*, and *Bethſor*: one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſought for places in all *Iuda*. It is ſeated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethſur* (*the houſe on the Rocke*, or *of ſtrength*.) It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Iudas Macchabæus*. *Lyſias* forſt it, and *Antiochus Eutapor* by famine: *Ionathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified againſt the *Syrian* Kings.

Ioſe.13. ant.9.
Macc.1.6.

Bethleem is the next vnto it within ſixe miles of *Hieruſalem*, otherwiſe *Lehem*: ſometime *Ephrata*; which name, they ſay, it had of *Calebs* wife, when as it is ſo called by *Moſes* before *Caleb* was famous in thoſe parts, *Gen.*38.16. Of this Citie was *Abeſſan* or *Ibzan*, *Iudge of Iſrael*, after *Iephtah*, famous for the thirty Sonnes and thirty Daughters begotten by him. *Elimelec* was alſo a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* ſojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Iuda* in the time of the *Iudges*, with whom *Ruth* the daughter in law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and maried *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Iſhai*, of whom *Dauid*. It had alſo the honour to bee the natiue Citie of our Sauiour *Ieſus Chriſt*; and therefore ſhall the memorie thereof neuer end.

Geneſ.53.48.
Ruth.1.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was alſo a Citie of the ſame name: and therefore was this of our Sauiour called *Bethleem Iuda*.

Hieron in com. ſuper.Mat c.2.
Math 2.1.

From *Bethleem* ſome foure or fiue mile ſtandeth *Thecua*, the Citie of *Amos* the Prophet: and to this place adioyning is the Citie of *Bethzacaria*, in the way betweene *Bethſura* and *Hieruſalem*: on whoſe Hills adioyning the glorious guilt ſhields of *Antiochus* ſhined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the *Iewes*. The Citie of * *Bezek* was alſo neere vnto *Bethleem*, which *Adoni-Bezec* commanded; who had during his raigne tortur'd 70. Kings, by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes: and made them gather bread vnder his Table: but at length the ſame end befell himſelfe by the ſonnes of *Iuda*, after they had taken him priſoner.

Amos.1.v.1.
1.Mac.6.32.
Ioſeph.ant 12. c.14.
1.Mac.6.v.35
* See in *Man'ſſ.* C.7 § 7.†.1.
Iud.1.v.6.et.7

The reſt of the Cities in this part (moſt of them of no great eſtimation) we may paſſe by vntill wee come to the magnificent Caſtle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble ſteps, exceeding beautifull and ſtrong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adioyning to the *Deſart* of *Iıruel*, betweene it and *Tekoa*, is that *cliuaus floridus*, where in the time of *Iehoſaphat*, the *Iewes* ſtood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, maſſacring one another, when they had purpoſed to ioyne againſt *Iuda*: neere which place is the Valley of bleſſing, where the *Iewes* the fourth day after, ſolemnely came and bleſſed God for ſo ſtrange deliuerance.

Ioſe.14 ant.22
2.Chron.20.v.16. & 26.

Now the Cities of *Iuda* which border the Dead Sea, are theſe; *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tſohar* which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*: ſo called becauſe *Lot* in his praier for it vrged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tſohar*, which ſignifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen.*14.2. In the *Romanes* times it had a Garriſon, and was called (as they ſay) *Pannier*: in *Hieromes* time *Balexona*. Then *Engaddi* or *Hen-gaddi*, firſt *Aſaſonthamar*: neere vnto which are the Gardens of *Balſamum*, the beſt that the world had called *Opobalſamum*: the moſt part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queene of *Ægypt* ſent for out of *Iudæa*, and *Herod* who either feared or loued *Anthonie* her husband, cauſed them to be rooted vp and preſented vnto her: which ſhee replanted neere *Heliopolis* in *Ægypt*. This Citie was firſt taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the moſt remarkeable Cities of *Iudæa*: and one of the *Preſidencies* thereof.

2.Chron.11.
* Some call it *Bal-ſaliſa* and *Vitula conſternans.* See in *Gad c.10.* §.5. *poſt principium in Haroher.*
Gen.19.20.
Hieron.in Oſe: Hebr.Chatſatſon-thamar.
2.Chron.20.2.
Gen.14.7.

The reſt of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them *Ieſrael*; not that which was the Citie of *Naboth*, of which alreadie: but another of the ſame name, the Citie of *Achinoan*, the wife of *Dauid*, the mother of that *Ammon*, whom *Abſalom* ſlew: alſo as ſome thinke the Citie of *Amaſa*, *Abſaloms* Lieutenant, and the commander of his Armie. But this ſeemeth to be an error grounded vpon the neereneſſe of the words, *Iſrael* and *Ieſrael*: and becauſe the 2.*Sam.*17.25. *Amaſaes* father is called a *Iiſraelite*, who firſt of the *Chron.*2.17. is called an *Iſmaelite*: indeed the *Hebrew Orthographie* ſheweth that *Amaſaes* Father is not ſaid to be of the Citie *Ieſrael*, but an *Iſraelite* in Religion, though otherwiſe an *Iſmaelite*.

1.Reg.21.
2.Sam.17.25.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills and Mountaines, as thoſe of *Engaddi* vpon the

Hieron. in loc. Heb. & quæſt. Hebr.
Ioſep. 14 Ant. c. 20.

the Dead Sea: and the Mountaines of *Iuda*, which begin to riſe by *Emaus*, and end neere *Taphna*, and theſe part *Iuda* from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which ſtand ſingle, there is that of **Hebron**: at the foot whereof was that Oake of *Mambre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*, which S. *Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree; and ſaith, that it ſtood till the time of *Conſtantine* the yonger. There is alſo that Mountaine called *Collis Achillæ*, on the South of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, incloſing the olde Caſtle, erected by *Ionathas Macchabæus*, and called *Maſſada*, garniſhed it with 27. high and ſtrong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundred thouſand men; being as it ſeemeth a place vnacceſſible, and of incomparable ſtrength.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Sea, or the Lake *Aſphaltitis*, this Countrie had foure Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gamorra*, deſtroyed with fire from Heauen for their vnnaturall ſinnes.

§. IIII.

THE TRIBE OF REVBEN and his Borderers.

†. I.

The ſeates and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites wanne from Sehon *King of Hesbon.*

ON the other ſide of the Dead Sea, *Reuben* the eldeſt of *Iacobs* ſonnes iuhabited: of whoſe children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the reſt in the *Deſarts*, there remained to poſſeſſe the Land promiſed 43700. bearing armes. But before we ſpeake of theſe or the reſt that inhabited the Eaſt ſide of *Iordan*, ſomething of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whoſe land in our writers are confuſedly deſcribed, and not eaſily diſtinguiſhed. And firſt wee are to remember that out of *Abrahams* kindred came mighty Families: as by *Iſaac* and *Iacob* the Nation called Iſrael, and afterward Iewes: by *Eſau* or *Edom* the *Idumæans*: by *Iſmael* the eldeſt ſonne of *Abraham*, the *Iſmaelites*: and by *Keturah* his laſt wife the *Midianites*. And againe by *Lot*, *Abrahams* brothers ſonne, thoſe two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: all which being but ſtrangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly poſſeſt by the *Canaanites*, and by the Families of them deſcended) theſe iſſues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Iacob*, whoſe children were bred in *Ægypt*, inhabited the frontier places adioyning.

Eſau and his ſonnes held *Idumæa*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South, *Iſmael* tooke from the South-eaſt part of the Dead Sea; ſtretching his poſſeſſion ouer all *Arabia Patræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, as farre as the Riuer of *Tigris*, from *Sur* to *Hauilah*.

Moab tooke the reſt of the coaſt of the Dead Sea, leauing a part to *Midian*, and paſſing ouer *Arnon*, inhabited the plaines betweene *Iordan* and the Hills of *Abarim* or *Arnon*, as farre North as *Eſſebon*, or *Chesbon*.

Ioſua. 13.
Num. 21. v. 24
Gen. 14.

Ammon ſate downe on the North-eaſt ſide of *Arnon*, and poſſeſt the Tract from *Rabba* afterward *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilhead*, and without them as farre forth as *Arroer*, though in *Moſes* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thruſt him ouer the Riuer of *Iaboc*, as they had done *Moab* ouer *Arnon*. As theſe Nations compaſſed ſundry parts of *Canaan*, ſo the border betweene the Riuer of *Iaboc* and *Damaſcus* was held by the *Amorites* themſelues, with other mixt Nations: all which Territorie on the Eaſt ſide of *Iordan*, and on the Eaſt ſide of the Dead Sea, was granted by *Moſes* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and halfe *Manaſſe*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was firſt poſſeſt by the *Emims* a Nation of Giants weakened and broken by *Chedorlahomer*, after expulſed by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territorie and ancient poſſeſſion of the *Zamzummims* or *Zuræi*, who were alſo beaten at the ſame time by *Chedorlahomer*, *Amraphel*, and the reſt: and by them an eaſie way of conqueſt was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is writen that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the ſame is to be vnderſtood according to the time when *Moſes* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Anceſter beaten the *Moabites* out of the plaine Countries, betweene *Abarim* and *Iordan*, and driuen them from *Hesbon* ouer *Arnon*; and this happened not long before *Moſes* arriuall vpon that border, when *Vaheb* gouerned the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moſes* paſt *Arnon*, was not the ſonne of *Vaheb*, but his name was *Balac* the ſonne of *Zippor*. And it may be that thoſe Kings were electiue, as the *Edumæans* anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab* betweene *Arnon* and *Iordan*, as farre North as *Eſſebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Iſrael* arriued there out of *Ægypt*, it was in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreus*: and therefore did *Iephtah* the Iudge of *Iſrael* iuſtly defend the regaining of thoſe Countries againſt the claime of the *Ammonites*: becauſe (as he alleadged) *Moſes* found them in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab* or *Ammon*: who (ſaith *Iephtah*) had 300. yeers time to recouer them, and did not: whence he inferreth that they ought not to claime them now.

Iudg. 11.

And leſt any ſhould maruell why the *Ammonites* in *Iephtahs* time ſhould make claime to theſe Countries: whereas *Moſes* in the place *Numb.* 21. *v.* 26. rather accounts them to haue beene the ancient poſſeſſion of the *Moabites*, than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted that *Deut.* 3. 11. when it is ſaid that the yron bed of *Og* was to be ſeene at *Rabbath*, the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, it is alſo ſignified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Iſraelites* poſſeſſed, was by him or his Anceſtors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sehons* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were ſeated ſo confuſedly together that it was hard to diſtinguiſh them: ſo alſo were the ſonnes of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amalek*, & *Iſmael*. Yet the reaſon ſeemeth plaine enough why *Ammon* commanded in chiefe, in *Iephtahs* time; for ſometime the one Nation, ſometime the other of all thoſe borderers acquired the Soueraigntie: and againe that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely within the mountaines of *Galaad*, or *Gilhead*, and as farre South as *Arroer* belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking aduantage of the time, they then ſought to recouer it againe. Yet at ſuch time as *Moſes* ouerthrew *Sehon* at *Iahaz*, the *Ammonites* had loſt to the *Amorites*, all that part of their poſſeſſion which lay about *Arroer*, and betweene it and *Iaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og* two Kings of the *Amorites* hauing diſplanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of *Numb.* *v.* 24. that *Iſrael* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* vnto *Iaboc*, *euen vnto the children of Ammon*, ſo as at this time the Riuer of *Iaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon*, within the Mountaines, when as anciently they had alſo poſſeſſions ouer *Iaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* poſſeſt, as in the the 13. chapter of *Ioſua*, *verſ.* 25. it appeares.

Ioſ. 13. *ver.* 25. *Iunius* notes that the one halfe of the Land of *Hammon* which in this place of *Ioſua* is ſaid to haue beene giuen to the *Gadites*, was takẽ firſt from the *Ammonites* by *Sehon*: but the place *Deute* 3. 11. proues that aſwell *Og*, as *Sehon*, had gotten Lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*.

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†. II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THe chiefe Cities belonging to *Reuben* were theſe, *Kedemoth*, for which the *Vulgar*, *without any ſhew of warrant*, readeth *Iethſon*. The *Vulgar* or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint*, thoſe two *verſes* 36. and 37. in 21. *Ioſ.* being wanting in the olde *Hebrew* Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedſon* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedſon* by writing ſlipt into *Iethſon*.

Ioſ. 21. 37.

This Citie which they gaue to the *Leuites*, imparts her name to the *Deſart* adioyning: from whence *Moſes* ſent his Embaſſage to *Sehon*. In the ſame place of *Ioſua* where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Betſer & villa eius*, reades *Boſor in ſolitudine Miſor*, without any ground from the *Hebrew*: whence *Adrichomius* makes a Towne called *Miſor*, in the border betweene *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth* neere the *Dead Sea* (for the Countrie betweene being Mountainous hath few Cities) they place two Townes of note, *Laſa* or *Leſhaſh*, of which *Geneſis* 10. *verſe* 19. The *Greekes* call it *Callirhoe*: neere which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and ſweet water; all which ſoone after their riſing, being ioyned in one ſtreame, doe make a very wholeſome bath, eſpecially for all contraction of ſinewes: to which *Herod* the elder, when hee was deſperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others ſay that theſe Springs ariſe out of the hills of *Machærus* in this Tribe. The like fountaines are found in the *Pyrenyes*; and in *Peru*, called *the Baths of the Inga's* or *Kings*. The other towne is *Machærus*, the next betweene *Laſa* and *Iordan*: of all that part of the world the ſtrongeſt In-land Citie and Caſtle, ſtanding vpon a Mountaine

Deut. 2. 26.

It was a marginall note out of the 3. *Deut.* where the 70. kept the word *Miſor*, ſignifying a plaine, which after crept into the Text.

Ioſep. 17. *ant. c.* 9 & *Hierom. in quæſt. Heb. in Gen.*

Acoſta. l. 3.

Ioſep. ant. 13. *c.* 24. & 14. *ant. c.* 10. & *alibi.*

Ioſep. bell. Iud. l. 7. *c.* 25.

euery way vnacceſſible. It was firſt fortified by *Alexander Iannæus*, who made it a frontier againſt the *Arabians*: but it was demoliſhed by *Gabinius*, in the war with *Ariſtobulus*, ſaith *Ioſephus*. It was thither (ſaith *Ioſephus*) that *Herod* ſent *Iohn Baptiſt*, and wherein hee was ſlaine: his armie ſoone after being vtterly ouerthrowne by *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, and himſelfe after this murther neuer proſpering. Not farre from *Machærus* was *Boſor* or *Bozra*, a towne of refuge, and belonging to the *Leuites*, and neere it *Liuias* vpon *Iordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Liuia* the mother of *Tiberius Cæſar*.

Deu.4.43.
Ioſ.20.8.
Euſeb. in Chrō.
Hier. in loc. heb.

To the North of *Liuias* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*: where the children of *Iſrael* embraced the daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*: and where *Phineas* pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, with his ſpeare, bringing due vengeance vpon them, when they were in the midſt of their ſinne: and from hence *Ioſua* ſent the Diſcouerers to view *Ierico*, ſtaying heere vntill hee went ouer *Iordan*. As for the *Torrent Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreames of, reading *Ioel* 3. 18. *irregabit torrentem Setim*: The vulgar hath *torrentem ſpinarum*: and *Iunius*, *vallem Cedrorum*: expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*: but for the *Church*, in which the iuſt being placed, grow as the *Cedars*, *Pſal.* 92. 13.

Num. 25. 1.
Ioſ. 3. 1.

The plaine Country hereabout, by *Moſes* called *The Plaines of Moab*, where he expounded the Book of *Deuteronomie* to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the ſame book preciſely bounded by *Moſes*. On the South it had the great *Deſert* of *Paran*, where they had long wandred. On the Eaſt it had *Chatſeroth*, & *Dizahab* (of which two the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolomie* in *Palæſtina*, the later was a Tract belonging to the *Nabathæi* in *Arabia Petræa*, where was * *Mezahab*, of which, *Gen.* 36. 39.) by the *Geographers* called *Medaua* and *Medaba*. On the Weſt it had *Iordan*, and on the North it had *Laban* (in *Iunius* Edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban*, *Deuteron.* 1. 1.) the ſame which the *Geographers* call *Libias*: and ſome confound it with *Liuias*, of which euen now wee ſpake.

Deut. 34. 1.

Alſo on the ſame North ſide towards the confines of *Cæleſyria*, it had *Theophel*: whereabout ſometime *Pella* of *Cæleſyria* ſtood: which was in the region of *Decapolis*, and as *Stephanus* ſaith, was ſometime called *Butis*. It is alſo noted in *Moſes* to be ouer-againſt or neere vnto *Suph*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *the Red Sea*, as alſo *Num.* 2. 14. it tranſlateth the word *Suphah* in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomie* there is no addition of any word in the *Hebrew* to ſignifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is ſo to be taken, vſeth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to diſtinguiſh it from the region of *Suph* or *Suphah*: which doubtleſſe was about theſe Plaines of *Moab* towards the dead Sea: where the Countrey being full of reedes, was therefore thus called: as alſo the red Sea was called *Mare Suph*, for like reaſon.

* The ſame as it ſeems which *Num.* 21. 30. is called *Medeba* whence wee reade of the plaines of *Medeba*, *Ioſ* 13. *v.* 9. 16. of which alſo wee reade in the wars of *Dauid* againſt *Hanū* the *Ammonite*. 1 *Chrō.* 19. 7. Alſo, 1. *Macc.* 9. 36. *Eſai.* 16. 2. See before *c.* 5. §. 7.

The place in theſe large plaines of *Moab*, where *Moſes* made thoſe diuine exhortations, ſome ſay was *Bethabara* where *Iohn* baptized, which in the Storie of *Gedeon* is called *Beth-bara*. *Ioſephus* ſaies it was where after the Citie *Abila* ſtood, neere *Iordan*, in a place ſet with Palme trees: which ſure was the ſame as *Abel-ſittim* in the Plaines of *Moab*, *Numb.* 33. 49. (that ſome call *Abel ſathaim* and *Bel-ſathim*) which is reckoned by *Moſes* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42. and laſt place of the *Iſraelites* incamping in the time of *Moſes*: This place is alſo called *Sittim*; which word if we ſhould interpret, we ſhould rather bring it from Cedars, than from Thornes, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the Arke of the Tabernacle was made.

Ioh. 1. 28.
Iud 7. 24.
Ioſep. ant. 4. 7.
Num. 25. 1.
Exod. 25. 10.

Toward the Eaſt of theſe plaines of *Moab*, they place the Cities, *Nebo*, *Baall-Meon*, *Sibma* and *Hesbon* the chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, and *Elhabel*, and *Kiriathaima* the ſeate of the Giants *Emim*. Of the two firſt of theſe *Moſes* ſeemes to giue a note that the names were to be changed: becauſe they taſted of the *Moabites* * Idolatrie. For *Nebo* (in ſtead of which *Iunius*, *Eſ.* 46. 1. reades *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their Idoll-Oracle, and *Baal-meon* is *the habitation of Baal*. Of the ſame Idoll was the Hill *Nebo* in theſe parts ſo denominated: from whoſe top, which the common Tranſlators call *Phaſgah*, *Moſes* before his death ſaw all the Land of *Canaan* beyond *Iordan*. In which ſtorie *Iunius* doth not take *Phaſgah* or *Piſgah*, for any proper name: but for an appellatiue, ſignifying a Hill: and ſo alſo *Vatablus* in ſome places; as *Num.* 21. 20. where hee noteth that ſome call *Piſgah* that top which looketh to *Iericho*, and *Hair* as it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be ſomewhat ſtrengthened by the name of a Citie of *Reuben* mentioned *Ioſ.* 13. 20. called *Aſhdoth-Piſga*, which is as much as *decurſus Piſgæ*: to wit, where the waters did runne downe from *Piſga*. In the ſame place of *Ioſua* there is alſo named *Beth-peor*, as belon-

Num. 31. *v.* 37.
Gen 14. *v.* 5.
Num. 32.

* *Exod.* 23. 13. *Nomen deorum alienorū ne recordamini, ne audiatur in ore tuo. Pſ.* 16. 4. *nō aſſumpturus ſū nomina eorū in labijs meis. Hoſ.* 2. 17. *amouebo nomina Bahalimorum ab ore eius.*

belonging to *Reuben:* ſo called from the Hill *Peor:* from whence alſo *Baal* the Idoll was called *Baal-peor*, which they ſay was the ſame as *Priapus*: the cheefe place of whoſe worſhip ſeemes to haue beene *Bamoth-Bahal*, of which alſo *Ioſ.* 13. in the Cities of *Reuben:* for which *Num.* 22. 41. they reade *the high places of Baal* (for ſo the word ſignifieth) to which place *Balaak* firſt brought *Balaam* to curſe the *Iſraelites.*

What name they vſed for *Nebo* it doth not appeare: but *Baal-meon* it ſeemes they named ſometime *Baÿth*, as *Eſ.* 15. 2. and ſomtime *Beth-meon Eſai* 48. 23.

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†. III.

Of diuers places bordering Reuben belonging to Midian, Moab or Edom.

THere were beſides theſe diuers places of note ouer *Arnon*, which adioyned to *Reuben:* amongſt which they place *Gallim*, the Citie of *Phalti:* to whom *Saul* gaue his Daughter *Michal* from *Dauid:* but *Iunius* thinkes this Towne to be in *Beniamin:* gathering ſo much out of *Eſay* 10. *verſ.* 29. where it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin.* With better reaſon perhaps out of *Numb.* 21. *v.* 19. wee may ſay that *Mathana* and *Nahaliel* were in thoſe confines of *Reuben*: through which places the *Iſraelites* paſt after they had left the Well called *Beer:* Then *Deblathaim* which the Prophet *Hieremie* threatneth with the reſt of the Cities of *Moab.*

1. Sam. 25. v. vlt.

Hierem. 48.

Madian alſo is found in theſe parts, the chiefe Citie of the *Madianites* in *Moab:* but not that *Midian or Madian* by the Red Sea; wherein *Iethro* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations, of which theſe of *Moab became* Idolaters, and receiued an exceeding ouerthrow by a Regiment of twelue thouſand *Iſraelites*, ſent by *Moſes* out of the plaines of *Moab:* at ſuch time as *Iſrael* began to accompanie their Daughters: their fiue Kings with *Balaam* the Soothſayer were then ſlaine: and their Regall Citie with the reſt deſtroyed. The other *Madianites* ouer whom *Iethro* was Prince, or Prieſt, forgat not the God of *Abraham* their Anceſtor; but relieued & aſſiſted the Iſraelites in their painfull trauails, through the *Deſerts:* and were in all that paſſage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adioyning to *Edom*, and ſometime reckoned as the chiefe City of *Edom*, there is that *Petra* which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *rupes* or *petra.* It was alſo called *Iocktheel*, as appeares by the place 2. *Reg.* 14. It was built (ſaith *Ioſephus*) by *Recem*, one of thoſe fiue Kings of the *Madianites* ſlaine as before is ſaid: after whom it was called *Recem:* Now they ſay it is called *Crac* and *Mozera.* The *Soldans* of *Ægypt*, for the exceeding ſtrength thereof, kept therein all their treaſures of *Ægypt* aud *Arabia:* of which it is the firſt and ſtrongeſt Citie: the ſame perhaps which *Plinie* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*, whence alſo the Prouince adioyning tooke name: which name ſeemes to haue been taken at firſt from *Nabaioth* the ſonne of *Abraham* by *Kethura.* For *Nabathea* is no where vnderſtood for all *Arabia Petræa*, (at leaſt where it is not miſ-underſtood) but it is that Prouince which neighboureth *Iudæa.* For *Pharan* inhabited by *Iſmael*, whoſe people *Ptolomie* calleth *Pharanites*, in ſtead of *Iſmaelites*, and all thoſe Territories of the *Cuſites, Madianites, Amalekites, Iſmaelites, Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon, Hus, Sin*, and of *Og* King of *Baſan*, were parts of *Arabia Petræa:* though it bee alſo true, that ſome part of *Arabia* the *Deſert* belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Iſmaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the firſt of *Chronicles* the fifth calls *Hagarims* of *Hagar.*

Eſa. 16. 1.

1. Reg. 147.

Lib. 4. Ant. 7.

1. Chrõ 5. v. 19. & 20.

This Citie *Petra, Scaurus* beſieged with the *Roman* Armie, & finding the place in ſhew impregnable, he was cõtent by the perſwaſion of *Antipater*, to take a compoſition of monie, & to quit it. Yet *Amaſias* king of *Iuda* (after he had ſlaughtered 10000. of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) wan alſo this City. S. *Hierome* findes *Ruth* the *Moabite* to be naturall of this City. In the meane time when the *Chriſtians* held the Kingdome of *Hieruſalem*, it had a *Latine Biſhop*, hauing before been vnder the *Greeke Church.* It is ſeated not far from *Hor* where *Aaron* died, & on the other ſide towards the North is the riuer of *Zared* or *Zered*, by which *Moſes* incamped in the 38. Station. *Adrichome* deſcribeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and betweene *Zared* and *Arnon*: and ſo hee doth the Valley of *Saue:* but the waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it ſeemes *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refreſh the plaines of *Moab:* and the cõfluence of thoſe waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad. Saue* alſo cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, & vnder *Midian.* For after *Abraham* returned from the purſuit of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Saue*, or *Saueh*, which is the Kings Dale, where *Abſalom* ſet vp his Monument, as it ſeemes, not farre from *Hieruſalem.* And at the ſame time *Melchizedec* King of *Salem*

Gul. Tyr. 20. bell ſacr.

Numb. 21. Deut. 2. 13.

Num. 32. 3. Ioſ. 13. 27. Eſa. 15. 1.

alſo incountred him. But *Abraham* comming from the North, and *Melchizedec* inhabiting, either neere *Bethſan* otherwiſe *Scythopolis* in the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*, or in *Hieruſalem* (both places lying to the Weſt of *Iordan*) could not incounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Saue*, which was alſo called *the Kings Dale*, could not be in theſe parts.

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†. IIII.

Of the Dead Sea.

NOw becauſe the Sea of *Sodom* or the Dead Sea, called alſo the Lake of *Aſphaltitis*, and the ſalt Sea (in diſtinction from the Sea of *Tyberias* which was freſh water) alſo to the Sea of the Wilderneſſe, or rather the Sea * of the plaines, is often remembred in the Scriptures, and in this ſtorie alſo, therefore I thinke it not impertinent, to ſpeake ſomewhat thereof. For it is like vnto the *Caſpian* Sea, which hath no out-let or diſburthening. The length of this Lake *Ioſephus* makes 180. furlongs (which make 22. miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth, which makes 18. of our miles and ſomewhat more. *Plinie* makes it a great deale leſſe. But thoſe that haue of late yeeres ſeene this Sea, did account it (ſaith [a] *Weiſſenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirtie of ours) in length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus eſt in immenſo ambitu, ſpecie maris, ſapore corruptior, grauitate odoris accolis peſtifer: neq; vento impellitur, neq; piſces aut ſuetas aquis volucres patitur, incertum vndè ſuperiecta vt ſolido feruntur, periti imperitiq; nandi perinde attolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taſte: of ſmell infectious, and peſtilent to the borderers. It is neither moued nor raiſed by the winde: nor indureth fiſh to liue in it, or fowle to ſwimme in it. Thoſe things that are caſt into it, and the vnskilfull of ſwimming, aſwell as the skilfull, are borne vp by this water.* At one time of the yere it caſteth vp *Bitumen:* the Art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath alſo taught. It is vſed in the trimming of ſhips, and the like buſineſſes.

* So *Iunius* reades for the *Hebrew Haraboth* euerie where, and ſo alſo the editiō of *Vatablus*, *Deutr.* 3.17. though *Deutr.* 4.44. it hath *mare ſolitudinis*, as alſo 2. *Reg.* 14.25. the reaſon of this name ſeemes to be, becauſe it ioynes to the plaines of *Moab* which are called *Harboth Moab*, *Deutr.* 34.1. as alſo we haue *Ceſuloth* in *Harbath*, that is in the plaines, to wit, of *Zabulon*, 1. *Macch.* 9. 2. whence *Adrichomius* imagines a City in *Zabulon* called *Araba*.

And then of the Land, he ſpeaketh in this ſort: “The fields not farre from this Lake, “which were ſometime fruitfull and adorned with great Cities were burnt with lightning; of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a ſad face, as hauing loſt “her fruitfulneſſe; for whatſoeuer doth either grow or is ſet thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripeneſſe, haue nothing within them, but moulder into aſhes: “Thus farre *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that thoſe Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe ſtill grow on the bankes of this curſed Lake, doe looke faire, and are of good colour on the out-ſide, but being cut haue nothing but duſt within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake caſteth vp, it was by the *Greekes* called *Aſphalitis*. *Veſpaſian* deſirous to be ſatisfied of theſe reports, went of purpoſe to ſee this Lake, and cauſed certaine Captiues to be caſt into it, who were not onely vnskilfull in ſwimming, but had their hands alſo bound behind them, and notwithſtanding they were carried on the face of the waters, aud could not ſinke.

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†. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whoſe Country within Arnon Reuben *poſſeſt.*

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whoſe Country (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* poſſeſt (though not taken from *Moab* but frō *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Iumus* in the 21. of *Numbers*, verſ. 14. nameth *Vaheb*, which ſeems to be the Anceſtor or Predeceſſor of *Balac*, the ſon of *Zippor*: which *Balac* ſent for *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*. For fearing to contend with *Moſes* by armes by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, hee hoped by the helpe of *Balaams* curſings or inchantments, to take from them all ſtrength and courage, and to caſt on them ſome peſtilent diſeaſes; And though *Balaam* at the firſt, moued by the ſpirit of God, bleſt *Iſrael* contrary to the hope and deſire of *Moab*: yet being deſirous in ſome ſort to ſatisfie him, and to doe him ſeruice, he aduiſed *Moab* to ſend *Madianitiſh* Women among the *Iſraelites*: hoping by them, as by fit inſtruments of miſchiefe, to draw them to the Idolatrie of the Heathen: but in the end hee receiued the reward of his falling from God, and of his euill counſaile, and was ſlaine among the reſt of the Princes of *Midian*.

Num. 21.22. 23.24. *Ioſ.* 24.

After theſe times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named: ſauing that wee finde in the firſt of *Chronicles* the fourth, that *Iokim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Ioaſh*, and

Sareph,

[a] *Deſer. terr. Sanct.*

Sareph, all being of the iſſue of *Iuda*, ſometime had the Dominion in *Moab:* but as it is written in the ſame Verſe, *Theſe alſo are ancient things:* to wit, as ſome expound it, the particulars of theſe mens Gouernments are no where extant or remaining: or as others, *hæc prius fuere*, theſe Families of *Iuda* were once thus famons: but now their poſterity chuſe rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

v. 22.

Then we finde *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the helpe of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* maſtered *Iſrael*, and commanded them eighteene yeeres: which *Eglon*, *Ehud* ſlew in his owne houſe, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had vnto whom *Dauid* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appeare: or whether it were the ſame againſt whom *Saul* made Warre, it is not manifeſt, for neither are named. But in reſpect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to *Saul*, he receiued *Dauid*, and releeued him; knowing that *Saul* ſought his life.

Iudg. 3.
1. Sam. 22.
1. Sam. 14.

After this, *Dauid* himſelfe entred the Region of *Moab*, but not likely in the ſame Kings time: for hee ſlaughtered two parts of the people; and made the third part tributarie: whereupon it was ſaid of *Dauid*, *Moab is my waſh-pot*, *ouer Edom will I caſt my ſhoe:* meaning that hee would reduce them to ſuch an abiection, and appoint them for baſe ſeruices: And that he would tread downe the *Idumæans*.

2. Sam. 8.
1. Chron. 18.
Pſal. 60. v. 10.

The next King after *Dauids* time, of the *Moabites*, whoſe name liueth, was *Meſha:* who falling from *Iuda*, (perhaps in remembrance of the ſeueritie of *Dauid*) faſtened himſelfe to the Kings of *Iſrael*, and paid tribute to *Ahab* 100000. Lambes, and 200000. Rams, with the wooll: who reuolting againe from *Iſrael* after the death of *Ahab*, was inuaded be *Iehoram:* with whom ioyned the Kings of *Iuda* & *Idumæa:* and being by theſe three Kings preſt and broken, hee fledde to *Kir-hareſeth*, as is elſewhere ſhewed. There is alſo mention made of the *Moabites* without the Kings name: when that Nation, aſſiſted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumæans*, inuaded *Iehoſhaphat:* and by reaſon of ſome priuate quarrels among themſelues, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* ſet vpon the *Idumæans*, and ſlaughtered them: and then one againſt another; ſo as *Iehoſhaphat* had a notorious victorie ouer them all, without either bloud or wound. Alſo in the time of *Hieremie* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab* which is not named, which was after *Meſha* of *Moab* many deſcents: for *Meſhe* liued with *Iehoram*, and this *Moabite* in *Zedekias* time, fourteene Kings of *Iuda* comming betweene, who waſted three hundred and odde yeeres.

2. Reg. 3.
2. Chron. 20.
Hierem. 27.

§. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THe Territory adioyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad:* whereof all that part which ioyned to the Mountaines, was ſometime in the poſſeſſion of the *Ammonites*, as farre to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad* the ſeuenth ſon of *Iacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Ægypt*, and died in the *Deſarts*, 45550. and of their ſonnes there entred the Land promiſed, 45000. bearing armes: from the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe* the Riuer of *Iaboc* diuided them: from *Reuben* the Cities of *Heſbon*, *Elbele*, and *Aphec*.

Gen. 30.
Nom. 1. 32. 26
Ioſ. 13.

The chiefe Citie of *Gad* was *Aroer:* which they make to be the ſame with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Iunius* attending diligentlie to thoſe words of *Moſes*, *Deut. 2.36. Ab harahero, quæ eſt in ripa fluminis Arnon, & Ciuitate ipſa quæ eſt in flumine; Where the Citie in the Riuer is diſtinguiſhed from the Citie vpon the banke of the Riuer*, (as alſo in like manner *Ioſ. c.* 12. *v.* 2. and *c.* 13. *v.* 9.) thinketh that *Haroher* which doubtleſſe belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb.* 32. 34. it is ſaid that they built it) was indeede ſeated neere *Har* of the *Moabites*, but diuerſe from it. For that *Har* was neuer poſſeſt by *Moſes*, it is plaine *Deuteronomie* 2. 9. where God forbidding *Moſes* to touch it, ſaith hee hath giuen *Har* for an inheritance to the ſonnes of *Lot*. Now that this Citie, which in diuers places is ſaid to be within and in the middle of the Riuer of *Arnon* (and ſo diſtinguiſhed from *Haroher*, which is ſaid in the ſame places to be on the banke of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*, the ſame *Iunius* prooueth out of *Numb.* 21. 15. where *Arnon* is ſaide to bee diuided into diuers ſtreames, where or among which *Har* is ſeated: And the ſame is confirmed by the place of *Ioſ.* 13. 25. where *Haroher* is ſaid to bee ſeated before *Rabbah:* which *Rabbah* as it ſeemes, cannot bee the

Eſa. 15.
Deut. 2.

Rabbah of the *Ammonites* (for they ſeate not *Haroher* neere it, nor in ſight of it) and therefore by *Rabbah* heere we muſt vnderſtand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar* or *Har*: and ſo wee muſt needs diſtinguiſh it from *Haroher*. And as for * *Har* (which alſo gaue the name to the coaſt adioyning) it ſeemes it continued in the poſſeſſion of the *Moabites* after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, firſt weakened by *Chedorlaomer* and his Aſſociates: but *Haroher* by the interchange of times ſuffered many ancient changes, as being wonne from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Iſraelites*, and from them, as it ſeemes in the ſtory of *Iephtha*, by the ***Ammonites***: and from the *Ammonites* againe by the *Iſraelites* vnder the conduct of *Iephtha*. In S. *Hieromes* time the greateſt part of this Citie periſhed by an earthquake, as alſo *Zoar*, in which *Lot* ſaued himſelfe, in the deſtruction of *Sodom*, ſeated not farre hence: which they ſay was therefore called *Vitula conſternans*, becauſe as a wanton tumbling Heifer, ſhe was thrice ouerthrowne with earth-quake: for which cauſe alſo ***Hierome*** ſeemes to thinke that this *Zoar* was called *Saliſſa*, or *Bal-ſaliſſa*, as if *Baal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah*, or *Belah*, (of which *Gen.* 14.2.) and *Saliſha* which hath a ſignification of the *ternarie number*, had alluded to the three earth-quakes.

* *Deut*.2.9. Out of which place the words, *Num.* 21.28. are to be expounded not that the citie of *Hor*, but the coaſt adioyning was waſted by *Sehon*.

Gen.14.5.

Iud. 11.35.

Hier. in epitap. Paul et in quæſt. & loc. Hebr. ſee *Iunius* his annotations vpon 1.*Sam*.9.2. where hee makes *Shaliſha* a plain Countrie in *Beniamin*, and the ſame with *Balſhaliſha*, 2. *Reg.* 4. 42. where he expounds *Bal* or *Bahal* to be as much as *planities*.

Brochard takes ***Haroher*** to be *Petra*, but erroniouſly, as before it is noted; ſeeing that *Petra* was in the South border of ***Moab***, adioyning to *Edom*, whereas ***Haroher*** is in the North-eaſt border. Betweene ***Haroher*** and ***Iordan*** they ſeate ***Dibon***, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, becauſe they are ſaid to haue built it, *Numb*. 32. 34. though *Ioſua* 13. *verſ*. 17. it is ſaid that *Moſes* gaue it to the ***Reubenites***. Of this Citie among the reſt of *Moab*, both *Eſay* and ***Hieremie*** prophecied, that it ſhould periſh: and the Lakes about it runne with the bloud of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neere ***Arnon*** in Saint *Hieromes* time.

Eſa.15. *Hier*.48. *Eſa*. 15. 21.

Keeping the banks of ***Arnon***, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aroer*, was *Bethnimrah*, of which *Eſay* prophecieth. *That the waters thereof ſhould be dried vp: and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not farre from ***Bethnimrah*** in this Tribe ***Adrichomius*** placeth *Iogbeha*, and *Nobach* or *Nobe*: of both which wee reade in the ſtorie of ***Gedeon***: and that *Iogbeha* was in *Gad*, built by the *Gadites*, it appeares, *Numb*. 32. 35. and therefore *Nobach* alſo muſt needs be in theſe parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manaſſe* it is not certaine: only that it was anciently called ***Kenath***, *Moſes* witneſſeth. *Nobach* alſo (ſaith hee) *went and tooke Kenath with her Townes, and called it Nobach of his owne name*, where becauſe the verſes precedent ſpeake of the *Manaſſites*, and becauſe it is not likely that *Moſes* would haue ſeuered this ſeate of the *Gadites* from the reſt, of which he ſpake before, *v*.34.35.36. therefore it may ſeeme that this * *Noboch* was in than part of *Manaſſe*, which was in the Eaſt of *Iordan*: though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas hee ſuppoſeth it to bee the ſame with *Nob*, which *Saul* deſtroyed, of this we ſhall ſpeake [a] in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. And as for that *Karkor* where *Zebach* and *Salmunah* reſted themſelues in their flight from *Gedeon*, to which place *Gedeon* marched through this *Naboch* and *Iogbeha*, though ſome place in it *Gad*, and make it the ſame with *Kir-chares*, of which *Eſay* 15. and 2. *Reg*. 3.25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the ſame with *Kir-chares*, it is certaine that it was a principall Citie held ſtill by the *Moabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

Iud. 8. 11.

Num.32.35.

* *Num*.21.30. It is called *Nophach*, & placed in the border of the kingdome of *Sehō*, towards *Baſā*, and therefore it is not altogether vnprobable that it was in *Gad*.

a Chap.12.§.1. *Iud*.8 10.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hataroth*: of which name the Scripture witneſſeth that two Cities were builded by the *Gadites*; the former ſimply called *Hataroth*, the later *Hatroth-Sophan*: for which later the *Vulgar* makes two Cities, *Roth* and *Shophan*: the name *Hataroth*, is as much as *Coronæ*.

Num.32.34. 35.

In the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*, together with *Bethnimrah*, of which we haue ſpoken, *Ioſua.cap*.13.*v*. 27. nameth *Beth-haram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Numb*.32.36. (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Bethnimra*, is ſaid to haue been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather, becauſe in *Ioſua* it is called *Beth-Haram*,) ſome take to be *Betaramptha*, (of which [b] *Ioſephus*) after by *Herod* called *Iulias*. But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-Haram*, or from *Beth-Aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in [c] *Ioſephus*) or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idoll of thoſe Countries, wee reade, *Acts* 7.43. and to which *Iunius* referres the name of the Citie *Rephan*, 1. *Machab*. 37.) of this queſtion it were hard to reſolue. But touching *Iulius* (according to *Ioſphus* ſometimes *Bataramptha*) the ſame *Ioſephus* placeth in the Region of *Peræa*, beyond *Iordan*, which *Regio Peræa*, as the *Greeke* word ſignifieth, is no

b *Ioſ*.1.*ant*.18. *cap*. 3.

c *L*.7.*Ant*.*c*.7. *Vbi Græcus Codex legit*. Αραμαθα, *Latinus Rabatha Metropolis Hammonitarũ* no more then *Regio vlterior, the Countrie beyond the Riuer*; and therefore they which labour to ſet downe the bounds of this *Peræa*, take more paines then needes. Foureteene Villages this *Iulias* had belonging vnto it, according to *Ioſephus*. He makes it to haue beene built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Iulias*, in honour of the adoption of *Liuia*, *Auguſtus* his Wife, into the *Inlian* family: by which adoption ſhe was called *Iulia*. Another *Iulias*, hee ſaith was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which, he ſaith, is the ſame as *Bethſaida*.

Ant.20.11.

Ioſep: Ant.18.3 & Bel.Iud.2.8

Vpon the Sea of *Galilee* neere to *Iulias* in *Peræa*, (that is, in the Region ouer *Iordan*) they finde *Vetezobra*, as it is called in *Ioſephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hiſſopi*. Of a noble woman of this Citie, which for ſafegard in the time of Warre with the *Romanes*, came with many others into *Hieruſalem*, and was there beſieged, *Ioſephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable Hiſtory; how for hunger ſhe ate her owne childe, with other tragicall accidents hereupon enſuing.

Ioſep.de Bell. Iud.l.7.c.8.

Of *Succoth* (which we ſaid *Ioſ.*13. is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*) it is plaine by the ſtory of *Gedeon* that it is neere vnto *Iordan*: where it is ſaid, that as he was paſt *Iordan* with his three hundreth, wearie in the purſuit of *Zebah* and *Salmunah*, hee requeſted reliefe of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideons* returne were by him tortured, as it ſeemes vnder a threſhing Carre of *Tribulum*, betweene which and their fleſh he put Thornes to teare their fleſh as they were preſt and trod vnder the *Tribulum*, and after which ſort alſo *Dauid* vſed ſome of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thornes, but with yron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which ſignifieth ſuch Tabernacles as were made in haſte, either for Men or Cattell, *Moſes*, *Gen.*33.17. witneſſeth that the originall of the name was from ſuch harbours, which *Iacob* in his returne from *Meſopotamia* built in that place: as alſo the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of *Iſrael*, as they came from *Rameſes* in *Ægypt*, had their firſt Station, was vpon like reaſon called *Succoth*: becauſe there they ſet vp their firſt Tabernacles or Tents: which they vſed after for forty yeeres in the Wilderneſſe. In remembrance whereof, the Feaſt of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles was inſtituted.

Iud.8.5.

2 Sam.12.31.

Exod 12.37.

Leuit.23.43.

Other foure Cities of *Gad* are named, *Ioſ.*21.38. *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*, *Machanaijm*, *Chesbon*, and *Iahzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* giuen to the *Leuites*, of which *Iahzer*, as *Chesbon* or *Hesbon* was a chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, whence *Num.*32.1. his Countrie is called the Land of *Iahzer*. It was taken by *Moſes*, hauing firſt ſent ſpies to view it. In the firſt of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilehad*. In latter times (as it may be gathered by the prophecie of *Eſay*, touching *Moab*) it was poſſeſſed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Eſay* alſo *Hieremie* in a like prophecie alludes. It was at length regained (but as it ſeemes from the *Ammonites*) by *Iudas Maccabæus*: as it is 1 *Macc.*5.8. where *Iunius* out of *Ioſephus* reades *Iahzer* though the *Greeke* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Ioſua* 16.3.& 8. and *Iud.*1.29.) was farre from theſe Countries of *Sehon*, ſeated in the Weſt border of *Ephraim*, not poſſeſſed by the *Iſraelites*, vntill *Salomons* time, for whom the King of *Ægypt* wan it from the *Canaanite*, and gaue it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter.

Num.22.32.

1 Chro.27.31.

Eſay 6.8.

Hierē.48.32.

Of *Chesbon* it may be maruelled that in the place of *Ioſua*, and 1 *Chron.*6.81. it ſhould be ſaid to haue beene giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Gadites*, ſeeing *Ioſua* 13.*v.*17. it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the *Reubenites*: *Adrichomius* and ſuch as little trouble themſelues with ſuch ſcruples, finding *Casbon*, 1 *Macc.*5.36. among the Cities of *Gilehad*, taken by *Iudas Maccabæus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Casbon* had beene the *Chesbon* of *Gad*: and that of *Reuben* diſtinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betweene *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gaue their part to the *Leuites*, for ſo alſo it ſeemes that in like reaſon *Dibon* is ſaid in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another giuen to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaijm*, which word ſignifieth a double Armie, we reade *Gen.*32.2. that it was therefore ſo called, becauſe the *Angels* of God in that place met *Iacob* in manner of another Hoſte or company, to ioyne with his for his defence: as alſo *Luke* 2.13. wee reade of a multitude of the Hoſte of Heauen, which appeared to the ſheepeherds, at the time of our Sauiours birth: and ſo vnto the Godly King *Oſwald* of *Northumberland*, when hee was ſoone after to ioyne battaile with the *Pagan Penda* of middle-*England*, *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the

Battaile was fought in the North-parts of *England*, is called *Heauen-field*. In this Citie of *Machanaijm Dauid* abode during the rebellion of *Abſalom*: and the ſame for the ſtrength thereof *Abner* choſe for the ſeat of *Iſhboſeth*, during the warre betweene *Dauid* and the houſe of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Towne which was *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*, we read often in the Scripture, for the recouering of which King *Achab* loſt his life. *Iunius* thinkes that *Ramatha-Mitſpe*, of which *Ioſua* 13.26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Iacob* ſware one to the other, as it was called *Gilehad*, which is as much as a witneſſing heape, becauſe of the heape of Stones which *Laban* and his ſonnes left for a monument; ſo alſo that it was called *Mitſpah*, which ſignifieth ouer-looking (becauſe there they called God to ouer-ſee and be witneſſe to their couenant) it is plaine by the place, *Gen.* 31.49. that in theſe parts there was not onely a Towne, but likewiſe a Region called *Mitſpa*, it appeares, *Ioſ.* 11.3. where we reade of the **Chiuuites** vnder **Hermon**, in the Countrie of *Mitſpa*, *the Towne of *Mitſpa*, as it ſeemes both by this place, and in the eight verſe following, being not in the Hill Countrie, but in the valley. But ſeeing that *Iephta* the Iudge of *Iſrael*, who after he came home from *Tob*, (whither his brethren had driuen him) dwelt in this Towne of *Mitſpa*, who doubtleſſe was of the Tribe of *Manaſſe*, and thence at firſt expelled by his brethren, it may ſeeme that they doe not well which place this Towne of *Mitſpa* rather in *Gad*, than in *Manaſſe*. By ***Iudas Macchabeus*** this Towne of *Mitſpa* (whether in *Gab* or in *Manaſſe*) was vtterly ſpoiled and burnt, and males of it ſlaine: for it was then poſſeſt of the ***Ammonites***.

* Of other townes of this name, ſee in the Tribe of *Beniamin*.

Iud. 11.36.

1 Macc. 5.35.

Betweene *Succoth* (of which we haue ſpoken) and the Riuer *Iaboc* was that *Peniel* or *Penuel*, which name ſignifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; *A place where the face of God was ſeene*: ſo called for memorie of the *Angels* appearing to *Iacob*, and wreſtling with him there: the churliſhneſſe of which Citie, in refuſing to relieue **Gideon**, was the cauſe that in his returne he ouerthew their Towre, and ſlew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To theſe places of the **Gadites**, then adde *Rogelim*, the Citie of that great and faithfull ſubiect *Barzillai*, as it ſeemes, not farre from *Mahanaima*, where he ſuſtained King *Dauid*, during *Abſaloms* rebellion. To theſe they adde the Towne of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, & *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi*, being in *Hebrew* no more then *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made a name of a place. *Arnon* alſo no where appeares to be the name of a Towne, but ſtill of a Riuer. *Alimis Adrichomius* frames of ἐν Ἀλέμοις, 1 *Mac.* 5.26. ſo that the name ſhould rather be *Alema*, but *Iunius* out of *Ioſephus* reades *Mallæ*, for this in *Alimis*: and vnderſtanding *Mallæ* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio*, (as wee haue ſhewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sichemites*) hee takes this *Mallæ*, to bee *Mitſpa* ***Moabitarum***, of which 1 *Sam.* 22.3. As for that *Mageth* which ***Adrichomius*** findes in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moſes* noteth to be as farre as the furtheſt of *Manaſſes*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So alſo *Dathema*, of which 1 *Mac.* 5.10. (which ***Iunius*** takes to be [a] *Rithma*, of which *Numb.* 33.18. a place of ſtrength in the Territorie of the ***Ammonites***) and in like manner *Minnith*, and *Abel vincarum*, though by ſome they be attributed to the *Gadities*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two laſt wee reade in *Iephta's* purſuit of the *Ammonites*: ſeated as it ſeemes by that place of the booke of *Iudges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the Eaſt border, both farre remoued from the *Gadites*. But the chiefe Citie of the ***Ammonites*** was neerer, and not farre from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures ſometime *Rabbath*, as *Deut.* 3.11. but more often *Rabba*. It is ſuppoſed to be that **Philodelphia* which *Ptolomie* findes in *Cœloſyria*. ***Hierome*** and ***Caliſtus*** in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but as it ſeemes neuer poſſeſt by the *Iſraelites*, after the ouerthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*: whereupon at length it became the Regall ſeate of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the poſſeſſion of the ***Zamzummims***: which is as much to ſay, as men for all manner of craft and wickedneſſe infamous. The ſame were alſo called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recouered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his Anceſtors: who hauing beene firſt beaten by the *Aſſyrians*, and their aſſiſtants (as the *Emims* in ***Moab***, and the ***Horims*** in ***Seir*** had beene) were afterward the eaſier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the ***Horims*** by the *Idumæans*. Yet did the races of ***Emoreus***, of whom theſe Giants were deſcended, contend with the Conquerours for their ancient inheritance: and as ***Sehon*** of ***Hesbon*** had diſpoſſeſt ***Moab***, ſo had *Og* of *Baſan* the ***Ammonites***, and betweene them recouered the beſt

part

Gen 32.30.

Iudg. 8 17.

2 *Sam.* 19.33.

Deut. 3.14

Ioſ. 12.5.

[a] The letters *D.* & *R.* in the *Hebrew* are very like, ſo that one is oft miſtaken for another, & ſometime with out miſtaking one is put for another: as for *Rodanim*, 1 *Chr.* 7 we haue *Dodanim*. *Gen* 10.4.

*Other names of this Citie according to *Stephanus* were *Ammana* and *Aſtarte*: but in this latter perhaps he miſtooke, which might ſeeme to be the ſame *Aſtaroth* one of the chiefe Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be ſpoken of *Manaſſes*, *Adrichomius* ſayes, it was alſo called *Vrbs aquarum*, becauſe of the part of all the Valley, betweene the Mountaines and *Iordan*. For this *Og* was alſo maſter of *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: And in the poſſeſſion of the one or of the other of theſe two, *Moſes* and *Iſrael* found all thoſe Cities and Countries which were giuen to *Reuben, Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*. So that though it were 450. yeeres ſince that theſe *Zamzummims* or *Raphaims* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but hauing theſe two Kings of one kinred, and both valiant and vndertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Amorites*, they recouered againe much of their loſt poſſeſſions, and thruſt the ſonnes of *Lot* ouer the mountaines, and into the Deſarts. And as the Kings or Captaines of *Perſia* and *Aſſyria*, (remembred in the 14. of *Geneſis*) made way for *Ammon, Moab*, and *Edom*, ſo by that great conqueſt which *Moſes* had ouer thoſe two *Amorites, Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunitie to looke backe againe into thoſe plaines; and when the *Reubenites, Gadites*, and *Manaſsites* forſooke the worſhip of the liuing God, and became ſloathfull and licentious, they taking the aduantage inuaded them, and caſt them out of their poſſeſſions: and were ſometime their maſters, ſometime their tributaries, as they pleaſed or diſpleaſed God: and according to the wiſedome and vertue of their Commanders.

riuer *Iabocs* winding about it, but in the place 2 *Sam. v.* 27. whence he gathers this opinion, *Iunius* reads *intercepi ab vrbe aquā*, if wee muſt read with others, *cepi vt vrbem aquarum*. yet it cannot be taken of *Rabba* it ſelfe but of ſome Fort adioyning.

a *Gen.* 14.

In this Citie of *Rabba*, was the yron bed of *Og* found, nine cubites of length, and foure of breadth. The Citie was taken in *Dauids* time, and the inhabitants ſlaine with great ſeuerity, and by diuers torments. At the firſt aſſault thereof *Vrias* was ſhot to death, hauing beene by direction from *Dauid* appointed to be imployed in the leading of an aſſault, where he could not eſcape: wherein alſo many of the beſt of the Armie periſhed: and wherein *Dauid* ſo diſpleaſed God, as his affaires had ill ſucceſſe afterward, euen to his dying day. From hence had *Dauid* the weighty and rich crowne of gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* ware: or which as ſome expound it, was vſed to be put on the head of their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60. pound waight after the common talent. In the time of *Chriſtians* it had a *Metropolitan* Biſhop, and vnder him twelue others.

Deut. 3.

2 *Sam* 121

Will. Tyr. Bell. Sacr. 13. *ca.* 12. *Pto.*

The Mountaines which are deſcribed within this Tribe, and that of *Manaſſe*, with a part of *Reuben*, are thoſe that *Ptolomie* calleth *the hils of Hippus*, a Citie of *Cœloſyria*: and *Strabo* * *Trachones*: the ſame which continue from neere *Damaſcus* vnto the *Deſarts* of *Moab*: and receiue diuers names, as commonly mountaines doe, which neighbour and bound diuers Countries: for from the South part, as farre Northwards as *Aſteroth*, the chiefe Citie of *Og*, they are called *Galaad* or *Gilead*; from thence Northward they are knowne by the name of *Hermon*, for ſo *Moſes* calleth them: The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*, but the *Amorites Shenir*, others *Seir*: of which name all thoſe Hils alſo were called, which part *Iudæa* and *Idumæa*: and laſtly, they are called *Libanus*, for ſo the Prophet *Hieremie* makes them all one, calling the high mountaines of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*. Theſe mountaines are very fruitfull, and full of good paſtures, and haue many trees which yeelde *Balſamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Riuers of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the Riuer *Iaboc*: Others doe alſo fancie another Riuer, which riſing out of the Rockes of *Arnon*, falleth into *Iordan*.

Strab. l. 16.

* Τραχὼν is, *locus aſper & ſalebroſus*: whence it appeares that *Trachonitis regio*, in theſe parts was properly the hill country.

Deut. 3. *v.* 9.

Hierem. 22.

Hier. 8. & 9

§. VI.

Of the Ammonites, *part of whoſe Territories the* Gadites *wanne from* Og *the King of Baſan.*

THis Tribe of *Gad* poſſeſt halfe the Countrie of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petræa* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the mountaines of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* wanne it, it was in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon* and *Og, Amorites*: and therefore *Moſes* did not expell the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thruſt the iſſues of *Lot* ouer the mountaines *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the firſt Iudge of *Iſrael*, the *Ammonites* ioyned with the *Moabites* againſt the *Hebrewes*, and ſo continued long. *Iephta* Iudge of *Iſrael* had a great conqueſt ouer one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them againe.

Iud. 10.

Afterward wee finde that cruell King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nahas*: who beſieging *Iabes Gilead*, gaue them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reaſon why he tendred ſo hard a compoſition, was (beſides this deſire to bring

1 *Sam.* 11.

ſhame vpon *Iſrael*) becauſe thoſe *Gileadites* vſing to carry a Target on their left armes, which could not but ſhadow their left eyes, ſhould by loſing their right, be vtterly diſabled to defend themſelues: but *Saul* came to their reſcue, and deliuered them from that danger. This *Nahas*, as it may ſeeme, became the confederate of *Dauid*, hauing friended him in *Sauls* time, though *Ioſephus* thinkes that this *Nahas* was ſlaine in the battaile, when *Saul* raiſed the ſiege of *Iabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

Ioſeph.l.6.Ant.c.5.&c.

2 Sam.10.4.18

Iſtob, that is the men of *Thob*: *Thob* is a ſmall Territorie vnder *Arnon* hils. *Rehob* is another betweene *Hazor* & *Sidō*, in the North bound of *Canaan*, *Num.*13 22. of which ſee in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

*Hier.40.&*41

Hanun ſucceeded *Nahas*: to whom when *Dauid* ſent to congratulate his eſtabliſhment, and to confirme the former friendſhip which he had with his Father, he moſt contemptuouſly and proudly cut off the Ambaſſadours garments to the knees, and ſhaued the halfe of their beards. But afterward notwithſtanding the aydes receiued from the *Aramites* ſubiect to *Adadezer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacah*, and from *Iſtob*, yet all thoſe *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were ouer-turned: their chiefe Citie of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken; the Crowne which weighed a talent of gold was ſet on *Dauids* head; all ſuch as were priſoners, *Dauid* executed with ſtrange ſeuerity; for with Sawes and Harrowes hee tare them in pieces, and caſt the reſt into Lime-kils.

2 Chron.20.

2 Chron.36.

2 Chron.26.

2 Chron.v.27.

Ioſaphat gouerning *Iuda*, they aſſiſted the *Moabites* their neighbours againſt him, and periſhed together. *Oſias* made them Tributaries, and they were againe by *Iotham* inforſt to continue that Tribute, and to increaſe it, to wit, a hundreth talents of ſiluer, ten thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ten thouſand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two yeeres.

The fift King of the *Ammonites*, of whoſe name we reade, was *Baalis*, the confederate of *Zedechia*: after whoſe taking by *Nabuchodonoſor*, *Baalis* ſent *Iſmael* of the bloud of the Kings of *Iuda*, to ſlay *Gedaliah*, who ſerued *Nabuchodonoſor*.

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§. VII.

Of the other halfe of Manaſſe.

THe reſt of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdome of *Og* in *Baſan*, with the Land of *Hus*, and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein alſo were part of the ſmall Territories of* *Batania*, *Gaulonitis*, *Geſſuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was giuen to the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe* ouer *Iordan*, of which thoſe three latter Prouinces defended themſelues againſt them, for many ages. But *Batanea Ptolomie* ſetteth farther off, and to the North-Eaſt, as a skirt of *Arabia* the *Deſart*: and all thoſe other Prouinces before named with *Petræa*, and *Ituræa*, he nameth but as part of *Cœloſyria*; as farre South as *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: likewiſe all the reſt which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, ſauing the Land neere the Dead Sea, he makes a part of *Arabia Petræa*: for many of theſe ſmall Kingdomes take not much more ground then the County of *Kent*.

Baſan, or after the *Septuagint*, *Baſanitis*, ſtretcheth it ſelfe from the Riuer of *Iaboc* to the [a] *Machati* and *Geſſuri*: and from the Mountaines to *Iordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reaſon whereof it abounded in all ſorts of Cattell. It had alſo the goodlieſt Woods of all that part of the world: eſpecially of Oakes, which beare maſt (of which the Prophet *Zacharias*, Howle, *O yee Oakes of Baſhan*) and by reaſon hereof they bred ſo many Swine, as [b] 2000. in one Herd were carried head-long into the Sea, by the vncleane ſpirits which *Chriſt* had caſt out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it threeſcore Cities walled and defenced: all which, after *Og* and his ſonnes were ſlaine, *Iair*, deſcended of *Manaſſe*, conquered, and called the Countrie after his owne name, *Auoth Iair*, or the Cities of *Iair*.

The principall Cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omit the reſt) are theſe; *Pella* ſometimes [c] *Butis*, otherwiſe *Berenice*; by *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, it is ſaid to haue beene called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Sonne *Alexander* the Great were borne. It was taken, and in part demoliſhed by *Alexander Iannæus* King of the *Iewes*: becauſe it refuſed to obey the *Iewes* lawes: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Gouernement of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, ſaith *Niger*. *Carnaim* by the Riuer of *Iaboc*, taken by [d] *Iudas Maccabæus*: where he

* Another territory adioyning to *Manaſſe*, whoſe limits were confounded with ſome of theſe, was that *Thiſbitis*, the country of *Elias*, as it is the 1 *Kin.*16.1. & of *Tobias*, *Tob.*1.2. it lay on the Eaſt to the tribe of *Neph.* on the right hand of it, as in *Tob.*1.2 & was poſſeſt by Colonies of the *Iſraelites* in the time of *Saul* after his victory ouer the *Amalekites* & *Iſmaelites* in thoſe parts, as it is gathered out of the 1 *Chr* 5.10. whence it appears that it was part of *Ituraa*, of which chap.7.§.4.†.5 and 6.

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[a] So they call them of *Mahacath*, of which *Mahacath* ſomwhat hath bin ſpoken toward the end of the fift *Paragraph* of this Chapter, ſee the 1 *Mac.*5.36. and *Deut.*3.14. and *Ioſ.*12.5.

[b] *Mar.*5.13.

[c] Anciently as it ſeemes it was called *Tophel*, ſee aboue in the bounds of *Moab* in this chapter. §.4.†.2.

[d] 1 *Macc.*5.

ſet on fire the [e] Temple of their Idols: together with all thoſe that fled thereunto for Sanctuary; and neere it they place the Caſtle of *Carnion*, of which 2 *Macc.* 12.22. Then the ſtrong Citie of [f] *Ephron* neere *Iordan*: which refuſing to yeelde paſſage to [g] *Iudas Maccabæus*, was forced by him by aſſault, and taken and burnt with great ſlaughter.

Iabes Gilead, or *Iabeſus*, was another of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which being beſieged by *Nahas* [h] King of the *Ammonites*, was deliuered by *Saul*, as is [i] elſewhere mentioned. In memory whereof theſe Citizens [k] recouered, embalmed, and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his Sonnes: which hung deſpightfully ouer the wals of *Bethſan* or *Scythopolis*. [l] *Gaddara* or *Gadara*, is next to be named, ſeated by *Plinie* on a Hill neere the Riuer *Hieromiace*, which Riuer *Ortelius* ſeemes to thinke to be *Iaboc*. At the foote of the Hill there ſpring forth alſo hot baths, as at *Machærus*. *Alexander Iannæus* after ten moneths ſiege wan it, and ſubuerted it. *Pompey* reſtored it: and *Gabinius* [m] made it one of the fiue Courts of Iuſtice in *Palæſtine*. *Hieruſalem* being the firſt, *Gadara* the ſecond, *Emath* or *Amathus* the third, *Hierico*, and *Sephora* in *Galilee*, the fourth and fiſt. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, ſurnamed *Aſcalonita*, accuſed him to *Iulius Cæſar* of many crimes: but perceiuing that they could not preuaile, and that *Herod* was highly fauoured of *Cæſar*, fearing the terrible [n] reuenge of *Herod*, they ſlew themſelues: ſome by ſtrangling, others by leaping ouer high Towers, others by drowning themſelues.

To the Eaſt of *Gadara* they place *Sebei*, [o] in which, *Ioſephus ant.*5.13. ſaith *Iephtha* was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Iud.*12.7. *Sepultus eſt in Ciuitate ſua Gilehad*, (for *in vna Ciuitatum Gilchad*) imagine *Gilehad* to be the name of a Citie, and to be the ſame with *Sebei*. In like manner following the *Vulgar*, 1 *Macc.* 5.26. where it readeth *Caſphor* for *Chesbon*; the ſame *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Ciuitas*: ſo of one Citie *Hesbon* or *Chesbon*, which they call *Eſſebon*, the chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, hee imagineth two more: this *Caſphor* in *Manaſſes*, and a Citie in *Gad* which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we haue admoniſhed the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (ſo called, becauſe the Hill on which it ſtood, was in faſhion like the backe of a Cammell) which *Ioſephus* placeth not farre from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* ouer againſt *Tarichea*, which is on the Weſt ſide of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, ſee this *Ioſephus* in the fourth booke of the *Iewiſh* warre: where hee deſcribes the place by nature to be almoſt inuincible: and in the ſtorie of the ſiege, ſhewes how *Veſpaſian* with much danger of his owne perſon, entring it, was at firſt repulſed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length after the coming of *Titus*, when it was taken, many leaping downe the rockes with their wiues and children, to the number of fiue thouſand, thus periſhed: beſides foure thouſand ſlaine by the *Romans*: ſo that none eſcaped, ſaue onely two women that hid themſelues.

About foure miles Weſt from *Gadara*, and as much Eaſt from *Tiberias* (which is on the other-ſide of the Lake) *Ioſephus* placeth *Hippus* or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolomie* giues the name to the hils that compaſſe the plaines in which it ſtandeth: ſo that it may ſeeme to haue beene of no ſmall note. It is ſeated farre from the hill Countrie: on the Eaſt of the Lake, as alſo *Plinie* noteth *lib.*5. *cap.*15. It was reſtored by *Pompey*: after by *Auguſtus* added to *Herods Tetrarchie*: It was waſted by the *Iewes*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many maſſacres of their Nation, they were inraged againſt their borderers.

The next Citie of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrehi* or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Baſan* chiefly abode, when *Moſes* and *Iſrael* inuaded him: and neere vnto this his Regall Citie, it was that he loſt the battaile and his life. It ſtood in *S.Hieromes* time: and had the name of *Adar* or *Adara*. Not farre from theſe Townes neere *Iordan*, in this valley ſtood *Geraſſa* or *Gergeſſa*, inhabited by the *Gergeſites*, deſcended of the fiſt ſonne of *Canaan*. Of theſe *Gergeſites* wee reade *Mat.*8.28. that *Chriſt* comming from the other ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coaſts: where caſting the Diuels out of the poſſeſſed, hee permitted them to enter into the herd of Hogges: in which ſtorie, for *Gergeſites* or *Gergeſins*, S.*Luke* and S.*Marke* haue *Gadarens*: not as if theſe were all one (for *Gerjeſſa* or *Geraſſa* is a diſtinct Towne in theſe parts from *Gadera*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this ſtory. This Citie receiued many changes and calamities: of which *Ioſephus* hath often mention.

[e] *Ioſeph.*12. *Ant.*12.

[f] 1 *Mac.*5.

[g] 2 *Mac.*12.27

[h] 1 *Sam* 11.

[i] *Ioſ.*6. *ant.*5.

[k] 1 *Sam*,31.

[l] 1 *Cron.*10.

[m] *Ioſeph.*14. *Ant.*13.

[n] *Ioſeph* 15. *Ant.*13.

[o] Of *Mitſpe* in *Gilehad*, the Citie of *Iephtha*, ſee in the Tribe of *Gad*.

*Cap.*1. & 3.

In vita ſua.

*Ioſep. Bell.Iud. l.*2.*c.*19.

Of another *Edrehi* in *Nepht.* ſee *Ioſ.*19.37. *Deut.*3.1. & 10. *Item Ioſ.*13.31.

*Matt.*8.28.

Mar 5 *Luke* 8

tion. For beſides other aduentures, it was taken by *L. Annius* Lieutenant to *Veſpaſian*: and 1000. of the ableſt young men put to the ſword, and the Citie burnt. In the yeere 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damaſcus*: and in the ſame yeere recouered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Hieruſalem*: and by him vtterly razed. Neere vnto *Geraſa* is the village of *Magedan*, or after the *Syriake Magedu*, or after the *Greeke Magdala*, where the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees* deſired of our Sauiour a ſigne from heauen: the ſame place or ſome adioyning to it, which S. *Marke* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumſtances of which ſtorie it appeares that this coaſt lay betweene the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Countrie of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both theſe places to be one; and findes it to be *Phiale*, the fountaine of *Iordan* according to *Ioſephus*: but this *Phiale* is too farre from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethſaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appeares by the ſtorie, not farre hence towards the North was the *Deſart* of *Bethſaida*, where *Chriſt* filled 5000. people with the fiue Barley loaues and two Fiſhes.

Matt.15.

Marke 8.
Broch. itin. 2.
Of this *Phiale* ſee in *Nepth.* C.7.§.4.†.3.

Matt.14.
Marke 6.
Luke 9.
Iohn 6.

On the North of this *Bethſaida* they place *Iulias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was ſometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Chriſt* it was compaſſed with a wall by *Philip* the *Tetrarch* of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Iulia*, the wife of *Tiberius*, called *Iulias*, as hath beene farther ſpoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Ioſephus* makes this *Iulias*, to be the ſame as *Bethſaida*. Vpon the Eaſt ſide of the ſame Lake of *Tiberias* ſtands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Chriſt* in *Matthew*; *Woe be vnto thee Corazin*.

Ioſep. 18. ant. 3. & alibi.

But the principall Citie of all theſe in ancient time was *Aſteroth*: ſometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrie adioyning called the Land of Giants, of whoſe race was *Og*, King of *Baſan*. In *Geneſis* this Citie is called *Aſteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1 *Mac.* 5.26. it is called ſimply *Carnaim*, as *Ioſ.* 13.21. it is called *Aſteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* ſignifieth a paire of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll *Aſtoreth*, which was the Image of a ſheepe, as it is elſewhere noted, that *Aſtaroth* in *Deuteronomie* ſignifieth ſheepe. Others from the ambiguitie of the *Hebrew* take *Karnaim*, to haue beene the name of the people which inhabited this Citie: and expound it *heroes* * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this Citie (*Gen.* 14.5.) were Giant-like men, as appeares by comparing the words *Deut.* 3.11. *Og ex reſiduo gigantum*, with the words, *Ioſ.* 13.12. *Og ex reliquijs Raphaæorum*: but if the *Karnaim* (or *Carnaijm*) were theſe *Raphæi*, the word would not haue beene in the duall number: neither would *Moſes* in the place of *Geneſis* haue ſaid the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or ſome other way fitteſt for perſpicuitie: for this naming of both thus in the ſame clauſe, diſtinguiſheth one from the other.

Gen.14.5.

See chap. 7. §.3.†.2.

* Becauſe Horne when it is poliſhed ſhineth: hence it is that the Verbe of this Nown is ſomtime *Lucere*: as it were *corneum eſſe*: whereupon the *Vulgar*, *Exod.* 34.19. reading *cornutam corneam*, or *lucidam faciem*, gaue occaſion to the fabulous painters to paint *Moſes* with Hornes.

Not farre from *Aſteroth Adrichomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar*, in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, foure miles from *Corazin*. This Citie (ſaith he) is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the booke of *Iudith*, and there are that of this Citie vnderſtand *Dauid* in his 120. *Pſalme*: and here the Sepulchre of *Iob* is yet to be ſeene, ſaith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is ſo that the *Greeke* hath *Galaad* in ſtead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth vſe in that place of *Iudith*, and ioyneth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Pſalme* doe rather proue that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way helpe *Adrichomius*. For that they ſpeake of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as euident by the place in the *Canticles* that they were *decolores*, much more than any vnder the *Climates* of the Land of *Canaan*: whence *Iunius* out of *Lampridius* and *Plinie* placeth them in *Arabia Petræa*, farre from theſe parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Iob*, it is certaine that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding thoſe places) faine many things to abuſe the *Chriſtians*, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the hiſtoricall circumſtances of *Iob* are ſo obſcure, that we ſhould rather by finding his Countrie ſeeke to get ſome knowledge of him, than by any preſumptions founded vpon him, inferre what his Countrie was, and build vnto him a Citie by coniecture.

Iudith.1.8.
1 Cant.5.

Of *Iob* himſelfe, whether he was the ſame *Iobab* remembred in the 36. of *Geneſis*, deſcended from *Eſau*, and King alſo of *Idumæa*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaſter*, and *Bellarmine* are of another opinion, yet S. *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Gregorie*, with

Rup. Lyran. Oleaſt. in Gen. Bel. in Cont. l.1. de ver. Dei. S. Amb. ſup. Ep ad Rom. Aug. de ciui. Dei. l.18. c.4. Cryſ. Hom. 2. De patientia Iob. Greg. com. in Iob.

with *Athanaſius*, *Hippolitus*, *Iræneus*, *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Euſtachius* and other, cited by S. *Hierome* in his 126. Epiſt. to *Euagrius*, take him for the ſame.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus* wherein *Iob* dwelt is from the *Greeke* οὖς, which the *Septuagint* vſe for the word *Huts*, tranſlated by the *Vulgar* ſometime *Hus*, as *Iob* 1.*v*.1. ſometime *Auſitis*, as *Hierem*.25.20. This Land is placed by *Iunius* between *Palæſtina* and *Cæleſyria*, beſides *Chamatha* (or *Hamath*) vnder *Palmyrene* in the Country called by *Ptolomie Trachonitis* or *Bathanæa*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Baſan* in this halfe Tribe of *Manaſſes*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus ſeated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Ieremie* the 25.20. where he reckons the *Huſhites* among the promiſcuous borderers of the *Iſraelites*, whom hee therefore calleth promiſcuous or *miſcellaneam turbam*, becauſe their bounds were not onely ioyned but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other; but of this place the words of *Hieremy*, *Lamentations* 4.21. ſpeaking of the ſame propheſie, of which hee ſpeaketh in the fiue and twentieth Chapter, muſt needes be expounded: as *Iunius* reades them, diſtinguiſhing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edomi, ô quæ habitas in terrâ Hutzi*; *O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwelleſt in the Land of Hus*. Now becauſe the *Vulgar* doth not ſo diſtinguiſh, but readeth *Filiæ Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; *Daughter of Edom which dwelleſt in the Land of Hus*: Hence, as it ſeemes, ſome of the learned haue thought that *Iob* was an *Edomite*, as we haue ſaid, and King of *Edom*, which if they vnderſtand by it *Idumæa* or *Edom*, ſo called in *Moſes* time, they are greatly miſtaken, making this Land of *Hus* to be in *Edumæa*. For it is very probable that *Eſau* when he firſt parted from *Iacob*, did not ſeate himſelfe in *Edom* or *Seir*, which lieth on the South border of *Iudæa*, but inhabited *Seir* farre to the Eaſt of *Iordan*, and held a part of thoſe Mountaines otherwiſe called *Galaad*, and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites Shenir* for *Seir*; and from this his habitation did *Eſau* incounter *Iacob* when he returned out of *Meſopotamia*, who paſſed by the very border of *Eſau* his abiding. It is true that at ſuch time as *Moſes* wandred in the *Deſarts*, that the poſterity of *Eſau* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Iudæa*: for it is like that the *Amorites* who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did alſo driue the *Edomites* out of thoſe parts, who thence-forward ſeated themſelues to the South of *Iudæa*, bordering the *Deſart Paran*, and ſtretched their habitations ouer the *Deſarts* as farre as *Hor* where *Aaron* died.

For ου and αυ are often changed one into the other: whence they vſed *Auſitis* for *Ouſitis*, &c. Hence alſo by *Iunius* and others it is called *Auſanitis*, and ſo as it ſeems they read it in the *Septuagint*. *Iun. in Gen.*10.23.

Deut.3.9.

Now for this *Hus* which gaue the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the ſonne of *Aram*, as *Iunius* thinkes in his note vpon *Gen*. 10.23. or rather *Hus* the ſonne of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the queſtion is doubtfull. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was *Hus* the ſonne of *Nachor*: partly becauſe theſe Families of *Aram* ſeeme long before to haue beene loſt: and partly becauſe in *Iob c*.32.2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Iobs* friends, which ſeemes to be of *Iobs* owne Countrey, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz* the brother of *Hus*, the ſonne of *Nachor*: as alſo *Hieremie* 25. in the ſame continuation (though ſome other Nations named betweene) where *Hus* is ſpoken of, there *Buz* is alſo named. Neither doth it hinder our coniecture, that in the place of *Iob* 32. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is ſaid to be of the Family of *Ram*: (which *Iunius* expounds to be as much as of the Familie of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to vnderſtand *Aram* the ſonne of *Sem*, *Iunius* himſelfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation vpon the beginning of his booke, where he ſaith that one of *Iobs* friends (which muſt needes be this *Elihu*) was of the poſteritie of *Nachor* (as alſo in this place hee confeſſeth ſo much expreſly,) and in as much as he readeth not *è familiâ Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è familia Syriæ*; like as elſewhere *Laban* who ſprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

Whence the *Septuagint* call him *ex regione Auſitide*.

As for the other three of *Iobs* friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Familie, or of the Family of *Nachor*) it is implied that they were of other kindreds; as alſo by the *Septuagints* addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Auſitis*, it is implied that they thought onely *Elihu* to haue beene of *Iobs* owne Countrie.

See *Sixtus Senenſis*.

Franciſcus Brochard the *Monke*, in his deſcription of the holy Land in the iournie from *Acon* Eaſtward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Theman* on the Eaſt of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very neere to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may ſeeme to haue denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Iob*, of the which *Iob* 2.11. But *Iunius* thinks that the *Shuchits* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, deſcended of *Shuach* the ſonne of *Abraham* and *Ketura*: of whom *Gen*. 25.2. perhaps, ſaith he, the ſame whom *Plinie* cals *Saccæi*. So alſo he thinketh the *Themanites* of whom

Eliphaz was, to haue beene of *Arabia* the *Deſart*: and *Eliphaz* himſelfe to haue beene of the poſteritie of *Theman* the ſonne of *Eliphaz*, which was the ſonne of *Eſau*. And ſo alſo *Nahamah*, whence *Tſophar* the third of *Iobs* friends (which in this place of *Iob c.2. v.11.* are mentioned) is by the ſame learned expoſitor, thought either to be named of *Thimnath* by tranſpoſition of letters (which *Thimnah*, *Gen.36.40.* is named among the ſonnes of *Eſau* that gaue denomination to the places where they were ſeated) or elſe to be the ſame *Nahamah*, which *Ioſ.15.41.* is reckoned for a Citie of *Iuda* in the border, as he thinkes, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that neere the Land of *Hus*, ~~in *Baſan*~~, as it ſeems, in the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, there is a Region which at leaſt in later times was called *Suitis*, *De Bell Sacr. l. 22. c. 15. & 21.* or of ſome like name. For this is euident by the Hiſtorie of *Willielmus Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita* or *Suites* (as he cals it diuerſly) of exceeding great ſtrength and vſe for the retaining of the whole Countrie: which, in the time of *Baldwine* the ſecond King of *Hieruſalem*, was with great digging through rockes recouered by the *Chriſtians*: hauing not long before beene loſt to the great diſaduantage of the Countrey, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The ſituation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* deſcribed to be ſixteene miles from the Citie *Tiberias*, on the Eaſt of *Iordan*: by *Adrichomius* foure miles North-ward from the place where *Iordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Other Cities of this part of *Manaſſes* named in the Scripture are theſe: *Golan*, *Beheſhthera*, *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the comming of the *Iſraelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, we haue ſpoken by occaſion among the Cities of *Gad*: The two other were giuen to the *Leuites*, and *Golan* made one of the *Ioſ.21.27. Deut.4.43.* Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we haue both *Gaulanitis ſuperior* and *inferior*, oft in *Ioſephus*. *Beheſhthera* is accounted the chiefe Citie of *Baſan* by ſome, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betſer* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a Citie placed by ſome about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Ioſua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Ioſephus* cals it. This Lake being as it were in the midſt betweene *Cæſarea Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Iordan* runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the Weſt. When the ſnow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, ſaith *Brochard*: otherwiſe more contract, leauing the mariſh ground on both ſides, for Lyons and other wilde beaſts, which harbour in the ſhrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adioyning to this Lake in this Country of *Manaſſes*, *Ioſephus* names two places of ſtrength, fortified by himſelfe in the beginning of the *Iewes* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the North ſide of this halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*, ~~and in the~~ North-eaſt, the Scripture nameth diuers bordering places toward *Damaſcus*, as *Tſedad*, *Chauran*, and *Chatſar-Henan*, lying in a line drawne from the Weſt; of which three Cities we read *Ezek.47.15.* with which alſo agrees the place *Numb.34.8.* where for *Chauram*, between *Tſedad*, and *Chatſar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauram* is the name of *Auranitis regio*, in *Ioſephus* and *Tyrius*, whoſe bounds (as alſo the bounds of *Geſſur* and *Mahachath* or *Macati*, which were likewiſe borderers to *Manaſſes* toward the North-eaſt) are *1 Chron.3 2.* vnknowne: onely that *Geſſur* was of might, it appeares in that *Dauid* married *Mahaca* the Daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Geſſur*: by whom he had the moſt beautifull, but wicked, and vnfortunate *Abſalon*.

Chap. XI.

The Hiſtorie of the Syrians the chiefe borderers of the Iſraelites that dwelt on the Eaſt of Iordan.

§. I.

Of the Citie of Damaſcus, and the diuers fortunes thereof.

DAmaſcus of all other in this Border, and of that part of the world, was the moſt famous, excelling in beautie, antiquitie, and riches, and was therefore called the Citie of ioy or gladneſſe; and the Houſe of pleaſure; and is not onely remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the beſt Hiſtorians and *Coſmographers*. The *Hebrewes*, ſaith *Ioſephus*, *Ioſeph 1.14.* thinke it to haue beene built by *Hus* the ſonne of *Aram*: of which opinio

S. Hierome vpon *Eſai* ſeemeth to be: though in his *Hebrew* queſtions hee affirmeth that it was founded by *Damaſcus*, the ſonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* Steward; a thing very vnlikely, ſeeing the Citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appeares by *Abrahams* calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damaſco*. *Dauid* was the firſt that ſubiected it to the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after the ouerthrow of *Adadezer* their King, but in *Salomons* time, *Rezon* recouered it againe, though he had no title at all or right to that principalitie: but *Dauid* hauing ouerthrowne *Hadadezer* king of *Sophena* (otherwiſe *Syria Soba* or *Zobah*) *Razon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken armie, inuaded *Damaſcena*, and poſſeſt *Damaſcus* it ſelfe, and became an enemie to *Salomon* all his life.

In Iſai 17.
Gen.15.2.
1 Reg.11.v.40

The next King of *Damaſcus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Ægypt* from *Dauid* and *Ioab*, when they ſlew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Ægypts* wiues ſiſter: of whom *Taphnes* in *Ægypt* was ſo called. This *Adad* returning againe, became an enemie to *Salomon* all his life, and (as ſome writers affirme) inuaded *Damaſcus*, and thruſt *Rezon* thence-out. In the line of *Adad* that Kingdome continued nine deſcents (as hereafter may be ſhewed in the catalogue of thoſe Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Aſſyrians* and then the *Grecians* ſucceeded. This Citie was exceeding ſtrong, compaſſed with waters from the riuers of *Abanah*, and *Parphar*: whereof one of them prophane writers call *Chryſorrhoas* the golden riuer. *Iunius* takes it for *Adonis*. The countrey adioyning is very fruitfull of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very ſtrong Caſtle, built as it ſeemes by the *Florentines*, after it became *Chriſtian*: the lillies being found cut in many marbles in that *Citadell*. Againſt this Citie the Prophets *Amos*, *Eſai*, *Hieremie* and *Zacharias*, prophecied that it ſhould be taken, burnt, demoliſhed, and made a heape of ſtones. In the time of the laſt *Rezon* and tenth King of the *Damaſcens*, *Teglatphalaſſar* inuited by *Achaz* King of *Iuda*, carried away the naturals of *Damaſcus* into the Eaſt: leauing of his owne nation to inhabit it. After that it was vtterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, ſaith *Hierome* vpon *Eſai*: which thing was performed by *Salmanaſar*, according to *Iunius* in his note vpon that place, fiue yeeres after the Prophecie. In time it was reſtored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*; but long after when *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romans*, it was taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*. In the time of the *Chriſtians* it had an *Archbiſhop*: S. *Hierome* liuing, as hee affirmeth vpon the *Acts*, it was the *Metropolis* of the *Sarazens*: being taken by *Haomar* their King from the *Romanes*, in the yeere of our redemption 636. And in the yeere 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewes* King of *Fraunce*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Hieruſalem*, *Henry Duke* of *Auſtria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbaroſſa* afterward Emperour, *Theodorick* Earle of *Flaunders*, and other Princes aſſembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the ſea coaſt, determined to recouer *Damaſcus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

1 Reg.11.
2 Reg.5.
Herold.6 Bell. Sacr. 1.3.8.10.&17 49.& 9.
2 Reg.16.
Eſai 17.
Ioſeph.ant 4.
Onuphrius in Chron.
Vitri c.46.Wil Tyr.Bell.Sac l. 17.c.1.23.4.5.

In the yeere 1262. *Halon* the *Tartar* incompaſt it, and hauing formerly taken the King, brought him vnder the wals, and threatned extreame torture vnto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refuſing it, the King was torne aſunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken, *Agab* the ſonne of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof.

Herold. Bell. Sac.4.c.14.

In the yeere 1400. *Tamberlaine* Emperour of the *Parthians*, inuaded that region, and beſieged the Citie with an armie of 1200000. (if the number be not miſtaken.) He entred it, and put all to the ſword, filling the ditch with his priſoners; thoſe that retired into the Caſtle which ſeemed a place impregnable, hee ouertopped with another Caſtle adioyning: hee forbare the demoliſhing of the Citie in reſpect of the beauty of the Church, garniſhed with 40. gates or ſumptuous porches. It had within it 9000. lanternes of gold and ſiluer: but while he inuaded *Ægypt*, they againe ſurprized *Damaſcus*. Laſtly, in his returne after three moneths ſiege hee forſt it: the *Mahometans* proſtrating themſelues with their prieſts, deſired mercie: But *Tamberlaine* commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000. and did ſo demoliſh it, as thoſe that came afterwards to ſee their houſes, knew them not by the foundations. And as a *Trophey* of his victorie hee raiſed three Towers with great Art, builded with the heads of thoſe whom hee had ſlaughtered. After this it was reſtored and repoſſeſt by the *Soldane* of *Ægypt*, with a garriſon of *Mammalukes*: And in the yeere 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turkes* wreſted it out of the hands of the *Ægyptians*:

Herold l.6 c.4

in whoſe poſſeſſion it now remaineth inhabited with *Mahometans*, and *Chriſtians*, of all neighbouring nations.

§. II.

Of the firſt Kings of Damaſcus, and of the growing vp of their power.

NOw be it that *Damaſcus* were founded by *Hus* the ſonne of *Aram*, or by *Damaſcus* the ſonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* ſteward, we finde no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till *Dauids* time. For it ſtood without the bounds of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moſes*, *Ioſua*, and the *Iudges*, as impertinent to that Storie: But were it ſo that it had ſome *reguli*, or petty Kings ouer it, as all the Cities of thoſe parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till ſuch time as *Dauid* ouerthrew *Adadezer* prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*: the ſame Nation which *Plin.l.6.c.28.* *Plinie* calleth *Nubæi*, inhabiting betweene *Batanea* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to vnderſtand the ſtorie of thoſe *Syrian* Princes, whom ſoone after the Kings of *Damaſcus* made their vaſſals, the reader may informe himſelfe, That on the North-eaſt parts of the holy Land, there were three chiefe principalities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or diſturbed the State or Common-wealth of *Iſrael*, namely *Damaſcus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath-Zoba*, of which theſe were the Princes in *Dauids* and *Salomons* times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of *Damaſcus*, *Adadezer* of *1 Sam.14.47.* *Syria Zoba*, and *Tohu* of *Chamath*. But it ſeemeth that *Damaſcus* was one of the cities 3082. ſubiect to *Adadezer* when *Dauid* inuaded him, though when *Saul* made warre againſt *Zoba*, *Damaſcus* was not named. And as *Ioſephus* affirmeth, the leader of thoſe ſuccours, *2 Sam.8.* which were leuied and ſent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damaſcus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battaile ſlaine with 22000. *Aramites* of *Damaſcus*: whereof, as of the ouerthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon*, the Commander of his armie, taking aduantage, made himſelfe King of *Damaſcus*: *Adadezer* and *Adad* of *Damaſcus* being both *1 Reg.11.* ſlaine. About the ſame time *Tohu* King of *Chamath* or *Ituræa*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was vtterly ouerthrowne, ſendeth for peace to *Dauid*, and preſenteth him with rich gifts, but in *dolo* ſaith S. *Hierome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the Weſt of *Damaſcus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the moſt part were in league and peace with the *Iudæans* and *Iſraelites*. But to returne to the Kings of *Syria*, I meane of *Syria*, as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damaſcena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*, to which I may adde *Geſhur*, becauſe it is ſo accounted in the ſecond of *Sam.* 15. as ioyning in the Territorie to *Damaſcus* (for *Syria* at large is farre greater, of which *Paleſtina* it ſelfe is but a Prouince, as I haue noted in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not agreed among the Hiſtorians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the firſt of thoſe *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damaſcus*.

Some account *Rezon*, other *Adad* of *Idumæa*: of whom it is written in the firſt of Kings, that *Dauid* hauing inuaded that Region, and left *Ioab* there to deſtroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings ſeede, fled into *Ægypt*; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queenes ſiſter, as before; who hearing of *Dauids* death, and of the death of his Captaine *Ioab* (whom indeede all the bordering Nations feared) he turned againe, and as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expell *Rezon* out of *Damaſcus*; and was the firſt *2 Sam.8.3. and 12. 1 Sam 14.47.* of the *Syrian* Kings. To mee it ſeemeth otherwiſe. For as I take it, *Adadezer* the ſonne of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* inuaded, was the founder of that Principalitie: and the firſt of *Adads*, who forſaking his Fathers name, as hee grew powerfull, tooke vpon him the ſtyle of *Adad*, the great *god* of the *Aſſyrians*, ſaith *Macrobius*, which ſignified oneneſſe or *Vnitie*, I alſo finde a Citie called *Adada* in the ſame part of *Syria*: of which, whether theſe Princes took the name, or gaue it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eli-adad* were the ſame in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adioyned. And that *Adadezer* was of greateſt power, it appeareth firſt, becauſe it is againſt him, that *Dauid* vndertooke the warre: ſecondly, becauſe hee leuied 22000. *Aramites* out of the Territorie of *Damaſcus*: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damaſcens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would haue giuen vs his name; thirdly, *Plin.l.6.c.18.* becauſe *Syria Zoba*, of the moſt of which *Adadezer* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of *Arabia* the *Deſart* as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Plinie*:

and the greateſt part of *Arabia Petræa,* according to *Niger.* Whoſoeuer was the firſt,
whether *Adadezer,* or *Adad* of *Idumæa, Rezon* was the ſecond: *Who was an enemie to* 1 Reg.11.
Iſrael all the dayes of Salomon. Beſides the euill that *Adad* did, the euill that *Hadad* did,
ſeemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumæa,* lately returned out of *Ægypt:* to wit, 23.
yeeres after he was carried thither.

The third king of *Damaſcus,* and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion;* to *Hezion* ſucceeded *Ta-* 1 King.15.18.
brimmum, or *Tabremmum;* to him *Benhadad,* as is proued in the firſt of Kings; For *Aſa*
King of *Iuda* the ſon of *Abiam,* the ſon of *Roboam,* the ſon of *Salomon,* being vexed & in-
uaded by *Baaſha,* the ſucceſſour of *Nadab,* the ſon of *Ieroboam,* ſent to *Benhadad* the ſon of
Tabrimmon the ſonne of *Hezion,* King of *Aram,* that dwelt at *Damaſcus,* to inuade *Iſrael*
(while *Baaſha* ſought to fortifie *Rama* againſt *Aſa:* thereby to block him vp, that he ſhould
not enter into any of the Territories of *Iſrael*) who according to the deſire of *Aſa,* hauing
receiued his preſents, willingly inuaded the Countrie of *Nepthalim,* and tooke diuers Ci-
ties, and ſpoiles thence: *Aſa* in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which
Baaſha had brought to fortifie *Rama* withall, and conuerted them to his owne vſe. 1 Reg.15.v.18

This *Benhadads* Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Aſa:* and ſo was his Father *He-
zion:* for *Aſa* requireth the continuance of that friendſhip from *Benhadad,* his ſonne:
though it ſeemeth that the gold and ſiluer ſent him out of the Temple, was the moſt for-
cible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* inuaded *Iſrael,* before the enterprize of his
ſonne *Benhadad,* it is coniectured. For *Benhadad* when he was priſoner with *Achab,* ſpake
as followeth: *The Cities which my Father tooke from thy Father, I will reſtore: and thou* 1 Reg.20.v.34
*ſhalt make ſtreetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damaſcus: as my father did in Sa-
maria.* And herein there ariſeth a great doubt (if the argument it ſelfe were of much im-
portance) becauſe *Tabremmon* was Father indeede to *Benhadad* which inuaded *Baaſha,* at
the requeſt of *Aſa;* But this *Benhadad* that twice entred vpon *Achab,* and was the ſecond 1 Reg.15.
time taken priſoner, was rather the ſonne of *Benhadad,* the firſt of that name, the con-
federate of *Aſa* and *Abiam,* as before, than the ſonne of *Tabremmon.* For betweene the
inuaſion of *Benhadad* the firſt, in *Baaſhas* time, and the ſiege of *Samaria,* and the ouer-
throw of *Benhadad* by *Achab,* there paſt 49. yeeres, as may be gathered out of the reignes
of the Kings of *Iſrael.* So that if we allow 30. yeeres of age to *Benhadad,* when he inua-
ded *Baaſha,* and after that 49. yeeres ere he was taken by *Achab,* which make eighty lack-
ing one, it is vnlikely that *Benhadad* at ſuch an age ſhould make warre. Beſides all this,
the firſt *Benhadad* came with no ſuch pompe; but the ſecond *Benhadad* vaunteth, that
he was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I reſolue, that *Benhadad* the ſonne of
Tabremmon inuaded *Baaſha* and *Omri;* and *Benhadad* the ſecond inuaded *Achab,* at
whoſe hands this *Benhadad* receiued two notorious ouerthrowes: the firſt at *Samaria,*
by a ſally of 700. *Iſraelites:* the ſecond at *Aphec,* where, with the like number in effect
the *Iſraelites* ſlaughtered 100000. of the *Aramites;* beſides 27000. which were cruſht by 1 Reg.20.
the fall of the wall of *Aphec.* And this *Benhadad, Achab* againe ſetteth at liberty: to whom
he rendreth thoſe townes that his father had taken from the Predeceſſour of *Achab,* but
being returned, he refuſed to render *Ramoth Gilead,* a frontier towne, and of great im-
portance. Now three yeeres after (for ſo long the league laſted) *Ramoth* not being deli- 1 Reg.22.
uered, *Achab* inuaded *Gilead,* and aſſiegeth the Citie, being aſſiſted by *Ioſaphat.* The *Ara-* 3227.
mites came to ſuccour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, and dyeth that night. Af- 3232.
ter this, *Benhadad* ſendeth the commander of his forces called *Naaman,* to *Ioram* the ſon
of *Achab* to be healed of the leproſie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picketh
quarrell againſt *Ioram:* and when *Ioram* by *Elizeus* his intelligence, had eſcaped his plot, 2 Reg.5. 2 Reg.6.
he ſent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforeſaid. After *Benhadad* beſieged 2 Reg.6.
Samaria again, and being terrified thence from heauen, he departeth home, and ſickneth,
and ſendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus,* to know his eſtate if he might liue. *Azael* 2 Reg.7. 3234.
returning, ſmothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad Adar,* and the ſonne
of *Adar:* *Amos* and *Hieremie* mention the towres of *Benhadad.* *Ioſephus* writeth that Amo.1 Hier.
Benhadad and his ſucceſſour *Azael* were worſhipped for *Gods* by the *Syrians* to his time, 49.
for the preſumptuous Temples which they built in *Damaſcus.* The *Syrians* alſo boaſted Ant.l.8.c.8.
much of their antiquity, ignorant, ſaith he, that ſcarce yet 1100. yeares are compleate
ſince their warres with the *Iſraelites.*

Hazael or *Azael,* the firſt King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damaſcus,* was annointed by
Eliſha, or *Elizeus,* when he was ſent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Ben-*

2 Reg.12 17.
2 Reg.12.
1 Reg.15.
2 Reg.13.v.7.

badad ſhould recouer his preſent ſickeneſſe: He waged warre with *Ioram*; who receiued diuers wounds at the encounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*: from whence returning to be cured at *Ieſreel*, he and the King of *Iuda*, *Ahaziah*, or *Ochozias*, are ſlaine by *Iehu*, as before is ſaid. After the death of *Ioram*, *Azael* continued the warre againſt *Iehu*, and waſted *Gilead*, and all thoſe portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manaſſe*, ouer *Iordan*. He then inuaded *Iuda*, and tooke *Gath*, but by gifts from *Ioas* he was auerted from attempting *Hieruſalem*: for he preſented him all the *hallowed things which* Iehoſaphat, Iehoram, *and* Ahaziah *his fathers, Kings of Iuda had dedicated; and which he himſelfe had dedicated: and all the gold which was found in the treaſuries of the Lord, and in the Kings houſe.* This was the ſecond time that the Temple was ſpoyled to pleaſe the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*. For *Aſa* did preſent *Benhadad* with thoſe treaſures, when he inuited him to warre vpon *Baaſha* King of *Iſrael*. And notwithſtanding this compoſition betweene *Ioas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his Armie ſpoiled the other Prouinces of *Iudæa*, and ſlaughtered many principall perſons. Laſtly, *Azael* vexed *Ioahas* the ſonne of *Iehu*, and brought him to that extremitie, as he left him but fifty horſemen, ten Chariots, & ten thouſand footemen of all his people.

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§. III.

Of the latter Kings, and decay and ouerthrow of their power.

2 Reg.13.
Ioſeph.ant.c.9.

AFter *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the ſecond, or rather the third of that name, the ſonne of *Hazael*, reigned in *Damaſcus*: who fought againſt *Iſrael*, with ill ſucceſſe: for *Ioas* King of *Iſrael*, the ſonne of the vnhappy *Ioachaz*, as hee was foretold by *Eliſha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three ſeuerall battels: and hee loſt all thoſe Cities to *Iſrael*, which his Father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Ioachaz*.

Ioſeph. Ant.l.7. c.6.
2 Reg.14.28.

After this *Benhadad* the ſonne of *Hazael*, there ſucceeded three others by the ſame name, of whom the Stories are loſt, onely *Nicholaus Damaſcenus* cited by *Ioſephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of theſe Kings times it was that *Ieroboam* the ſecond, the ſonne of *Ioas* recouered *Damaſcus* it ſelfe, to *Iudah*, ſaith the *Geneua*, but better in *Iunius*, *vtq́ue recuperabat Damaſcum, & Chamatham Iehudæ pro Iſraele*; that is, *And how he recouered for Iſrael, Damaſcus and Chamatha of Iudea*; for theſe Cities ſometimes conquered by *Dauid*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Iuda*.

And it is likely that this conqueſt vpon the *Adads* was performed: the firſt of theſe three *Adads* then liuing, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Iehoas* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice ouercome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad* the ſonne of *Hazael*, and had recouered the Cities which *Hazael* had won from *Iſrael*; and ſo left his Kingdome to his ſonne *Ieroboam* the ſecond, it ſeemeth that this *Ieroboam* without delay, and hauing nothing elſe left for him to enterprize, inſtantly followed his fathers good fortune, and inuaded *Damaſcus*.

2 King.16.5.
Eſay 7.
Ioſeph. Ant.l.9 c.11.

Razin, or *Rezin*, after *Ioſephus Raſes*, after *Zonaras Raaſon*, the 10. *Adad*, making league with *Pekah*, or *Phacas* King of *Iſrael*, againſt *Achaz* King of *Iuda*; both carry away a great number of priſoners. After this they both beſiege *Achaz* in *Hieruſalem*: but in vaine. Then *Adad* alone inuadeth *Elath*, and bearing out the *Iewes*, maketh it a *Colonie* of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achab* brought *Tetglaphalaſſar* againſt *Razin*, who tooke him, and beheaded him, and won *Damaſcus*: with whom ended the line of the *Adads* and the Kingdome of *Damaſcus*: the *Aſſyrians* becomming maſters both of that and *Iſrael*. Theſe *Adads* as they reigned in order are thus reckoned.

1 *Adadezer* the ſonne of *Rehob*.
2 *Rezin* the ſonne of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3 *Hezion*.
4 *Tabremmon*.
5 *Benhadad*, who inuaded *Baaſha*.
6 *Benhadad* the ſecond, taken priſoner by *Achab*.
7 *Hazael*, whom *Eliſha* foretold, with teares, of his aduancement; the ſame who ouerthrew *Ioram* King of *Iſrael*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a ſecond *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, becauſe that *Hazael* which tooke *Geth*, and compounded the warre with *Ioas*, made the Expedition thirty yeeres, and perchance more,

more, after the firſt *Hazael* which ſtifled his maſter *Benhadad*, and had ſlaine *Ioram* the ſonne of *Achab* King of *Iſrael*. For *Ioas* began to reigne in the 7. yeere of *Iehu* King of *Iſrael*; and after he had reigned 23. yeeres, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is ſaid that *Hazael* took *Geth*, and turned his face towards *Ieruſalem*. It is alſo ſome proofe that *Hazael* that tooke *Geth*, was not the ſame with *Hazael* that murthered *Benhadad*, becauſe he could not at that time be of good yeeres, being as it ſeemeth, the ſecond perſon in the kingdome, and Commander of *Benhadads* men of warre. To this *Hazael*, be he the firſt or ſecond, ſucceeded:

8. *Benhadad* the third, whom *Ioaſh* King of *Iſrael* thriſe ouerthrew.

9. *Reſin* or *Rezin* the laſt, who ioyned with *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, againſt *Iuda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Iuda* waged for his defence *Teglatphalaſſer*.

Now between *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the laſt, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* findes three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelue in all.

For the reſt of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but *reguli*, as thoſe of *Emath*, and *Geſſur*, we finde that *Tohu* was King of *Emath* or *Chamath* in *Dauids* time, to whom he ſent his ſonne *Ioram* with preſents, after *Dauids* victory againſt *Adadezer*. Alſo *Senacherib* ſpeaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not. *2 Sam.8.9.* *Eſai.37.*

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§. IIII.

Of other leſſer Kingdomes of the Syrians, which being brought vnder the Aſſyrians, neuer recouered themſelues againe.

OF *Geſſur* we finde two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his Father *Ammihur*. To *Talmai*, whoſe daughter *Dauid* married, it was that *Abſalon* fledde, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sophena* or *Syria*, *Soba* or *Cœloſyria*, there are two named, *Rehob* or *Rechob* the Father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himſelfe; and it is plaine that after his death the ſeat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damaſcus*, a Citie better fitting their greatneſſe. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of theſe Kings of *Syria*, (which became ſo potent, and ioyned *Soba*, *Damaſcus*, *Emath*, and the Deſart of *Arabia* with other Prouinces into one, vnder *Rezin* the ſecond of the *Adads*) as it began with *Dauid*, ſo it ended at once with the Kingdome of *Iſrael*. For *Ahaz* King of *Iuda* waged the *Aſſyrian Teglatphalaſſar* againſt *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, and againſt *Rezin* the laſt King of *Damaſcus*: which *Teglath* firſt inuaded *Damaſcena*, and the region of *Soba*, and tooke *Damaſcus* it ſelfe, and did put to death *Rezin* the laſt, carrying the inhabitants captiue. This was the ſecond time that the *Aſſyrians* attempted *Iſrael*. For firſt, *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menahem* gouerning *Iſrael*) who ſtopt the enterprize of *Phul* with a thouſand talents of ſiluer: for this *Phul Belochus*, whoſe pedigree wee will examine hereafter, being ſcarce warme as yet in his ſeate at *Babylon*, which hee, with the helpe of his companion *Arbaces*, had wreſted from *Sardanapalus*: hauing beſides this King of *Syria* in his way, who ſeemed to be a great and ſtrong Prince, was content to take the compoſition of a thouſand talents of the King of *Iſrael* for that preſent time. But his ſonne *Teglath* following the purpoſe of his Father *Belochus*, and finding ſo excellent an occaſion, as the warre begun betweene *Iſrael* and *Iudah*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being alſo wrapt in that warre, and waſted in ſtrength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Iuda*, his impreſt and entertainment. So, firſt attempting *Damaſcus*, which lay in his path towards *Iſrael*, hee carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great eaſe poſſeſt himſelfe of the Cities of *Nephthalim*; leading with him a great part of the people captiue. And his ſonne *Salmanaſſer*, whom *Ptolomie* calleth *Nabonaſſar*, after the reuolt of *Hoſea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent thet Kingdome aſunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* ſupplanted; the race and Monarchie of the *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglath* ſlaughtered; the Kingdome of *Iſrael* in *Hoſea*, whom *Salmanaſſer* ouerturned; happened neere about a time: that of *Ninus* in the dayes of *Belochus*, and the other two in the dayes of *Teglatphalaſſer*, and *Salmanaſſer* his ſon. For *Sardanapalus* periſhed, *Oſia* ruling *Iuda*; and the other two Kingdomes were diſſolued, *Achaz* yet liuing.

Laſtly, the Kingdome of *Iuda* it ſelfe, being attempted by *Sennacherib*, the ſonne of *Salmanaſſer* in vaine, and preſerued for the time by God miraculouſly, was at length

vtterly ouerturned. *Hieruſalem* and the Temple burnt 132. yeeres after the captiuity of *Iſrael*, and *Samaria*: the deſtruction of *Iſrael* being in the ninth yeere of *Hoſea*: that of *Iuda* in the eleuenth of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon* held alſo the Kingdome of *Syria*, from the eight yeere of *Salmanaſſar*, to the laſt of *Baltaſſar*, whom
3603. *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*: in all about 200. yeeres. After theſe the *Perſians* from *Cy-*
3811. *rus* to *Darius* their laſt King, held *Syria* about 200. yeeres.

Then *Alexander Macedon* tooke this among other Prouinces of the *Perſian* Empire, and his ſucceſſors the *Seleucidæ* reigned therein, till it became ſubiect vnto the power of the *Romanes*, from whom it was wreſted long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in poſſeſſion of the Turke, as ſhall be ſhewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering vpon the *Iſraelites*, with whom they had moſt to doe both in warre and peace, being the onely people, whoſe Hiſtory in thoſe ancient times carried an aſſured face of trueth.

Chap. XII.

OF THE TRIBE OF BENIAMIN, and of Hieruſalem.

§. I.

Of diuers memorable places in the Tribe of Beniamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitſpa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah and Gibha.

OF the Tribe of *Beniamin*, the twelfth and yongeſt ſonne of *Iacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were muſtered at Mount *Sinai* 35000. able bodies: all which periſhing in the *Deſarts*, there entred the Holy Land of their iſſues 45600. fit to beare Armes: and theſe had their Territory on this ſide *Iordan*, betweene *Iuda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities within this Tribe neereſt *Iordan*, are *Lod*, *Haded*, and *Ono*: of which, *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *She-*
1.Chron.8.12. *med* a *Beniamite*: they were all three re-inhabited with *Beniamites*, after the returne out of Captiuitie, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* 11.35. and *Eſd.* 2.35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes beſides *Hadid* in *Nehemia*, a Citie called *Lodhadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon*
Macc.12 38. *Macchabæus*.

Samarim or *Tſemaraim*, named of *Tſemary*, one of the ſonnes of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land ſtandeth *Iericho*, one of the *Toparchies*, and the laſt of *Iuda*, ſeated in a moſt fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and there-
1 Reg.17.36. fore elſewhere called the citie of *Palmes*. From the time of *Ioſua*, who vtterly deſtroy-
Ioſ.6.29. ed it, it lay waſte vntill the time of *Achab*: in whoſe dayes *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the loſſe of *Abiram* his eldeſt ſonne, and built the gates of it in the loſſe of his yongeſt ſonne *Segub*: according to the curſe of *Ioſua*: in which and other reſpects, *Hoſ.* 12.14. calleth *Ioſua* a Prophet. In after-times it was deſtroyed by *Veſpaſian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

* *1.Chron.6.60* This *Halmō* is called *Halemeth*, whence they make a new Citie *Almath*, as if this Tribe had giuen fiue Cities to the *Leuites*.

To the Southeaſt of *Iericho* ſtood * *Halmon* of the *Leuites*, of which *Ioſ.* 21.18. To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Ioſ.c.*15. and *c.*18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is ſo much mention in the Scripture, where *Ioſua* firſt ate of the fruits of the land, circumciſed all thoſe borne in the *Deſarts*, and celebrated the *Paſſeouer*.

The reaſon of the name, or rather a memorable application of the *Etymologie* of this name (for it ſeemes by the place, *Deut.* 11.30. that the name was knowne before the comming of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Ioſ.* 5.9. *Ob deuolutionem probri Ægyptiaci*, becauſe their fore-skinnes (the people being there circumciſed) were tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was alſo called *Geliloth*, as appeares by comparing the places, *Ioſ.* 15.7. and 18.17. for it was in the borders of *Iordan*, of which *Ioſ.* 22.13. and *Geliloth* ſignifieth borders. It ſtood (though in ſome
* *Deut.11.30.* diſtance) directly Eaſtward, ouer againſt the two * Hils *Garazim* and *Hebal*: vpon the one of

of which the bleſsings, and on the other the curſings were to be read to the people, both being the mountaines of *Ephraim*. Further, for the ſituation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitſpa* of *Beniamin* (of which alſo wee reade oft in the Scripture) were ſeated about the midſt of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reaſon [a] *Samuel* choſe theſe two places, to either of which he came yeerly to giue iudgement to the *Iſraelites*; of which two, *Gilgal* (as is ſaid) was neere *Iordan* on the Eaſt ſide of this Tribe; and *Mitſpa* neere the Weſt Sea, towards the land of the *Philiſtims*.

The third place, which is named with theſe two, whither alſo *Samuel* vſed yeerely to come, is [b] *Bethel*: which alſo was ſeated in this Tribe of *Beniamin*. But to returne to *Gilgal* which was the firſt place where the *Arke* reſided, after they paſt ouer *Iordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-iebarim*, and at length to *Hieruſalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Ioſua* pitched vp the twelue ſtones, which were taken out of the channell of *Iordan*, when it was drie, that the *Iſraelites* might paſſe ouer it: by which Storie, as it is ſet down *Ioſ*.4. it appeares, that the ſame day that they paſſed ouer *Iordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the ſame *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitſpa*, whither *Samuel* came yeerely to giue iudgement, there alſo were often the greateſt meetings held: as that for the reuenge of the *Leuites* wife againſt *Gibha*, and the *Beniamites*, *Iud*.20.1. and another againſt the *Philiſtims*, 1.*Sam*.7.12. Thither alſo *Iudas Maccabæus* gathered the *Iewes*, (when *Hieruſalem* was poſſeſt by the *Heathen*) as it is 1. *Macc*. 3.47. in which place this reaſon of their meeting is added; *Quia locus Orationi fuerat Miſpæ anteà Iſraeli*. Touching this *Mitſpa*, to auoid confuſion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptures mention foure places of this name: *Mitſpa* of *Iuda*, of which *Ioſ*.15.38. [c] *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which we haue ſpoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*: *Mitſpa* of the *Moabites*, where *Dauid* for a while held himſelfe, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*. 1. *Sam*.22.3. and laſtly, this chiefe *Mitſpa* of the *Beniamites*. And as in this place the chiefe meetings were held both before *Hieruſalem* was recouered from the *Iebuſites*, and alſo in the time of the *Maccabees* (as wee haue ſaid) when *Hieruſalem* was held by the wicked vnder *Antiochus*, ſo alſo in the time of *Hieremie*, after the deſtruction of the Temple by the *Chaldeys*, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonoſor* left in *Iewry*, as Gouernour ouer thoſe that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to the great hurt of the *Iewes*) hee was ſlaine by the treaſon of *Iſmael*, one of the royall bloud of *Iuda*, as it is *Hierem*. 41.

Neere vnto this *Mitſpa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of helpe: where *Samuel* pitched vp the pillar or Stone, for a *Trophy* againſt the *Philiſtims*.

Touching *Bethel* which (as it ſeemes) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chiefe meetings for the miniſtring of Iuſtice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the iſſue of *Ioſeph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Beniamin*, as it is *Nehem*. 11.31. and *Ioſ*.18.22.) and how another Citie called *Luz* [d] neere adioyning to it, was built by the man of the Citie which ſhewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Iudg*.1. and of the occaſion of the name from *Iacobs* viſion: and how *Ieroboam*, by erecting one of his calues heere, of *Bethel* (which ſignifieth the houſe of God) made it [e] *Beth-auen*, that is, the houſe of Vanitie, *Hoſ*.4.15. and 10.5. as alſo other memorable things of this place, they are ſo well knowne, out of the Hiſtories of the Scripture, that we may well paſſe them ouer.

The territorie of *Bethel*, which at the firſt belonged to the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of *Abia* againſt *Ieroboam* (of which 2.*Chron*. 13.) was taken from them, and adioyned to the Kingdome of *Iuda*: and ſo it continued, as appeares by the Storie of *Ioſias*: which performed the Prophecies againſt the altar of *Bethel*, 2.*Reg*.23. whence thoſe coaſts 1.*Macc*.11.34. are called *Aphærema*, which *Greeke* word ſignifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the tenne Tribes. It was one of the three *Seigniories* or *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epiſtle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the *Iewes*, out of the *Samaritan Country*. A part of it, as appeares 2.*Chron*.13.19. was *Hephrauin*, which *Ioſ*.18.23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Beniamin*.

Not farre from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gibba*, and *Gebah*. Of the name *Rama*, [b] it is noted already, in the deſcription of *Ephraim*, that there were many townes ſo called, becauſe of their high ſituation. But whereas they finde out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Iuda* (as it ſeemes becauſe *Mat.* 2. it appeares that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and alſo out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to haue beene called *Rama*, and finde yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; theſe three haue no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Aſſer*, as it ſeemes, wee haue teſtimonie, *Ioſ.* 19.29. and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Ioſ*, 19.36. of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim*, 1. *Sam.* 25. 1. which more often is called [c] *Ramatha*, and 1. *Sam.* 1.1. *Ramathaim Tſophim*: for which the *Septuagint* haue *Aramathaim-ſophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke *Ioſeph* of *Arimathæa*, *Mat.* 27.57. was denominated.

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[a] *1 Sam 7.15*

[b] *Iunius* in this place, for *Bethel* reads *Domũ Dei fortis*, and interprets it, *Kiriath-iebarim* where the Ark abode. For (ſaith he) by the Law, *Exo.23.17.* the greateſt meetings in their annuall feaſts were to bee, where the *Ark* was, but this place doth not ſpeake of feſtiuall, but of iudiciall meetings: and beſids the Prieſts did vſe to bring the *Arke* to their great meetings whereſoeuer they were, as appears 1.*Sam* 12.*v*.11 *&* c. 14. *v*.18. neither is it eaſie to expoũd *Bethel* otherwiſe then for the Citie *Bethel*: though *Iunius* alſo take it for the place where the *Ark* was, *1. Sam. 10.3.*

[c] It was no other than this *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which *Ioſ.11.8.* as appeares by that which is added *Verſus orientẽ*, for *Ioſua* notes the three quarters, North, Weſt, & Eaſt, to which hee followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichomius* and others out of this place imagine a *Mitſpa* or *Maſpha* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

[d] *1.Sam 7.11. Ioſ.16.1.*

[e] Borrowing the name of a neighbour towne in the Confines of the Kingdomes of *Iuda* and *Iſrael* betweene *Hai* and *Bethel. Ioſ 7.2.* and *18.12.*

Of a fourth *Rama* we reade 2. *Reg.* 8.29. which is *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*. The firſt, which is moſt often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Beniamin*, ſeated as we ſaid, neere *Bethel* the vttermoſt South-border of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes: for which cauſe *Baaſha* in the time of *Aſa* King of *Iuda*, fortified it, to hinder thoſe that did flie from him to *Aſa*. Of this *Rama* or *Ramatha* I ſhould rather thinke *Ioſeph* was, that buried *Chriſt*: becauſe it was neerer to *Hieruſalem*, and after the captiuity belonged to *Iudæa*, as it appeares *Eſd.* 2.26. where in that it is ioyned with *Gebah*, it is plaine that he ſpeaketh of that *Rama* with whoſe ſtones (after *Baaſha* had ceaſed to build it) *Aſa* (as it is 1. *Reg.* 25. 22.) built *Gebah* adioyning to it: both being in *Beniamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the ten Tribes, ſo was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdome of *Iuda*: whence 2. *Reg.* 23. 8. wee reade that *Ioſiah* through all his Kingdome, euen from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-ſheba* which was the South-border, deſtroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie *Gibba* which was the Citie of *Saul* (the wickedneſſe of which Citie in the time of the *Iudges* had almoſt vtterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are euidently diſtinguiſhed, *Eſai.* 10.27. of which word [d] *Gibba*, in another forme *Gibbath*, hee imagineth *Gibbaath* another Citie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this citie alſo to *Rama* of *Beniamin*, appeares *Iud.* 19.13. where the *Leuite* with his wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took vp his lodging at *Gibha*. By that place of 1. *Sam.* 22. 6. it ſeemes that there was in this *Gibha* ſome towre or *Citadell* called *Rama*: where *Iunius* reades *in excelſo*, for in *Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings palace in this citie, was *Rama*: as it ſeemes that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chiefe place where *Samuel* with the *Colledge* of *Prophets* abode, was *Naioth*. The great Citie of *Hai* ouerthrowne by *Ioſ.* which *Ioſ.* 7. 2. is placed neere *Beth-auen* vpon the Eaſt of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe, as is proued *Nehe.* 7. 10.30. though it be not named by *Ioſua c.* 18. for it was burned by him and laid deſolate, as it is *Ioſ.* 8. 28. *In ſolitudinem in tumulum perpetuum*; Another Citie of chiefe note is reckoned *Ioſ.* 18.25. In this Tribe was *Gibhon*, the chiefe Citie of the *Heuites*: whoſe cunning to bind the *Iſraelites* by oath to ſaue their liues, is ſet downe *Ioſ.* 9. whence they were reckoned among the * *Nethinæi* or *Proſelites*: and were bound to certaine publique ſeruices in the houſe of God: which oath of ſauing theſe *Gibeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God puniſhed by a famine, 2. *Sam.* 21.1. This *Gibeon* or *Gibhon* with *Almon* and *Iebah* (of both which wee haue ſpoken) and with *Hanothoth* the natall place of *Hieremie* the Prophet, were ſaid *Ioſ.* 21.28. to be giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Beniamites*. Neere to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appeares 1. *Reg.* 2.26. where *Ebiathar* the Prieſt, which was of *Nob* before it was deſtroyed by *Saul*, is ſent to his grounds at *Hanothoth*: It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, *Nehem.* 9.31. and though in the time of *Saul* the reſiding place of the *Arke* was at *Kiriath-iearim*: yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloudſhed, which *Saul* raiſed in this place (as it is ſet downe 1. *Sam.* 21. and 22.) in the iudgement of *Iunius*, it is proued that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas alſo in this Tribe *Nehem.* 9. 31. was a place of fame, of which *Eſai.* 10.28. where alſo he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migrom* in this Tribe. In *Micmas Saul* had his Campe, 1. *Sam.* 13.2. (when he left *Gibba* to *Ionathan*) and there alſo was *Ionathan Macchabæus* his aboad, 1. *Macc.* 9.73. Of *Giſcala* in *Galilee Ioſephus* makes often mention, but of any heere in *Beniamin*, which they make the natall place of S. *Paul*, whence (they ſay) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he ſailed with his parents to *Tharſis*, of this I find no good warrant. Other places of leſſe importance I omit, & come to the Citie of *Hieruſalem*, and the

Princes

[b] See *c.* 9. §. 1.

[c] Of this *Ramatha* I vnderſtand the place 1. *Macc.* 11. 34. where it is named for one of the 3. *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* yeelds to the *Iewes* out of the country of *Samaria*, this lying toward the Eaſt to *Iericho*: and *Lydda* toward the Weſt: and *Apharema* (of which euen now wee ſpake) lying in the middeſt betweene the two other.

A ſixt *Rama* it ſeemes there was in the Tribe of *Simeon* toward the South, which *Ioſ.* 19.8. is called *Rama* of the South, and otherwiſe *Bahalath-beer*.

[d] *Gibha* in cōſtruction, that is, Gouerning a genitiue caſe is *Gibhath*: whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* read *Ioſ.* 24.33 *Gabbath Phinees*: for which *Iunius* hath *Collis Phincaſi* (for this word is oft times an Appellatine ſignifying a Hil) but *Adricomius* taking notice of this, builds his City *Gabaath* vpon this Text and placeth it in *Beniamin*, when as the words adioyned, note that this Hil was in the mountains of *Ephraim*.

* The word *Nethinim*, or *Nethinæi*, is as much as *dati* (as it were a *Deo dati*) or as *Iunius* expounds it, *dedititij*, it is vſed, 1. *chr.* 9 2. and in *Eſdras* and *Nehemias* often.

Princes and Gouernours of this Citie: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, whence *Ioſ.* 18.28. it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin*.

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§. II.

Of diuers memorable things concerning Hieruſalem.

AT what time *Hieruſalem* was built (which afterward became the Princeſſe of all Cities) it doth not appeare. Some there are who imagine that *Melchiſedec* was the founder thereof in *Abrahams* time. But * according to others, that Citie out of which *Melchiſedec* incountred *Abraham* (in his returne from the ouerthrow of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* Kings or Captaines, when *Lot* was made priſoner) ſtandeth by the riuer of *Iordan*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe* bordering *Zabulon*, which was alſo called *Salem*, and by the *Greekes Solima*.

* See in the hither halfe of *Manaſſe*.

Hieruſalem (whenſoeuer or by whomſoeuer built) was a principall Citie in *Ioſua* his time: yet not ſo renowned as *Hazor* the *Metropolis* (in thoſe dayes and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonizedek* (whom *Ioſua* ſlew) was then King of *Hieruſalem*. That it was belonging to the *Iebuſites* it is manifeſt: for how long ſoeuer they held it before *Moſes* time, they were Maſters and Lords thereof almoſt 400. yeeres after him: euen till *Dauid* wanne it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Iebuſæi* (the children of *Iebuſæus* the ſonne of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Iebus*. And ſo much did that Nation relye on the ſtrength of the place, as when *Dauid* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people ſhould defend it.

2. Sam. 5. v. 6.

Dauid, after he had by Gods aſſiſtance poſſeſt it, and turned out the *Iebuſites*, gaue it an exceeding great increaſe of circuit: ſtrengthened it with a *Citadell* or Caſtle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Iebuſſalem*, the Citie of the *Iebuſites*, to *Hieruſalem*, which the *Greekes* call *Hieroſolyma*. After *Dauids* time *Salomon* amplified, beautified, and ſtrengthened it exceedingly. For beſides the worke of the Temple, which was no leſſe admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and walles, could not any where in the world be exampled: and beſides that it had 150000. inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foot depth, cut out of the very rocke: and 250. foot of breadth: whereof the like hath ſeldome beene heard of, either ſince or before.

Ioſ. cont. App. l. 1. Strab. geog. l. 15.

After the death of *Salomon*, and that the Kingdome of the *Iewes* was cut aſunder, *Shiſhac* King of *Ægypt*, and his predeceſſor, hauing bred vp for that purpoſe, *Adad* the *Idumæan*, and *Ieroboam*, *Salomons* ſeruant; and both married to *Ægyptians*: the State by the one diſturbed, by the other broken: *Shiſhac* firſt inuaded the Territorie of *Iuda*, entred *Hieruſalem*, and ſackt it, and became Maſter not onely of the riches of *Salomon*, but of all thoſe ſpoyles which *Dauid* had gotten from *Adadezer*, *Tohu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was againe ſackt, and a part of the wall throwne downe by *Ioas* King of *Iſrael*; while *Amaſia* the twelfth King thereof gouerned *Iuda*.

2. Chron. 12.

2. Kings 14.

2. Kings 16.

Not long after *Achaz* the fifteenth King of *Iuda* impoueriſhed the Temple, and preſented *Teglatphalaſſar* with the treaſures thereof. And *Manaſſes* the ſonne of *Ezekiah*, the ſonne of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embaſſadors of *Merodach*, loſt the remaine, and the very bottome of their treaſures. It was againe ſpoyled by the *Babylonians*, *Ioakim* then reigning. But this vngratefull, Idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by theſe Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but perſiſting in all kinde of impietie, filling the City euen to the mouth with innocent bloud, God raiſed vp that great *Babylonian* King *Nabuchodonoſor*, as his ſcourge and reuenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple with all the Palaces therein, and the Walls and Towers which imbraced them, euen and leuell with the duſt, carried away the ſpoyles with the Princes and people, and cruſht them with the heauie yoake of bondage and ſeruitude full ſeuentie yeeres, inſomuch as *Sion* was not onely become as a torne and plowed-vp field, *Hieruſalem* an heape of ſtone, and rubble, the mountaine of the Temple as a groue, or wood of thornes and briers, but (as *Hierome* ſpeaketh) euen the birds of the ayre ſcorned to flie ouer it, or the beaſts to tread on that defiled ſoyle.

1. Chron. 5. 26.

2. King. 25.

2. King 19.

2. Par. 18.

Mich. 3. Hier. 25. 26. 29.

Then 70 yeeres being expired, according to the Prophecie of *Daniel*, and the *Iewes* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was againe built, though with interruption and difficultie

Hier. to 3. trad. Heb.

difficultie enough: and the Citie meanely inhabited, and without walls or other defences, for ſome 60. and odde yeeres, till *Nehemia* by the fauour of *Artaxerxes* rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie ſpoyled by *Bagoſes*, or *Vagoſes*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolomæus* the firſt; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and againe by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not deſtroyed, nor robbed, though *Craſſus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as hee could of that which *Pompey* ſpared.

Nehem. 12. 34. &c.

* The firſt of the *Egyptian* Kings after *Alexander Macedon*, who diſſembling his Religion came vp to *Hieruſalem* to offer Sacrifice. *Ioſ. 12. ant. 1.*

But the damages which it ſuſtained by the violence of ſacrilegious *Tyrants*, were commonly recompenſed by the induſtrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberalitie of ſtrangers. Before the captiuity, the people of the land through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repaire the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomæus Lagi* to the ſecond Temple, was requited by the bountie of his ſonne *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. The miſchiefe wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great Offerings which were ſent to *Hieruſalem* out of other Nations. Finally all the loſſes, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well ſeeme forgotten in the reigne of *Herod* that vſurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many ſumptuous workes did ſo adorne them, that hee left them farre more ſtately and glorious than they had beene in the dayes of *Salomon*.

M. T. C. pro Scylla.

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§. III.

Of the deſtruction of Ieruſalem by the Romans.

IN this flouriſhing eſtate, it was at the comming of our *Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus*: and after his death and aſcenſion, it ſo continued about 40. yeeres. But then did *Titus* the *Roman*, being ſtirred vp by God, to be the reuenger of *Chriſt* his death, and to puniſh the *Iewes* ſinfull ingratitude, incompaſſe it with a *Roman* armie, and became Lord thereof. He began the ſiege at ſuch time as the *Iewes*, from all parts, were come vp to the celebration of the *Paſſeouer*: ſo as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thouſands of all ſorts; and no manner of prouiſion or ſtore for any ſuch multitudes. An extreame famine, with the ciuill diſſenſion, oppreſt them within the walles; a forcible enemie aſſailed them without. The *Idumæans* alſo, who lay in wait for the deſtruction of the *Iewes* Kingdome, thruſt themſelues into the Citie, of purpoſe to betray it: who alſo burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonoſor* tooke it. And to be ſhort, there periſhed of all ſorts, from the firſt beſieging to the conſummation of the victory, eleuen hundred thouſand ſoules: and the Citie was ſo beaten downe and demoliſhed, as thoſe which came afterward to ſee the deſolation thereof, could hardly beleeue that there had beene any ſuch place or habitation. Onely the three *Herodian* towres (works moſt magnificent, and ouer-topping the reſt) were ſpared, as well for lodgings for the *Romane* garriſons, as that thereby their victorie might be the more notorious and famous: for by thoſe buildings of ſtrength and State remaining, after-ages might iudge what the reſt were; and their honour bee the greater and more ſhining, that there-ouer became victorious.

Eſd. 1. c 4. v. 45.

After this; ſuch *Iewes* as were ſcattered heere and there in *Iudæa*, and other Prouinces, began againe to inhabite ſome part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuild it, and ſtrengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. yeeres, when they againe offered to reuolt, and rebell, *Ælius Adrianus the Emperour* ſlaughtered many thouſands of them, and ouerturned thoſe three *Herodian* Towres, with all the reſt, making it good which *Chriſt* himſelfe had foretold; *That there ſhould not ſtand one ſtone vpon another*, of that vngratefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeaſed, and the Prophecie accompliſhed, he tooke one part without the wall, wherein ſtood *Mount Caluarie, and the Sepulcher of Chriſt*, and excluding of the reſt the greateſt portion, he againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Ælia Capitolia*, In the gate toward *Bethel*, hee cauſed a Sowe to be cut in marble, and ſet in the front thereof, which he did in deſpight of the *Iewes* Nation: making an *Edict*, that they ſhould not from thenceforth euer enter into the Citie, neither ſhould they dare ſo much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

But the *Chriſtian* Religion flouriſhing in *Palæſtina*, it was inhabited at length, by all Nations, and eſpecially by *Chriſtians*; and ſo it continued 500. yeeres.

Gul. Tir. Bel. Sa. l. 14. c. 12.

It was afterward in the 636. yeare after *Chriſt*, taken by the *Ægyptian Saracens*; who held it 400. and odde yeeres.

Onuphrius Chro.

In the yeere 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, by aſſault, with an exceeding ſlaughter of the *Saracens*; which *Godfrey*, when he was elected King thereof, refuſed to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, becauſe *Chriſt*, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recouery, it remained vnder the ſucceſſors of *Godfrey* fourescore and eight yeeres: till in the yeere 1197. it was regained by *Saladine of Ægypt*: and laſtly, in the yeere 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turkes* caſt out the *Ægyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbarec*, or the Holy Citie. Neither was it *Ieruſalem* alone that hath ſo oftentimes beene beaten downe and made deſolate, but all the great Cities of the World haue with their inhabitants, in ſeuerall times and ages, ſuffered the ſame ſhipwracke. And it hath beene Gods iuſt will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to puniſh the impietie of men, by famine, by the ſword, by fire, and by ſlauerie; but hee hath reuenged himſelfe of the very places they poſſeſt; of the walls and buildings, yea of the ſoyle and the beaſts that fedde thereon.

G. Tir. l. 8. c. 5. 18. 19. &c.

For, euen that land, ſometime called holy, hath in effect loſt all her fertilitie, and fruitfulneſſe; witneſſe the many hundreds of thouſands which it fed in the daies of the Kings of *Iuda* and *Iſrael*; it being at this time all ouer, in effect, exceeding ſtony and barraine. It alſo pleaſed God, not onely to conſume with fire from heauen, the Cities of the Sodomites; but the very ſoile it ſelfe hath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not ſpare the beaſts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any ſmall number of them to be ſacrificed to himſelfe; neither was it enough that *Achan* himſelfe was ſtoned, but that his moueables were alſo conſumed and brought to aſhes.

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§. IIII.

Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient Iewes.

OF the originall of the *Iewes*, prophane writers haue conceiued diuerſly and iniuriouſly. *Quintilian* ſpeakes infamouſly of them, and of their leader; who (ſaith he) gathered together a pernitious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Ægyptians*. Others affirme that while *Iſis* gouerned *Ægypt*, the people were ſo increaſed, as *Ieroſolymus*, and *Iudas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions; which might be meant by *Moſes* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moſes* was accidentall, becauſe he was taken vp and ſaued out of the waters. But *Iuſtine* of all other moſt malicious, doth deriue the *Iewes* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damaſcus*, ſaith he, was the firſt: and to him ſucceeded *Abraham*, *Moſes*, and *Iſrael*. He againe ſuppoſeth (ſomewhat contrary to himſelfe) that *Iſrael* had ten ſonnes, among whom he diuided the land of *Iuda*; ſo called of *Iudas* his eldeſt; who had the greateſt portion. The yongeſt of the ſonnes of *Iſrael* he calleth *Ioſeph*: who being brought vp in *Ægypt*, became learned in magicall Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and ſignes prodigious, and this *Ioſeph* (ſaith he) was father to *Moſes*: who with the reſt, by reaſon of their foule diſeaſes, and leſt they ſhould infect others, were baniſhed *Ægypt*. Further, he telleth how theſe men thus baniſhed, when in the *Deſarts* they ſuffered extreame thirſt and famine, and therein found reliefe the ſeauenth day, for this cauſe euer after obſerued the ſeuenth day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themſelues, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. Hee addeth alſo that they might not marrie out of their owne Tribes, leſt diſcouering their vncleanneſſe, they might alſo be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Ægyptians*. Theſe and the like fables hath *Iuſtine*.

Iuſtin. l. 36.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as groſly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmoſt Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an *Aſſe*, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himſelfe, hauing in the fifth booke of his owne Hiſtorie truely confeſſed of the *Iewes*, that they worſhipped one only God: and thought it moſt prophane to repreſent the *Deitie* by any materiall figure, by the ſhape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or repreſentation, no not ſo much as in any Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, in *Stephanus*; who alſo makes *Iudas* with *Idumæa*, the firſt parents of the *Iewes*.

Cited by *Stephanus* in *Iudæa*.

Claudius Iolaus drawes them from *Iudæus*, whoſe parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came that the *Spartans* or *Lacedæmonians* challenged kindred of the *Hebrewes*: but they did it as deſcended of *Abraham*, ſaith *Ioſephus*. Some of theſe reports ſeeme to haue beene gathered out of diuine letters; though wreſted and peruerted, according to the cuſtome of the Heathen. For ſo haue they obſcured and altered the Storie of the Creation, of *Paradiſe*, of the Floud; and giuen new names to the children of *Adam* in the firſt age: to *Noah* and his ſonnes, in the ſecond: and ſo to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Iacob*, *Moſes*, and the reſt of the Fathers, and leaders of the *Hebrewes*: all which fainings, as touching the *Iewes* and their originalls, *Ioſephus* againſt *Appion*, and *Tertullian* haue ſufficiently anſwered. For that the *Hebrewes* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and ſo *Chaldæans* originallie, taking name either of *Heber*, the ſonne of *Sale*, or elſe (ſaith *Montanus*) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanns*, the Greeke *Grammarian*, deriue the *Hebrewes* or *Iewes*, from *Arabon*; hauing miſtaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the ſonne of *Heber*, in the ſixth deſcent. Their ancient names were firſt changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Iacob*, otherwiſe *Iſrael*, the chiefe part were called *Iſrael*, another part after *Eſau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Iacob*, being moſt of the Tribe of *Iuda*, honoured the name of *Iudas*, the ſonne of *Iacob*, and became *Iudæans* or *Iewes*: as alſo for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the ſonne of *Ioſeph*, the chiefe of the *Patriarches* of the tenne Tribes, the reſt of the tenne Tribes were comprehended: but were firſt rooted out when the Kingdome of *Iſrael* fell. The *Iudæans* continued their names, though they ſuffered the ſame ſeruitude not long after, vnder *Nabuchodonoſor*.

Tert. in Apol.

Caleb. f. 63.

The gouernement which this Nation vnder-went, was firſt paternall: which continued till they ſerued the *Ægyptians*. They were ſecondly ruled by their Captaines and Leaders, *Moſes* and *Ioſua*, by a policie Diuine. Thirdly, they ſubiected themſelues to Iudges. Fourthly, they deſired a King, and had *Saul* for the firſt: Of whom and his ſucceſſours, before we intreat, we are firſt to ſpeake of their Gouernment vnder Iudges, after the death of *Ioſua*: with ſomewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about theſe times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Ioſua *to the Warre of Troy: which was about the time of* Iephtha.

§. I.

Of the inter-regnum *after* Ioſua's *death: and of* Othoniel.

WHen *Ioſua* was now dead, who with the aduice of the 70. Elders, and the high Prieſt, held authoritie ouer the people, and ordered that Common-weale: it pleaſed God to direct the Tribe of *Iuda* (in whom the Kingdome was afterward eſtabliſhed) to vndertake the Warre againſt the *Canaanites*, ouer whom (with Gods fauour, and the aſſiſtance of *Simeon*) they became victorious.

In the firſt attempt which they made, they not onely ſlew tenne thouſand, but made *Adonibezek* priſoner: the greateſt and cruelleſt Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants crueltie, as elſewhere hath beene ſignified, they returned in the ſame kinde vpon his owne head: and ſo by the torments which he now felt in his owne perſon (before no otherwiſe knowne vnto him but by his malicious

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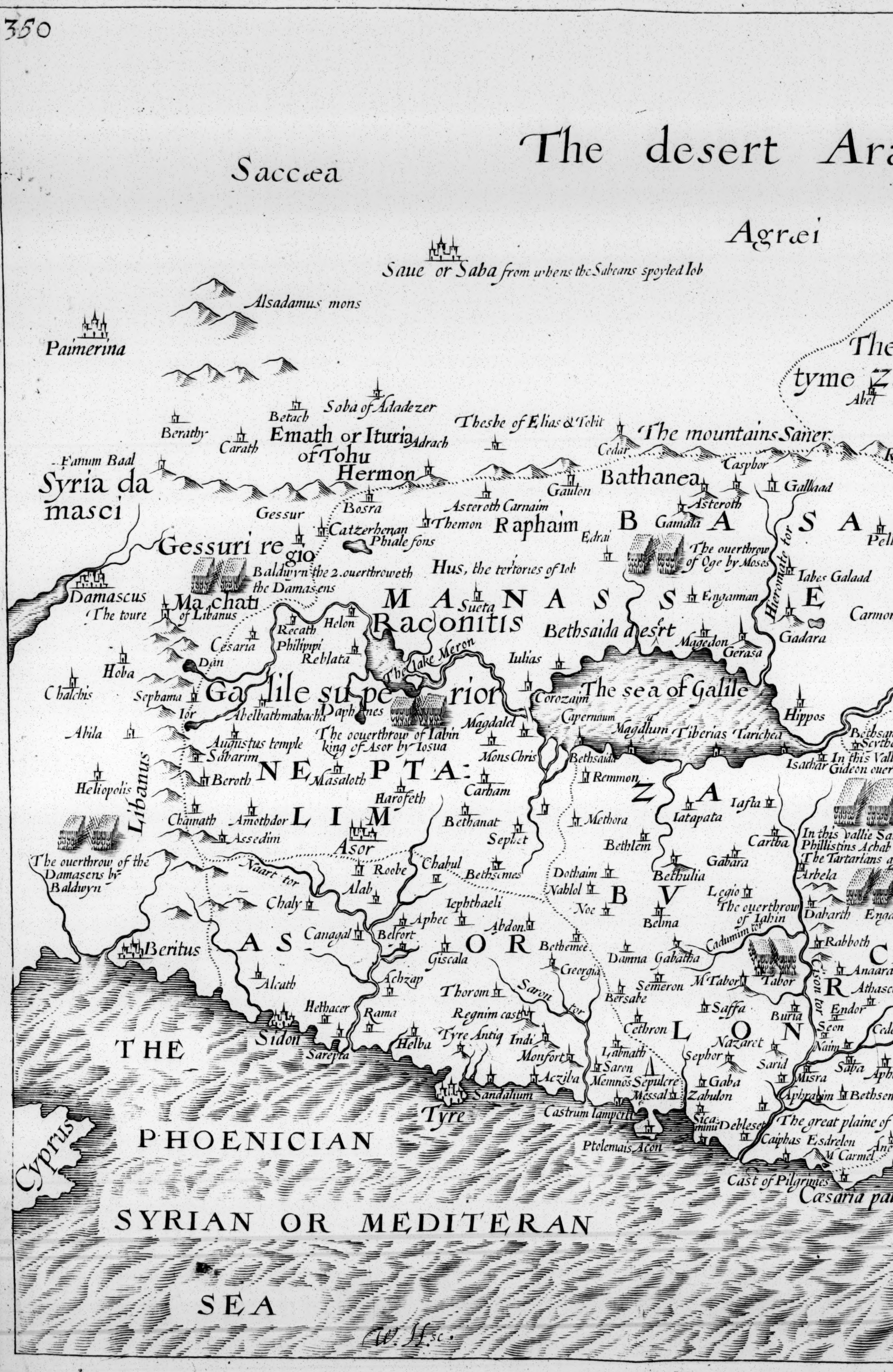
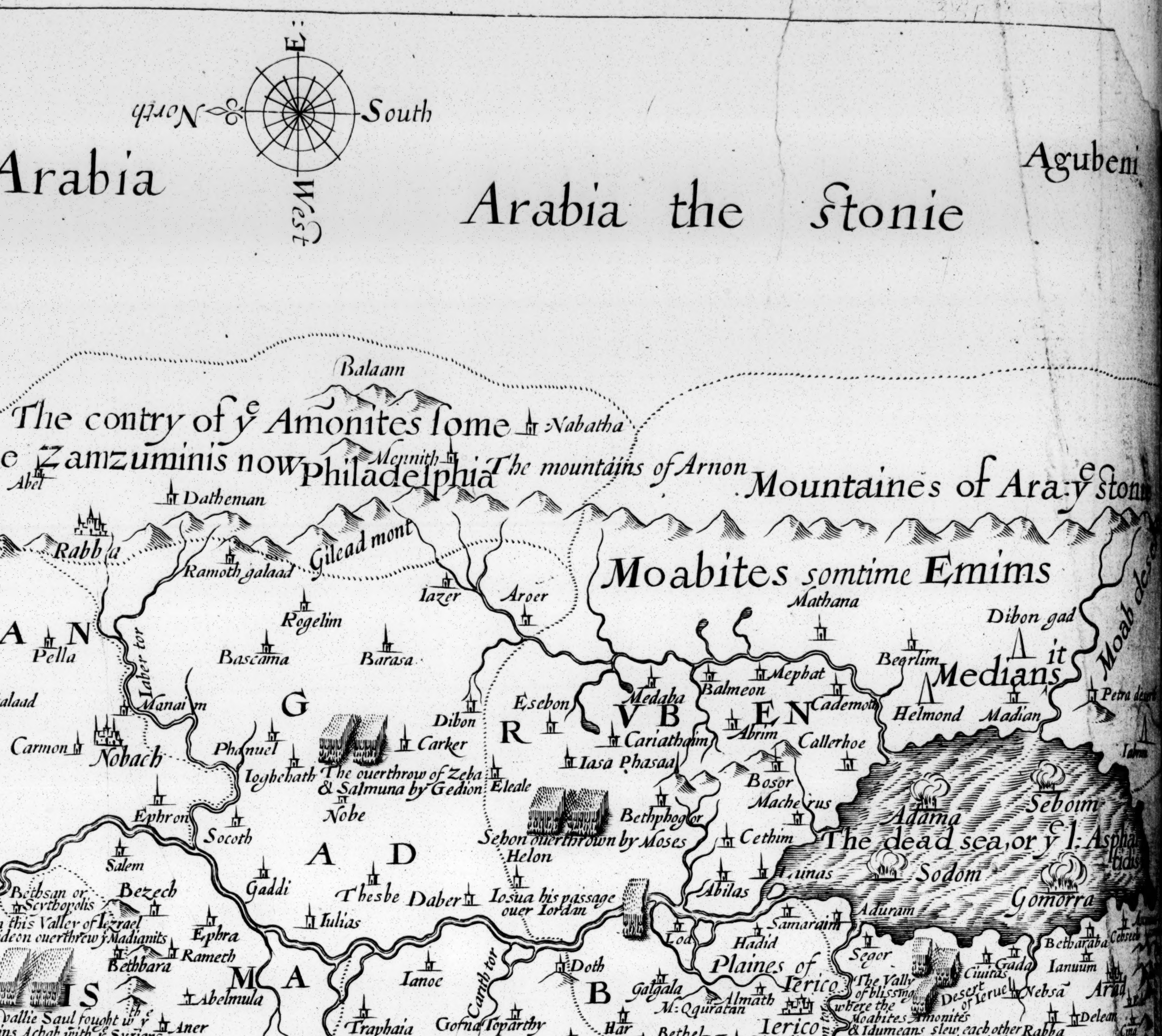
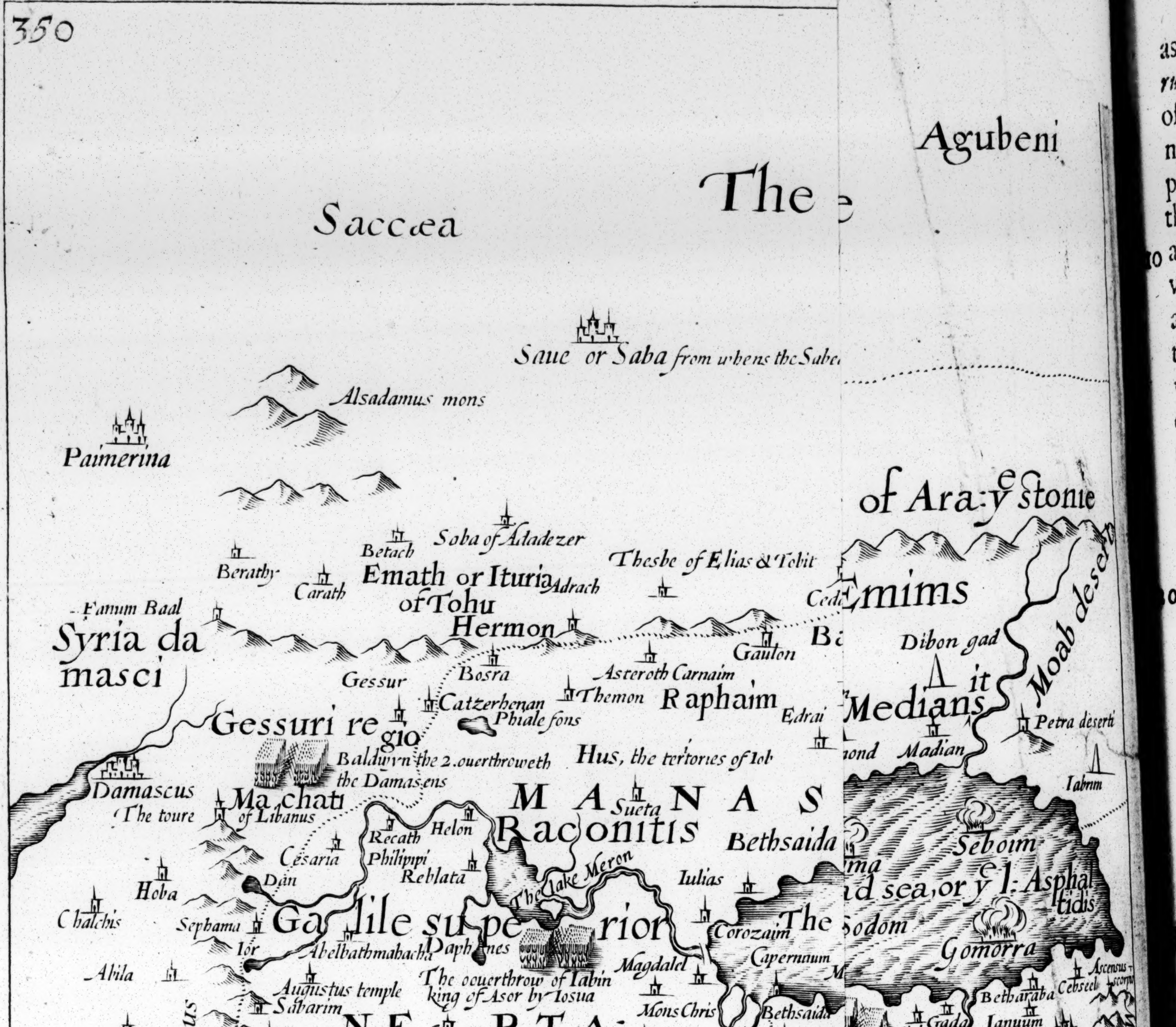

The desert Ara
Saccæa
Agræi
Saue or Saba from whens the Sabeans spoyled Iob
Alsadamus mons
Paimerina
The
tyme Z
Abel
Soba of Adadezer
Betach
Berathy
Carath
Emath or Ituria
of Tohu
Adrach
Thesbe of Elias & Tobit
Cedar
The mountains Saner
Fanum Baal
Syria da masci
Hermon
Gaulon
Bathanea
Casphor
Gallaad
Gessur
Bosra
Asteroth Carnaim
Asteroth
Catzerhenan
Themon
Raphaim
Edrai
B A S A
Gamala
Pell
Phiale fons
Gessuri regio
Baldwyn the 2. ouerthroweth the Damasens
Hus, the tertories of Iob
The ouerthrow of Oge by Moses
Hieromate for
Iabes Galaad
Damascus
The toure
Machati of Libanus
M A N A S S E
Sueta
Engaman
Racjonitis
Recath
Philipipi
Helon
Reblata
Bethsaida desrt
Magedon
Gerasa
Gadara
Carmon
Cesaria
Dan
The lake Meron
Iulias
Hoba
Chalchis
Sephama
Galile superior
Corozaim
The sea of Galile
Hippos
Ior
Abelbathmahacha
Daphnes
Capernaum
Magdlum
Tiberias
Tarichea
Bethsan
Scytho
Abila
Augustus temple
Sabarim
The oouerthrow of Iabin king of Asor by Iosua
Magdalel
Mons Chris
Bethsaida
Isachar
In this Valli
Gideon ouer
Heliopolis
Libanus
Beroth
NEPTALIM
Masaloth
Carham
Remmon
Z A B V L O N
Iasla
Harofeth
Methora
Iatapata
Chamath
Amothdor
Assedim
Bethanat
Sephet
Bethlem
Cartba
In this vallie Sa
Phillistins Achab
The Tartarians a
Asor
Gabara
The ouerthrow of the Damasens by Baldwyn
Naart tor
Roobe
Chabul
Bethsemes
Dothaim
Nablol
Bethulia
Arbela
Alab
Iephthaeli
Legio
The ouerthrow of Iahin
Chaly
Aphec
Abdon
Noe
Belma
Daharth
Enga
Canagal
Belfort
AS OR
Giscala
Bethemee
Cadumim tor
Rabboth
C
Beritus
Georgia
Damna
Gabatha
Anaara
Alcath
Achzap
Thorom
Saron tor
Semeron
Bersabe
M. Tabor
Tabor
R
Athasc
Hethacer
Rama
Regnim cast
Saffa
Buria
Cison tor
Endor
Tyre Antiq
Indi
Cethron
Seon
Sidon
Sarepta
Helba
Monfort
Labnath
Nazaret
Naim
Cede
THE
Saron
Sephor
Sarid
Saba
Memnos Sepulcre
Aczibà
Messal
Gaba
Misra
Aphe
Sandalium
Zabulon
Aphraim
Bethsem
Cyprus
Tyre
Castrum lamperti
Sicaminum
Deblesel
The great plaine of
PHOENICIAN
Ptolemais Acon
Caiphas
Esdrelon
M. Carmel
Ane
Cast of Pilgrimes
Cæsaria pa
SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN
SEA
W. H. sc.


North
South
E:
West
Arabia
Arabia the stonie
Agubeni
Balaam
The contry of ye Amonites some
Nabatha
e Zamzuminis now Philadelphia
Abel
Mennith
The mountains of Arnon
Mountaines of Ara: ye stonie
Datheman
Rabba
Gilead mont
Ramoth galaad
Moabites somtime Emims
Iazer
Aroer
Mathana
Dibon gad
Rogelim
A N
Pella
Bascama
Barasa
Iaber tor
Medabas
Balmeon
Mephat
Beorlim
Medians
Moab desert
alaad
Manaim
G
Dibon
Esebon
R V B E N
Cademoth
Helmond
Madian
Petra deserti
Carmon
Nobach
Phanuel
Carker
Cariathaim
Abrim
Callerhoe
Iogbehath
The ouerthrow of Zeba & Salmuna by Gedion
Eleale
Iasa Phasaa
Bosor
Macherus
Adama
Seboim
Ephron
Nobe
Bethphogor
Cethim
The dead sea, or ye l: Asphaltidis
Socoth
Sehon ouerthrown by Moses
Helon
Salem
A D
Sodom
Bethsan or Scythopolis
Bezech
Gaddi
Thesbe
Daber
Iosua his passage ouer Iordan
Abilas
Gomorra
n this Valley of Iezrael Gedeon ouerthrew ye Madianits
Iulias
Ephra
Rameth
Lod
Hadid
Samaraim
Aduram
Bethbara
M A
Ianoe
Doth
Plaines of Ierico
Segor
Gada
Bethbaraba
Ianuum
Arad
vallie Saul fought wt ye
ins Achab with ye Syrians
rtarians against the Sarizans
IS
Abelmula
Aner
Traphaia
Camth tor
Gofna Toparthy
B
Galgala
M: Qurantan
Almath
The Vally of blissing where the Moabites, Amonites & Idumeans slew each other when thay came to inuad Iehoshaphat
Ciuitas
Desert of Ierue
Nebsa
Rabba
Delean
Har
Bethel
Ierico
Thersa
Thebes
Gemeron tor
Enon
Phaselum
Ephron
E N
Anathot
Adonim
Herodium
Iethan
Maon
Ziph
Tanae
A
Iebsam
Baalasor
Petra remman
Gabaa
Gabaath
Cedron tor
IV DA
Iota
Engannim
Acrabata
Bethel
Mount of Ephra
Silo
Naioth
IA
Theeua
Bethzebara
Iezrael
Holon
bboth
CA N A S
Emadda
Samaria
Sithem or Neapolis
Bethera
Ierusalem
Bethleem
Anaarath
Bethpheses
E P H
M: Caluerie
The Ook of Mamre
Hebron
Enachim
Cariatherbe
Athascluth
The Vineiard of Naboth
The burial of Ioseph
Gabaon
M I
The Vally of Raphaim
Achib
ndor
Cedes
Iezrael
Gethemmon
Balaam
Pharaton
R A I M
Iefleti
Bethoron infr
N
Bezer
The great battel betwene Zara k: of Arabia & Asa k: of Iuda
Elam
Narbata
Thamnath
The Sepulker of Iosua
Betsura
Eglon
Estemo
aba
Aphes
Iaranoth
S E
Bethnopolis
Nebo
Imaus
Odolla
Ceila
Etam
Bethsemes
Gaber
Esdrelon
Casaloth
Bethhoron sup
Adarsa
Maspha
Iecteael
Ierimoth
Remmon
Iaphna
Baloth
plaine of
Mageddo
Adadremmon
The ouerthrow of Iosias by Pharo Nathao
The ouerthrow of Niranor by Iudas M:
Gaser
Helam
Azecha
Zanoe
Etam Horma
Sotho
Anen
Dora
Aphai
Neptho a tor
Elchese
Selebim
Cariathsephor or Dabir
Carmel
Galgal
Saron
Leban
Aialon
Lachis
Modin
Sarara
Aen
Sama
Sabe
Magedo tor
Gaas tor
Caspin
Sarim
Helon
The burials of ye Machabies
Sorec tor
Selim
S I
Damna
ria palestina
Balsalisa
Helon
Lidda or Diospolis
Gethremmon
Iamma
Geth
Bethsames
D A N
Gabathon
Esthaot
Lebaoth
Siglak
Bethphalet
Sarohen
Asan
Antipatris
Apollonia
Ioppe
The fountain of Æthiopia
Bethlebath
Baziotb
Besor tor
Accaron
Azotus
Ascalon
M E O N
Gaza
THE ÆGYPTIAN SEA
Maioma
Anthedon


Agubeni
The
Saccæa
Saue or Saba from whens the Sabe
Alsadamus mons
Paimerina
of Ara: ye stonie
Emims
Moab desert
Betach
Soba of Adadezer
Berathy
Carath
Emath or Ituria of Tohu
Adrach
Thesbe of Elias & Tobit
Fanum Baal
Syria da masci
Hermon
Ba
Dibon gad
Gessur
Bosra
Asteroth Carnaim
Gaulon
Catzerhenan
Themon
Raphaim
Medians
Edrai
Petra deserti
Gessuri regio
Phiale fons
Baldwyn the 2. ouerthroweth the Damasens
Hus, the tertories of Iob
Madian
Iabnim
Damascus
The toure
Machati of Libanus
MANASSE
Sueta
Raconitis
Bethsaida
Seboim
Recath
Helon
Philipipi
Cesaria
Reblata
The lake Meron
Iulias
dead sea, or ye l: Asphaltidis
Hoba
Dan
Chalchis
Sephama
Galile superior
Ior
The
Sodom
Gomorra
Abelbathmahacha
Daphenes
Corozaim
Capernaum
Magdalel
The oouerthrow of Iabin king of Asor by Iosua
Abila
Augustus temple
Sabarim
Mons Chris
Bethsaida
Bethabara
Cebseel
Ascensus scorpionum
Heliopolis
Beroth
NEPTALIM
Masaloth
Carham
Remmon
Desert of Ierue
Ciuitas
Gada
Ianuum
Nebsa
Arad
Libanus
Harofeth
Chamath
Amothdor
Assedim
Asor
Bethanat
Sephet
Methora
Monites slew each other
came to inuad Iehoshaphat
Rabba
Delean
Cina
Eder
Mountains of Idumea
The ouerthrow of the Damasens by Baldwyn
Chabul
Roobe
Bethsemes
Beth
Herodium
Iethan
Maon
Ziph
Dimona
Vaare tor
Alab
Dothaim
Nablol
Theeua
IVDA
Iota
Iezrael
Chaly
Iephthaeli
Noe
Bethzebara
leem
Holon
Adoda
Aphec
Abdon
Canagal
Belfort
ASOR
Bethemee
Ock
Mamre
Hebron
Enachim
Cariatherbe
Cedes
Beritus
Giscala
Georgia
Achib
Asena
Alcath
Achzap
Thorom
Saron tor
Bers
great battel between Zara k. of Arabia & Asa k. of Iuda
Iethnan
Ziph
Hethacer
Rama
Regnim cast
Sidon
Sarepta
Helba
Tyre Antiq
Indi
Monfort
Labnis
Saronmoth
Remmon
Etam
Iaphna
Estemo
Eston
THE
Aczib
Memnos
Balath
Sandalium
Etam
Horma
Sotho
Cariathsephor or Dabir
Tyre
Castrum Iampert
Aen
Sama
Cyprus
PHOENICIAN
Ptolemais
SIMEON
Selim
Damna
Gerar
Lebaoth
Siglak
Bethphalet
Sarohen
Asan
Ethiopia
Bethlebath
Baziroth
SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN
Besor tor
The sandy
Ascalon
Gaza
SEA
Maoma
Anthedon
W. H. sc.

cious imagination) made him confeſſe and acknowledge Gods iudgements againſt himſelfe.

The tribes of *Iuda* and *Simeon* did alſo maſter and poſſeſſe during this *interregnum* (or as ſome thinke, before the death of *Ioſua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Askalon*, *Ekron* and *Hieruſalem*, which they burnt, and the *Iebuſites* after reedified. They tooke alſo the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathſepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not ſet downe in expreſſe words that any one perſon commanded in chiefe ouer the people, as *Moſes* and *Ioſua* did: yet it ſeemeth that *Caleb* was of greateſt authority among them: and that he with the aduice of *Phinees* directed and ordered their warres. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chiefe, the good ſucceſſe which followed their vndertakings witneſſeth the contrary. And it was *Caleb* euen while *Ioſua* gouerned, as appeares, *Ioſ.* 10. 39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the reſt of the Captaines: for the performance of which enterpriſe, hee promiſed his Daughter *Achſah*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his yonger brother after the conqueſt: whoſe behauiour in that ſeruice was ſuch, as (next vnto the ordinance of God) it gaue him the greateſt reputation among them, and may be eſteemed the ſecond cauſe of his preferment and election for their firſt Iudge ſoone after. But while thoſe of *Iuda* made warre with their borderers, from whom they onely recouered the mountainous Countries (for they could not driue out the inhabitants of the Valleyes, *becauſe they had Chariots of* *Iud.* 1. 19. *yron.*) The reſt of the Tribes ſought alſo to enlarge and eſtabliſh their owne Territories: in which warre they laboured with variable ſucceſſe: for as the houſe of *Ioſeph* recouered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, ſo did the *Amorites* recouer from *Dan* all the *Iud.* 1. 25. *Iud.* 1. 32. plaine Countries, and forſt them to ſaue themſelues in the Mountaines. And now the *Iſraelites* vnmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often hee had miraculouſly a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious ouer their enemies (the Elders beeing alſo conſumed, who better aduiſed them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not onely ioyne themſelues in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more deteſtable) they ſerued the Idols of *Baal*, and *Aſteroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the *Lord God* whom they had prouoked with their *Idolatrie*, deliuer them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Meſopotamia*: whom *Chuſhan Riſhathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the ſmart of Gods diſpleaſure againſt them eight yeeres, it pleaſed him to haue compaſſion on his people, and to raiſe vp *Othoniel* to be their Iudge and Leader: who by God aſſiſted, deliuered *Iud.* 3. 10. his brethren from oppreſſion: and inforced the *Aramites* to returne into their owne *Deſarts*, and into *Meſopotamia* adioyning; after which the *Iſraelites* had peace fourtie yeeres, during all the time of *Othoniels* gouernment. 2608. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Toſtatus* to haue beene the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the booke of *Iudges* 2648. hee is twice called *Othoniel* the Sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others doe rather interpret thoſe words (*Calebs* younger brother) as if they ſignified the meaneſt of his kinred. Indeed it is not likely, that *Calebs* Daughter ſhould marrie with her owne Vncle; yet it followes not therefore that *Othoniel* ſhould haue beene the meaneſt of the kinred. Wherefore wee may better thinke that hee was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as ſome learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture ſeeme to enforce. For *Caleb* was the ſonne of *Iephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the ſonne of *Cenas*, *Calebs* yonger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his yonger brothers ſonne; to whom it was not onely lawfull, but commendable to marrie with his Couſin German *Calebs* daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Ioſuah* to the gouernment of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it ſeemes to haue beene no ſhort time. For many Warres were made in that ſpace againſt the people of the Land. *Laiſh* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the beſt Writers are of opinion, that betweene the times of *Ioſua* and *Othoniel* that ciuill Warre brake out betweene the *Beniamites* and the reſt of *Iſrael*, for the forcing to death of the *Leuites* Wife. For it is written, that in thoſe dayes there was no King in *Iſrael*, but euery man did that which was good in his owne eyes. And as *Iud.* 17. & 18. & 19. *Iuda* ledde the people againſt the *Canaanites* during the *Inter-regnum*, ſo was hee commanded to doe againſt *Beniamin*, euen by the Lord God, whoſe direction they craued, as wanting a Iudge to appoint what ſhould be done, which ſheweth it to haue beene when *Ioſua* was dead, & before the gouernment of *Othoniel*, eſpecially conſidering, that all other times wherein they wanted Gouernors, were ſpent vnder ſuch oppreſſion of ſtrangers, as would haue giuen them no leaue to haue attempted ſuch a ciuill Warre, if their power had beene as great, as it was in the managing of this action, wherein they ſo weakened the body of their eſtate, by effuſion of bloud, that in many ages they could not bring into the field ſuch numbers as formerly they had muſtered againſt their bordering enemies.

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§. II.

Of the memorable things of this Age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.

There liued in this Age of *Othoniel*, *Pandon* or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the fift King of *Athens*: who began to rule in the twentieth yeere of *Othoniel*, and gouerned fortie yeeres. Hee was Father to *Ericthеus*: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, ſo greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus alſo about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whoſe Daughter *Semele* was borne *Dionyſius*, or *Liber Pater*: vnder whom *Linus* the *Muſician* liued. In his time alſo the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharſus*, were built.

Gen. 4.12. Whence came the name of *Vulcan* by *Aphæreſis* of the two firſt letters.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, l.18. c.13.

Ida and *Dactylus* flouriſhed in this age, who are ſaid to haue found out the vſe of iron: but *Geneſis* hath taught vs the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunninglie both in iron & braſſe. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* gouerned *Thebes*: whom diuers *Chronologers* finde in *Ehuds* time. But S. *Auguſtine* making a repetition of thoſe fables, which were deuiſed among the *Græcians* and other Nations, during the gouernment of the Iudges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whoſe parentage there is as little agreement. *Viues* vpon the thirteenth Chapter of S. *Auguſtine de Ciuitate Dei*, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where hee that deſires his pedigree may finde it. *Lactantius* and *Euſebius* make him natiue of *Attica*: and the ſonne of *Eleuſius* King of *Eleuſina*: which *Eleuſius* by carefull induſtrie had fed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This, when vpon the like occaſion *Triptolemus* could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prowe a grauen or carued Serpent; who becauſe hee made exceeding great ſpeed to returne and to relieue his people with Corne, from ſome neighbour Nation: it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the ayre.

Whether the times of theſe Kings which liued together with *Othoniel*, and after him with the reſt of the Iudges and Kings of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, be preciſely ſet downe, I cannot auow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I deſire to be excuſed, if in theſe compariſons I erre with others of better iudgement. For whether *Euſebius* and all that follow him, or his oppoſites (who make themſelues ſo conuerſant with theſe ancient Kings, and with the very yeere when they began to rule) haue hit the marke of time, of all other the fartheſt off and moſt defaced, I cannot but greatlie doubt. Firſt, becauſe the Authors themſelues, from whom the ancienteſt *Chronologers* haue borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne works, but coniecture: Secondly, becauſe their owne diſagreement and contention in thoſe elder dayes, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is ſuch, as no man among them hath yet ſo edified any mans vnderſtanding, ſaue his owne, but that he is greatly diſtracted, after what patterne to erect his buildings.

This diſagreement is found not onely in the reignes of Heathen Kings & Princes; but euen in the computation of thoſe times which the indiſputable authoritie of holy Scripture hath ſummed vp, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the *Iudges* and the oppreſſions of *Iſrael*, in the times from the egreſſion to the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the *Perſian* Empire, the ſeuentie Weekes, and in what not? Whereſoeuer the account of times may ſuffer examination, the arguments are oppoſite, & contentions are ſuch, as for ought that I ſee, men haue ſought by ſo many wayes to vncouer the Sunne, that the dayes thereby are made more darke, and the clouds more condenſed than before: I can therefore giue no other warrant, than other men haue done in theſe computations: and therefore that ſuch and ſuch Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this or that yeere, I auow it no otherwiſe than as a borrowed knowledge, or at leaſt as a priuate opinion: which I ſubmit to better iudgements. *Nam in priſcis rebus veritas non ad vnguem quærenda; In ancient things wee are not to require an exact narration of the truth*, ſayes *Diodore*.

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§. III.

Of Ehuds *time, and of* Proſerpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tityus, Admetus, *and others that liued about thoſe times.*

AFter the death of *Othoniel*, when *Iſrael* fell backe to their former Idolatrie, God incouraged *Moab* to inuade and ſuppreſſe them: to performe which he ioyned the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* vnto his owne, and ſo (as all kinde of miſerie readilie findeth out thoſe whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to make them feele the difference betweene his grace and his diſpleaſure) theſe Heathen neighbouring Nations had an eaſie conqueſt ouer *Iſrael*: whom God himſelfe expoſed to thoſe perils: within which they were ſo ſpeedilie folded vp. In this miſerable eſtate they continued full eighteene yeeres vnder *Eglon* King of the *Moabites*, and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, hee turned not his eares from their crying repentance: but raiſed vp *Ehud* the ſonne of *Gera* to deliuer them: by which weake man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the iuſtneſſe of his quarrell, and fearing that the *Iſraelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of thoſe valiant Nations, he reſolued to attempt vpon the perſon of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguiſh, hee aſſured himſelfe of the following victory: eſpecially giuing his Nation no time to reeſtabliſh their gouernment, or to chooſe a King to command and direct them in the Warres. According to which reſolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embaſſadour to *Eglon*, loaden with preſents from the *Iſraelites*, as to appeaſe him, and obtaining priuate acceſſe vpon the pretence of ſome ſecret to be reuealed, he pierſt his body with a Poniard, made of purpoſe with a double edge: and ſhutting the doores of his cloſet vpon him, eſcaped.

It may ſeeme that being confident of his good ſucceſſe, hee had prepared the ſtrength of *Iſrael* in readineſſe. For ſuddenly after his returne, he did repaſſe *Iordan*, and inuading the Territory of *Moab*, ouerthrew their Armie conſiſting of 10000. able and ſtrong men: whereof not any one eſcaped. After which victorie, and that *Samgar* his Succeſſour had miraculouſly ſlaine 600. *Philiſtims* with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of *Iſrael* liued in peace vnto the end of foureſcore yeeres from the death of *Othoniel*, which terme expired in the Worlds yeere 2691.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two ſonnes, trauailed into *Moab*, and ſo the ſtorie of *Ruth* is to bee referred to this time. About the beginning of the foureſcore yeeres which are giuen to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Moloſsians*, otherwiſe *Pluto*, ſtole *Proſerpina*, as ſhee walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pauſanias*) by the Riuer *Cephiſus*, which elſewhere hee calleth *Chemer*, if hee meane not two diſtinct Riuers. This ſtealth being made known to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theſeus* ioyned themſelues, they agreed together to recouer her: but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they ſay) a very huge Dogge, which faſtened on *Pyrithous*, and tare him in pieces, and had alſo worried *Theſeus*, but that *Hercules* ſpeedily reſcued him: and by ſtrength tooke and maſtered the Dogge *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his deliuering *Theſeus* out of Hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath writtent his ſtorie ſomewhat more according to the truth. For *Theſeus* and *Pyrithous*, ſaith hee, attempted to ſteale *Proſerpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Moloſsians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proſerpina*: *Proſerpina* being a generall name alſo for all faire women. This purpoſe of theirs being knowne to *Aidonius*, *Theſeus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken; and becauſe *Pyrithous* was the principall in this conſpiracie, and *Theſeus* drawne on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was giuen for foode to *Aidonius* his great Dogge *Cerberus*, the other held priſoner, till *Hercules* by the inſtigation of *Euriſtheus* deliuered him by ſtrong hand. The *Moloſsi* which *Stephanus* writes with a ſingle (S) were a people of *Epirus* inhabiting neere the Mountaines of *Pindus*: of which Mountaines

Pauſ. in Att.

Oeta is one of the moſt famous, where ***Hercules*** burnt himſelfe. The Riuer of *Acheron* (which the *Poets* deſcribe to bee in Hell) riſeth out of the ſame Hills. There is another Nation of the *Moloſſi* in *Theſſali:* but theſe are neighbours to the *Caſsiopæi*, ſaith *Plutarch* in his *Greeke* queſtions.

The rape of *Orithya* the Daughter of *Erictheus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of ***Ehud***. The Poets aſcribe this rape to the North-winde, becauſe *Thrace* is ſituate North from *Athens*. In his time alſo *Tereus* rauiſhed *Philomela*, of which the fable was deuiſed of her conuerſion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* hauing married her ſiſter *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to ſee her ſiſter, forced her in her paſſage, and withall cut out her tongue, that ſhee might not complaine; perſwading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother in law's mercileſſe behauiour towards her, *Philomela* expreſſed by her needle vpon cloth, and ſent it to *Progne*. In reuenge whereof *Progne* cauſed her onely ſonne *Itys* to bee cut in pieces, and ſet before *Tereus* her husband, ſo dreſt as it appeared to be ſome other ordinary foode: of which when hee had eaten his fill, ſhee cauſed his head, hands, and feete, to bee preſented vnto him: and then fled away with ſuch ſpeed towards *Athens* where her Father *Pandion* yet liued, as the Poets fained, that ſhee was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, ***Strabo*** findes to be *Daulis* in *Phocis*: and the Tombe of *Tereus*, *Pauſanias* hath built neere the Rockes *Mergi*, in the Territorie of *Athens*. By which, as alſo by the name *Daulis*; where theſe things are ſuppoſed to haue beene done (whence alſo *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appeares that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digreſſion in his *Peloponneſian* Warre, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryſæ*, (as the Poets call him *Odryſius*) but that *Phocis* a Countrie in *Greece* not farre from *Attica*, a Citie whereof is called *Daulia*, was in ***Pandions*** time inhabited by *Thracians*: of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to haue amitie with his neighbours, made him his ſonne in law: as it is good to beleeue, ſaith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom he might haue ſuccour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that ſhould haue held the Kingdome of *Odryſa*, which was greatly diſtant from thence. The occaſion that the Poets choſe a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may ſeeme to haue beene partly becauſe, as *Pauſanias* ſayes; ***Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines***; As if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her ſiſter, did for euer after hate that place.

L. 9.
Pau. in Att.
Thuc. l. 2.

Neere this time *Melampus* (who is ſaid to haue vnderſtood the voyces of Birds and Beaſts) flouriſhed, being alſo eſteemed for an excellent Phyſician. Hee reſtored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætus* King of the *Argiues*, who (as the Poets pleaſe) were made mad by *Iuno*: and thinking themſelues to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to bee conſtrained to the Plough: for in thoſe Countries where the ground was light, they did vſe often to plough with Kine.

Pauſ. l. 1.
Homer. Odiſſ. 11.

In the ſeuen and fortieth yeare of ***Ehud***, ***Tros*** began to raigne in ***Dardania***, and gaue it his owne name; about which time ***Phemone*** the chiefe Prieſt of *Apollo* in ***Delpos***, deuiſed the *Heroicall* Verſe.

Pauſ.

Of the ſame date was *Tantalus*, King of ***Lydia:*** whom ***Euſebius*** makes King of *Phrygia*: and alſo of that part of which the people were anciently ***Mæones***. Of ***Tantalus*** was deuiſed the fable that ſome Poets haue applied to the paſſion of loue: and ſome to the couetous that dare not inioy his riches. ***Euſebius*** cals this ***Tantalus*** the ſonne of *Iupiter*, by the *Nymph Pleta: Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zezes*, giue him another Mother. He was ſaid to be the ſon of *Iupiter*: as ſome will haue it; becauſe he had that Planet in his aſcendent, betokening wiſedome and riches. It is ſaid that when he made a feaſt to the *Gods*, hauing nothing more precious: he cauſed his owne Sonne to be ſlaine and dreſt to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the ſhoulders: whereby was ſignified that thoſe men which ſeek after Diuine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children, of all elſe the moſt deareſt. And where it was deuiſed, that hee had alwaies Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet ſuffered the torment of hunger and thirſt, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reaſon of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwiſe and to higher deſires tranſported, he enioyed no pleaſure at all by the reſt. Of whom *Ouid:*

Euſeb. prep. Euan. l. 2. Zezer hiſt 10. Chil. 5.

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
Tantalus, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*
Here *Tantalus* in water ſeekes for water, and doth miſſe
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This puniſhment, they ſay, was inflicted vpon him, for that he diſcouered the ſecrets of the gods: that is, becauſe he taught wiſedome and vertue to mortall men: which ſtorie *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly expreſt in Verſe. Others expound this fable otherwiſe and ſay, That *Tantalus*, though hee excelled in riches, yet being thirſtie of more abundance, was neuer ſatisfied. Of whom *Horace* againſt couetouſneſſe:

Tantalus *à labijs ſitiens fugientia captat*
Flumina; quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirſting *Tantalus* doth catch at ſtreames that from him flee:
Why laugheſt thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceiue where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gaue the *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* of the gods to vaine and vnworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that ſort puniſhed. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quòd furatus,
Coëtaneis conuiuis
Nectar Ambroſiamquè dedit.
Becauſe that ſtealing immortalitie,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* giue
To gueſts of his owne age, to make them liue.

Whereby it was meant, that the ſecrets of Diuinitie ought not to be imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneſt meates in a foule ſtomacke, are therein corrupted, ſo the moſt high and reſerued myſteries are often peruerted by an vncleane and defiled minde.

To you it is giuen (ſaith *Chriſt in* Marke) *to know the myſterie of the Kingdome of God, but vnto them that are without, all things be done in parables.* So is it ſaid of him that *hee expounded all things to his Diſciples apart.* And therefore doth *Gregorie Nazianzene* inferre vpon a place of S. Paul: *Quod ſi* Paulo *licuiſſet effari ea, quorum ipſi cognitionem cœlum tertium & vſq; ad illud progeſsio ſuppeditauit, fortaſſe de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius conſtaret;* *If* Paul *might haue vttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third heauens, and his going thither did bring vnto him, peraduenture we might know ſomewhat more of God.*

Marke 4.11.
Marke 4.34.
Greg. in Orat. de recta ratione diſp de Deo.
2 Cor. 12.

Pythagoras, ſaith *Reuclin*, thought it not the part of a wiſe man, *Aſino lyram exponere, aut myſteria, quæ ita reciperet, vt Sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & vnguenta Scarabæus: quare ſilentium indixit diſcipulis, ne vulgo diuinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando faciliùs, quàm loquendo apprehendantur;* *To ſet an Aſſe to a harpe, or to learne myſteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a trumpet, or a Iay a viall, or Scarabies and vncleane flies ſoueraigne ointment. Wherefore he commanded ſilence to his diſciples, that they ſhould not diſcloſe diuine myſteries to the common ſort, which are eaſier learnt by meditation than by babbling.* And therefore did the *Ægyptians* communicate their myſteries among their Prieſts in certaine *Hieroglyphick* letters, to the end that their ſecrets might be hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might beſtow the more time in the contemplation of their couered meanings.

But to proceede with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is alſo ſaid, that *Tityus* liued whom *Apollo* ſlew, becauſe he ſought to force his Mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the Sonne of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloued of *Iupiter*, to auoid *Iuno's* reuenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where ſhe was deliuered of *Tityus*: whoſe Mother dying, and himſelfe therein nouriſhed, he was therefore called the ſonne of the earth. *Pauſanius* ſpeaking of the graue of this Gyant, affirmes that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his ſtature out of *Homer*:

Hom.Od.11.

Porrectuſquè nouem Tityus *per iugera terræ,*
Aſſiduas atro viſcere paſcit aues.

Nine furlongs ſtretcht lies *Tityus*, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungry birds with his renewing liuer daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a Citie in *Phocis*, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was ſtill eaten in Hell by birds, and yet ſtill liued, and had his fleſh renewed.

Admetus King of *Theſſalie* liued alſo in this Age, whom it is ſaid that *Apollo* firſt ſerued as a Herd-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him aduanced; but hauing ſlaine *Hyacinthus*, he croſt the *Helleſpont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the wals of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in *Ouid*, which ſaith:

Ilion aſpicies, firmataquè turribus altis
Mœnia, Apollineæ *ſtructa canore lyræ.*

Strong Ilion thou ſhall ſee with wals and towers high,
Built with the harpe of wiſe *Apollo's* Harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that hee laboured with his hands, as hired in this worke. And that he alſo laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megariens* witneſſe, ſaith *Pauſanius*.

Pauſ.in Att.

In theſe daies alſo of *Ehud*, or (as ſome finde it) in the dayes of *Deborah*, liued *Perſeus*, the ſonne of *Iupiter* and *Danae*, by whoſe Souldiers (as they ſailed out of *Peloponneſus*, to ſeeke their aduenture on *Africa* ſide) *Meduſa*, the Daughter and Succeſſor of *Phorcus*, being weakely accompanied as ſhe hunted, neere the Lake *Triton*, was ſurpriſed and ſlaine: whoſe beauty, when *Peſeus* beheld, he cauſed her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was ſuch and ſo much admired, and the beholders ſo aſtoniſhed which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Meduſa's* head, were turned into ſtones.

Triton a Lake of *Africa*, which *Plinie* calleth *Pallantias. Didym. in pereg Hiſt.*

Cecrops, the ſecond of that name, and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acriſius* the 13. or after *Euſebius*, the 14. King of the *Argiues*, began alſo their reignes, as it is ſaid, in the time of this Iudge: of which the firſt ruled 40. yeares, and the ſecond 31. yeares. Alſo *Bellerophon* liued in this age, being the ſonne of *Glaucus*, the ſonne of *Siſyphus*: who inticed by *Antea* or *Sthenobia*, the wife of *Prætus* of the *Argiues*, to accompanie her, but refuſing it, ſhe accuſed him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prætus* ſent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about ſome affaires of weight, betweene him and his ſonne in law *Iobates*: giuing ſecret order to *Iobates* to diſpatch him: but *Iobates* thinking it diſhonourable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him againſt *Chimæra*, a Monſter, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pittying his innocency, ſent him the winged Horſe *Pegaſus*, ſprung vp of the bloud of *Meduſa*, formerly ſlaine by the ſouldiers of *Perſeus* in *Africa*, to tranſport him, a horſe that none other could maſter or bridle but *Minerua*: vpon which beaſt *Bellerophon* ouer-came *Chimæra*: and performed the other ſeruices giuen him in charge: which done, as hee returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambuſh to haue ſlaine him: but being victorious alſo ouer all thoſe, he arriued to *Iobates* in ſafetie: whom *Iobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, firſt with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdome: after which hee grew ſo inſolent, as hee attempted to flye vp to heauen vpon his *Pegaſus*: whoſe pride *Iupiter* diſdaining, cauſed one of his ſtinging flyes ſo to vexe *Pegaſus*, as he caſt off *Bellerophon* from his backe, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blinde; of which burthen *Pegaſus* being diſcharged (as the fable goeth) flew backe to heauen: and being fed in *Iupiters* owne ſtable, *Aurora* beg'd him of *Iupiter* to ride on before the *Sunne*. This tale is diuerſly expounded, as firſt by ſome, That it pleaſeth God to relieue men in their innocent and vndeſerued aduerſitie, and to caſt downe thoſe which are too high minded: according to that which is ſaid of *Bellerophon*: that when he was expoſed to extreame hazard, or rather certaine death, hee found both deliuerance and honour: but waxing ouerproud

Euſeb. in Chro.

proud and preſumptuous in his glorious fortunes, hee was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of ſorrow, and euer-during miſerie. Secondly by others, That vnder the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruell *Pyrate* of the *Lycians*, whoſe ſhip had in her prow, a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ſhip, and a Dragon in the ſtearne, of which three beaſts this Monſter *Chimæra* was ſaid to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* purſued with a kinde of Galley, of ſuch ſwiftneſſe, that it was called the flying Horſe: to whom the inuention of ſailes (the wings of a ſhip) are alſo attributed. Many other expoſitions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not vnlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ſhip, for ſo *Virgil* calleth one of the greateſt ſhips of *Æneas*.

Plutar.in claris mulier.

L 5.Æneid.

Ion alſo, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their parent *Iauan*) deriue their name of *Iones*, is ſaid to haue beene about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* cals them *Iaones*, which hath a neere reſemblance to the word *Iauan*. Perhaps it might be ſo that *Ion* himſelfe tooke name from *Iauan*: it being a cuſtome obſeruable in the Hiſtories of all times, to reuiue the ancient name of a fore-father, in ſome the principall of his iſſue.

Homer.in hym. ad Apoll.

Lib.18.c.12.de ci.dei,l.18 c.15

The inuaſion of *India* by *Liber Pater*, is by ſome reported as done in this age: but S. *Auguſtine* makes him farre more ancient: placing him betweene the comming out of *Ægypt*, and the death of *Ioſua*.

About the end of the 80. yeares, aſcribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops*, flouriſhed: who gaue name to *Peloponneſus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

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§. IIII.

Of Debora *and her Contemporaries.*

After *Iſrael* had liued in peace and plenty to the end of theſe 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giuer of all goodneſſe, and many of thoſe being worne out, which were witneſſes of the former miſerie, and of Gods deliuerance by *Ehud*; and after him by *Samgar*; the reſt began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements. For as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle ſecuritie; ſo is ſecuritie as fruitfull in begetting and bringing forth both danger and ſubuerſion: of which all eſtates in the world haue taſted by interchange of times. Therefore when their ſinnes were againe ripe for puniſhment, *Iabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, inuaded the Territorie of *Iſrael*; and hauing in his ſeruice 900. yron Chariots, beſides the reſt of his forces, he held them in ſubiection twentie yeares, till it pleaſed God to raiſe vp *Deborah*, the Propheteſſe, who incouraged *Barac* to leuie a force out of *Nepthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nepthalim* were more forward than the reſt in this action, it may ſeeme to haue proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barac* had among them, being of the ſame Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grieuance, which in them was more ſenſible, than in others, becauſe *Hazor* and *Haroſeth* the chiefe holds of *Iabin*, were in *Nepthalim*. So in the dayes of *Ieptha* the *Gileadites* tooke the greateſt care, becauſe the *Ammonites* with whom the Warre was, preſſed moſt vpon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleaſed God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliuer *Iſrael* from the *Moabites*: and by the counſaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Siſera* by *Iael* the *Kenites* wife: ſo was it his will at other times, to worke the like great things by the weakeſt meanes. For the mighty *Aſſyrian Nabuchodonoſor*, who was a King of Kings, and reſiſtleſſe, he ouerthrew by his owne imaginations, the cauſers of his brutiſh melancholy: and changed his matchleſſe pride into the baſe humility of a Beaſt. And to approue that he is the Lord of all power, he ſometime puniſheth by inuiſible ſtrength, as when he ſlaughtered the Armie of *Senacherib* by his Angell; or as hee did the *Ægyptians* in *Moſes* time: ſometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharao* by the waues of the Sea: and the *Canaanites* by haile-ſtones in the time of *Ioſua*: ſometimes by the miniſterie of men, as when he ouerthrew the foure Kings of the Eaſt, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the houſhold ſeruants of *Abraham*. He cauſed the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to ſet vpon their owne confederate the Armie of the *Edomites*; and hauing ſlaine them to kill one another in the ſight of *Iehoſaphat*: and of the like to theſe a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Propheteſſe ſpeake vnto *Barac* in theſe words: *But this iourney that thou takeſt, ſhall not be for thine honour, for*

2.Chron.20.

Iud.4.9.

the Lord ſhall ſell Siſera *into the hands of a Woman.* In which victorie all the ſtrength of the *Canaanite Iabin* fell to the ground, euen to the laſt man: in the end of which Warre it ſeemeth that *Iabin* himſelfe alſo periſhed, as appeareth by the laſt Verſe of the fourth of *Iudges*.

Iud. 5. v. 18.

Verſe 17.

After all which *Deborah* giueth thankes to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his powerfulneſſe, and great mercies, ſhe ſheweth the weake eſtate whereinto *Iſrael* was brought for their Idolatry by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations, in theſe words: *Was there a ſhield or ſpeare ſeene among fortie thouſand of Iſrael?* She alſo ſheweth how the *Iſraelites* were ſeuered and amaſed, ſome of them confined ouer *Iordan*, and durſt not ioyne themſelues to the reſt; as thoſe of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: that the *Aſherites* kept the Sea-coaſt, and forſooke their habitations towards the Land; and the children of *Dan* who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ſhips for ſafety, ſhewing thereby that all were diſperſed, and all in effect loſt. Shee then curſeth the inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling neere the place of the battaile (belike fearing the ſucceſſe) came not out to aſſiſt *Iſrael*, and then bleſſeth *Iael* the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Siſera* in her Tent: ſhewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Iſraelites*. For though the Familie of *Heber* were inforced in that miſerable time of ſubiection, to hold correſpondencie with *Iabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occaſion offered them meanes, they witneſſed their loue and faith to their ancient friends. Laſtly, ſhee derideth the Mother of *Siſera* who promiſed her ſonne the victorie in her owne hopes: and fancied to her ſelfe, and deſcribed the ſpoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For concluſion, ſhee directeth her praiſe and thankes to God onely victorious.

Pau. in Corinthiacis.

From the beginning of *Iabins* oppreſſion to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchaſed vnto *Iſrael*, there paſſed 40. yeares. In which time the Kingdome of *Argos* which had continued 544. yeares, was tranſlated to *Mycænæ*: The tranſlation of this Kingdome *Viues* out of *Pauſanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* ſucceeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the ſonne of *Lynceus* diuided the Kingdome: of which *Acriſius* being eldeſt, held *Argos* it ſelfe: *Prætus* his brother poſſeſt *Ephyra* or *Corinth*, and *Tirynthos*, and other Cities with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in *Tirynthos*, which witneſſe *Prætus* poſſeſſion, ſaith *Pauſanias*.

Now *Acriſius* was foretold by an Oracle, that hee ſhould be ſlaine by the ſonne of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon he cauſed her to be incloſed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Lady being exceeding faire, it is fained that *Iupiter* turned himſelfe into a golden ſhower: which falling into her lap, begat her with childe: the meaning whereof was, that ſome Kings ſonne, or other Worthy man, corrupted her keepers with gold: and enioyed her, of whom *Perſeus* was borne; who when hee grew to mans eſtate, either by chance (ſaith *Cteſias*) or in ſhewing his grand-father the inuention of the *diſcus*, or leaden ball, ſlew him vnwillingly. After this *Perſeus*, to auoide the infamie of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdomes with his Vncle *Prætus*: and built *Mycænæ*. This impriſonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwiſe: and that ſhee was incloſed in a braſen vault, vnder the Kings Hall with her Nurſe and Keepers. Vpon this cloſe cuſtodie *Horace* hath this wittie obſeruation:

Incluſam Danaen, *turris ahenea,*
Robuſtæq; fores, & vigilum canum
Triſtes excubiæ, munierant ſatis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:

Si non Acriſium *Virginis abditæ*
Cuſtodem pauidum, Iupiter *&* Venus
Riſiſſent, fore enim tutum iter & patens,
Conuerſo in pretium Deo.

Aurum per medios ire ſatellites,
Et perrumpere amat ſaxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.

The braſen Tower with dores cloſe bar'd,
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,
Kept ſafe the maidenhead
Of *Danae* from ſecret loue:
Till ſmiling *Venus*, and wiſe *Ioue*
Beguild her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden ſhowre,
The god into her lap did powre
Himſelfe, and tooke his pleaſure.
Through gardes, and ſtonie wals to breake,
The thunder-bolt is farre more weake,
Then is a golden treaſure.

The firſt Kings of the Argiues *were theſe.*

Inachus the firſt King, who began to reigne in the firſt yeare of *Iacob*, and the 61. of *Iſaac*: from which time to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Caſtor* miſreckoneth 400. yeares. This Kingdome before the tranſlation, *Euſebius* accounteth to haue ſtood 544. yeares, others but at 417. *Io* was the Daughter of this *Inachus*: whom the *Ægyptians* called *Iſis*.

Phoroneus,
Apis,
Argus,
Piraſus,
Phorbas,
Triopas,
Crotopus,
Sthenelus,
Danaus,
Lynceus,
Abas,
Acriſius,
Pelops.

After the tranſlation to *Mycenæ*, *Mar. Scotus* findes theſe Kings:

Perſeus,
Sthenelus,
Euryſtheus,
Atreus and *Thyeſtes* } The ſonnes of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.
Agamemnon,
Ægyſthus,
Oreſtes,
Tiſamenus,
Penthilus and
Cometes.

Of theſe Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leaue out the two firſt, and the laſt: beginning with *Euryſtheus*: and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tiſamenus* time the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponneſus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, were *Midas* who reigned in *Phrygia*: and *Ilus* who built *Ilium*: with others mentioned in our *Chronologicall* table, as contemporaries with *Debora*.

§. V.

Of Gideon, *and of* Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, *and others that liued in this Age.*

Debora and *Barac* being dead: the *Midianites* aſſiſted by the *Amalekites* infeſted *Iſrael*. For when vnder a *Iudge* who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had enioyed any quiet or proſperity: the *Iudge* was no ſooner dead, than they turned to their former impious idolatrie. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations

Iud.6.

did ſo maſter them in a ſhort time(the hand of God being with-held from their defence) as to ſaue themſelues, they crept into caues of the mountaines, and other the like places of hardeſt acceſſe: their enemies poſſeſſing all the plaines and fruitfull vallies: and in harueſt time by themſelues, and the multitude of their cattle, deſtroying all that grew vp: couering the fields as thicke as graſſe-hoppers: which ſeruitude laſted ſeauen yeares.

Iud.6.v.5.

Iud.c.6.& 7.

Then the Lord by his Angell ſtirred vp *Gideon* the ſonne of *Ioaſh*, afterward called *Ierubbaal*: whoſe feare and vnwillingneſſe, and how it pleaſed God to hearten him in his enterpize; it is both largely and preciſely ſet downe in the holy Scriptures: as alſo how it pleaſed God by a few ſelect perſons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he onely was the Lord of Hoſts; Each of theſe 300. by *Gideons* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, inſtruments of more terrour than force, with which hee gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarum: who hearing ſo loud a noiſe, and ſeeing (at the cracke of ſo many pitchers broken) ſo many lights about them, eſteeming the Armie of *Iſrael* to be infinite, and ſtrucken with a ſodaine feare, they all fled without a ſtroke ſtricken: and were ſlaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made priſoners and ſlaine. In his returne the *Ephramites* began to quarrell with *Gideon*, becauſe he made warre without their aſſiſtance, being then greedy of glory, the victorie being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterpriſe) would no doubt haue held themſelues happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeaſing them with a milde anſwere, followed after the enemie, in which purſuite being tyred with trauaile, and weary euen with the ſlaughtering of his enemies, he deſired reliefe from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreſhed) he might ouer-take the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had ſaued themſelues by flight. For they were foure Princes of the Nations, which had inuaded and waſted *Iſrael*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Salmunna* which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, ſought the like reliefe from the inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like ſort refuſed to ſuccour him. To both of theſe places he threatned therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the proſequution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that he would teare the fleſh of thoſe of *Succoth* with Thornes and Briars, and deſtroy the Inhabitants and Citie of *Penuel*: Now why the people of theſe two Cities ſhould refuſe reliefe to their brethren the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially after ſo great a victorie: if I may preſume to make coniecture, it ſeemes likely, firſt that thoſe Cities ſet ouer *Iordan*, & in the way of all inuaſions, to be made by the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Midianites*, into *Iſrael*, had either made their own peace with thoſe Nations, & were not ſpoiled by them: or elſe they knowing that *Zeba* and *Salmunna* were eſcaped with a great part of their army, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and diſpoſitions of theſe men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, eſpecially of thoſe which follow the warre, that both enuie and maligne others, if they performe any praiſe-worthy actions, for the honour and ſafety of their owne Countrey, though themſelues may be aſſured to beare a part of the ſmart of contrary ſucceſſe. And ſuch malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrey ſhould ſuffer hazzard and want, than that ſuch men as they miſlike, ſhould be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

A place in *Baſan*, as it is thought.
Iud.8.10.

Now *Gideon*, how or whereſoeuer it were that he refreſhed himſelfe and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and purſued his former victory to the vttermoſt: and finding *Zebah* and *Salmunna* in *Karkor* (ſuſpecting no farther attempt vpon them) he againe ſurpriſed them, and ſlaughtered thoſe 15000. remaining: hauing put to the ſword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he tooke *Zebah* and *Salmunna* priſoners: whom becauſe themſelues had exequuted *Gideons* brethren before at *Tabor*, he cauſed them both to be ſlaine: or (as it is written) at their owne requeſt ſlew them with his owne hands: his Sonne whom he firſt commanded to doe it, refuſing it; and in his returne from the conſummation of this merueilous victory, he tooke reuenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiuing no offence committed againſt him: either by ſtrangers or by his brethren the *Iſraelites*. But ſuch mercy as he ſhewed to others, his owne children found ſoone after his death, according to that which hath beene ſaid before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are neuer left vnſatisfied: for as he ſlew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and vnuſuall torments, ſo were his owne 70. ſonnes all, but one, murthered by his owne baſtard *Abimelec*. The like *Analogie* is obſerued by the *Rabbines*, in the greateſt of the plagues which God brought vpon the *Ægyptians*, who hauing cauſed the male children of the *Hebrewes* to be ſlaine, others of them to be caſt into the riuer and drowned: God rewarded them euen with the like meaſure, deſtroying their own firſt borne by his *Angell*, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his armie in the red ſea. And hereof a world of examples might be giuen, both out of the Scriptures and other Hiſtories.

In the end ſo much did the people reuerence *Gideon* in the preſent for this victorie, and their owne deliuerance, as they offered him the Soueraigntie ouer them, and to eſtabliſh him in the Gouernment; which he refuſed, anſwering; *I will not reigne ouer you, neither ſhall my childe reigne ouer you, but the Lord ſhall, &c.* But he deſired the people that they would beſtow on him the golden eare-rings, which euery man had gotten. For the *Iſmaelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, vſed to weare them: the waight of all which was a thouſand and ſeuen hundred Shekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380.l. if we follow the account of the Shekle vulgar. And becauſe he conuerted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew ſilke, purple, ſcarlet, and fine linnen, belonging to the High Prieſt onely, and ſet vp the ſame in his owne Citie of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Iſrael* to Idolatrie, the ſame was the deſtruction of *Gideon* and his houſe.

Iud.8.23.

Exod.28.
Iudg.8.28.

There was another kinde of *Ephod* beſides this of the High Prieſts, which the *Leuites* vſed, and ſo did *Dauid* when he danced before the *Arke*: and *Samuel*, while he was yet yong, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demand how it was poſſible for *Gideon* with 300. men to deſtroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained; we may remember that although *Gideon* with 300. gaue the firſt alarme, and put the *Midianites* in rout and diſorder: yet all the reſt of the armie came into the ſlaughter, and purſuite, for it is written; *That the men of Iſrael being gathered together out of Nepthalie, and out of Aſher, and out of Manaſſe, purſued after the Midianites*: for this armie *Gideon* left in tents behinde him, when he went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyſe of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.

Iudc.7.v.23.

There liued with *Gideon*, *Ægeus*, the ſonne of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*: *Euriſtheus* King of *Mycenæ*: *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes* the ſonnes of *Pelops*, who bare dominion ouer a great part of *Peloponneſus*, and after the death of *Euriſtheus*, the Kingdome of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in iealouſie, as an attempter, both of his wife and Crowne, ſlew the children of *Thyeſtes*, and cauſing their fleſh to be dreſt, did therewith feaſt their father. But this cruelty was not vnreuenged. For both *Atreus* and his ſonne *Agamemnon* were ſlaine by a baſe ſonne of *Thyeſtes*, yea the grand-children, and all the linage of *Atreus* died by the ſame ſword.

In *Gideons* time alſo thoſe things were ſuppoſed to haue beene done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus*, they ſay, hauing ſlaine his *Nephew Attalus*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for ſuccour; where for his excellent workemanſhip he was greatly eſteemed, hauing made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like vnto that of *Ægypt*. Afterward he was ſaid to haue framed an artificiall Cowe for *Paſiphae* the *Queene*, that ſhe, being in loue with a faire Bull, might by putting her ſelfe into the Cowe, ſatisfie her luſt, a thing no leſſe vnnaturall than incredible, had not that ſhameleſſe *Emperour Domitian* exhibited the like beaſtly ſpectacle, openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; of purpoſe, as may ſeeme, to verifie the old fable. For ſo it appeares by thoſe verſes of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable ſhew, as a goodly Pageant, in thoſe vicious times.

Iunctam Paſiphaen Dictæo credite Tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula priſca fidem.
Nec ſe miratur Cæſar, longæua vetuſtas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of *Paſiphae*, *Seruius* makes a leſſe vnhoneſt conſtruction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her counſaile, and her Pandar for the enticing of a *Secretarie* of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which ſignifieth a Bull, who begat her with childe; and that ſhe being deliuered of two ſonnes, the one reſembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was fained that ſhe was deliuered of the *Monſter Minotaur*, halfe Man and halfe a Bull. But this practiſe being diſcouered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be ſlaine, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicil*: in which paſſage he made ſuch expedition, as it was fained that he faſhioned wings for himſelfe and his ſonne to tranſport them. For whereas *Minos* purſued him with boats which had oares onely, *Dædalus* framed ſailes both for his owne boate, and for his ſonnes, by which he outwent thoſe that had him in chaſe. Vpon which new inuention, *Icarus* bearing himſelfe ouerbold, was ouerborne and drowned.

It is alſo written of *Dædalus*, that he made *Images* that could moue themſelues, and goe, becauſe he carued them with legs, armes and hands; whereas thoſe that preceded him, could onely preſent the body and head of thoſe men, whom they cared to counterfait, and yet the workmanſhip was eſteemed very rare. But *Plutarke*, who had ſeene ſome of thoſe that were called the *Images* of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

Herind. Plat. Pauſ. lib. 9.

With *Gideon* alſo flouriſhed *Linus* the *Theban*, the ſonne of *Apollo*, and *Terpſichore*, who inſtructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the *Sunne* and *Moones* courſe, and of the generation of liuing Creatures, but in the end he was ſlaine by *Hercules* his ſcholler with his owne harpe.

Strab. l. 9.

Againe, in this age thoſe things ſpoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus*, are thought to haue beene performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by ſea and land, was by the *Corinthians* Armie, led by *Oedipus*, ouercome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to thoſe whom ſhe maſtered, was meant by the rockie and vnacceſſible mountaine neere *Thebes*, which ſhe defended; and by *Oedipus* diſſoluing her probleme, his victorie ouer her. She was painted with wings, becauſe exceeding ſwift, and with the body of a Lyon for her cruelty. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, did not the time diſproue it, for he cals her an *Amazonite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her helpe he had caſt *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the ſiſter of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in deſpightfull part, with her owne troope ſhe held the mountaine by *Thebes*, from whence ſhe continued a ſharpe warre vpon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* ouerthrowne. About this time did *Minos* thruſt his brother out of *Crete*, and held ſharpe warre with the *Megarians*, and *Athenians*, becauſe his ſonne *Androgeus* was ſlaine by them. He poſſeſt himſelfe of *Megara*, by the treaſon of *Scylla*, daughter of *Niſus* the King. He was long Maſter of the ſea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of deliuering him euery yeere ſeuen of their ſonnes: which tribute *Theſeus* releaſed, as ſhall be ſhewed, when I come to the time of the next Iudge *Thola*. In the end he was ſlaine at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King, while he purſued *Dædalus*: and was eſteemed by ſome to be the firſt law-giuer to thoſe Ilands.

Ariſt. pol. l. 1.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the Gyant, who was ſaid to haue 60. and odde cubites of length, which though *Plutarke* doth confirme, reporting that there was ſuch a body found by *Sertorius* the *Roman*, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* ſlew *Antæus*: yet for my ſelfe I thinke it but a lowd lye. That *Antæus* was of great ſtrength, and a cunning wreſtler, *Euſebius* affirmeth: and becauſe he caſt ſo many men to the ground, he was fained to be the ſonne of the Earth. *Plinie* ſaith, that he inhabited neere the gardens *Heſperides* in *Mauritania*. S. *Auguſtine* affirmes that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* alſo which he ouercame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a ſubtle Sophiſter.

Euſeb. in Chr.

Aug. de ci. dei, l 18. c. 12.

Euſeb. in Chron.

§. VI.

Of the expedition of the Argonautes.

ABout the eleuenth yeere of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the *Argonautes*: of which many fabulous diſcourſes haue beene written, the ſumme of which is this.

Pelias the ſonne of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers ſide to *Æſon*, who was *Iaſons* father, reigning in *Iolcus* a town of *Theſſalie*, was warned by the *Oracle of Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but one ſhoe. This *Pelias* afterward ſacrificing to *Neptune*, inuited *Iaſon* to him, who comming haſtily, loſt one ſhoe in paſſing ouer a brooke: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what courſe he would take (ſuppoſing hee were able) againſt one of whom an *Oracle* ſhould aduiſe him to take heede: to which queſtion when *Iaſon* had briefly anſwered, that he would ſend him to *Colchos*, to fetch the golden fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to vndertake that ſeruice. Therefore *Iaſon* prepared for the voyage, hauing a ſhip built by *Argus*, the ſonne of *Phryxus*, by the counſell of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the braueſt men of *Greece* to ſaile with him: as *Typhis* the Maſter of the ſhip, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the ſonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus*, ſonnes of *Aeacus*, and fathers of *Aiax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged ſonnes of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great Soothſayers, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that ſlew the great wilde boare: *Aſcalaphus* and *Ialmenus* or *Almenus* the ſonnes of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the laſt warre of *Troy*, *Laërtes* the father of *Vlyſſes*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the ſonnes of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ſlew *Caſtor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were ſlaine themſelues: *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Iupiter* with lightning.

Theſe and many other went with *Iaſon* in the ſhip *Argo*: in whoſe prowe was a table of the beech of *Dodona*, which could ſpeake. They arriued firſt at *Lemnos*; the women of which *Iland*, hauing ſlaine all the males, purpoſing to leade an *Amazonian* life, were neuertheleſſe contented to take their pleaſure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: ouer whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*: who entertained them friendly: but it ſo fell out, that looſing thence by night they were driuen by contrary windes backe into his port, neither knowing that it was the ſame Hauen, nor being knowne by the *Doliones*, to be the ſame men: but rather taken for ſome of their bordering enemies: by which meanes they fell to blowes, inſomuch that the *Argonautes* ſlew the moſt part of the *Doliones* together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceiued, with many teares they ſolemnized his funerall. Then departed they againe and arriued ſhortly in *Myſia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the ſonne of *Elates*, who went to ſeeke *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was rauiſhed by the *Nymphes*.

Polyphemus built a towne in *Myſia*, called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Myſia* the *Argonautes* ſailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryces*, the ancient inhabitants of the Countrey, ouer whom *Amycus* the ſonne of *Neptune* was then King. He being a ſtrong man, compelled all ſtrangers to fight with him, at whorlebats, in which kinde of fight he had ſlaine many, and was now himſelfe ſlaine by *Pollux*. The *Bebryces* in reuenge of his death flew all vpon *Pollux*, but his companions reſcued him, with great ſlaughter of the people. They ſailed from hence to *Salmydeſſus*, a towne in *Thrace* (ſomewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a Soothſayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were ſaid to be a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and foule long clawes, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furniſhed for *Phineus*, came flying in, and deuouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did ſo defile the reſt, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonautes* craued his aduiſe, and direction for their voyage: you ſhall doe well (quoth he) firſt of all to deliuer me from the *Harpyes*, and then afterwards to aske my counſaile. Whereupon they cauſed the table to be couered, and meat ſet on; which was no ſooner ſet downe, then that preſently in came the *Harpyes*, and played their accuſtomed prancks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged yong men ſaw this, they drew their ſwords, & purſued them through the ayre; ſome ſay that both the *Harpies* and the yong men died of wearineſſe in the fight, & purſuit. But *Apollonius* ſaith that the *Harpyes* did couenant with the youths, to doe no more harme to *Phineus*, and were thereupon diſmiſſed. For this good turn *Phineus* gaue them informations of the way, and aduertiſed them withall of the dangerous rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of winds running together, did ſhut vp the paſſage: wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them in the paſſage: & if that paſſed ſafe, then to aduenture after her: if not, then by no means to hazard themſelues in vain. They did ſo, & perceiuing that the pigeon had onely loſt a piece of her taile, they obſerued the next opening of the rocks, and then rowing with all their might, paſſed through ſafe, onely the end of the poope was bruiſed.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* haue ſtood ſtill: for the gods, ſay they, had decreed that after the paſſage of a ſhip, they ſhould be fixed. Thence the *Argonautes* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the riuer *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteouſly. Here *Idmon* a Soothſayer of their company was ſlaine by a wilde boare; alſo here *Typhis* died: and *Ancæus* vndertooke to ſteare the ſhip. So they paſſed by the riuer *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucaſus*, and came to the riuer *Phaſis*, which runs through the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the hauen, *Iaſon* went to *Æetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Commandement of *Pelias*, and cauſe of his comming, deſiring him to deliuer the golden Fleece, which *Æetes*, as the Fable goeth, promiſed to doe, if hee alone would yoake together two brazen hooft buls, and plowing the ground with them, ſowe dragons teeth, which *Minerua* had giuen to him, being part of thoſe which *Cadmus* did ſowe at *Thebes*. Theſe buls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had giuen them to *Æetes*.

Whileſt *Iaſon* was in a great perplexity about this taſke, *Medæa* the daughter of *Æetes*, fell into a moſt vehement loue of him, ſo farre foorth, that being excellent in *Magique*, ſhe came priuilie to him, promiſing her helpe, if he would aſſure her of his marriage. To this *Iaſon* agreed, and confirmed his promiſe by oath. Then gaue ſhe to him a medicine wherewith ſhe bad him to annoint both his body and his armour, which would preſerue him from their violence: further ſhe told him, that armed men would riſe out of the ground, from the teeth which he ſhould ſowe, and ſet vpon him. To remedy which inconuenience, ſhe bad him throw ſtones amongſt them as ſoone as they came vp thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in ſuch wiſe that hee might eaſily ſlay them. *Iaſon* followed her counſaile; whereto when the euent had anſwered, he againe demanded the Fleece. But *Æetes* was ſo farre from approuing ſuch his deſire, that he deuiſed how to deſtroy the *Argonautes*, and burne their ſhip; which *Medæa* perceiuing, went to *Iaſon*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oake in the groue of *Mars*, where they ſay it was kept by a Dragon, that neuer ſlept. This Dragon was by the *Magique* of *Medæa* caſt into a ſleepe: ſo taking away the golden Fleece, ſhe went with *Iaſon* into the ſhip *Argo*; hauing with her, her brother *Abſyrtus*.

Æetes vnderſtanding the practiſes of *Medæa*, prouided to purſue the ſhip, whom when *Medæa* perceiued to be at hand, ſhe ſlew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, ſhe ſcattered his limbs in diuers places, of which *Æetes* finding ſome, was faine to ſeeke out the reſt, and ſuffer his daughter to paſſe: the parts of his ſon he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the Greeke word ſignifieth *Diuiſion*. Afterwards he ſent many of his ſubiects to ſeeke the ſhip *Argo*, threatning that if they brought not backe *Medæa*, they ſhould ſuffer in her ſtead. In the meane while the *Argonautes* were driuen about the Seas, and were come to the Riuer *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italie*.

Iupiter, offended with the ſlaughter of *Abſyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempeſt, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the *Ilands Abſyrtides*, there the ſhip *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) ſpake to them, and ſaid, that the anger of *Iupiter* ſhould not ceaſe, till they came to *Auſonia*, and were clenſed by *Circe*, from the murther of *Abſyrtus*. Now they thereupon ſayling betweene the coaſts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and paſſing through the ſea of *Sardinia* and along the coaſt of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who clenſed them. Thence they ſayled by the coaſt of the *Syrens*, who ſang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other ſide ſang ſo well that he ſtayed them. Onely *Butes* ſwamme out vnto them, whom *Venus* rauiſhed, and carried to *Lylibæum* in *Sicilie* to dwell.

Hauing paſt the *Syrens*, they came betweene *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the ſtragling rocks which ſeemed to caſt out great ſtore of flames and ſmoake. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conueyed them ſafe through at the appointment of *Iuno*. So they coaſted *Sicilie* where the beeues of the Sunne were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Iland of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Meane while, the men of *Colchos*, that had beene ſent by *Æetes* in queſt of the ſhip of *Argo*, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betooke themſelues to new habitations: ſome of them dwelt in the mountaines of *Corcyra*, others in the Ilands *Abſyrtides*, and ſome comming to the *Phæaces*, there found the ſhip *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made anſwere, that if ſhe were not *Iaſons* wife, they ſhould haue her; but if ſhe were alreadie married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos* not daring to returne home, ſtayed with the *Phæaces*; ſo the *Argonautes* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iland, *Minos* reigned, who had a man of braſſe giuen to him (as ſome of the Fablers ſay) by *Vulcan*. This man had one veine in his body reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was cloſed vp with a brazen naile, his name was *Talus*: his cuſtome was to runne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When he ſaw the ſhip *Argo* paſſe by, he threw ſtones at it, but *Medæa* with her *Magique* deſtroyed him. Some ſay that ſhe ſlew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promiſing to make him immortall, ſhe drew out the naile that ſtopt his veine, by which meanes all his blood ranne out, and he died; others there are that ſay he was ſlaine by *Pæan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the *Argonautes* ſailed to *Ægina*, where they were faine to fight for freſh water. And laſtly, from *Ægina* they ſailed by *Eubœa* and *Locris* home to *Iolcos*, where they arriued, hauing ſpent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are that by this iourney of *Iaſon* vnderſtand the myſterie of the Philoſophers ſtone, called the golden Fleece, to which alſo, other ſuper-fine *Chymiſts* draw the twelue labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinkes that by the golden Fleece was meant a golden booke of Parchment, which is of ſheepe-skin, and therefore called golden, becauſe it was taught therein how other metals might be tranſmuted. Others would ſignifie by *Iaſon*, wiſedome, and moderation, which ouer-commeth all perils: but that which is moſt probable is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the ſtory of ſuch a paſſage was true, and that *Iaſon* with the reſt went indeede to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arriue by boate. For not farre from *Caucaſus* there are certaine ſteepe falling torrents which waſh downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world; and the people there inhabiting vſe to ſet many fleeces of wooll in thoſe deſcents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water paſſeth through, which *Strabo* witneſſeth to be true. The many rocks, ſtraits, ſands, and Currents, in the paſſage betweene *Greece* and the bottome of *Pontus*, are Poetically conuerted into thoſe fiery buls, the armed men riſing out of the ground, the Dragon caſt aſleepe, and the like. The man of braſſe, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and aduentures which they fell into in the *Mediterran* ſea, diſguiſed, as the reſt, by *Orpheus*, vnder poeticall morals: all which *Homer* afterward vſed (the man of braſſe excepted) in the deſcription of *Vlyſſes* his trauailes, on the ſame Inland-ſeas.

§. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholan, *and* Iair, *and of the Lapythæ, and of* Theſeus, Hyppolytus, *&c.*

AFter the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his baſe ſonne begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had beene made to his father by the people, who deſired to make him and his their perpetuall Princes; and as it ſeemeth, ſuppoſing (notwithſtanding his fathers religious modeſty) that ſome of his brethren might take on them the Soueraigntie, practiſed with the inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was natiue) to make election of himſelfe; who being eaſily moued with the glory, to haue a King of their owne, readily condeſcended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70. pieces of ſiluer of their idoll *Baalberith*, with which treaſure he hyred a company of looſe and deſperate vagabounds, to aſſiſt his firſt deteſtable enterpriſe, to wit, the ſlaughter of his 70. brethren, the ſonnes of *Gideon*, begotten on his wiues, of which he had many; of all which none eſcaped but *Iotham* the yongeſt, who hid himſelfe from his preſent furie: all which he executed on one ſtone, a cruelty exceeding all that hath beene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monſter that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whoſe reuenges are without date and for euerlaſting) neither hath it reſpect to nature, which laboureth the preſeruation of euery being: but it rageth alſo againſt her, though garniſhed with beautie which neuer dieth, and with loue that hath no end. All other

Iudg. 9.4.

Verſe 5.

paſſions and affections, by which the ſoules of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes reſiſted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth euery vice, and is it ſelfe the childe and darling of *Satan*, looketh onely towards the ends by it ſelfe ſet downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane ſo euer) which may ſerue it: remembring nothing, whatſoeuer iuſtice, pietie, right or religion can offer and alleadge on the contrary. It aſcribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the errour or weakeneſſe of the vndertakers, and rather praiſeth the aduenture than feareth the like ſucceſſe. It was the firſt ſinne that the world had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were caſt into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient then man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The puniſhment alſo preceded his creation, yet hath the Diuell which felt the ſmart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practiſe the other, as befitting euery age, and mans condition.

Iotham, the yongeſt of *Gideons* ſonnes, hauing eſcaped the preſent perill, ſought by his beſt perſwaſions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the aſſiſting of this mercileſſe tyrant, letting them know, that thoſe which were vertuous, and whom reaſon and religion had taught the ſafe and happy eſtate of moderate ſubiection, had refuſed to receiue as vnlawfull, what others had no power to giue, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to be gouerned. This hee taught them by the Oliue, which contented it ſelfe with its fatneſſe, the Figge tree with ſweeteneſſe, and the Vine with the good iuyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was moſt baſe, cut downe all the reſt, and accepted the Soueraigntie. He alſo foretold them by a Propheticall ſpirit, what ſhould befall them in the end, and how a fire ſhould come out of the Bramble, and conſume the *Cedars* of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an eaſie matter to call thoſe men backe whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the ſonne of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem*, from the ſeruice of *Abimelech*: who therefore after ſome aſſaults entred the place, and maſtered it; and in concluſion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worſhipped, and put all the people of all ſorts to the ſlaughter. Laſtly, in the aſſault of the Caſtle or Tower of *Teber*, himſelfe was wounded in the head with a ſtone throwne ouer the wall by a woman, and finding himſelfe mortally bruſed, he commanded his owne page to pierce his body, thereby to auoid the diſhonour of being ſlaine by ſo feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* vſurped the Gouernment, the *Lapithæ* and *Centaures* made war againſt the *Thebanes*. Theſe Nations were deſcended of *Apollo*, and were the firſt in thoſe parts that deuiſed to mannage horſes, to bridle and to ſit them: in ſomuch as when they firſt came downe from the mountaines of *Pindus*, into the plaines, thoſe which had neuer ſeene horſemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horſes; ſo did the *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the *Spaniard* firſt inuaded that Empire.

Palæphatus, l. 1 de incredib.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Thola* of *Iſſachar* gouerned *Iſrael* 23. yeeres, and after him *Iair* the *Gileadite* 22. yeeres, who ſeemes to be deſcended of *Iair* the ſonne of *Manaſſe*, who in *Moſes* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the ſame after his owne name, *Hauoth Iair*. For to this *Iair* there remained thirtie of thoſe Cities, which his anceſter had recouered from the *Amorites*. Of theſe Iudges, becauſe there is nothing elſe written, it is an argument that during all their times, *Iſrael* liued without diſturbance and in peace.

Deut. 3.14.
Num. 12.41.
Iudg. 10.

2901.

When *Iair* iudged *Iſrael*, *Priamus* began to reigne in *Troy*, who at ſuch time as *Hercules* ſacked *Ilium*, was carried away captiue with his ſiſter *Heſione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ranſome, he rebuilt and greatly ſtrenghened, and adorned *Troy*; and ſo farre inlarged his Dominions, as he became the ſupreame Lord in effect of all *Aſia* the leſſe. He married *Hecuba* the daughter of *Ciſſeus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (ſaith *Cicero*) fiftie ſonnes, whereof ſeauenteene by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recouer his aunt *Heſione*, tooke *Helena* the wife of *Menelaus*, the cauſe of the warre which followed.

In Tuſc.

Theſeus the tenth King of *Athens* began likewiſe to reigne in the beginning of *Iair*: ſome writers call him the ſonne of *Neptune* and *Æthra*: but *Plutark* in the Storie of his life finds him begotten by *Ægeus*, of whom the *Gracian* ſea betweene it and *Aſia* the leſſe tooke name. For when *Minos* had maſtered the *Athenians*, ſo far as he forſt them to pay him ſeuen of their ſonnes euery yeere for tribute, whom he incloſed within a *Labyrinth*, to be deuoured by the monſter *Minotaur*: becauſe belike the ſonnes of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Paſiphae* the Queene, had the charge of them: among theſe ſeuen *Theſeus* thruſt himſelfe, not doubting by his valour to deliuer the reſt, and to free his Countrie of that ſlauerie occaſioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos* his ſonne.

And hauing poſſeſt himſelfe of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he receiued from her a bottome of thred, by which he conducted himſelfe through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the Citie of *Crocodiles* in *Ægypt*; by meane whereof hauing ſlaine *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to returne. But whereas his father *Ægeus* had giuen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in ſafetie, he ſhould vſe a white ſaile in ſigne thereof, and not that mournefull blacke ſaile, vnder which they left the port of *Athens*. This inſtruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* deſcrying the Shippe of *Theſeus* with a blacke ſayle, did caſt himſelfe ouer the rockes downe into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the firſt famous acts of *Theſeus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a paſſage betweene *Megara* and the *Peloponneſian Iſthmos*, and threw all whom hee maſtered into the Sea, from the high rockes. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wreſtling, who vſed by that Art to kill others. Hee alſo ridde the Country of *Procruſtes*, who vſed to bend downe the ſtrong limbes of two trees, and faſtened by cordes ſuch as hee tooke, part of them to one and part to the other bough, and by the ſpringing vp tare them aſunder. So did he root out *Periphetes* and other miſchieuous theeues and murtherers. Hee ouerthrew the armie of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vaſtations, entred the Territorie of *Athens*. *Theſeus* hauing taken their Queene *Hippolita* priſoner, begat on her *Hippolytus*; with whom afterward his mother in law *Phædra*, falling in loue, and hee refuſing to abuſe his fathers bed, *Phædra* perſwaded *Theſeus* that his ſonne offred to force her: after which it is fained, that *Theſeus* beſought *Neptune* to reuenge this wrong of his ſonnes, by ſome violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of aduantage, ſent out his Sea-Calues, as *Hippolytus* paſſed by the ſea ſhore, and ſo affrighted his horſes, as caſting the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which miſerable and vndeſerued deſtinie, when *Phædra* had heard of, ſhe ſtrangled her ſelfe. After which it is fained, that *Diana* entreated *Æſculapius* to ſet *Hippolytus* his pieces together, and to reſtore him to life: which done, becauſe he was chaſte, ſhe led him with her into *Italie*, to accompanie her in her hunting; and field ſports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his Father ſought his life, thinking to eſcape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receiue many wounds in forcing his paſſage and eſcape; which wounds *Æſculapius*, to wit, ſome skilfull Phyſician, or Chirurgion healed againe; after which he paſſed into *Italy*, where he liued with *Diana*, that is, the life of a hunter, in which hee moſt delighted. But of thoſe auncient prophane Stories, *Plutarch* ſaith well, that as *Coſmographers* in their deſcriptions of the world, where they finde many vaſte places whereof they know nothing, fill the ſame with ſtrange beaſts, birdes, and fiſhes, and with *Mathematicall* lines; ſo doe the *Græcian* Hiſtorians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous diſcourſes. True it is, that *Theſeus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom hee made his patterne, and was the firſt that gathered the *Athenians*, from beeing diſperſed in thinne and ragged villages: in recompence whereof, and for deuiſing them lawes to liue vnder, and in order, hee was by the beggerly, mutable, and vngratefull multitude, in the end baniſhed. Some ſay *per Oſtraciſmum*, by the Law of Lottes, or names written on ſhelles, which was a deuice of his owne.

Hee ſtole *Helen* (as they ſay) when ſhe was fiftie yeers old, from *Aphidna*, which City *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ouerturned, when they followed after *Theſeus* to recouer their ſiſter. *Eraſiſtratus* and *Pauſanias* write that *Theſeus* begot her with childe at *Argos*, where ſhe erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that tale vnlikely to bee true, and ſo doth *Ouid*, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum, &c.* The rape *Euſebius* findes in the firſt of *Iair*, who gouerned *Iſrael* 22. yeeres, to whom ſucceeded *Iephta* or *Iepte* ſixe yeeres, to whom *Ibzan* who ruled ſeuen yeeres, and then *Habdon* eight yeeres: in whoſe time was the fall of *Troy*. So as, if *Theſeus* had a childe by her in the firſt of *Iair*, (at

Strab. lib. 9.
Pauſ. in Cor.
In Epiſt. Helen.
Iud. 10. 8.

which time wee muſt count her no leſſe than fifteene yeeres old, for the women did not commonly begin ſo young as they doe now) ſhe was then at leaſt two and fiftie yeeres old at the deſtruction of *Troy:* and when ſhee was ſtollen by *Paris* eight and thirtie: but herein the *Chronologers* doe not agree. Yet *Euſebius* and *Bunting* with *Halicarnaſſeus* doe in effect conſent, that the Citie was entred, and burnt in the firſt yere of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the ſucceſſor of *Mneſtheus*, the ſucceſſor of *Theſeus*, ſeuenteene dayes before the *Summer Tropique*; and that about the eleuenth of *September* following, the *Troians* croſt the *Helleſpont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next ſpring that they nauigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the ſecond yeere, the next ſummer they arriued at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lauinium*. But Saint *Auguſtine* hath otherwiſe, that when *Polyphides* gouerned *Sicyon*, *Mneſtheus Athens*, *Tautanes Aſſyria*, *Habdon Iſrael*, then *Æneas* arriued in *Italie*, tranſporting with him in twentie ſhippes the remainder of the *Troians:* but the difference is not great: and heereof more at large in the ſtorie of *Troy* at hand.

Bunt. Chron.
Euſeb. Chron.
Hal. l. 1.

Aug. de Ciu: Dei. l. 18. c. 19.

In *Sicyonia Phæſtus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeeres, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His ſucceſſours, *Adraſtus*, who reigned foure yeeres, and *Polyphides* who reigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of *Iair*, ſo is alſo *Mneſtheus* King of *Athens*, and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Poloponneſus*. In *Aſſyria*, during the gouernment of theſe two peaceable Iudges, *Mitreus* and after him *Tautanes* reigned. In *Ægypt Amenophis*, the ſonne of *Ramſes*, and afterwards *Annemenes*.

§. VII.
Of the warre of Thebes which was in this age.

IN this age was the warre of *Thebes*, the moſt ancient that euer *Greeke* Poet or Hiſtorian wrote of: Wherefore the *Roman* Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truelie againſt the *Peripatetickes*) that the world had a beginning, vrgeth them with this obiection.

———— Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumq; & mundi, ſemper que æterna fuêre,
Cur ſupra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troiæ,
Non alias alij quoque res cecinere poetæ?

If all this world had no originall,
 But things haue euer beene as now they are:
Before the ſiege of *Thebes* or *Troyes* laſt fall,
 Why did no Poet ſing ſome elder warre?

It is true that in theſe times *Greece* was very ſaluage, the inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the captaines of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon hee dwelt his owne longer than hee could hold it by ſtrong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourſe they vſed little, neither did they plant many trees, or ſow more corne than was neceſſary for their ſuſtenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who meaſures the valew of gold and braſſe by the worth in cattell; ſaying that the golden armor of *Glaucus* was worth an hundred Beeues, and the copper armour of *Diomede* worth nine.

Robberies by land and ſea were common and without ſhame, and to ſteale horſes or kine was the vſuall exerciſe of their great men. Their townes were not many, whereof thoſe that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycenæ* the principall Citie in *Peloponneſus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the reſt were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancie, and though in ſome ſmall townes of that halfe Ile of *Peloponneſus*, the inhabitants might haue enioyed quietneſſe within their narrow bounds; as likewiſe did the *Athenians* becauſe their Country was ſo barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in generall was very rude, i will eaſily appeare to ſuch as conſider, what *Thucidydes* the greateſt of their Hiſtorians hath written to this effect, in the præface to his Hiſtorie. Wherefore, as in theſe latte times, idle *Chroniclers* vſe when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great froſts, or dry ſummers, and other ſuch things which no man cares to reade; ſo did they who ſpake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember onely the great flouds which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*: or elſe rehearſe fables of men changed into birds, of ſtrange monſters, of adulterie committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that ſauoured of humanitie before the time of the warre of *Thebes*: the briefe whereof is this.

OEdipus the ſonne of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, hauing beene caſt forth when he was an infant, becauſe an *Oracle* foretold what euill ſhould come to paſſe by him, did afterwards in a narrow paſſage contending for the way, ſlay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward hee became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queene *Iocaſta*, called by *Homer Epicaſte*: on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two ſonnes, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceſſe of time, finding out by good circumſtances, who were his parents, hee vnderſtood the grieuous murther and inceſt hee had committed, hee tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife and mother did hang her ſelfe. Some ſay that *OEdipus* hauing his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly curſing his ſonnes becauſe they ſuffered their father to bee caſt out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howſoeuer it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them ſhould reigne one yeere, and the other another yeere; and ſo by courſe rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obſerued. For when *Polynices* had after a yeeres gouernment reſigned the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the firſt yeere, hee refuſed to giue ouer the rule to *Polynices*. Heereupon *Polynices* fledde vnto *Argos*, where *Adraſtus* the ſonne of *Talaus* then reigned, vnto whoſe palace comming by night, he was driuen to ſeeke lodging in an out-houſe, on the backeſide.

Hom.Odyſſ.11.

There he met with *Tydeus* the ſonne of *OEneus*, who was fledde from *Calydon*: with whom ſtriuing about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. *Adraſtus* hearing the noyſe, came forth and tooke vp the quarrell. At which time perceiuing in the ſhield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lyon, hee remembred an olde *Oracle*, by which he was aduiſed to giue his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly hee did beſtow his daughter *Argia* vpon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* vpon *Polynices*, promiſing to reſtore them both to their Countries. To this purpoſe leuying an armie, and aſſembling as many valiant Captaines as he could draw to follow him, he was deſirous among others to carrie *Amphiaraus* the ſonne of *Oicleus* a great Soothſayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaraus*, who is ſaide to haue foreſeene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines ſhould eſcape, ſaue onely *Adraſtus*, did both vtterly refuſe to be one in that expedition, and perſwaded others to ſtay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphiaraus*, offering vnto her a very faire bracelet, vpon condition that ſhee ſhould cauſe her husband to aſſiſt him. The Soothſayer knowing what ſhould worke his deſtinie, forbad his wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eye ſo precious a iewell, that ſhe could not refuſe it. Therefore whereas a great controuerſie, betweene *Amphiaraus* and *Adraſtus*, was by way of compromiſe put vnto the deciſion of *Eryphile*, eyther of them being bound by ſolemne oath to ſtand to her appointment: ſhee ordered the matter ſo, as a Woman ſhould that did loue a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was farre more eaſie to foreſee than auoide deſtinie, ſought for ſuch comfort as reuenge might afford him, giuing in charge vnto his ſonnes, that when they came to full age, they ſhould kill their mother, and make ſtrong warre vpon the *Thebanes*.

Now had *Adraſtus* aſſembled all his forces. of which, the ſeuen chiefe leaders were, himſelfe, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in ſtead of whom ſome name *Meciſteus*) all *Argiues*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Ætolian*, and *Parthenopæus* the *Arcadian* ſonne of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Armie came to the *Nemæan* Wood, they met a woman whom they deſired to helpe them to ſome water; ſhe hauing a childe in her armes, laid it downe, and led the *Argiues* to a ſpring: but ere ſhee returned, a Serpent had ſlaine the childe. This woman was *Hypſipyle* the daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom ſhee would haue ſaued when the women of the Ile ſlew all the males by conſpiracie, intending to leade an *Amazonian* life. For ſuch her pietie, the *Lemnian* wiues did ſell her to Pyrates, and the *Pyrates* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Country about *Nemæa*, whoſe young ſonne *Opheltes* or *Archemorus*, ſhe did nurſe, and loſt, as is ſhewed before. When vpon the childes death ſhee hid her ſelfe for feare of her maſter, *Amphiaraus* told her ſonnes where they ſhould finde her: and the *Argiues* did both kill the Serpent which had ſlaine the childe, and in memorie of the chance, did inſtitute ſolemne funerall games called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adraſtus* wanne the prize with his ſwift horſe *Arion*, *Tydeus* with whorlebats, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wreſtling, *Parthenopæus* at ſhooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the firſt inſtitution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus*, a *Lacedemonian*. Some ſay by *Hercules*, when he had ſlaine the *Nemæan* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is heere ſet downe.

From *Nemæa* the *Argiues* marching onwards, arriued at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them ſent Embaſſadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Couenants betweene him and *Polynices*. This meſſage was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was throughly reſolued to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiuing, and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the *Thebans*, he made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them, not without much enuy and malice of the people, who laid fiftie men in ambuſh to intercept him at his returne to the armie, of which fiftie he ſlew all but one, whom he ſent backe to the Citie as a reporter and witneſſe of his valour. When the *Argiues* vnderſtood how reſolued *Eteocles* was, they preſented themſelues before the Citie, and incamped round about it. *Thebes* is ſaid to haue had at that time ſeuen gates, which belike ſtood not far aſunder, ſeeing that the *Argiues* (who afterward when they were very farre ſtronger, could ſcarce muſter vp more thouſands then *Thebes* had gates) did compaſſe the towne. *Adraſtus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygian*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proëtis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electa*, and *Polynices* at *Hypſiſta*. In the meane ſeaſon, *Eteocles* hauing armed his men, and appointed Commanders vnto them, tooke aduiſe of *Tireſias* the Soothſayer, who promiſed victorie to the *Thebans*, if *Menæcius* the ſonne of *Creon* a principall man of the Citie, would vow himſelfe to be ſlaine in honour of *Mars* the god of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Diuell, and ſo enuious at his Creatours glory, that hee not onely challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and ſacrifice with all Diuine worſhip, but commandeth vs to offer our ſelues, and our children vnto him, when he hath ſufficiently clowded mens vnderſtanding, and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinde deuotion. And ſuch abominable ſacrifice of men, maides, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Galles*, *Germanes*, *Cyprians*, *Ægyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were moſt filled with ſuperſtition. But as they grew more wiſe, ſo did he waxe leſſe impudent in cunning, though not leſſe malicious in deſiring the continuance of ſuch barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without aduiſe of any *Oracle*, made the Idoll of that Country reſt contented with an Oxe in ſtead of a man. *Tiberius* forbad humane ſacrifices in *Africk*, and crucified the Prieſts in the groues where they had practiſed them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drowne men of hay in ſtead of the liuing: yet among the ſaluages in the Weſt *Indies* theſe cruell offerings haue beene practiſed of late ages: which as it is a ſufficient argument that *Satans* malice is onely couered and hidden by this ſubtiltie among ciuill people: ſo may it ſerue as a probable Coniecture of the barbariſmes then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menæcius*, as ſoone as he vnderſtood that his death might purchaſe victorie to his people, beſtowed himſelfe (as he thought) vpon *Mars*, killing himſelfe before the gates of the Citie. Then was a battaile fought, wherein the *Argiues* preuailed ſo farre at the firſt, that *Capaneus* aduancing ladders to the walls, got vp vpon the rampart: whence, when he fell or was caſt downe, or (as Writers haue it) was ſtricken down by *Iupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the *Argiues* fled. Many on each part were ſlaine in this battell, which cauſed both ſides to deſire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might trie out rhe quarrell in ſingle fight: whereto the two brethren according, ſlew each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the ſonnes of *Aſtacus* behaued themſelues very valiantly: *Iſmarus* one of the ſonnes ſlew *Hippomedon*, which was one of the ſeuen Princes: *Parthenopæus* being another of the ſeuen (who was ſaid to haue been ſo faire that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was ſlaine by *Amphidicus*, or as ſome ſay, by *Periclymenus* the ſonne of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought vnto him by *Amphiaraus*, which he cruelly tore open, and ſwallowed vp the braines. Vpon which fact, it is ſaid, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Iupiter* ſuch remedie for his wounds, as ſhould haue made him immortall, refuſed to beſtow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might hane continued immortall, did periſh through the beaſtly rage that he ſhewed at his death.

The hoaſt of the *Argiues* being wholly diſcomfited, *Adraſtus* and *Amphiaraus* fledde: of whom *Amphiaraus* is ſaid to haue beene ſwallowed quicke into the earth, neere to the riuer *Iſmenus*, together with his Chariot, and ſo loſt out of mens ſight, being peraduenture ouerwhelmed with dead carkaſſes, or drowned in the riuer: and his body neuer found, nor greatly ſought for. *Adraſtus* eſcaped on his good horſe *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where ſitting at an Altar called the Altar of Mercie, hee made ſupplication for their aide to recouer their bodies. For **Creon** hauing obtained the Gouernment of *Thebes* after the death of **Eteocles**, would not ſuffer the bodies of the *Argiues* to bee buried: but cauſed *Antigone*, the onely daughter then liuing of *OEdipus*, to bee buried quicke, becauſe ſhee had ſought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creons* Edict. The *Athenians* condeſcending to the requeſt of *Adraſtus*, did ſend foorth an Armie vnder the Conduct of *Theſeus*, which tooke *Thebes*, and reſtored the bodies of the *Argiues* to Sepulture: at which time *Euadne* the wife of *Capaneus*, threw her ſelfe into the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the ſonnes of thoſe Captaines which were ſlaine at *Thebes*, that any leſſe reuenge ſhould bee taken of their fathers death, then the ruine of the Citie: wherefore tenne yeere after hauing leuied forces, *Ægialeus* the ſonne of *Adraſtus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopæus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Therſander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Meciſteus*, marched thither vnder the conduct of *Alcmæon* the ſonne of *Amphiaraus*: with whom alſo went his brother *Amphiloctus*. *Apollo* promiſed victory if *Alcmæon* were their Captaine, whom afterward by another *Oracle* hee commanded to kill his owne mother.

When they came to the Citie, they were incountred by *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles* then King of the *Thebanes*, (for *Creon* was onely Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battaile, and ſlue *Ægialeus*, yet was he put to the worſt, and driuen to flie, or (according to *Apollodorus*) ſlain by *Alcmæon*. After this diſaſter the citizens began to deſire compoſition; but in the meane time they conuayed themſelues with their wiues & children away from thence by night, and ſo began to wander vp and downe, til at length they built the Town called *Eſtiæa*. The *Argiues*, when they perceiued that their enemies had quitted the Towne, entring into it, ſacked it, threw downe the walls, and layd it waſte; howbeit it is reported by ſome, that the Towne was ſaued by *Thirſander*, the ſonne of *Polynices*, who cauſing the Citizens to returne, did there reigne ouer them. That he ſaued the Citie from vtter deſtruction, it is very likely, for he reigned there, and led the *Thebanes* to the Warre of *Troy*, which very ſhortly after enſued.

§. VIII.

Of Iephta, *and how the three hundred yeeres which he ſpeaketh of*, Iud. 11. v. 28. *are to be reconciled with the places*, Act. 13. 20. 1. *Reg.* 6. 1. *together with ſome other things touching Chronologie about theſe times.*

AFter the death of *Iair* (neere about whoſe times theſe things hapned in *Greece*, & during whoſe gouernment, & that of *Thola*, *Iſrael* liued in peace & in order) they reuolted again from the law & ſeruice of God, and became more wicked & idolatrous than euer. For whereas in the former times they worſhipped *Baal* & *Aſteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen nations adioyning, and imbraced the idolls of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites* & *Ammonites*: with thoſe of the *Philiſtims*. And as before it pleaſed God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: ſo now he ſcourged them by the * *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philiſtims*.

Now among the *Iſraelites*, thoſe of *Gilead* being moſt oppreſt, becauſe they bordered

vpon

Iud. 10.

* The perſecutió of the *Ammonites* laſted 18. yeeres, and ended in the yeere of the World 2820. in which yeere *Iephta* began.

Iud. 11.

vpon the *Ammonites*, they were inforſt to ſeeke *Iephta*, whom they had formerly deſpiſed and caſt from them, becauſe he was baſe borne; but he (notwithſtanding thoſe former iniuries) participating more of godly compaſſion, than of diueliſh hatred and reuenge, was content to leade the *Gileadites* to the Warre, vpon condition that they ſhould eſtabliſh him their Gouernour after victory. And when hee had diſputed with *Ammon* for the Land, diſproued *Ammons* right, and fortified the title of *Iſrael* by many arguments, the ſame preuailing nothing, he began the warre; and being ſtrengthened by God, ouerthrew them: and did not onely beate them out of the plaines, but forſt them ouer the mountaines of *Arabia*, euen to *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities expreſt heretofore in the deſcription of the holy Land. After which victory it is ſaid, that he performed the vaine vow which he made, to ſacrifice the firſt liuing creature hee incountred, comming out of his houſe to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience ſubmitted her ſelfe, and onely deſired two moneths time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of *Gilead*; becauſe in her the iſſues of her Father ended: but the other opinion that ſhee was not offered, is more probable, which *Borrhæus* and others proue ſufficiently.

Iud. 11. 33.

Bor. in Iud.

After theſe things the children of *Iſrael*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either enuious of *Iephta's* victorie, or otherwiſe making way to their future calamitie, and to the moſt grieuous ſlauery that euer *Iſrael* ſuffered, quarrelled with *Iephta*, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had conteſted with *Gideon*. *Iephta* hereupon enforced to defend himſelfe againſt their fury, in the incounter ſlew of them two and forty thouſand, which ſo weakened the bodie of the Land, as the *Philiſtims* had an eaſie conqueſt of them all not long after: *Iephta*, after he had iudged *Iſrael* ſixe yeeres, died: to whom ſucceeded 2925. *Ibzan*, who ruled ſeuen yeeres: after him *Elon* was their Iudge tenne yeeres: in all 2942. which time *Iſrael* had peace. *Euſebius* findes not *Elon*, whom hee calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approued in his time, this Iudge was omitted.

Iud. 12.

Now before I goe on with the reſt, it ſhall be neceſſary vpon the occaſion of *Iephta's* account of the times *Iud.* 11. 28. (where he ſayes that *Iſrael* had then poſſeſt the Eaſt ſide of *Iordan* 300. yeeres) to ſpeake ſomwhat of the times of the Iudges, and of the differing opinions among the Diuines & Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point ſeeming repugnant, or diſagreeing: the firſt is in this diſpute betweene *Iephta* and *Ammon*, for the right and poſſeſſion of *Gilead*: the ſecond is that of S. *Paul*, *Acts* 13. the third is that which is in the firſt of *Kings*. *Iephta* heere challengeth the poſſeſſion of *Gilead* for 300. yeers: Saint *Paul* giueth to the *Iudges*, as it ſeemes, from the end of *Ioſua*, to the laſt of *Heli*, 450. yeeres. In the firſt of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*, to the foundation of *Salomons* Temple, there were conſumed 480. yeeres. To the firſt *Beroaldus* findeth *Iephta's* 300. yeeres to be but 266. yeeres, to wit, 18. of *Ioſua*, 40. of *Othoniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Debora*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Iair*: But *Iephta* (ſaith *Beroaldus*) putteth or propoſeth a certaine number, for an vncertaine: *Sic vt dicat annum agi propè trecenteſimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re mouerit Iſraeli; So hee ſpeaketh* (ſaith he) *as meaning, that then it was about or wel-nigh the three hundreth yeere, ſince Iſrael poſſeſſed thoſe Countries, no man making queſtion of their right.* *Codeman* on the contrary findes more yeeres than *Iephta* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were ſpent in *Iſraels* captiuity, at ſeuerall times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Iephta* forbare to repeate the whole ſumme or any great part, leſt the *Ammonite* ſhould haue iuſtly obiected, that 71. of thoſe yeeres, the *Iſraelites* were in captiuitie and vaſſals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred yeeres, it was enough for preſcription, hee omitted the reſt.

Iud. 11. 28.

Act. 13. 20.
1 *Kings* 6. 1.

Id facit, numero certo pro incerto, propoſito.

To iuſtifie this account of 365. yeeres, beſides the 71. yeeres of captiuity or affliction, to bee added to *Beroaldus* his 266. hee addeth alſo 28. yeeres more, and ſo maketh vp the ſumme of 365. Theſe 28. yeeres hee findeth out thus: twenty yeeres hee giues to the *Seniors* betweene *Ioſua* and *Othoniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth eighteene yeeres to *Ioſua* his gouernment, *Codoman* accounts that his rule laſted 26. according to *Ioſephus*; whereas Saint *Auguſtine* and *Euſebius* giue him 27. *Melanchton* 32. The trueth is, that this addition of 28. yeeres is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though wee admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of ſome part of the yeeres of affliction (to wit, 34. yeeres of the 71.) if wee adde them to the 266. yeeres of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of theſe, wee haue the iuſt number of 300. yeeres. Neither is it ſtrange that *Iephta* ſhould leaue out more then halfe of theſe yeeres of affliction: ſeeing, as it is already ſaid, the *Ammonites* might except againſt theſe 71. yeeres, and ſay, that during theſe yeeres, or at leaſt a good part of them, the *Iſraelites* had no quiet poſſeſſion of the Countries in queſtion. *Martin Luther* is the Author of a third opinion, making thoſe 300. yeeres remembred by *Iephta*, to be 306. which odde yeeres, ſaith hee, *Iephta* omitteth. But becauſe the yeeres of euery Iudge as they reigned, cannot make vp this number of 306.: but doe onely compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* adde to this number, the whole time which *Moſes* ſpent in the *Deſarts* of *Arabia Petræa*; which fortie yeeres of *Moſes* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth, of 266. make indeede 306.

But I ſee nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* iudgement herein: for in the diſpute betweene *Iephta* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the perſon of *Ammon* in theſe words: *Becauſe Iſrael tooke my Land, when they came vp from Ægypt, from Arnon vnto Iaboc, &c. now therefore reſtore thoſe Lands quietly* or in peace. So by this place it is plaine that the time is not to bee accounted from *Moſes* departure out of *Ægypt*: but from the time that the Land was poſſeſt. For it is ſaid, *Quià cepit Iſrael terram meam*; *Becauſe Iſrael tooke my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Iephas* anſwere alſo confirmeth in theſe words: *When Iſrael dwelt in Heſhbon, and in her Townes, and in Aroer & in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coaſt of Arnon 300. yeeres: why did ye not then recouer them in that ſpace?* ſo as this place ſpeakes it directly, that *Iſrael* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. yeers: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that *Iſrael* had to poſſeſſe it, it ſeemeth ſomewhat ſtrained to me; for we doe not vſe to reckon the time of our conqueſts in *France*, from our Princes intents or purpoſes, but from their victories and poſſeſſions.

Iud. 11.28.

Iunius neuertheleſſe likes the opinion of *Luther*, and ſayes, that this time of 300. yeeres hath reference, and is to take beginning from the firſt of *Iephtas* narration: when hee makes a briefe repetition of *Moſes* whole iourney: to wit, at the ſixteenth Verſe of the eleuenth Chapter of *Iudges*, in our tranſlation in theſe words: *But when Iſrael came vp from Ægypt, &c.* and therefore *Moſes* his 40. yeers (as he thinkes) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeeres: and not onely the time in which *Iſrael* poſſeſt *Gilead*, according to the Text and *Ieptas* owne words: of which I leaue the iudgement to others; to whom alſo I leaue to iudge, whether we may not beginne the 480. yeeres, from the deliuerance out of *Ægypt* to the Temple, euen from the firſt departure out of *Ægypt*, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of Saint *Pauls* and *Iephtas* account with this reckoning, than any of thoſe that as yet haue beene ſignified. For firſt, touching *Iephtas* three hundred yeeres of poſſeſſion of the Eaſt ſide of *Iordan*, it is to bee remembred, that for a good while before the *Iſraelites* poſſeſſed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had diſpoſſeſſed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: ſo that when the *Iſraelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of poſſeſſion which they had, paſſed to *Iſrael*; and ſo *Iephta* might ſay that they had poſſeſſed thoſe Countries 300. yeeres, reckoning 266. yeeres of their own poſſeſſion, and the reſt of the poſſeſſion of the two Kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whoſe right the *Iſraelites* had by the law of conqueſt.

Iunius in the 11. of *Iud. not.*

The ſecond place diſputed in this of S. *Paul*, *Act.* 13. that from the end of *Ioſua* to the beginning of *Samuel*, there paſt 450, yeeres. And this place *Luther* vnderſtandeth alſo beſides the letter (as I finde his opinion cited by *Functius Krentzhemius*, and *Beza*) for I haue not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moſes*, to the laſt yeere of *Heli*, but 357. yeeres: and this he doth the better to approue the times from the egreſſion out of *Ægypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the firſt *King.* 6. is ſaid to be 480. yeeres.

Reade the 24. of *Ioſua*, and the 2 *Iud.* 7. *Funct. Chron. fol.*4. *Beza* in his Annotations vpon the 13. of the *Act. v.* 20.

Now foraſmuch as S. *Paul* (as it ſeemes) findes 450. yeeres from the death of *Ioſua*, to the laſt of *Heli*, and leaues but thirty yeeres for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who gouerned 40. for *Dauid* who ruled 40. and for *Salomon* who wore the Crowne three whole yeeres ere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of S. *Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward hee gaue vnto them Iudges about 450. yeeres, vnto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*: the words *then afterward*, being cleerely referred to the death or after the death

Acts 13.20.

of *Ioſua*, as ſhall bee heereafter proued. But where Saint *Luke* rehearſing the words of Saint *Paul*, wrote 350. yeeres (ſaith *Luther*) the Scribe in the tranſcription being deceiued by the affinitie of thoſe two *Greeke* words, whereof the one ſignifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracoſiois*, for *Triacoſiois*; 400. yeeres, for 300. yeers; and 450. for 350. This he ſeeketh to ſtrengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary iudgement to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moſes* death, hee takes his account from the death of *Ioſua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. yeeres: to wit: of the *Iudges* (not reckoning *Sampſons* yeeres) 319. and of yeeres of ſeruitude and affliction vnder ſtrangers, 111. The reaſon why he doth not reckon *Sampſons* twenty yeeres, is becauſe hee thinkes that they were part of the 40. yeeres, in which the *Philiſtims* are ſaid to haue *Iud. 13.* oppreſſed *Iſrael*. For it is plaine, that during all *Samſons* time they were Lords ouer *Iſrael*. *Iud. 15. 11.* So then of the Iudges, beſides the 111. yeeres of ſeruitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I haue ſaid) 319. yeeres, which two ſummes put together make 430. yeeres, and whereas Saint *Paul* nameth 450. yeeres, hee findes 20. yeeres to make vp Saint *Pauls* number, to haue beene ſpent after the death of *Ioſua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captiuitie of *Cuſhan*, or the election of *Othoniel*: which 20. yeeres added to 430. make 550. according to Saint *Paul*. To approoue this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Ioſua*, and the ſecond of *Iudges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Iſrael ſerued the Lord all the daies of* Ioſhua, *and all the daies of the Elders that ouer-liued* Ioſhua: ſo as to theſe times of the Elders, *Codoman* giueth 20. yeeres, which make as before 450. according to Saint *Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficultie in this opinion, if heere alſo the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors*, betweene *Ioſua* and *Othoniel*, ſhould be denied. For they which denie theſe yeeres, and make *Othoniels* 40. to beginne preſently vpon the death of *Ioſua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning they haue 20. yeeres leſſe than *Codoman*, ſo toward the end of it (when they reckon the yeeres of affliction apart from the yeeres of the *Iudges*) in the number of *Sampſons* yeeres, and of the 40. yeeres of the *Philiſtims* oppreſſing the *Iſraelites*, they haue 20. yeeres more than *Codoman*. For they reckon theſe 40. yeeres of oppreſſion all of them a-part from *Sampſons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is ſaid, makes *Sampſons* 20. to bee the one halfe of the 40. of the *Philiſtims* oppreſſions; ſo that if the 20. yeeres of the *Seniors*, be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text ſeemes to inforce) that the *Philiſtims* in any *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampſon* iudged *Iſrael*, vexed the *Iſraelites* 40. yeeres, beſides the 20. while *Sampſon* was their *Iudge*; and ſo the reckoning will come to 450. yeeres betweene the end of *Ioſua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors*, betweene *Ioſua* and *Othoniel*: For, if the times of their affliction be ſummed, they make 111. yeeres, to which if we adde the yeeres of the *Iudges*, which are 339. wee haue the iuſt ſumme of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may ſeeme to bee much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we ſhould admit of their correction thereof, and reade with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceiue that this time of 350. yeeres, is to beginne immediately, or ſoone after the death of *Moſes*: certainely the place of Saint *Paul* doth euidently teach the contrary, though it bee receiued for true that there was *vitium ſcriptoris* in the reſt. For theſe be Saint *Pauls* words: *And about the time of fortie yeeres, God ſuffered their manners in the wilderneſſe: And hee deſtroyed ſeuen Nations in the Land of Canaan, and diuided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward hee gaue vnto them Iudges about* 450. *yeeres, vnto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet.* So as firſt in the eighteenth verſe hee ſpeaketh of *Moſes* and of his yeeres ſpent in the wilderneſſe, then in the ninteenth verſe hee commeth vnto the acts of *Ioſua*; which *Ioſ. 14. 1.* were, that hee deſtroyed ſeuen Nations in the land of *Canaan*, and diuided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth verſe it followeth: *Then afterward hee gaue them Iudges about* 450. *yeeres, &c.* and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moſes*, is wide of Saint *Pauls* meaning, ſo farre as my weake vnderſtanding can pierce it. The only inconuenience of any waight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is, that it ſeemes irreconciliable with the account, 1. *Reg.* 6. 11. For if indeede there were ſpent 450. yeeres betweene the end of *Ioſua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there muſt needs be much more than 480. yeeres between the beginning of the *Iſraelites* iourneying from *Ægypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Salomon*. To this difficultie

Codoman anſwereth, that theſe 480. yeeres, 1.*Reg.6.1.* muſt begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their iourneying from *Ægypt*, which he makes to be 25. yeeres after the beginning of *Othoniels* gouernment; from whence if wee caſt the yeeres of the *Iudges*, with the yeeres of ſeruitude (which ſummes according to his account, of which we haue already ſpoken, make 397. yeeres) and ſo to theſe yeeres adde the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *Dauid*, and the 3. of *Salomon*, wee ſhall haue the iuſt ſumme of 480. yeeres. Neither is it hard (ſaith hee) that the *annus egreſsionis*, 1.*Reg.6.1.* ſhould be vnderſtood *egreſsionis non incipientis ſed finitæ*, the yeere of their comming out of *Ægypt* (for ſo it is in the originall) or the yeere after they came out of *Ægypt*, may well be vnderſtood for the yeere after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For ſo wee finde that things which were done 40. yeeres after they had ſet foot out of *Ægypt*, are ſaid to haue been done in their going out of *Ægypt*, as *Pſal.* 114. *When Iſrael came out of Ægypt, Iordan was driuen backe*, and *Deut.* 4.45. *Theſe are the teſtimonies which* Moſes *ſpake when they came out of Ægypt.* And thus farre it ſeemes wee may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quùm exiuiſſent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Iunius*, *Deut.*4.45. doe well reade *quum exiuiſſent*, for *in exitu*, as it ſeemes that heerein he doth well, why may not we alſo, to auoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *poſtquàm exiuiſſent?*

The next point to be cleered, is how their iourneying ſhould be ſaid not to haue had end vntill the 25. yeere after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* anſwereth, that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not vntill this time: at which time the *Danites* at length ſeated themſelues, as it is declared *Iud.* 18. For doubtleſſe to this time the expedition may moſt conueniently be referred. And thus without any great inconuenience to him appearing doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Iephta*, and S. *Paul*, with that in the firſt of *Kings*, *c.6.* Now whereas it is ſaid that the expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Iſrael*: to this *Codoman* anſwereth, that it is not neceſſary that wee ſhould ſuppoſe that *Othoniel* liued all thoſe 40. yeeres of reſt, of which *Iud.* 3.11. ſo that by the 25. yeere after his victory, either he might haue beene dead, or at leaſt, as *Gideon* did, hee might haue refuſed all ſouereignty, and ſo either way it might truly be ſaid that at this time (to wit, the 25. yeere after *Othoniels* victorie) there was no King in *Iſrael*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as conſonant to other *Chronologers* grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indiſputable, as it is in it ſelfe round enough and coherent, might perhaps bee receiued as good: eſpecially conſidering, that the ſpeeches of S. *Paul* haue not otherwiſe found any interpretation, maintaining them as abſolutely true, in ſuch manner as they ſound, and are ſet down. But ſeeing that he wanteth all helpe of authority, we may iuſtly ſuſpect the ſuppoſition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being ſuch as the conſent of many Authors would hardly ſuffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conqueſt of *Laiſh*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the fiue and twentieth yeere of *Othoniel?* Or what other probability hath he than his owne coniecture, to ſhew that *Othoniel* did ſo renounce the office of a Iudge after fiue and twenty yeeres, that it might then be truely ſaid there was no King in *Iſrael*, but euery man did that which was good in his owne eyes?

Iud.18.1.

Now concerning the rehearſall of the Law by *Moſes*, and the ſtopping of *Iordan*; they might indeed be properly ſaid to haue beene, when *Iſrael* came out of *Ægypt*; like as wee ſay that King *Edward* the firſt was crowned when hee came out of the holie Land, for ſo all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place eyther whence or whither they tend. But I thinke that hee can finde no ſuch phraſe of ſpeech in Scripture as limiteth a iourney by an accident, or ſaith by conuerting the propoſition, when *Iordan* was turning backe, *Iſrael* came out of *Ægypt.* Indeed moſt vnproper it were to giue date vnto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finiſhed long before, namely to ſay, that King *Edward* at his arriuall out of *Palæſtina*, did winne *Scotland*, or died at *Carlile*. How may wee then beleeue that enterprize performed ſo many yeeres after the diuiſion of the Land (which followed the conqueſt at the iourneys end) ſhould be ſaid to haue been at the time of the departure out of *Ægypt?* Or who will not thinke it moſt ſtrange, that the moſt notable account of time, ſeruing as the onelie guide for certaine ages in ſacred *Chronologie*, ſhould not take name and beginning from that illuſtrious deliuerance out of *Ægypt*, rehearſed often by God himſelfe among the principall of his benefits to *Iſrael*, whereof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewiſe are the yeere and moneth wherein it expired) and the forme of the yeere vpon that occaſion changed; but ſhould haue reference to the ſurprizing of a Town by ſixe huudred men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and ſtole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to worke in Gods name? For this accident whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time giuen to it, or a time farre different from that which he ſuppoſeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in ſuch a yeere, becauſe it beſt ſtood with his interpretation ſo to haue it, than for any certainety or likelihood of the thing it ſelfe.

Wherefore we may beſt agree with ſuch as affirme that the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* did not herein labour to ſet downe the courſe of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpoſe) but onely to ſhew that God, who had choſen *Iſrael* to be his people, deliuered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Iudges* and *Prophets*, vnto the time of *Saul*, did raiſe vp our *Lord Ieſus Chriſt* out of the ſeede of *Dauid* the King, in whoſe ſucceſſion the Crowne was eſtabliſhed, and promiſe made of a Kingdome that ſhould haue no end. Now in rehearſing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein hee ſheweth Chriſt to haue beene the true *Meſsias*) the Apoſtle was ſo farre from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the Hiſtory being ſo well knowne and beleeued of the *Iewes* to whom he preached) that he ſpake as it were at large of the 40. yeeres conſumed in the wilderneſſe, whereof no man doubted, ſaying that God ſuffered their manners in the wilderneſſe about 40. yeeres. In like manner he proceeded, ſaying, that from the diuiſion of the Land vnto the dayes of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whoſe time they required to haue a King, there paſſed about 450. yeers. Neither did he ſtand to tell them, that an hundred and eleuen yeeres of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeeres of the *Iudges*: for this had beene an impertinent digreſſion from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is not a worke ſo needfull as laborious, to ſearch out of this place that which the Apoſtle did not heere intend to teach, when the ſumme of 480. yeeres is ſo expreſly and purpoſely ſet downe.

Acts 13.

1. King.6.

Now that the words of S. *Paul* (if there be no fault in the Copie through errour of ſome Scribe) are not ſo curiouſly to be examined in matter of *Chronologie*, but muſt be taken, as hauing reference to the memorie and apprehenſion of the vulgar, it is euident by his aſcribing in the ſame place 40. yeers to the reigne of *Saul*: whereas it is manifeſt that thoſe yeeres were diuided betweene *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that farre the greater part of them were ſpent vnder the gouernment of the Prophet, how ſoeuer they are heere included in the reigne of the King. As for thoſe that with ſo much cunning forſake the generall opinion, when it fauoureth not ſuch expoſition as they bring out of a good minde, to helpe where the need is not ouer-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of S. *Paul* were ſufficiently iuſtified by *Beroaldus*, as hauing reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in thoſe dayes, that the 111. yeeres of ſeruitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. yeeres aſcribed to the *Iudges*; which account the Apoſtle would not in this place ſtand to contradict, but rather choſe to ſpeake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quaſi*, where he ſaith, *quaſi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; *As it were foure hundred and fifty yeeres*. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needs haue it be ſo indeed, and therefore diſ-ioynes the members to make the account euen. In ſo doing he daſheth himſelfe againſt a notable Text, whereupon all Authors haue builded (as well they might and ought) that purpoſely and preciſely doth caſt vp the yeeres from the departure out of *Ægypt*, vnto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it ſelfe.

Now (as commonly the firſt apprehenſions are ſtrongeſt) hauing already giuen faith to his owne interpretation of Saint *Paul*, he thinketh it more needfull to finde ſome new expoſition for that which is of it ſelfe moſt plaine, and to examine his owne coniecture vpon a place that is full of controuerſie. Thus by expounding, after a ſtrange methode, that which is manifeſt by that which is obſcure, he loſeth himſelfe in thoſe waies wherein before him neuer man walked. Surely if one ſhould vrge him to giue reaſon of theſe new opinions, he muſt needs anſwere, That *Othoniel* could not gouerne aboue 25. yeres, becauſe then was the taking of *Laiſh*, *at which time there was no King in Iſrael*; That the

Danites muſt needs haue taken *Laiſh* at that time, becauſe elſe we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might bee termed the comming of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*, without excluding the yeeres of ſeruitude; And that the yeeres of ſeruitude muſt needs be included, for that otherwiſe hee himſelfe ſhould haue ſpent his time vainely, in ſeeking to pleaſure S. *Paul* with an expoſition. Whether this ground be ſtrong enough to vphold a Paradoxe, I leaue it to the deciſion of the iudicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our ſtorie. To the time of *Iephta* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the prouiſions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ*, made for her recouerie. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth yeere of *Ibzan*: from which time, if the Warre of *Troy* (as they ſuppoſe) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greekes* had ſixe yeres to prepare themſelues: the rule holding not true in this War, *longa præparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; *That a long preparation begets a ſpeedy victorie*: for the *Greekes* conſumed tenne yeeres in the attempt: and *Troy*, as it ſeemes, was entred, ſackt and burnt in the third yeere of *Habdon*.

Three yeeres after *Troy* taken, which was in the ſixt yeere of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arriued in *Italie*. *Habdon* in the eighth yeere of his rule, died, after hee had beene the Father of 40. ſonnes and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is ſuppoſed, that the 40. yeeres of *Iſraels* oppreſſion by the *Philiſtims* (of which *Iud.* 13. *v.* 1.) tooke beginning from the ninth yeere of *Iair*, and ended with the laſt of *Habdon*: I ſee no reaſon for that opinion. *Iud.12.14.* For *Ephraim* had had little cauſe of quarrell againſt *Iephta*, for not calling them to War ouer *Iordan*, if the *Philiſtims* had held them in ſeruitude in their owne Territories: and if *Ephraim* could haue brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppreſt: and had it beene true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather haue fought againſt the *Philiſtims* with ſo powerfull an Armie for their owne deliuerance, than againſt their owne brethren the *Iſraelites*? But *Ammon* being ouerthrowne, it ſeemed at that time, that they feared no other enemie. And therefore theſe 40. yeres muſt either be ſupplied elſewhere, as in the time of *Sampſon*, and afterward: or elſe they muſt be referred to the *inter-regnum* betweene the death of *Habdon*, and the deliuerance of *Iſrael* by *Sampſon*, ſuch as it was.

Chap. XIIII.

Of the Warre of Troy.

§. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they haue obſerued Hiſtoricall truth.

THE Warre at *Troy* with other ſtories hereupon depending (becauſe the ruine of this Citie, by moſt *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon*, *Iudge* of *Iſrael*, whom in the laſt place I haue mentioned) I rather chooſe here to intreat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineall deſcent of their Princes, than to breake the ſtory into pieces by rehearſing a-part in diuers yeeres, the diuerſitie of occurrents.

The Hiſtorie of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is vncertaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) tooke from *Beroſus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it reſts vpon the authority of *Virgil*, who ſaith thus:

Creta Iouis *magni medio iacet inſula Ponto:* *Æneid.3.*
Mons Idæus vbi, & gentis cunabula noſtræ.

Centum Vrbes habitant magnas, vberrima regna:
Maximus vnde Pater (ſi ritè audita recordor)
Teucrus *Rhœteas primùm eſt aduectus ad oras:*
Optauitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arces
Pergameæ ſteterant: habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaq; æra,
Idæumq; nemus.

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie:
Where *Ioue* was borne, thence is our progenie.
There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land
An hundreth great and goodly Cities ſtand.
Thence (if I follow not miſtaken fame)
Teucer the eldeſt of our grand-ſires came
To the Rhœtean ſhores: and reigned there
Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere
The Towers of Troy: their dwelling place they ſought
In loweſt vales. Hence *Cybels* rites were bought:
Hence *Corybantian Cymbales* did remoue:
And hence the name of our *Idæan* groue.

Thus it ſeemeth by *Virgil*, who followed ſurely good authoritie, that *Teucer* firſt gaue name to that Countrie, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the ſame booke he ſpeakes thus:

Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atq; vbere glebæ,
OEnotrij coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ ſedes: hinc Dardanus *ortus:*
Iaſiuſq; Pater, genus à quo Principe noſtrum.

Heſperia the *Græcians* call the place:
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race,
OEnotrians held it; now the later progenie
Giues it their Captaines name, and calls it *Italie*;
This ſeate belongs to vs, hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the Author of our ſtocke, *Iaſius*.

Alſo *Aeneid. l. 7.*

Atq; equidem memini (fama eſt obſcurior annis)
Auruncos ita ferre ſenes, hic ortus vt agris
Dardanus *Idæas Phrygiæ penetrauit ad vrbes,*
Threiciamq; Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab ſede profectum,
Aurea nunc ſolio ſtellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

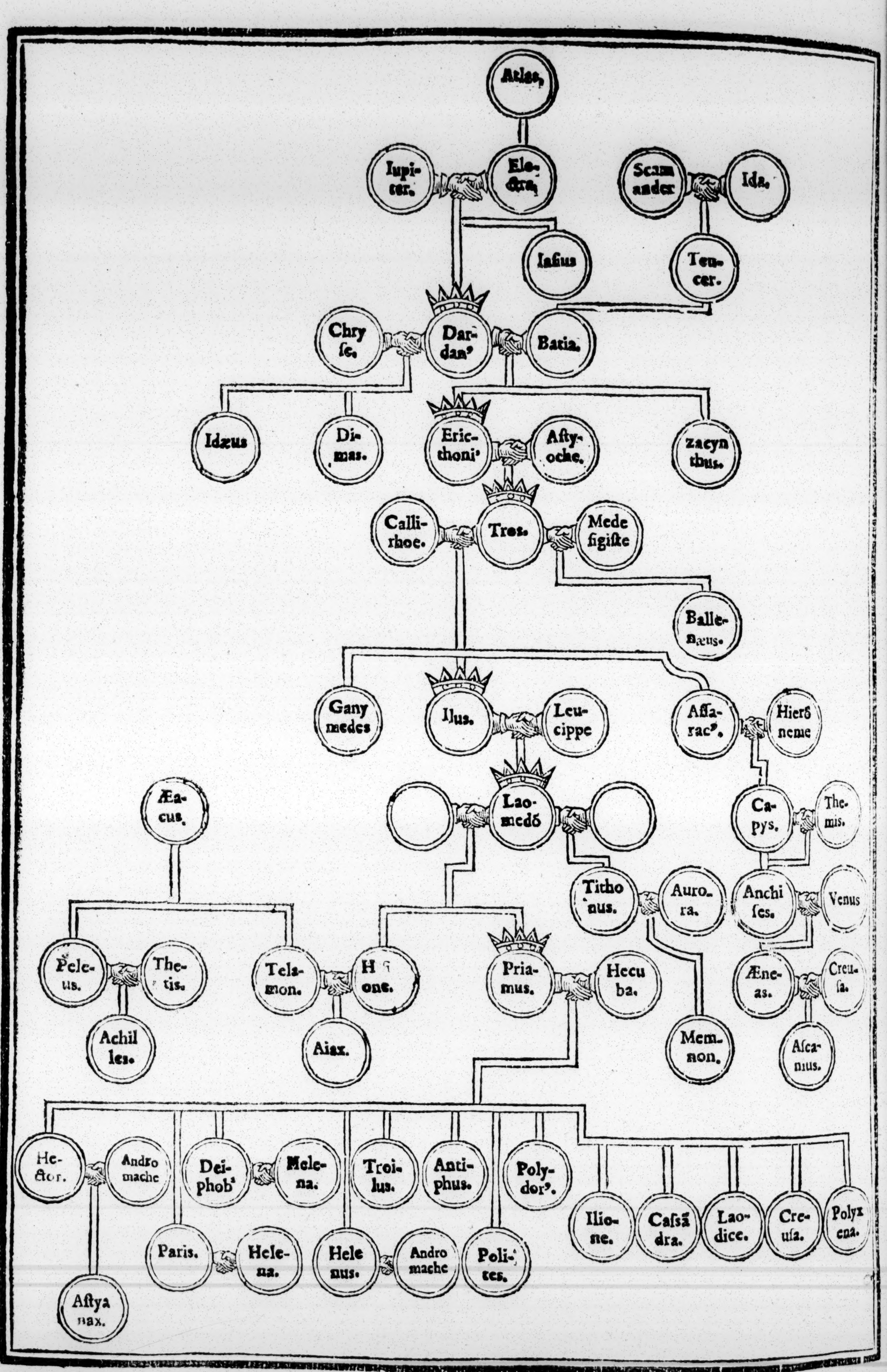
Some old *Aruncans*, I remember well,
(Though time haue made the fame obſcure) would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how borne in *Italie*:
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leauing *Tuſcaine* (where he earſt had place)
With *Corytus* did ſaile to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he ſits on high,
In golden Palace of the ſtarrie skie.

But contrarie to this, and to ſo many Authors, approuing and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinkes that theſe names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, and *Thraces*, are deriued from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the ſon of *Iaphet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Myſians*, & *Aſcanians*, mixt with the *Troians*, were

were *Germane* Nations, deſcended from *Aſhkenaz*, the ſonne of *Gomer*: of whom the Countrie, Lake, and Riuer of *Aſcanius* in *Aſia* tooke name. That *Aſhkenaz* gaue name to thoſe places and people, it is not vnlikely: neither is it vnlikely, that the *Aſcanij*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times paſſe into *Europe*: that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tiras*, the coniecture is ſomewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnaſſæus* makes him an *Athenian*, I finde none that follow him in the ſame opinion. *Virgil* (as is before ſhewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*, whoſe authority is the more to be regarded, becauſe he had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully ſought, and in this did follow, ſeeing it no way concerned *Auguſtus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, and others that thinke him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Sonne of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Countrie, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the ſecond wife of *Dardanus*, founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further thinkes that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gaue his Daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that theſe were Parents to *Chryſe*, firſt wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwiſe, and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the ſonne of *Electra* by *Iupiter*, which *Electra* was the Daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*, to whom ſhe bare *Iaſius*. *Annius* out of his *Beroſus* finds the name of *Camboblaſcon*, to whom he giues the addition of *Coritus*, as a Title of dignitie, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Iaſius*; and further telling vs very particularly of the faction betweene theſe Brethren, which grew to ſuch heate, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obſcuritie of the hiſtorie giues leaue to *Annius* of ſaying what he liſt. I that loue not to vſe ſuch libertie, will forbeare to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Sonne of *Iupiter*, it muſt haue beene of ſome elder *Iupiter* than the Father of thoſe that liued about the Warre of *Troy*. So it is likewiſe probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which alſo is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often beene ſaid) there were many *Iupiters*, and many of almoſt euery name of the Gods; but it was the cuſtome to aſcribe to ſome one the acts of the reſt, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my ſelfe with making any narrow ſearch into theſe fabulous antiquities, but ſet downe the Pedigree according to the generall fame; allowing to *Teucer* ſuch Parents as *Diodorus* giues, becauſe others giue him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

Bocc. [illegible] *geneal.* [illegible] *l. 5. c. 30.*

Atlas


Atlas.
Iupiter.
Electra.
Scamander
Ida.
Iaſius
Teucer.
Chryſe.
Dardanus
Batia.
Idæus
Dimas.
Ericthonius
Aſtyoche.
Zacynthus.
Callirhoe.
Tros.
Medeſigiſte
Ballenæus.
Ganymedes
Ilus.
Leucippe
Aſſaracus.
Hierõneme
Æacus.
Laomedõ
Capys.
Themis.
Tithonus.
Aurora.
Anchiſes.
Venus
Peleus.
Thetis.
Telamon.
Heſione.
Priamus.
Hecuba.
Æneas.
Creuſa.
Achilles.
Aiax.
Memnon.
Aſcanius.
Hector.
Andromache
Deiphobus
Helena.
Troilus.
Antiphus.
Polydorus.
Ilione.
Caſſãdra.
Laodice.
Creuſa.
Polyxena.
Paris.
Helena.
Helenus.
Andromache
Polites.
Aſtyanax.

Concerning the beginning and continuance, the *Troian* Kingdome, with the length of euery Kings reigne, I haue choſen good Authors to be my guides, that in a Hiſtorie, whereon depends the moſt ancient computation of times among the *Greckes*, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the conſent of Writers, and generall paſſage of things elſewhere done. And firſt for the deſtruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that Citie whileſt it ſtood, it is reckoned by ***Diodorus*** to be 780. yeers more ancient than the beginning of the nintie fourth *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372. did paſſe betweene the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the firſt yeere of the 94. it is manifeſt that the remainder of 780. yeers, that is, 408. yeers went betweene the deſtruction of *Troy*, and the firſt inſtitution of thoſe games by *Ithitus*, if the authoritie of ***Diodorus*** be good proofe, who elſewhere tels vs, that the returne of the *Heraclidæ*, which was 80. yeeres after the fall of *Troy*, was 328. yeeres before the firſt *Olympiad*.

Diod. l.14.

Diod. in præf.

Hereunto agrees the authoritie of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the firſt of the ſeuenth *Olympiad*, that is, foure and twentie yeeres after the beginning of thoſe games, accounts it 432. later than the fall of *Troy*. *Solinus* in expreſſe words, makes the inſtitution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*. 480. yeeres later then the deſtruction of *Troy*. The ſumme is eaſily collected by neceſſarie inference out of diuers other places in the ſame booke. Hereunto doth *Euſebius* reckoning excluſiuely agree: and *Eratoſthenes*, (as he is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes vp out of many particulars, the ſame totall ſumme, wanting but one yeere, as reckoning likewiſe excluſiuely.

Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. l.2.

Solin. Polihiſt. c.2.

Euſeb. de præp. Euang. l.10. c.3

Cle. Alex. ſtro. lib.1.

The other collections of diuers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the ſame place, doe neither cohere any way, nor depend vpon any collaterall Hiſtorie, by which they may be verified.

The deſtruction of *Troy* being in the yeere before the *Olympiads* foure hundred and eight: we muſt ſeeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Euſebius*, who leades vs from *Dardanus* on-wards through the reignes of foure Kings, by the ſpace of two hundred and fiue and twenty yeeres, and after of *Priamus*, with whom alſo at length it ended. As for the time which paſſed vnder *Laomedon*, we are faine to doe, as others haue done before vs, and take it vpon truſt from *Annius* his Authors; beleeuing *Manetho* ſo much the rather, for that in his accompt of the former Kings reignes, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Euſebius*, which may giue vs leaue to thinke that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we neede not to be very ſcrupulous: for ſeeing that no Hiſtorie or accompt of time depends vpon the reigne of the former Kings, but onely vpon the ruine of the Citie vnder *Priamus*, it may ſuffice that we are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due yeere.

True it is, that ſome obiections appearing waightie, may be alleaged in maintenance of different computations, which with the anſweres I purpoſely omit, as not willing to diſpute of thoſe yeeres, wherein the *Greekes* knew no good forme of a yeere; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this deſtruction of *Troy* was one of the moſt renowned.

The firſt enterpriſe that was vnder-taken by generall conſent of all *Greece*, was the laſt warre of *Troy*, which hath beene famous euen to this day, for the numbers of Princes, and valiant Commanders there aſſembled: the great battailes fought with variable ſucceſſe: the long indurance of the ſiege; the deſtruction of that great Citie; and the many *Colonies* planted in ſundry Countries, as well by the remainder of the *Troians*, as by the victorious *Greekes* after their vnfortunate returne. All which things with innumerable circumſtances of eſpeciall note, haue beene deliuered vnto poſteritie, by the excellent wits of many writers, eſpecially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whoſe verſes haue giuen immortalitie to the action, which might elſe perhaps haue beene buried in obliuion, among other worthy deedes, done both before and ſince that time. For it is true which *Horace* ſaith;

Vixêre fortes ante Agamemnona,
Multi, ſed omnes illachrimabiles
Vrgentnr, ignotiq; longa
Nocte: carent qnia vate ſacro.

Many by valour haue deſeru'd renowne
Ere *Agamemnon*: yet lye all oppreſt
Vnder long night, vnwept for, and vnknowne:
For with no ſacred Poet were they bleſt.

Yet ſo it is, that whileſt theſe writers haue with ſtrange fables, or (to ſpeake the beſt of them) with *Allegories* farre ſtrained, gone about to inlarge the commendations of thoſe noble vndertakers: they haue both drawne into ſuſpition that great vertue which they ſought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almoſt as much ignorance of the Hiſtorie, as admiration of the perſons. Wherefore it is expedient that wee ſeeke for the knowledge of ſuch actions, in Hiſtories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whoſe workes are both profit and delight: yet ſmall profit to thoſe which are delighted otherwiſe; but ſuch as can interpret their fables, or ſeparate them from the naked truth, ſhall finde matter in *Poems*, not vnworthy to be regarded of Hiſtorians. For thoſe things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much diſagreement of Authors, written of this great warre. All writers conſent with *Homer*; that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the ſon of *Priamus*, was the cauſe of taking armes: but how he was hereunto emboldned it is doubtfull.

§. II.

Of the Rape of Helen: *and ſtrength of both ſides for the warre.*

Herodotus fetcheth the cauſe of this rape from very farre; ſaying, That whereas the *Phœnicians* had rauiſhed *Io*, and carried her into *Ægypt*, the *Greekes* to be reuenged on the *Barbarians*, did firſt rauiſh *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medæa*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to reſtore her to her father, till ſuch time as they might be ſatisfied for the rape of *Io*. By theſe deedes of the *Greekes*, *Paris* (as the ſame *Herodotus* affirmes) was imboldened to doe the like; not fearing ſuch reuenge as enſued. But all this narration ſeemes friuolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to doe with the iniurie of the *Phœnicians*? Or how could the *Greekes*, as in reuenge of *Io*, pleade any quarrell againſt him, that neuer had heard the name of *Phœnicians*? *Thucydides* a writer of vnqueſtionable ſinceritie, maketh it plaine, that the name of *Barbarians* was not vſed at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the warre of *Troy*; and that the *Greekes* themſelues were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were vnreaſonable to thinke, that they ſhould haue ſought reuenge vpon all Nations, as barbarous, for the iniurie receiued by one: or that all people elſe ſhould haue eſteemed of the *Greekes*, as of a people oppoſed to all the world; and that euen then when as the *Greekes* had not yet one common name among themſelues. Others with more probability ſay, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redeliuery of *Heſione*, King *Priamus* his ſiſter, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and giuen to *Telamon*. This may haue beene true. For *Telamon* (as it ſeemes) was a cruell man, ſeeing his owne ſonne *Teucer* durſt not come in his ſight, after the warre of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, onely becauſe his brother *Aiax* (which *Teucer* could not remedie) had ſlaine himſelfe. Yet, were it ſo, that *Heſione* was ill intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would ſeeke to take her from her husband, with whom ſhe had liued about thirtie yeeres, and to whom ſhe had borne children which were to ſucceede in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medæa*, or *Heſione*: but was meerely incited by *Venus*, that is, by his luſt, to doe that which in thoſe dayes was very common. For not onely *Greekes* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greekes*, as *Herodotus* diſcourſeth, but all people were accuſtomed to ſteale women and cattell, if they could by ſtrong hand or power get them; and hauing ſtollen them, either to ſell them away in ſome farre Countrey, or keepe them to their owne vſe. So did *Theſeus*, and *Pirythous* attempt *Proſerpina*; and ſo did *Theſeus* (long before *Paris*) rauiſh *Helen*. And theſe practices, as it appeares in *Thucydides*, were ſo common, that none durſt inhabite neere vnto the Sea, for feare of pyracie, which was accounted a trade of life no leſſe lawfull then merchandiſe: wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, conſidering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theſeus* had made, cauſed all her wooers, who were moſt of the principall men in *Greece*, to binde themſelues by ſolemne oath, that if ſhee were taken from her huſband, they ſhould with all their might helpe to recouer her. This done, he gaue free choyſe of a husband to his daughter, who choſe *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cauſe which drew the *Greekes* vnto *Troy* in reuenge of *Helens* rape, was partly the oath which ſo many Princes had made vnto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon*, beſides his great Dominions in *Peloponneſus*, was Lord of many Ilands: he was alſo rich in mony, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for *Troy* in his owne ſhips, which were more then any other of the *Greeke* Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or led by the reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or deſirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterpriſe; take armes againſt the *Troians*. The *Greekes* Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200. ſayle, or thereabouts: but the veſſels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ſhips with deckes; onely they vſed (as *Thucydides* ſaith) ſmall ſhips, meete for robbing on the Sea; the leaſt of which carried fiftie men, the greateſt 120. euery man (except the Captaines) being both a Marriner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appeares that the *Grecian* army conſiſted of 100000. men, or thereabout. This was the greateſt armie that euer was raiſed out of *Greece*: and the greatneſſe of this armie doth well declare the ſtrength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole yeeres did ſtand out againſt ſuch forces: yet were the *Troians* which inhabited the Citie, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* ſaid in the ſecond of *Homers Iliads*; but their followers and aydes were very many and ſtrong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Miſia*, and the greateſt part of *Aſia* the leſſe, tooke part with the *Troians*. The *Amazones* alſo brought them ſuccour. And *Rheſus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Aſſyria* (though ſome think, out of *Æthiopia*) came to their defence.

§. III.

Of the Græcians iourney, and Embaſſage to Troy, and of Helenaes being detained in Ægypt; and of the Sacrificing of Iphigenia.

WHerefore the *Greekes* vnwilling to come to triall of armes, if things might be compounded by treatie, ſent *Menelaus* and *Vlyſſes* Embaſſadours to *Troy*; who demanded *Helen* and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his houſe. What anſwere the *Troianes* made hereunto it is vncertaine. *Herodotus* from the report of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his returne to *Troy*. The ſumme of his diſcourſe is this.

Paris in his returne with *Helena*, being driuen by foule weather vnto the coaſt of *Ægypt*, was accuſed for the rape of *Helen* by ſome bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of *Ægypt*, finding the accuſation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband ſhould require them: diſmiſſing *Paris* without further puniſhment, becauſe he was a ſtranger. When therefore the *Greekes* demanding *Helen* had anſwere, that ſhe was in *Ægypt*, they thought themſelues deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the Citie taken, they perceiued indeede ſhe had not beene there, they returned home, ſending *Menelaus* to aske his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer* and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Euripides*) vary from this Hiſtorie, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more gracefull to their *Poems*, for the retaining of a faire Lady, than that they endured all by force, becauſe it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odyſſes*, *Homer* ſpeakes of *Menelaus* his being in *Ægypt*, before hee returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not eaſily beleeued, that he made for pleaſure: and if he were driuen thither by contrary windes, much more may we thinke that *Paris* was likely to haue beene driuen thither by foule weather. For *Paris* immediately vpon the rape committed, was enforced to flye, taking ſuch windes as he could get, and rather enduring any ſtorme, than to commit himſelfe to any Hauen in the *Greeke* ſeas: whereas *Menelaus* might haue put into any port in *Greece*, and there haue remained with good entertainement, vntill ſuch time as the winde had come about, and ſerued for his Nauigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirme the ſaying of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts, which is, that if *Helen* had beene at *Troy*, it had beene vtter madneſſe for *Priamus* to ſee ſo many miſeries befall him, during the warre, and ſo many of his ſonnes ſlaine for the pleaſure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for *Hector* was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the reſt. Beſides, it may ſeeme that *Lucian* ſpake not more pleaſantly than truely, when he ſaid that *Helen*, at the warre of *Troy*, was almoſt as old as Queene *Hecuba*, conſidering that ſhe had beene rauiſhed by *Theſeus* the companion of *Hercules*, who tooke *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and conſidering further, that ſhe was ſiſter to *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (ſhe and *Pollux* being ſaid by ſome to haue beene twins) who ſailed with the *Argonautes*, hauing *Telamon* the father of *Aiax* in their companie before the time that *Heſione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Aiax*, that was a principall Commander in the *Troian* warre. But whether it were ſo that the *Troians* could not, or would not reſtore *Helen*, ſo it was that the Embaſſadours returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not ſome that aduiſed to haue them ſlaine. The *Greekes* hereupon incenſed, made all haſte towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom ſome ſay to haue beene a runnagate *Troian*, though no ſuch thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captaines and all the Hoſte with many troubleſome anſwers and diuinations. For he would haue *Agamemnons* daughter ſacrificed to appeaſe *Diana*, whoſe anger he ſaid withſtood their paſſage. Whether the yong Lady were ſacrificed, or whether (as ſome write) the *goddeſſe* was contented with a Hinde, it is not needefull here to be diſputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the diuell, which awaits for all opportunities, is neuer more importunate, than where mens ignorance is moſt. *Calchas* alſo told the *Greekes*, that the taking of *Troy* was impoſſible, till ſome fatall impediments were remoued: and that till ten yeeres were paſt, the towne ſhould hold out againſt them. All which notwithſtanding, the *Greekes* proceeded in their enterpriſe, vnder the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the moſt valiant of all the *Greekes*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phœnix*; *Aiax* and *Teucer*, the ſonnes of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Neſtor*, and his ſonnes *Antilochus*, and *Thraſymedes*; *Vlyſſes*; *Mneſtheus* the ſonne of *Petreus*, Captaine of the *Athenians*: *Diomedes* the ſonne of *Tydeus*, a man of ſingular courage; the wiſe and learned *Palamedes*, *Aſcalaphus*, and *Ialmenus*, the ſonnes of *Mars*, who had ſailed with the *Argonautes*; *Philoctetes* alſo the ſonne of *Pæan*, who had the arrowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* ſaid, that the Citie could not be taken; *Aiax* the ſonne of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Thoas*, *Eumelus*, *Tyſandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the ſonne of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machaon*, the ſonnes of *Æſculapius*: *Epeus*, who is ſaid to haue made the woodden horſe, by which the towne was taken; and *Proteſilaus*, who firſt leapt on ſhore, neglecting the *Oracle* that threatned death to him that landed firſt.

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§. IIII.

Of the Acts of the Græcians at the ſiege.

THeſe, and many other of leſſe note, arriuing at *Troy*, found ſuch ſharpe entertainment, as might eaſily perſwade them to thinke that the war would be more than one yeeres worke. For in the firſt encounter, they loſt *Proteſilaus*, whom *Hector* ſlew, and many other, without any great harme done to the *Troians*: ſaue onely that by their numbers of men, they won ground enough to incampe themſelues in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the *Greekes* found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reaſon of their multitude, and the ſmalneſſe of their veſſels, wherein they could not carry neceſſaries for ſuch an armie. Hereupon they were compelled to ſend ſome part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherroneſſe*: others to rob vpon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the war protracted nine whole yeeres, and either nothing done, or if any skirmiſhes were, yet could the towne receiue little loſſe by them, hauing equall numbers to maintaine the field againſt ſuch *Greekes* as continued the ſiege, and a more ſafe retrait if the enemie got the better.

Wherefore *Ouid* ſaith, that from the firſt yeere, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and *Heraclides* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodicus*; That the *Greeks* did not lye before *Troy* the firſt nine yeeres: but onely did beate vp and downe the ſeas, exerciſing their men, and inriching themſelues, and ſo by waſting the enemies Country, did blocke vp the towne, vnto which they returned not, vntill the fatall time drew neere when it ſhould be ſubuerted.

This is confirmed by the enquirie which *Priamus* made, when the *Greeke* Princes came into the field, the tenth yeere, for he knew none of them; and therefore ſitting vpon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all haue beene ſuppoſed that he ſhould be ignorant of them, if they had ſhewed themſelues before the towne ſo many yeeres together. *Hom. Iliad 3.* Betweene theſe relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodicus*, the difference is not much, the one ſaying that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the Campe before *Troy*, whileſt the reſt made purueyance by land and by ſea: the other, that the whole armie did ſpend the time in waſting the ſea-coaſts. Neither doe the Poets greatly diſagree from theſe authors: for they make report of many townes and Ilands waſted, and the people carried into Captiuitie; in which actions *Achilles* was imployed, whom the armie could not well, nor would haue ſpared, if any ſeruice of importance had beene to be performed before the Citie. Howſoeuer it was, this is agreed by generall conſent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great peſtilence aroſe among the *Greekes*: which *Homer* ſaith that *Apollo* ſent in reuenge of his Prieſts daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refuſed to let goe, for any ranſome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, ſaith that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne: who raiſed peſtilent fogs, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a mooriſh piece of ground. And it might well be that the campe was ouer-peſtered with thoſe, who had beene abroad, and now were lodged all cloſe together: hauing alſo grounded their ſhips within the fortifications.

About the ſame time aroſe much contention betweene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie, whereof *Agamemnon*, as *Generall*, hauing firſt choſen for his part a captiue woman, and *Achilles* in the ſecond place choſen for himſelfe another, then *Aiax*, *Vlyſſes*, and ſo the reſt of the chiefe Captaines in order: When the Soothſayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman ſhould be reſtored to her father *Apollo's* Prieſt, that ſo the Peſtilence might ceaſe, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage and ſay, that hee alone would not loſe his part of the ſpoyle, but would either take that which had beene giuen to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Aiax*, or to *Vlyſſes*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was faine to ſuffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by ſtrong hand, nor to reuenge her loſſe otherwiſe than by refuſing to fight, or to ſend forth his Captaines. But the *Greekes* incouraged by their Captaines, preſented themſelues before the Citie without him and his troupes.

The *Troians* were now relieued with great ſuccours, all the neighbour Countries hauing ſent them aide: partly drawne to that warre by their Commanders, who aſſiſted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the warre began (as appeares by his words in *Homer*,) or for loue of himſelfe and his ſonnes, or hope of marriage with ſome of his many and faire daughters; partly alſo (as we may well gueſſe) incited by the wrongs receiued of the *Greekes*, when they waſted the Countries adioyning vnto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* iſſued out of the towne, he was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the *Troian* armie, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus* and the other ſonnes of *Priamus*: *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his ſonnes, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Aſius*, and the ſonnes of *Panthus*, beſides *Rheſus*, who was ſlaine the firſt night of his arriuall; *Memnon*, Queene *Pentheſilea*, and others who came towards the end of the warre. Between theſe and the *Greekes* were many battels fought: the greateſt of which were, that at the tombe of King *Ilus* vpon the plaine: and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherin *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the *Greekes*, and began to fire their ſhips; at which time *Aiax*, the ſonne of *Telamon* with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining vnwounded, made head againſt *Hector*, when the ſtate of the *Greekes* was almoſt deſperate.

Another battell (for ſo antiquitie cals it) or rather the ſame renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who hauing obtained leaue, drew forth *Achilles* troopes, relieuing the wearie *Greekes* with a freſh ſuppy. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Vlyſſes*, and the reſt of the Princes, though ſore wounded, yet were driuen to put on armour, and with helpe of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Troians* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was loſt, and his body, with much contention recouered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torne from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of thoſe warres, hauing ſlaine a man, to ſtrip him and hale away his body, not reſtoring it without ranſome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, ſlightly armed, and commonly followed the ſucceſſe of their Captaines; who rode not vpon horſes, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horſes, which were guided by ſome truſtie followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captaines, who by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes preſenting themſelues where neede required, threw firſt their Iauelins, and then alighting fought on foot, with ſwords and battel-axes, retiring into the rankes of footmen, or elſe returning to their Chariots when they found cauſe, and ſo began againe with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were loſt, or broken. Their armes defenſiue were helmets, breſt-plates, bootes of braſſe or other metall, and ſhields commonly of leather plated ouer. The offenſiue were ſwords and battel-axes at hand; and ſtones, arrowes or darts when they fought at any diſtance. The vſe of their Chariots (beſides the ſwiftneſſe) was to keepe them from wearineſſe, whereto the leaders were much ſubiect, becauſe of their armour, which the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt ware heauieſt: alſo that from them they might throw their Iauelins downewards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I finde not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driuen to returne to their Tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewiſe of armours they had little change or none; euery man (ſpeaking of the chiefe) carried his owne compleat, of which if any piece were loſt or broken, he was driuen to repaire it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from ſome Captaine whom he had ſlaine, and ſtripped: or elſe to borrow of them that had by ſuch meanes gotten ſome to ſpare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had loſt his armour which *Hector* (as is ſaid before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was faine to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very deſirous, that he might reuenge the death of *Patroclus* his deare friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himſelfe vnto *Achilles*, not onely reſtoring his concubine *Briſeis*, but giuing him very great gifts, and excuſing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell *Achilles* did ſo behaue himſelfe, that he did not onely put the *Troians* to the worſt, but alſo ſlew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be beleeued) he chaced three times about the wals of *Troy*. But great queſtion may be made of *Homers* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would ſtay alone without the Citie (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Troian*, were fled into it: nor that he could leape ouer the riuers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he muſt haue done in that flight: nor that the *Troians* perceiuing *Hector* in ſuch an extremitie, would haue forborne to open ſome of their gates and let him in. But this is reported onely to grace *Achilles*, who hauing (by what meanes ſoeuer) ſlaine the noble *Hector*, did not onely carry away his dead body, as the cuſtome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thruſting leatherne thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him ſhamefully about the field, ſelling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranſome. But his cruelty and couetouſneſſe were not long vnreuenged; for he was ſhortly after ſlaine with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* ſayes, in the *Scæan* gate, or as others in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to haue married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too farre in loue, hauing ſlaine ſo many of her brethren; and his body was ranſomed (as *Lycophron* ſaith) at the ſelfe-ſame rate that *Hectors* was by him ſold for. Not long after this, *Pentheſilea* Queene of the *Amazons* arriued at *Troy*; who after ſome proofe giuen of her valour, was ſlaine by *Pyrrhus* the ſonne of *Achilles*.

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§. V.

Of the taking of Troy, the woodden Horſe, the Booke of Dares *and* Dyctis, *the Colonies of the reliques of Troy.*

Finally, after the death of many worthy perſons, on each ſide, the Citie was taken by night, as all writers agree: but whether by the treaſon of *Æneas* and *Antenor*; or by a woodden Horſe, as the Poets, and common fame (which followed the Poets) haue deliuered, it is vncertaine. Some write that vpon one of the gates of *Troy* called *Scæa*, was the image of a horſe, and that the *Greekes* entring by that gate, gaue occaſion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificiall horſe. It may well be that with ſome woodden engine, which they called an Horſe, they either did batter the wals, as the *Romanes* in after-times vſed to doe with the Ramme: or ſcaled the wals vpon the ſudden, and ſo tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a woodden horſe, it had beene a deſperate aduenture, and ſeruing to no purpoſe. For either the *Troians* might haue perceiued the deceit, and ſlaine all thoſe Princes of *Greece*, that were incloſed in it (which alſo by ſuch as maintaine this report they are ſaid to haue thought vpon:) or they might haue left it a few dayes without the Citie (for it was vnlikely, that they ſhould the very firſt day both conclude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their wals vpon the ſudden to doe it:) by which meanes they who were ſhut into it, muſt haue periſhed for hunger, if they had not by iſſuing forth vnſeaſonably diſcouered the inuention. Whereas further it is ſaid, that this horſe was ſo high and great, that it could not be brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that therefore the *Troians* were faine to pull downe a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the *Greekes* did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifeſt that the incloſing of ſo many principall men was altogether needleſſe, conſidering that without their helpe there was way ſufficient for the armie, ſo that the ſurpriſing of any gate by them was now to no purpoſe.

Iohn Baptiſta Gramay in his Hiſtory of *Aſia*, diſcourſing of this warre, ſaith that the *Greekes* did both batter the wals with a woodden engine, and were alſo let into the Citie by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the towneſmen ſleeping and drinking without feare or care, becauſe the fleete of the *Græcians* had hoiſted ſaile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Troians* into ſecuritie. That the Citie was betrayed, the books of *Dares* and *Dictys* muſt proue, which whether we now haue the ſame that were by them written, it may be ſuſpected; for ſurely they who haue made mention of theſe writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, haue followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictorie in moſt points to theſe two authors, without once taking notice of the oppoſition, which they hauing ſerued in that warre made againſt the common report: had it not beene that either thoſe bookes were euen in thoſe times thought friuolous; or elſe contained no ſuch repugnancie to the other authors as now is found in them.

Alſo concerning the number of men ſlaine in this warre, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* ſay to haue beene aboue 600000. on the *Troian* ſide, and more than 800000. of the *Greekes*, it is a report meerely fabulous; for as much as the whole fleete of the *Greekes* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as he could, to be ſomewhat leſſe than 1200. ſaile, and the armie therein tranſported ouer the *Greeke* ſeas, not much aboue 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common faſhion of men to extoll the deedes of their Auncients: for which cauſe both *Homer* magnified the Captaines of the *Greekes* that ſerued in the warre, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Troians* and their Citie, from which the *Romans* deſcended. Yea the *Athenians* long after in the warre which *Xerxes* the *Perſian* King made againſt all *Greece*, did not forbeare to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mneſteus* the ſonne of *Peteus* had ſhewed, in marſhalling the *Græcian* army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had beene a matter of much conſequence, they were ſo proud, that they refuſed to yeeld vnto *Gelon* King of almoſt all *Sicily*, the *Admiraltie* of their Seas, notwithſtanding that he promiſed to bring 200. good fighting ſhips, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie poſſeſſed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in theſe parts of the world, which haue ſtriuen to bring their deſcent from ſome of the Princes, that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in ſuch their Pedigree notwithſtanding. But thoſe Nations which indeede, or in moſt probability came of the *Troians*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Countrey by *Æneas*: the *Venetians* firſt ſeated in *Padua*, and the Country adioyning by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the ſonne of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellanicus* addeth, that the poſteritie of *Hector* did reſemble ſuch of the Troians as were left, and reigned ouer them about *Troy*.

§. VI.

Of the diſtreſſes and diſperſions of the Greekes returning from Troy.

Concerning the *Greekes*, they taſted as much miſery as they had brought vpon the *Troians*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reaſon of their long abode at the ſiege, they found many alterations when they returned: ſo that many were driuen by their borderers from their ancient ſeats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: ſome were ſlaine anon after their arriuall: others were debarred from the Soueraignty among the people, by ſuch as had ſtayed at home. The cauſe of all which may ſeeme to haue beene the diſperſion of the armie, which weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell iniuries, being diuided into ſo many pieces vnder ſeuerall Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (beſides other quarrels ariſing vpon the diuiſion of the bootie, and the like occaſions) at the time when they ſhould haue ſet ſaile, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being deſirous to depart immediatly, the other to ſtay and performe ſome ſacrifices to *Minerua*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, halfe the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the reſt of them ſailed to the Ile of *Tenedos*; where when they arriued, they could not agree among themſelues, but ſome returned backe to *Agamemnon*; others were diſperſed, each holding his owne courſe. But the whole fleet was ſore vexed with tempeſts: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* ſaith) would not be perſwaded in haſte.

They who returned ſafe were *Neſtor*, and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Oreſtes* afterwards ſlew: alſo *Idomeneus*, and *Philoctetes*, who neuertheleſſe, as *Virgill* tels, were driuen ſoone after to ſeeke new ſeats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italie*. *Agamemnon* likewiſe returned home, but was forthwith ſlaine by his wife and by the adulterer *Ægyſthus*, who for a while after vſurped his Kingdome. *Menelaus* wandring long vpon the Seas, came into *Ægypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather ſeeme) to fetch her. *Vlyſſes*, after ten yeeres, hauing loſt all his company, got home in poore eſtate, with much adoe recouering the maſterſhip of his own houſe. All the reſt either periſhed by the way, or were driuen into exile, and faine to ſeeke out new habitations.

Aiax the ſonne of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Daunus*, who was Lord of the *Iapyges* in *Apulia*; ſome of the *Locrians* were driuen into *Africke*, others into *Italie*, all the Eaſt part whereof was called *Magna Græcia*, by reaſon of ſo many townes which the *Greekes* were driuen to erect vpon that coaſt. Finally, it appeares in *Homer*, that the *Græcian* Ladies, whoſe husbands had beene at the warre of *Troy*, were wont to call it; The place where the *Greekes* ſuffered miſerie, and the vnluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy* and thoſe that warred there: the ouerthrow of which Citie, as hath beene ſaid, happened in the time of *Habdon* Iudge of *Iſrael*, whom *Samſon* after a variance or *Interregnum* for certaine yeeres ſucceeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of Samſon, Eli, *and* Samuel.

§. I.

Of Samſon.

2970. THE birth and acts of *Samſon* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Iudges*; and therefore I ſhall not neede to make a repetition thereof. But theſe things I gather out of that Storie. Firſt, that the *Angell of God* forbad the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Samſon*, to drinke wine or ſtrong drinke, or to eate any vncleane meate, after ſhee was conceiued with childe; becauſe thoſe ſtrong liquors hinder the ſtrength, and as it were wither and ſhrinke the childe in the mothers wombe. Though this were euen the counſell of God himſelfe, and deliuered by his Angell, yet it ſeemeth that many women of this age haue not read, or at leaſt will not beleeue this precept: the moſt part forbearing nor drinkes, nor meats, how ſtrong or vncleane ſoeuer, filling themſelues with all ſorts of wines, and with artificiall drinkes farre more forcible: by reaſon whereof, ſo many wretched feeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and ſtrong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angell of God* refuſed the ſacrifice which *Manoah* would haue offered him, commanding him to preſent it vnto the Lord: and therefore thoſe that profeſſe diuination by the helpe of *Angels*, to whom alſo they ſacrifice, may aſſuredly know that they are Diuels who accept thereof, and not good *Angels*, who receiue no worſhip that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this *Samſon* was twice betrayed by his wiues, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull teares: by the firſt he loſt but a part of his goods: by the ſecond his life. *Quem nulla vis ſuperare potuit, voluptas euertit*; *Whom no force could ouermaſter, Voluptuouſneſſe ouerturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliuer *Iſrael* from the oppreſſion of the *Philiſtims*; though in ſome ſort he reuenged, and defended them: for notwithſtanding that he had ſlaine 30. of them in his firſt attempt, burnt their Corne in harueſt time, and giuen them a great ouerthrow inſtantly vpon it: yet ſo much did *Iſrael* feare the *Philiſtims*, as they aſſembled 3000. men out of *Iuda*, to beſiege *Samſon* in the rocke or mountaine of *Etam*, vſing theſe words: *Knoweſt not thou that the Philiſtims are Rulers ouer vs, &c.* After which they bound him, and deliuered him vnto the *Philiſtims*, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no ſooner looſened, but he gaue them an other ouerthrow, and ſlew 1000. with the iawbone of an *Aſſe*.

Laſtly, being made blinde, and a priſoner by the treaſon of his wife, he was content to end his owne life, to be auenged of his enemies, when he pulled downe the pillars of the houſe at the feaſt whereto they ſent for *Samſon*, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truely ſaid of *Seneca*; *Patientia ſæpe læſa vertitur in furorem*, *Patience often wounded is conuerted into furie*: neither is it at any time ſo much wounded by paine and loſſe, as by deriſion and contumelie.

§. II.

Of Eli, *and of the Arke taken; and of* Dagons *fall, and the ſending back of the Arke.*

THe Storie of *Eli* the Prieſt, who ſucceeded *Samſon*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the deſtruction of his houſe, for the wickedneſſe of his ſonnes, which he ſuppreſſed not, neither did he puniſh them according to their deſerts: whoſe ſinnes were horrible, both in abuſing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Leui Ben Gerſon*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the ſonnes of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleaſed God to caſt the *Iſraelites* vnder the ſwords of the *Philiſtims*; of whom there periſhed in the firſt incounter 4000. and in the ſecond battell 30000. footmen; among whom the ſonnes of *Eli* being ſlaine, their father (hearing the lamentable ſucceſſe) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke. He was the firſt that obtained the High-Prieſthood of the ſtocke of *Ithamar* the ſonne of *Aaron*, before whoſe time it continued ſucceſſiuely in the race of *Eleazar* the eldeſt brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the firſt, *Eleazar* the ſecond, *Phinees* the ſonne of *Eleazar* the third, *Abiſue* the ſonne of *Phinees* the fourth, his ſonne *Bocci* the fift, *Ozi* the ſonne of *Bocci* the ſixt, and then *Eli*, as *Ioſephus* and *Lyranus* out of diuers *Hebrew* authors haue conceiued. In the race of *Ithamar* the Prieſthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon* who caſt out *Abiathar*, and eſtabliſhed *Sadock* and *Achimaas* and their ſucceſſors. The *Arke of God* which *Iſrael* brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the *Philiſtims*. For as *Dauid* witneſſeth, *God greatly abhorred Iſrael, ſo that he forſooke the habitation of Shilo: euen the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and deliuered his power into captiuitie, &c.*

1 Sam.2.22.

1 King.c.2 27. and 1 Chron.6.

Pſal.78.

Now as it pleaſed God at this time, that the *Arke* whereby himſelfe was repreſented, ſhould fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Prieſts and people: ſo did he permit the *Chaldæans* to deſtroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the *Romans* to ouerthrow the ſecond Temple; and the *Turkes* to ouerthrow the *Chriſtian Churches* in *Aſia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Iſraelites* put more confidence in the ſacrament, or repreſentation which was the *Arke*; then in God himſelfe, they would haue obſerued his Lawes, and ſerued him onely: which whenſoeuer they did, they were then victorious. For after the captiuitie they had no *Arke* at all, nor in the times of the *Macchabees*: and yet for their pietie it pleaſed God to make that familie as victorious as any that garded themſelues by the ſigne in ſtead of the ſubſtance. And that the *Arke* was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an enſigne; *Dauid* witneſſed when he fled from *Abſalon*. For when the Prieſts would haue carried the *Arke* with him; he forbad it, and cauſed it to be turned into the Citie, vſing theſe words: *If I ſhall finde fauour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me againe: if not, let him doe to me as ſeemeth good in his eyes.*

1 Sam.5.v.6.

2 Sam.15.

The *Troians* beleeued that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Minerua* was kept in *Troy*, the Citie ſhould neuer be ouerturned: ſo did the *Chriſtians* in the laſt fatall battell againſt *Saladine* carry into the field, as they were made beleeue, the very Croſſe whereon Chriſt died; and yet they loſt the battell, their bodies and the wood. But *Chryſoſtome* vpon Saint *Matthew* (if that be his worke) giueth a good iudgement, ſpeaking of thoſe that wore a part of Saint *Iohns* Goſpell about their neckes, for an amulet or preſeruatiue: *Si tibi ea non proſunt in auribus, quomodò proderunt in Collo? If thoſe words doe not profit men in their eares,* (to wit, the hearing of the Goſpell preached) *how ſhould it profit them by hanging it about their neckes?* For it was neither the wood of the *Arke*, nor the wood of the Croſſe, but the reuerence of the Father, that gaue the one for a memorie of his Couenant: and the Faith in his Sonne, which ſhed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and vs, either in this life or after it.

The *Philiſtims* returning with the greateſt victorie and glory which euer they obtained, carried the *Arke of God* with them to *Azotus*, and ſet it vp in the houſe of *Dagon* their *Idoll*: but that night the *Idoll* fell out of his place, from aboue to the ground, and lay vnder the *Arke*. The morning following they tooke it vp, and ſet it vp, and ſet it againe in his place. And it fell the ſecond time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the armes, ſhewing that it had nor power, nor vnderſtanding in the preſence of God; for the head fell off, which is the ſeat of reaſon and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute ſtrength) were ſundred from the armes. For God and the diuell inhabit not in one houſe, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not endure the repreſentation of the true God, it is not to be maruailed, that at ſuch time as it pleaſed him to couer his onely Begotten with fleſh, and ſent him into the world, that all the *Oracles*, wherein the Diuell derided and betrayed mortall men, loſt power, ſpeech, and operation at the inſtant. For when that true light which had neuer beginning of brightneſſe, brake though the clouds of a Virgins body, ſhining vpon the earth which had bin long obſcured by Idolatry, all thoſe foule and ſtinking vapours vaniſhed. *Plutarch* rehearſeth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he ſtileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cauſe) he ſearcheth his braines for many reaſons of ſo great an alteration: yet finds he none out but friuolous. For not onely this old Diuell did then die as he ſuppoſed, but all the reſt, as *Apollo*, *Iupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became ſpeechleſſe.

Now while the *Philiſtims* triumphed after this victory, God ſtrooke them with the grieuous diſeaſe of the *Hæmorrhoides* of which they periſhed in great numbers. For it is written that *the Lord deſtroyed them*. It was therefore by generall conſent ordered, that the *Arke* ſhould be remoued from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth* another of the fiue great Cities of the *Philiſtims*; to proue, as it ſeemeth, whether this diſeaſe were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly: but when it was brought to *Gath* and receiued by them, the plague was yet more grieuous and mortall. *For the hand of the Lord was againſt this Citie with a very great deſtruction, and he ſmote the men of the Citie both ſmall and great, &c.* And being not yet ſatisfied, they of *Gath* ſent the *Arke* to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third Citie of the *Philiſtims*: but they alſo felt the ſame ſmart, and cryed out that themſelues and their people ſhould be ſlaine thereby; *For there was a deſtruction and death throughout all the Citie.* In the end, by the aduice of their Prieſts, the Princes of the *Philiſtims* did not onely reſolue to returne the *Arke*, but to offer gifts vnto the *God of Iſrael*, remembring the plague which had fallen on the *Ægyptians*, when their hearts were hardned to hold the people *of God* from their inheritance, and from his ſeruice by ſtrong hand. Wherefore confeſſing the power of the *God of Iſrael* to be almightie, & that their owne Idols were ſubiect thereunto, they agreed to offer a ſinne offering,

2 Sam.5.v.9.

vſing theſe words; *So ye ſhall giue glorie to the God of Iſrael, that hee may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witneſſing, than where an enemie doth approue our cauſe? according to *Ariſtotle*; *Pulchrum eſt teſtimonium, quo noſtra probantur ab hoſtibus.* So did *Pharao* confeſſe the liuing God, when he was plagued in *Ægypt*: and *Nabuchodonoſor*, and *Darius*, when they had ſeene his miracles by *Daniel*.

C.6.v.5.

This counſell therefore of the Prieſts being imbraced, and the golden *Hæmorrhoides*, and the golden Mice prepared, they cauſed two milch kine to be choſen, ſuch as had not beene yoked, and a new Cart or carriage to be framed: but they durſt not driue or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make tryall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had ſtrucken them. For if the *Arke* of *God* were carried towards *Bethſhemeſh* and into the territorie of *Iſrael*: then they ſhould reſolue that from God only came their late deſtruction. For the *Philiſtims* knew that the milch Kine which drew the *Arke*, could not be forced from their Calues, but that they would haue followed them whereſoeuer; much leſſe when they were left to themſelues would they trauell a contrary way. For in the darkeſt night in the world if calues be remoued from their dammes, the kine will follow them through woods, and deſarts by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine trauelled directly towards *Bethſhemeſh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Ioſua* of the ſame Citie, they ſtood ſtill there; which when the Princes of the *Philiſtims* perceiued, they returned to *Ekron*. After which, God ſpared not his owne people the *Bethſhemites*, in that they preſumed to looke into the *Arke*. And becauſe they knew God and his commandements, and had beene taught accordingly: he ſtrook them more grieuouſly then he did the Heathen, for there periſhed of them fiftie thouſand and ſeuentie. From hence the *Arke* was carried to *Kiriath-iearim* and placed in the houſe of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twentie yeers in the charge of *Eleazar* his ſonne, vntill *Dauid* brought it to *Hieruſalem*.

Now whereas it is ſaid, that in the meane while the *Arke* was in *Nob*, *Miſpah*, and *Galgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time ſeuered from the *Arke*: or at leaſt, it was for the [a] preſent occaſion brought to theſe places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-iearim*.

2.Sam.c.6. & *1.Chron.c.12.*

[a] See in this booke *ch.*12. §.1. in the margent.

§. III.

Of Samuel, *and of his Gouernment.*

THeſe Tragedies ouerpaſt and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while hee was yet a childe, became now Iudge and Gouernour of *Iſrael*. He was deſcended of the familie of [b] *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Leui* had three ſonnes; *Gerſon*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram*, and *Izaar*; of *Amram* came *Moſes* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*: and of the familie of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elcana* a *Leuite*, was called an *Ephratæan*, not that the *Leuites* had any proper inheritance, but becauſe he was of [c] Mount *Ephraim*, like as *Ieſſe*, *Dauids* father was called an *Ephratæan*, becauſe borne at *Ephrata*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitleſſe, obtained him of God by prayers and teares: it being an exceeding ſhame to the Iewiſh women, to be called barren in reſpect of the bleſſing of God both to *Abraham* that his ſeed ſhould multiplie as the Starres of Heauen, and the ſands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increaſe and multiply*, &c. and in *Deuteronomie* the ſeauenth; *There ſhall bee neither male nor female barren among you.*

[b] *1.Chro.6.22.*

[c] Which region was called *Ephrata*, as appeareth *Iud.*12.5. whence for diſtinction we read *Ruth.*1.2. *Ephratæi e Bethleehemo Iehudæ*, the town *Ephratha* which is *Bethleem in Iuda*, *Gen.*35.19 from the region of *Ephrata*, which is in Mount *Ephraim*, whẽce *Pſalm.*132.v.6 *Ephratha* is put for *Silo*, which was in the Tribe of *Ephraim*.

Samuel was no ſooner borne, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his ſeruice, to which ſhe deliuered him euen from the dugge. For as the firſt borne of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were fiue yeeres old for fiue ſheckles, and betweene fiue yeeres add twentie for twentie ſheckles: ſo was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the *Leuites* ſhould bee called to ſerue about the Tabernacle, till they were fiue and twenty yeeres.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the firſt of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom vſually this name of a Prophet was giuen, and yet did *Moſes* account himſelfe ſuch a one; as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*, *The Lord thy God will raiſe vp vnto thee a Prophet like vnto mee*, &c. But hee is diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as *Beforetime in Iſrael, when a man went to ſeeke an*

Verſe 15: *1.Sam.* 9.

anſwere of God, thus he ſpake; Come and let vs goe to the Seer: for he that is now called a *Prophet*, was in old time called a *Seer*. And although it pleaſed God to appeare by his Angels to *Moſes*, as before to *Abraham, Iſaac*, and *Iacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifeſt viſion; not that God had altogether with-drawne his grace from *Iſrael*: but as the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* hath it, thoſe reuelations before *Samuels* time, were more clouded and obſcure. The places wherein *Samuel* iudged were *Matſpa* or *Mitſpa*, ſeated on a hill in *Beniamin* neere *Iuda*: alſo *Gilgal*, and *Bethel*, of which wee haue ſpoken elſewhere.

1 Sam.13. See in this book, *c.12.§ 1.*

The *Philiſtims* taking knowledge of the aſſembly and preparation for Warre at *Miſpa* in the beginning of *Samuels* gouernment, gathered their Armie and marched towards the Citie: at whoſe approach the *Iſraelites* ſtrucken with feare, and with the memorie of their former ſlaughters and ſeruitude, beſought *Samuel* to pray to God for them; who was * then performing his ſacrifice when the *Philiſtims* were in view. But God being moued with *Samuels* prayers (as he was by thoſe of *Moſes*, when *Iſrael* fought againſt the *Amalekites* at their firſt entrance into *Arabia*.) It pleaſed him with thunder and tempeſt to diſperſe and beate downe the Armie of the *Philiſtims*, according to the prophecie of *Hanna*, *Samuels* Mother, *The Lords aduerſaries ſhall be deſtroyed, and out of heauen ſhall he thunder vpon them, &c.* *Ioſephus* affirmes, that a part of the *Philiſtims* were ſwallowed with an earth-quake: and that *Samuel* himſelfe led the *Iſraelites* in the proſequution of their victory. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memorie of this happy ſucceſſe, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Ioſephus* called, *Lapidem fortem*: *Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the ſtone of aſſiſtance: and then following the opportunitie and aduantage of the victory, the *Iſraelites* recouered diuers Cities of their owne formerly loſt, and held long in poſſeſſion of the *Philiſtims*, who for a long time after did not offer any inuaſion or reuenge. And the better to attend their purpoſes, and to withſtand any of their attempts, the *Iſraelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backes, and to the North of them, that they might not be aſſaulted from diuers parts at once; hauing the *Philiſtims* towards the Weſt and Sea-coaſt, the *Canaanite* toward the North and Eaſt, and the *Idumite* on the South. The eſtate being thus ſetled, *Samuel* for the eaſe of the people gaue audience and iudgement in diuers places by turnes, as hath beene elſewhere ſaid.

* *Plutarch* reports of *Numa* the ſecōd King of *Rome*, that when as hee was ſacrificing it was told him that the enemies approched, he nothing diſmaied, anſwered, *Ego autem ſacrifico.*

1 Sam.2.10.

CHAP. XVI.

Of SAVL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the gouernment into a Kingdome.

BVT when age now began to ouer-take *Samuel*, and that he was not able to vnder-goe the burthen of ſo carefull a gouernment, he put off from himſelfe the waight of the affaires on his ſonnes, *Ioel* and *Abijah*, who iudged the people at *Beerſheba*, a Citie, the very vtmoſt towards the South of *Iudæa*. And as the place was inconuenient and farre away, ſo were themſelues no leſſe remoued from the iuſtice and vertue of their Father: For the thirſt of couetouſneſſe, the more it ſwalloweth, the more it drieth, and deſireth, finding taſte in nothing but gaine; to recouer which, they ſet the Law at a price, and ſold Iuſtice and Iudgement to the beſt Chapmen. Which when the Elders of *Iſrael* obſerued, and ſaw that *Samuel* as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not ſo well diſcerne the errours of his owne, they prayed him to conſent to their change of gouernment, and to make them a King, by whom they might be iudged as other Nations were; who might alſo leade them to the Warre and defend them againſt their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable ſucceſſe which followed the rule of *Eli* his ſonnes, when thoſe of *Samuel* by their firſt bloſſomes promiſed to yeelde fruit no leſſe bitter, they ſaw no way to put the gouernment from out his race, whom they ſo much reuerenced, but by the choice of a King.

In a cauſe of ſo great conſequence and alteration, *Samuel* ſought counſaile from God: which ſurely he did not for the eſtabliſhing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not haue approued his election. Now as it appeares by the Text, this ſpeech or motion diſpleaſing him, hee vſed his beſt arguments to dehort them: which when he perceiued to be ouer-feeble, he deliuered vnto them from Gods reuelation, the inconueniences and miſeries which ſhould befall them. And yet, all which hee foreſhewed was not intolerable, but ſuch as hath beene borne, and is ſo ſtill by free conſent of the Subiects towards their Princes. For firſt hee makes them know, that the King will vſe their ſonnes in his owne ſeruice to make them his Horſe-men, Chariotters, and Footmen; which is not onely not grieuous, but by the Vaſſals of all Kings according to their birth and condition, deſired: it being very agreeable to ſubiects of the beſt qualitie to command for the King in his Warres, and to till the ground no leſſe proper and appertaining to thoſe that are thereto breed and brought vp: ſo are likewiſe the offices of women-ſeruants to dreſſe meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned, *Hee will take your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your beſt Oliue trees, and giue them to his ſeruants*; with other oppreſſions; this hath giuen, and giues dayly occaſion to ſuch as would be ruled by their owne diſcretion, to affirme that *Samuel* deſcribeth heere vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others vpon further examination conſtrue this Text farre otherwiſe, as teaching vs what Subiects ought with patience to beare at their Soueraigns hand. The former opinion is grounded firſt vpon that place of *Deuteronomie*, where God fore- *Deut. 17.* ſheweth this change of gouernment from Iudges to Kings; and after hee had forbidden many things vnto the Kings, as many wiues, couetouſneſſe, and the like: hee commandeth that the Kings which were to reigne ouer *Iſrael*, ſhould write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cauſe it to bee written: and to ſhew how greatly the King ſhould honour the Law, he addeth, *It ſhall be with him, and he ſhall reade therein all the dayes of his life: that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the words of this Law, and theſe ordinances for to doe them: that hee may prolong his daies in his Kingdome, hee and his Sonnes.* But to take away any other mans field, ſay they, is contrary to the Lawes of God, in the ſame booke written. For it is ſaid, *That which is iuſt and right ſhalt thou follow, that thou mayeſt* *Deut. 6.* *liue.* Now if it be not permitted to carrie away grapes more than thou canſt eat out of another *Deut. 23 v. 24* mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much leſſe lawfull to take the vineyard it ſelfe from the owner, and giue it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (ſay they) ſuch as doe warrant the Kings of *Iſrael*, or make it proper vnto them, to take at will *Verſe.* any thing from their vaſſalls. For it is not ſaid that it ſhall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your ſonnes: and againe, This ſhall be the manner of the King that ſhall reigne ouer you. God thereby foreſhewing what power ſeuered from pietie, (becauſe it is accountable to God onely) will doe in the future. And hereof we finde the firſt example in *Achab*, who tooke from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the truſt which God had put in him, of gouerning well his people. For God commanded, *That his people ſhould bee iudged with* *Deut. 16.* *righteous iudgement.* Wherefore, though the King had offered vnto *Naboth* compoſition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money which he refuſed: yet becauſe hee was falſly accuſed, and vniuſtly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grieuouſly *Achab* was puniſhed by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea ſufficient for *Achab* againſt the all-righteous God, to ſay that it was done without his conſent, and by the Elders of *Iſrael*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a liuing Law, euen as *Dauid* teſtifieth of himſelfe: *Poſuiſti me in caput gentium*: For this of S. *Auguſtine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non eſt innocentia: ſimulata æquitas non eſt æquitas: ſed duplicatur peccatum in quo eſt iniquitas & ſimulatio; Fained innocence, and fained equitie, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquitie and diſſimulation.* Such in effect is their diſputation, who thinke this place to containe the deſcription of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary ſide, as they are many and forcible, ſo are they well knowne to all; being excellently handled in that Princely diſcourſe of *The true Law of free Monarchies*, which Treatiſe I may not preſume to abridge, much leſſe here to inſert. Onely thus much I will ſay, that if practice doe ſhew the greatneſſe of authoritie, euen the beſt Kings of *Iuda* and *Iſrael* were not ſo tied by any lawes, but that they did whatſoeuer they pleaſed in the greateſt things; and commanded ſome of their owne Princes, and of their owne brethren to be ſlaine without any triall of law, being ſometime by Prophets reprehended, ſometime not. For though *Dauid* confeſſed his offence for the death of *Vriah*, yet *Salomon* killing his elder brother and others, the ſame was not imputed vnto him as any offence.

Gen. 49.
Gen. 15.
Gen. 17.

That the ſtate of *Iſrael* ſhould receiue this change of gouernment, it was not onelie fore-told by *Moſes* in *Deuteronomie*, but perceiued by *Iacob* in this Scripture: *The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iuda, &c.* It was alſo promiſed by God to *Abraham* for a bleſſing: For it was not only aſſured that his iſſues ſhould in number equall the Starres in heauen, but that Kings ſhould proceed of him: Which ſtate ſeeing it is framed from the patterne of his ſole rule, who is Lord of the Vniuerſall; and the excellencie thereof in reſpect of all other gouernments, hath beene by many iudicious men handled and prooued, I ſhall not need to ouer-paint that which is garniſhed with better colours already, than I can lay on.

1. Sam. 8.

In the time of the Iudges euery man hath obſerued what ciuill Warre *Iſrael* had: what outragious ſlaughters they committed vpon each other: in what miſerable ſeruitude they liued for many yeeres: and when it fared beſt with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recouer ſome parts thereof formerly loſt. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the beſt vallies of the Countrie. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* ouer *Iordan*; the *Philiſtims* the Sea-coaſts; and the *Iebuſites Hieruſalem* it ſelfe, till *Dauids* time: all which that King did not onely conquer and eſtabliſh, but hee maſtered and ſubiected all the neighbour Nations, and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vaſſals. But whether it were for that the *Iſraelites* were moued by thoſe reaſons, which allure the moſt of all Nations to liue vnder a *Monarch*, or whether by this meanes they ſought to bee cleered from the ſonnes of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the perſwaſions and threats which *Samuel* vſed; inſiſting vpon this point, that they would haue a King, both to iudge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to conſent, hee ſent euery man to his owne Citie and abiding.

§. II.

Of the election of Saul.

1. Sam. 16.

AFter that *Samuel* had diſmiſſed the aſſembly at *Mizpah*, hee forbare the election of a King, till ſuch time as he was therein directed by God: who fore-told him the day before, that he would preſent vnto him a man of the Land of *Beniamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to annoint. So *Samuel* went vnto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feaſt for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promiſes) and *Saul* alſo hauing wandred diuers daies to ſeeke his fathers aſſes, at length by the aduice of his ſeruant trauelled towards *Ramath*, to finde a *Seer* or *Prophet*, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beaſts. In which iourney it pleaſed God (who doth many times order the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt paſſages, and perſons) to elect *Saul*, who ſought an Aſſe, and not a Kingdome: like as formerly it had pleaſed him to call *Moſes*, while he fed the ſheepe of *Iethro*; and after to make choyce of *Dauid* the yongeſt of eight ſonnes, and by the *Scriptures* called a little one, who was then keeping of beaſts; and changed his ſheep-hooke into a Scepter, making him of all other the moſt victorious King of *Iuda* and *Iſrael*. So *Iohn* and *Iacob* were taken from caſting their nets, to become fiſhers of men, and honoured with the titles of *Apoſtles*, a dignitie that died not in the graue, as all worldly Honours doe: but permanent and euerlaſting in Gods euerlaſting Kingdome.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom hee expected, and ſtayed his arriuall at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God ſhewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the ſame whom hee had fore-told him of, that hee ſhould rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Iudge of *Iſrael*, much leſſe knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the Citie the *Seer* dwelt. *Samuel* anſwered, that himſelfe was the man hee ſought, and prayed *Saul* to goe before him to the high place, where *Samuel* ſetting him according to his degree, aboue all that were inuited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the Kingdome, and of

Gods graces to bee beſtowed on him, and the morning following annointed him King of *Iſrael.*

After this he told him all that ſhould happen him in the way homeward, that two men ſhould incounter him by *Rahels* Sepulcher, who ſhould tell him that his Aſſes were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of loſing his beaſts, to doubt the loſſe of his Sonne: that he ſhould then meet three other men in the plaine of *Tabor*; then a company of Prophets: and that hee ſhould be partaker of Gods ſpirit, and prophecie with them: and that thereby his condition and diſpoſition ſhould be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the Prophets here ſpoken of, men indued with ſpirituall gifts, were not of the firſt and moſt reuerenced number, who by diuine reuelation fore-told things to come, reprehended without feare the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moſes, Ioſua, Samuel,* & after them *Gad, Nathan, Abias, Elias, Eliſæus, Iſay, Ieremie,* and the reſt; for theſe Prophets, ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome, Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præſentia, & futura:* but they were of thoſe of whom S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of 1. *Cor.* 14. 14. who inriched with ſpirituall gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

Chryſ. in Pſ 43

At *Miſpeth Samuel* aſſembled the people, that he might preſent *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his owne Vncle therewith, when he asked him what had paſt betweene him and *Samuel:* for either hee thought his eſtate not yet aſſured, or elſe that it might be dangerous for him to reueale it, till he were confirmed by generall conſent. When the Tribes were aſſembled at *Mizpeth*, the generall opinion is, that he was choſen by lot. *Chimhi* thinkes by the anſwere of * *Vrim* and *Thummim:* that is, by the anſwere of the Prieſt, wearing that myſterie vpon his breſt when he asked counſaile of the Lord. But the caſting of lots was not onely much vſed among the *Iewes*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promiſe was diuided by lot: God commanded lots to be caſt on the two Goates, which ſhould be ſacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Chriſts ſuffering, and our deliuerance, for whoſe garments the *Iewes* alſo caſt lots. *Cicero, Plautus, Pauſanias*, and others haue remembred diuers ſorts of lots, vſed by the *Romanes, Græcians*, and other Nations: as in the diuiſion of grounds or honours; and in things to bee vnder-taken: the two firſt kindes were called diuiſorie; the third, diuinatory; and vnto one of theſe three all may be reduced: all which kindes howſoeuer they may ſeeme chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Prouerbs: The lot is caſt into the lap, But the whole diſpoſition is of the Lord.* And in like ſort fell the Kingdome of *Iſrael* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* with-drew himſelfe in modeſtie, as both *Ioſephus* conſters it, and as it may bee gathered by his former anſweres to *Samuel*, when hee acknowledged himſelfe the leaſt of the leaſt Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and hee was taller then all the reſt by the ſhoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that hee was the choſen King of *Iſrael*, whereupon all the multitude ſaluted him King, and prayed for him; yet ſome there were that enuied his glorie (as in all eſtates there are ſuch) who did not acknowledge him by offring him preſents, as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to auoide ſedition, tooke no notice.

* The *Vrim* & *Thumim* in the ornaments of the High-Prieſt were inſerted within the pectorall, which therfore was *duplicatũ*, they were placed in the pectorall ouer againſt the hart of the High Prieſt. It is plain that they were not the precious ſtones nor any thing made by the Artificers. See *Exod.c.*38. *Cic de diuin. Pauſ. in Meſ.*

1. *Sam.c.*10.

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§. III.

Of the eſtabliſhing of Saul *by his firſt victorie.*

NO ſooner was *Saul* placed in the Kingdome, but that hee receiued knowledge that *Nahas* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to beſiege *Iabes Gilead:* which Nation ſince the great ouerthrow giuen them by *Iephta*, neuer durſt attempt anie thing vpon the *Iſraelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did alwaies attend vpon the aduantage of time, to recouer thoſe Territories which firſt the *Amorite*, and then *Iſrael* diſpoſſeſt them of; which they made the ground of their inuaſion in *Iephta's* time; yet they neuer perſwaded themſelues of more aduantage than at this preſent. For firſt, they knew that there were many of the *Iſraelites* that did not willingly ſubmit themſelues to this new King: ſecondly, they were remembred that the *Philiſtims* had not long before ſlaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and beſides had vſed great care and policie that they ſhould haue no Smithes to make them ſwords or ſpeares: neither was it long before, that of the *Bethſhemeſites* and places adioyning, there periſhed by the hand of God more then 50000. and therefore in theſe reſpects, euen occaſion it ſelfe inuited them to inlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers: *Iabes Gilead* being one of the neereſt. Beſides, it may further be coniectured, that the *Ammonites* were imboldened againſt *Iabes Gilead*, in reſpect of their weakeneſſe: ſince the *Iſraelites* deſtroyed a great part of them, for not ioyning with them againſt the *Beniamites*: at which time they did not onely ſlaughter the men and male-children, but took from them their yong women, and gaue them to the *Beniamites*; and therefore they were not likelie to haue beene increaſed to any great numbers: and if they had recouered themſelues of this great calamitie, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himſelfe with the opinion, that *Iſrael* hauing for long time beene diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, was not apt to ſuccour thoſe whom they had ſo deepely wounded and deſtroyed. But contrariwiſe, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would giue them no other condition to ranſome themſelues, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they ſhould be vtterly diſabled for the Warre, as elſewhere hath beene ſpoken: *Saul*, both to value himſelfe in his firſt yeeres reigne, and becauſe perchance hee was deſcended of one of thoſe 400. Maides taken from the *Gileadites*, and giuen to the *Beniamites*, gaue order to aſſemble the forces of *Iſrael*, hewing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and ſending them by meſſengers ouer all the coaſts, proteſting thus: *That whoſoeuer came not forth after* Saul *and after* Samuel, *ſo ſhould his Oxen be ſerued*: threatning the people by their goods, and not by their liues at the firſt. Seuen dayes had *Saul* to aſſemble an Armie, by reaſon that the *Gileadites* had obtained the reſpite of theſe ſeuen daies to giue *Nabas* the *Ammonite* an anſwer: who, could they haue obtained any reaſonable condition, were contented to haue ſeuered themſelues from *Iſrael*, and to become Vaſſals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while *Saul* aſſembled the forces which repaired vnto him at *Bezec*, neere *Iordan*, that he might readily paſſe the Riuer; which done, he might in one day with a ſpeedie march arriue at *Iabes*, vnder the Hills of *Gilead*.

Iud. 21.

1. Sam. 11. 8. The Armie by *Saul* led, conſiſting of three hundred and thirty thouſand, hee returned an anſwer to thoſe of *Iabes*, that they ſhould aſſure themſelues of ſuccour by the next day at noone. For, as it ſeemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch hee ſurprized the Armie of *Nahas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that hee might ſet on them on all ſides, hee diuided his forces into three parts, putting them to the ſword vntill the heat of the day, and the wearineſſe of *Sauls* troupe inforced them to giue ouer the purſuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careleſſe and ſecure, in that thoſe of *Iabes* promiſed the next morning to render themſelues and their Citie to their mercie. After this happie ſucceſſe the people were ſo farre in loue with their new King, that they would haue ſlaine all thoſe *Iſraelites* that murmured againſt his election, had not himſelfe forbidden and reſiſted their reſolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent louers of the proſperous, and baſe Vaſſals of the time that flouriſheth: and as deſpightfull and cruell without cauſe againſt thoſe, whom any miſaduenture, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe.

1. Sam. 11. After the Armie remoued, *Samuel* ſummoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and as ſome Commenters affirme, anointed King: and here *Samuel* vſed an exhortation to all the Aſſembly, containing precepts, and a rehearſall of his owne Iuſtice, during the beginning of his gouernment to that day. After *Saul* had now reigned one yeere before he was eſtabliſhed in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he ſtrengthened himſelfe with a good guard of 3000. choſen men, of which he aſſigned 1000. to attend on *Ionathan* his ſonne at *Gibeah*, the Citie of his natiuitie: the reſt hee kept about his owne perſon in *Micmas*, and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

1. Sam. 12.

§. IIII.

Of Sauls *diſobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the Philiſtims and Amalekites, which cauſed his finall reiection.*

IOnathan with his ſmall Armie or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of aduantage, ſuprized a Garriſon of *Philiſtims*: the ſame, as ſome thinke, which *Saul* paſt by, when he came from *Rama*, where hee was firſt anointed by *Samuel*, which they thinke to haue beene *Cariath-iearim*: becauſe a place where the *Philiſtims* had a *Garriſon*, 1.*Sam*.10. is called the Hill of God, which they vnderſtand of *Cariath-iearim*: but *Iunius* vnderſtands this Garriſon to haue beene at *Gebah* in *Beniamin* neere *Gibha*, where *Ionathan* abode with his thouſand followers. Howſoeuer, by this it appeareth that the *Philiſtims* held ſome ſtrong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territorie of *Iſrael*: and now being greatly inraged by this ſurprize, they aſſembled thirty thouſand armed Chariots, and ſixe thouſand Horſe, wherewith they inuaded *Iudæa*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a Citie of *Beniamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hieruſalem*, and in the middeſt of the Land betweene the Sea and *Iordan*. With this ſudden inuaſion the *Iſraelites* were ſtrucken in ſo great a feare, as ſome of them hid themſelues in the caues of the mountaines; other fledde ouer *Iordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himſelfe with ſome 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, ſtaid at *Galgala* in *Beniamin*, not farre from the paſſage of *Ioſua* when he led *Iſrael* ouer *Iordan*. Heere *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the comming of *Samuel* ſeuen daies: but when the laſt day was in part ſpent, and that *Saul* perceiued his forces to diminiſh greatly, he preſumed (as ſome expound the place 1. *Sam*. 13. 9.) to exerciſe the office which appertained not vnto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vnto God, contrary to the *Eccleſiaſticall* lawes of the *Hebrewes*, and *Gods* Commandements: others expound the word, *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*, and ſo make the ſinne of *Saul* not to haue beene any intruſion into the Prieſts office, but firſt a diſobedience to Gods Commandement, in not ſtaying according to the appointment, 1.*Sam*.10.8. ſecondly a diffidence or miſtruſt in Gods helpe, and too great relying vpon the ſtrength of the people, whoſe departing from him hee could not beare patiently; and laſtly a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the helpe which the prayers of ſo godly a man might procure him. But whatſoeuer was his ſinne, notwithſtanding his excuſes, hee was by *Samuel* reprehended moſt ſharply, in termes vnfitting his eſtate, had not extraordinarie warrant beene giuen to *Samuel* ſo to doe, from God himſelfe; at which time alſo *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome ſhould be conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from *Saul* and his poſteritie.

1.Sam.13.5.

1.Sam.c.13.

Verſe.14.

After this *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when hee had taken view of his armie, found it to conſiſt of 600. men: for the moſt were fled from him and ſcattered, yea and among thoſe that ſtaid, there was not any that had either ſword or ſpeare, but *Saul* and his ſonne *Ionathan* onely. For the *Philiſtims* had not left them any *Smyth* in all *Iſrael*, that made weapons; beſides, they that came to *Saul* came haſtily, and left ſuch weapons and armor as they had, behind them in their garriſons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* ſhould be able the yeere before, or in ſome part of this very yeere, to ſuccour *Iabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thouſand men, if there had not now beene any yron weapon to defend themſelues withall, ſaue onely in the hand of *Saul* and *Ionathan* his ſonne. But howſoeuer, all the reſt of the people were formerly diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, and all thoſe craftеſmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left vnto the *Iſraelites* only files to ſharpen and amend ſuch ſtuffe as ſerued for the Plough, and for nought elſe: yet that they had ſome kind of armes it is manifeſt, or elſe they durſt not haue attempted vpon the *Philiſtims* as they did. And it is not ſaid in the Text that there was not any ſword in all *Iſrael*, but onely that there was not any found among thoſe 600. ſouldiers which ſtayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it ſeemeth that when *Samuel* had ſharpely reprehended *Saul*, that his owne guards forſooke him, hauing but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie ſouldiers, and of all the reſt that repaired vnto him, of which many were fledde from him before *Samuel* arriued.

1.Sam 13.7.

1.Sam.13 22.

With this ſmall troope he held himſelfe to his owne Citie of *Gibeah*, as a place of more ſtrength, and better aſſured vnto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obſcure how it ſhould come to paſſe that the *Philiſtims* ſhould thus diſarme the moſt part of the *Iſraelites*, howſoeuer in the time of *Samuel* much had beene done againſt them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by ſword or ſpeare, but by thunder from heauen: and when theſe craftеſmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Iſrael*, no maruell if they could not in a ſhort peace vnder *Samuel* be replanted againe. For this tyrannie of the *Philiſtims* is to bee vnderſtood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder *Samuel*: and yet vnder him it is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policie, not ſuffering their artificers to teach the *Iſraelites*, and ſo euen to the times of *Saul* kept them from hauing any ſtore of armour. The ſame policie did *Nabuchodonoſor* vſe after his Conqueſt in *Iudæa*: *Dionyſius* in *Sicilie*; and many other Princes elſe-where in all ages. But theſe loſt weapons in part the *Iſraelites* might repaire in *Gilead*, for ouer *Iordan* the *Philiſtims* had not inuaded. The reſt of their defences were ſuch as antiquitie vſed, and their preſent neceſſity miniſtred vnto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and ſlings. For the *Beniamites* exceeded in caſting ſtones in ſlings: and that theſe were the naturall weapons, and the firſt of all nations, it is manifeſt; and ſo in the firſt of *Chronicles* the 12. Chapter, it is written of thoſe that came to ſuccour *Dauid* againſt *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bowes, and could vſe the right and the left hand with ſtones*; and with a ſling it was that *Dauid* himſelfe ſlew the Gyant *Goliah*.

While the State of *Iſrael* ſtood in theſe hard termes, the *Philiſtims* hauing parted their armie into three troupes, that they might ſpole and deſtroy many parts at once; *Ionathan* ſtrengthened by *God*, and followed with his Eſquire onely, ſcaled a mountaine, whereon 1.Sam.14.12. a companie of *Philiſtims* were lodged: the reſt of their armie (as may bee gathered by the ſucceſſe) being incamped in the plaine adioyning. And though he were diſcouered before he came to the hill top, and in a kinde of deriſion called vp by his enemies: yet he ſo behaued himſelfe, as with the aſſiſtance of God he ſlew 20. of the firſt *Philiſtims* that he encountred. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cauſe, fled away amazed altogether. In which confuſion, feare, and iealouſie, they ſlaughtered one another in ſtead of enemies: whereupon thoſe *Hebrewes* which became of their partie, becauſe they feared to be ſpoyled by them, tooke the aduantage of their deſtruction, and ſlew of them in great numbers. And laſtly, *Saul* himſelfe taking knowledge of the rout and diſorder, together with thoſe *Iſraelites* that ſhrouded themſelues in 1.Sam.14. mount *Ephraim*, ſet vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a moſt happie and glorious victory ouer them. Heere was that prophecie in *Deuteronomie* fulfilled by *Ionathan*, *That one of thoſe which feared God, ſhould kill a thouſand, and two of them ten thouſand*.

This done, the ſmall armie of *Iſrael* made retrait from the purſuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the euening, yet his ſonne *Ionathan* being infeebled with extreame labour and emptineſſe, taſted a drop of hony in his paſſage: for which *Saul* his father would haue put him to death, had not the people deliuered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Ionathan*, ſeemes to haue reduced vnto the *Philiſtims* remembrance their former ouerthrow likewiſe miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; ſo that for ſome ſpace of time they held themſelues quiet. In the meane while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, vndertooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; 1.Sam.14. namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, againſt all which he preuailed. He then aſſembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiuing the commandement of God by *Samuel*, he inuaded *Amalec*, waſting and deſtroying all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart* belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Hauilah* towards *Tigris* vnto *Shur*, which bordereth *Ægypt*; in which warre hee tooke *Agag* their King priſoner. But whereas he was inſtructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation Exod.17. without compaſſion, becauſe they firſt of all attempted *Iſrael*, when they left *Ægypt* in *Moſes* time: hee notwithſtanding did not onely ſpare the life of *Agag*, but reſerued the beſt of the beaſts and ſpoyle of the Countrie, with pretence to offer them in ſacrifice to the liuing God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a ſecond time make him know that God would caſt him from his royall eſtate to which he was raiſed, when he was of baſe condition, and as the Text hath it, *little in his owne eyes*. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voyce of God by *Samuel*, had there beene no former precept to that effect: yet ſeeing *Saul* could not bee ignorant how ſeuerely it pleaſed God to inioyne the *Iſraelites* to reuenge themſelues vpon that Nation, he was in all vnexcuſable. Deut.25.15 For God had commanded that the *Iſraelites ſhould put out the remembrance of* Amalec *from vnder heauen*. For the cruelty which the predeceſſors of this *Agag* vſed againſt the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially on thoſe which were ouer-wearied, faint, ſicke, and aged people, was now to be reuenged on him, and his Nation aboue 400. yeeres afterward; and now hee was to pay the debt of bloud, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himſelfe hauing alſo ſinned in the ſame kinde, as theſe words of *Samuel* witneſſe: *As thy ſword hath made other women childeleſſe, ſo ſhall thy mother be childeleſſe among other women*; at which time *Samuel* himſelfe (after he had beene by many bootleſſe intreaties perſwaded to ſtay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and ſoone after he departed to *Ramath, and came no more to ſee* Saul, *vntill the day of his death.*

1 Sam 15.33

§. V.

Of the occurrents betweene the reiection of Saul *and his death.*

NOw while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to chooſe a King for *Iſrael*, among the ſonnes of *Iſhai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a ſort to performe, till it pleaſed God to direct him, how hee might auoid both the ſuſpition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the prouidence of God, that by his cautious care and wiſedome, hee ſought to auoid the inconuenience or dangers of this life; then doe theſe men miſtake the nature of his diuine ordinance, who neglecting the reaſon that God hath giuen them, doe no otherwiſe auoid the perills and dangers thereof, than as men ſtupified in the opinion of fate or deſtinie, neglecting either to beg counſaile at Gods hands by prayer, or to exerciſe that wiſdome or foreſight, where-with God hath inriched the mind of man, for his preſeruation. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could deſtroy the world in an inſtant) diſdaine here to inſtruct *Samuel*, to auoid the furie of *Saul*, by the accuſtomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the ſonnes of *Iſhai*, *Samuel* by God directed, made choice of *Dauid*, the yongeſt, hauing refuſed *Eliab*, the firſt borne: who though he were a man of a comely perſon and great ſtrength; yet vnto ſuch outward appearance, the Lord had no reſpect. For as it is written, *God ſeeth not as man ſeeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* He alſo refuſing the other ſixe brethren, made choice of one whom his Father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flocke, for of him *the Lord ſaid to* Samuel, *Ariſe and annoynt him, for this is he*: which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neyther was it long after this that *Saul* began to ſeeke the life of *Dauid*: in which bloudy minde he continued till he died, ouercome in battell by the *Philiſtims*.

1. Sam. 16.

The *Philiſtims* hauing well conſidered (as it ſeemes) the increaſe of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whileſt they had ſitten ſtill & forborne to giue impediment to his proſperous courſes, thought it good to make new triall of their fortune, as iuſtly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Iſrael*, might be repayed with aduantage, if euer opportunity ſhould ſerue their often iniured neighbours againſt them, as lately it had done againſt *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the reſt of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all warlike prouiſions, the *Philiſtims* had reaſon to thinke themſelues equall, if not ſuperiours to *Iſrael*. The ſucceſſe of their former wars had for the moſt part beene agreeable to their own wiſhes; as for late diſaſters, they might, according to humane wiſedome, impute them to ſecond cauſes, as to a tempeſt happening by chance, and to a miſtaken alarme, wherby their Armie poſſeſſed with a needleſſe feare had fallen to rout. Hauing therefore muſtered their forces, and taken the field, encamping ſo neere to the Armie which King *Saul* drew forth againſt them, that they could not eaſily depart without the triall of a battel, each part kept their ground of aduantage for a while, not ioyning in groſſe, but maintaining ſome skirmiſhes, as refuſing both of them to paſſe the Valley that lay betweene their Camps. Iuſt cauſes of feare they had on both ſides; eſpecially the *Philiſtims*, whoſe late attempts had been confounded by the angrie hand of God. Vpon this occaſion perhaps it was, that they ſought to decide the matter by ſingle combat, as willing to try in one mans perſon, whether any ſtroake from heauen were to bee feared. *Goliah* of *Gath* a ſtrong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, vndertooke to defie the whole hoſte of *Iſrael*, prouoking them with deſpightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the partie vanquiſhed in Champion, ſhould hold it ſelfe as ouercome in groſſe, and become vaſſall to the other. This gaue occaſion to young *Dauid*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publike notice of the people. For no man durſt expoſe himſelfe to encounter the great ſtrength of *Goliah*, vntill *Dauid* (ſent by his father of an errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes offenſiue or defenſiue than a ſling, wherewith he ouerthrew that haughtie Gyant, and after with his owne ſword ſtrooke off his head. Heereupon the *Philiſtims*, who ſhould haue yeelded themſelues as ſubiects to the Conquerour, according to the couenant on their owne ſide propounded, fled without ſtay; and were purſued and ſlaughtered euen to their owne gates. By this victorie the *Philiſtims* were not ſo broken, that eyther any of their townes were loſt, or their people diſcouraged from infeſting the Territories of *Iſrael*. But *Dauid*, by whom God had wrought this victorie, fell into the grieuous indignation of his Maſter *Saul*, through the honour purchaſed by his well-deſeruing. For after ſuch time as the ſpirit of God departed from *Saul* and came vpon *Dauid*, hee then became a cruell Tyrant, faithleſſe, and irreligious. Becauſe the high Prieſt *Abimelech* fedde *Dauid* in his neceſſitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with a ſword of his owne conqueſt taken from *Goliah*; *Saul* not onely by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murthered this *Abimelech* and 85. Prieſts of *Nob*, but alſo hee deſtroyed the Citie, *and ſmote with the edge of the ſword both man and woman, both childe and ſuckling, both Oxe and Aſſe, and Sheepe.* And hee that had compaſſion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to God and his people, and alſo ſpared and preſerued the beſt of his Cattell, contrarie to the Commandement and ordinance of God, both by *Moſes* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercie in ſtore, for the innocent, for the Lords ſeruants the Prieſts of *Iſrael*. Yea hee would haue ſlaine his owne ſonne *Ionathan*, for pittying and pleading *Dauids* innocencie, as alſo once before for taſting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers vnreaſonable commination. The companions of crueltie are breach of faith towards men, and impietie towards God. The former he ſhewed in denying *Dauid* his daughter, whom he had promiſed him: and againe in taking her away from him, to whom he had giuen her; alſo in that when as *Dauid* had twice ſpared his life in the Territorie of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice ſworne to do him no hurt, and confeſſed his errors, yet hee ſought ſtill to deſtroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impietie towards God he ſhewed, in that he ſought counſell of the witch of *Endor*, which was the laſt preparatiue for his deſtruction. For whereas when he ſought counſell from God he had bin alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Deuill this ſucceſſe followed, that both himſelfe, and his three ſons, with his neereſt and faithful ſeruants, were all ſlaughtered by the *Philiſtims*: his bodie with the bodies of his ſons (as a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour) were hung ouer the walls of *Bethſan*: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of rauenous birds, had not the gratefull *Gileadites* of *Iabes* ſtolne their carcaſes thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had gouerned *Iſrael*, together with *Samuel* 40. yeres, and by himſelfe after *Samuel* 20. yeres, according to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Ioſephus*. But yet it ſeemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the reſt of the ſame chapter the paſſages are written of *Dauid*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly enſued.

1 Sam.16.v.13

1.Sam.22.18.

1 Sam.24.23.

Acts 13.21.
Cedren.pa.65.
Theop.l 3.p 3.
Ioſep.l.28.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gaue a faire entrance to all thoſe victories which *Dauid* afterward obtained; for hee had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring Nations; cruſht the *Syrians*, and their adhærents; broken the ſtrength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly waſted the power and pride of the *Philiſtims*.

§. VI.

Of ſuch as liued with Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Hellen *and* Hercules, *and of their iſſues: vpon occaſion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entring* Peloponneſus *about this time.*

IN the ſecond yeere of *Samuel*, according to *Euſebius*, was *Dauid* borne: after *Codoman* later, and in the ninth yeere: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *Dauid*, ſaith he, was thirty yeeres old when hee began to reigne: whence it followeth, that hee was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeeres, which are giuen to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the 11. yeere of *Samuel*, *Æneas Siluius* the ſonne of *Poſthumus* began his reigne ouer the *Latines* in *Alba*, who gouerned that State one and thirty yeeres. There are who place before him *Latinus Syluius*, as brother to *Poſthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Æneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not ſtand to diſpute. In the eleuenth of *Samuel*, *Dercilas* ſate in the Throne of *Aſsyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire fortie yeeres. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponneſus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the Nation, poſſeſt a great part thereof 328. yeeres before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratoſthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently poſſeſſed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *viz.* the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes* of *Hellen*, the ſonne of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Countrie of *Pthiotis* in *Theſſalie*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till ſuch time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many *Colonies*, and ſundrie great victories obtained, the iſſues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Countrie vnder their obedience, calling themſelues generally by one name, and yet euery ſeuerall Nation after ſome one of the poſteritie of *Hellen*, who had reigned ouer it. And becauſe this is the furtheſt antiquitie of *Greece*, it will not be amiſſe to recount the Pedigree of her firſt planters.

Iapetus (as the Poets fable) was the ſonne of Heauen and Earth, ſo accounted, eyther becauſe the names of his Parents, had in the *Greeke* tongue ſuch ſignification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Aſtronomie* and *Philoſophie*.

Iapetus begat *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*: of whom all men haue read that haue read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*. *Deucalion* & his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Theſſalie*, which was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretenſis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the *Queene*. In *Deucalions* time was that great floud, of which we haue ſpoken elſewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whoſe ſonnes were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Æolus*: of *Dorus* and *Æolus*, the *Dores* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Dores* hauing firſt inhabited ſundrie parts of *Theſſalie*, did afterward ſeate themſelues about *Parnaſſus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldeſt ſonne of *Hellen*, being baniſhed by his brethren, for hauing diuerted from them to his owne vſe ſome part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Erictheus*, hee begat on her two ſonnes, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of theſe two, *Achæus*, for a ſlaughter by him committed, fledde into *Peloponneſus*: and ſeating himſelfe in *Laconia*, gaue name to that region: from whence (as ſome write) hee afterwards departed; and leuying an Armie, recouered the Kingdome of his Grand-father in *Theſſalie*.

Ion being Generall for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* inuaded *Attica*, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby ſuch loue and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. Hee diuided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing euery one to ſome occupation, or good courſe of life. When the people multiplied, hee planted *Colonies* in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos*, or *Ægialia*: In which Countrie *Solinus* then reigning, thought it ſafer to giue his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Towne called by his Wiues name in *Ægialia*, where he and his poſterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gaue to that Land denomination. But in after-times the *Dores* aſſiſting the Nephewes of *Hercules*, inuaded *Peloponneſus*, and ouer-comming the *Achæans*, poſſeſſed *Laconia*, and all thoſe parts which the *Achæi* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driuen to ſeeke a new ſeate, came vnto the *Iones* deſiring to inhabit *Ægialia* with them, and alleadging in vaine, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had beene brethren. When this requeſt could not be obtained, they ſought by force to expell the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they loſt their King *Tiſamenes*, the ſonne of *Oreſtes* in that Warre.

Thus were the *Iones* driuen out of *Peloponneſus*, and compelled to remooue into *Attica*, from whence after a while they ſailed into *Aſia*, and peopled the Weſterne coaſt thereof; on which they built twelue Cities, inhabited by them, euen to this day, at the leaſt without any vniuerſall or memorable tranſmigration. This expedition of the *Iones* into *Aſia* hath beene mentioned of all which haue written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. yeeres after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. yeeres after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſut*. Theſe *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* iſſued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeeres. Of their Father

Hercules many ſtrange things are deliuered vnto vs by the Poets, of which ſome are like to haue beene true, others perhaps muſt be *allegorically* vnderſtood. But the moſt approued Writers thinke that there were many called *Hercules*, all whoſe exploits were by the *Greekes* aſcribed to the ſonne of *Alcmena*, who is ſaid to haue performed theſe 12. great labours.

Firſt, he ſlew the *Nemæan* Lyon: ſecondly, he ſlew the Serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the ouer-taking a very ſwift Hare: The fourth was the taking of a wilde Bore aliue, which hanted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadie*: The fifth was the cleanſing of *Augias* his Oxe-ſtall in one day, which he performed by turning the Riuer *Alpheus* into it: The ſixt was the chaſing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalis*: The ſeuenth was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: The eight was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane fleſh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen* of the *Amazons*: The three laſt were, to fetch *Gerions* Beeues from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Heſperides*; and *Cerberus* from hell. The *Mythologicall* interpretation of theſe I purpoſely omit, as both ouer-long to be heere ſet downe, and no leſſe perplexed than the labours themſelues. For ſome by *Hercules* vnderſtand Fortitude, Prudence, and Conſtancie, interpreting the Monſters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Sunne*, and his trauailes to bee the twelue ſignes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his workes hiſtorically to their owne conceits; as well aſſured, that the expoſition cannot haue more vnlikelihood, than the fables: That hee tooke *Elis*, *Pylus*, *OEchalia*, and other Townes, being aſſiſted by ſuch as eyther admired his vertues, or were beholding vnto him. Alſo that hee ſlew many Theeues, and Tyrants, I take to be truely written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His trauailes through moſt parts of the world are, or may ſeeme, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But ſure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that hee (bending all his indeuours to the common good) deliuered the Land from much oppreſſion. But after his death no Citie of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the vertue and deſerts of *Hercules*, with conſtant protection of his children, perſequuted by the King *Euryſtheus*. This *Euryſtheus* was ſonne of *Sthenelus*, and grand-childe of *Perſeus*; hee reigned in *Mycenæ*, the mightieſt Citie then in *Greece*. He it was that impoſed thoſe hard taskes vpon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madneſs he had committed vpon his owne children; but as others ſay, becauſe he was his Subiect and Seruant: wherefore there are who commend *Euryſtheus* for imploying the ſtrength of *Hercules* to ſo good a purpoſe. But it is ſo generally agreed by the beſt writers, that *Hercules* was alſo of the ſtocke of *Perſeus*, and holden in great iealouſie by *Euryſtheus* becauſe of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous ſeruices, wherein he was imployed, ſo that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many wiues and Concubines aboue threeſcore children. Theſe children *Euryſtheus* would faine haue got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled vnto *Ceyx* King of *Thracinia*, and from him (for he durſt not withſtand *Euryſtheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not onely gaue them entertainment, but lent them ayde, wherewith they encountred *Euryſtheus*. *Iolaus* the brothers ſon of *Hercules*, who had aſſiſted him in many of his trauels, was captaine of the *Heraclidæ*. It is ſaid of him, that being dead, hee obtained leaue of *Pluto* to liue againe till hee might reuenge the iniuries done by *Euryſtheus*: whom when he had ſlaine in battell, hee died againe. It ſeemes to mee, that whereas he had ledde *Colonies* into *Sicilie*, and abode there a long time forgotten: hee came againe into *Greece* to aſſiſt his couſins, and afterwards returned backe. When the *Peloponneſians* vnderſtood that *Euryſtheus* was ſlaine, they tooke *Atreus* the ſonne of *Pelops* to their King: for hee was rich, mighty, and fauoured of the people. Againſt him the *Heraclidæ* marched vnder *Hyllus* the ſonne of *Hercules*. But to auoid effuſion of bloud, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* ſhould fight with *Echenus* King of the *Tegeatæ* a people of *Arcadia*, who aſſiſted *Atreus*; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were victor, he ſhould peaceably enioy what he challenged as his right: otherwiſe the *Heraclidæ* ſhould not enter *Peloponneſus* in an hundred yeeres. In that combat *Hyllus* was ſlaine, and the *Heraclidæ* compelled to forbeare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned vnder *Ariſtodemus* (as the beſt authoritie doth ſhew, though ſome haue ſaid, that they came vnder the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom they planted in that countrey, as is before ſhewed, hauing expelled the *Achæi*, ouer whom the iſſue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Euryſtheus* foure generations.

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§. VII.

Of Homer *and* Heſiod, *and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.*

ABout this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* liued, as many of the beſt *Chronologers* affirme. He was by race of the *Mæones*, deſcended (as *Functius* imagineth) of *Beroſus* his *Anamæon*, who gaue name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to haue beene long after theſe times, raſhly framing his *Æra* according to [a] *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes ſeauen more of this name to haue floriſhed in diuers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, ſprang the diuerſitie of opinions, both of the time and of the natiue Citie of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Functius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manaſſe* King of *Iuda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Meleſigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, becauſe blinde men follow a guide, which ſignification among others, is in the verbe ὁμηρεῖν: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blinde. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the queſtion of the time when *Homer* liued. So alſo [b] *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Aſſyrius* in his Oration *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* floriſhed 950. yeeres before the *Conſulſhip* of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* caſteth vp in the worlds yeere 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260 yeeres: and about 250. yeeres before the building of *Rome*; making him to haue floriſhed about the time of *Iehoſaphat* King of *Iuda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* aboue named, mention authors that make him much ancienter. The difference of which authors in this point is not vnworthy the readers conſideration, that by this one inſtance he may gueſſe of the difficultie, and ſo pardon the errours in the computations of ancient time: ſeeing in ſuch diuerſitie of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gaue being to *Homer* about 80. yeeres after *Troy* taken, neere the time that the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponneſus*: and * *Eratoſtenes* after *Troy* 100. yeeres. *Theopompus* 500. yeeres after the armie of *Greece* ſailed into *Phrygia* for the warre of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporarie with *Gyges*, who began to reigne in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. yeeres after *Rome* was built) and *Soſibius* ſaith, that he was 90. yeeres before the firſt *Olympiad*: which he ſeekes to proue by the times of *Charillus* and his ſonne *Nicander*; *Philochorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Ariſtarchus* 140. in the time of the ſeating of the *Colonies* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirmes that he liued while *Ageſilaus* gouerned *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his yong yeeres, about 100. yeeres after the *Ionian* plantations, came to viſit him, neere 240. yeeres after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* findes *Homer* floriſhing 622. yeeres before *Xerxes* enterpriſe againſt the *Græcians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168. yeeres after the *Troian* warre. *Euſebius* ſeemes to make him to haue beene about the time of *Ioas* King of *Iuda*, 124. yeeres before *Rome* built: though elſewhere in his *Chronologie* he notes, that ſome place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *Dauid*, and others in other ages. In his *Euangelicall* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Aſſyrius* he citeth ſundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* liued, he reckoneth many other *Greeke* writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Ariſtæus*, *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

Funct Chro. fol. 11. col. D.

[a] This author ſet out with *Beroſus* and others, firſt at *Baſil*, and after with *Fryer Annius* his Comment at *Antwerp* is *incertæ fidei*.

Naucler f. 147 placeth *Homer* in the 32. generation in the time of *Samuel*.

* *Stromatū l. 5.*

[b] *Nat. Attic l 3 c. 11 item l 17. c. 21.*

* As both *Cle. Alex.* and *Tatian. Aſſyr.* report his opinion *rerum Phil. 43.*

Roſ. in diſcs temporum.

Phil. in comm. in Archilog.

Her. in vita Ho:

Now whether *Homer* or *Heſiodus* were the elder, it is alſo much diſputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirme, that *Homer* preceded *Heſiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the *Hiſtorian*, make *Heſiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaues it vncertaine which of theſe learned fablers was firſt borne: but he findes that they liued together ſome certaine yeeres, wherein he confirmes himſelfe by an *Epigram*, written vpon a Treuit, and left by *Heſiod* in *Helicon*.

Noct Attic. l. 3. c. 11.

Varro de imag. l. 1.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both liued 160. yeeres before *Rome* built: while the *Siluij* reigned in *Alba*, about [a] 140. yeeres after the fall of *Troy*. [b] *Euthymenes* findes them both 200. yeeres after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acaſtus* the ſonne of *Pelias*, King

Nep. in Chron. Caſſ. l. 1. annal

[a] This number *Mercator* corrects, & reads 210. for it.

[b] *Euthy in Chr. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.*

of *Theſſaly*. For my ſelfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet liued; neither would I offend the Reader with theſe opinions,but onely to ſhew the vncertainty and diſagreement of Hiſtorians,aſwell in this particular, as in all other queſtions and diſpute of time. For the curioſitie of this mans age is no leſſe ridiculous, than the inquiſition why he began his *Iliades* with the word *Menin*,as perhaps containing ſome great myſterie. In deriſion whereof *Lucian* faining himſelfe to haue beene in hell; and to haue ſpoken with *Homer*,there asked him the cauſe why he began his booke with that word: who anſwered, That he began in that ſort,becauſe it came in his head ſo to doe.

It ſeemeth that *Senyes*,or after *Macrobius*,*Senemires*,ruled *Ægypt* at this time: for *Tanepherſobris* was his ſucceſſour,who preceded *Vaphres*,father in law to *Salomon*.

Euſ.& Caſſ. in Chron.

About the end of *Sauls* gouernment, or in the beginning of *Dauids* time according to *Caſſiodorus*,the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* inuaded *Aſia*,*Latinus Syluius* then ruling in *Italie*. And beſides the ouerthrow of that famous State of *Troy*(which fell 103.yeeres before *Dauids* time)there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reaſon of thoſe Northerne Nations: but there ſprung vp ſomwhat neerely together,ſixe Kingdomes into greatneſſe not before erected. In *Italie*,that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*,thoſe of *Lacedæmon*,*Corinth*,and the *Achæi*. In *Arabia*,*Syria Soba*,and *Damaſcus*,the *Adads* made themſelues Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Iſrael* in effect: and ſomewhat before theſe,the State of the *Iſraelites* hauing now altered the forme of Gouernment,began to floriſh vnder Kings,of which *Dauid*,in a few yeers,became maſter of all thoſe neighbouring Nations who by interchange of times had ſubiected the *Iudæans*,corrupted their religion,and held them vnder in a moſt abiect and grieuous ſlauerie; to wit,the *Edumæans*,*Moabites*, *Ammonites*,*Midianites*,*Ituræans*, and the reſt of the *Arabians*, with the *Philiſtims*,*Iebuſites*,*Geſhurites*,*Machathites*; all which acknowledged *Dauid* for their Soueraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Dauid.

§. I.

Of Dauids *eſtate in the time of* Saul.

THE hazards which *Dauid* ran into while he was yet onely deſigned King,and liuing as a priuate man, expected the Empire, were very many. The firſt perſonall act of fame, was his killing of *Goliah* in the view of both armies,whereby he became knowne to *Saul*, and ſo highly affected of *Ionathan* the ſonne of *Saul*, that he loued him as his owne ſoule: In ſo much as when *Saul* ſought to perſwade his ſon, that *Dauid* would aſſuredly be the ruine of his houſe, and eſtate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cauſe; *Ionathan* could neuer be perſwaded, neuer forſt, nor euer wearied from the care of *Dauids* life,& well doing. It was not long after this ſignall act of *Dauid*, but that *Saul* became exceeding iealous of him,though he were become as his houſhold ſeruant,and his Eſquire,or armor-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an euill ſpirit,was aduiſed to procure ſome cunning Muſician to play before him vpon the Harpe; whereby it was thought that he might finde eaſe; which came to paſſe accordingly. He entertained *Dauid* for this purpoſe,and began to fauour him,giuing him a place of Command among the men of warre. But the iealous tyrant ſoone waxed wearie of his good affection, and ſought to kill *Dauid*, being thereunto moued onely through enuie of his vertue. This paſſion firſt brake forth in the middeſt of his rauing fit, at which time he threw a ſpeare at *Dauid* that was then playing on his Harpe to doe him eaſe.

Cenſ.c.12.& 14.

Cenſorinus remembreth one *Aſclepius* a *Phyſician*, who practiſed the curing of the Frenzie, by the like Muſicke: and tempered thereby thoſe diſeaſes which grew from paſſion. That *Pythagoras* did alſo the like by ſuch a kinde of harmonie, *Seneca* in his third booke of anger witneſſeth. But the madneſſe of *Saul* came from the cauſe of cauſes, and was thereby incurable, howſoeuer it ſometimes left him, and yeelded vnto that Muſicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Muſician than to the King.

Saul hauing failed in ſuch open attempts, gaue vnto *Dauid* the Command ouer 1000. ſouldiers, to confront the *Philiſtims* withall. For hee durſt not truſt him as before, about his perſon, fearing his reuenge. Now the better to couer his hatred towards him, he promiſed him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but hauing married her to *Adriel*, he gaue to *Dauid* his yonger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to preſent him with an hundred foreſkins of the *Philiſtims*: hoping rather (in reſpect of the valour of that Nation,) that the *Philiſtims* would take *Dauids* head, than he their foreſkins. This hope failing, when as now *Dauids* victories begat new feares and iealouſies in *Saul*, he practiſed with *Ionathan*, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life; but his purpoſes were ſtill fruſtrated. After all this he ſought to murther him in his owne houſe, but *Michol* his wife deliuered him. So *Dauid* ſought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being purſued by *Saul*, fled thence vnto *Nob* in *Beniamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achis* the *Philiſtim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obſcure himſelfe, he was forc't to counterfeit both ſimplicitie and diſtraction. But being ill aſſured among the *Philiſtims*, he couered himſelfe in the *Caue of Adullam*: and after conueying ſuch of his kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himſelfe in the *deſarts of Ziph*, *Maon* and the hils of *Engaddi*, where he cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and ſpared his life: as he did a ſecond time in the *deſart of Ziph*, after his paſſage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis of Geth* the ſecond time, and was kindely entertained in regard of the hatred, with which his maſter *Saul* was knowne to proſecute him.

1 *Sam*.19.

1 *Sam*.21.

1 *Sam*.24.

1 *Sam*.29.

Of *Achis Dauid* obtained * *Siklag* in *Simeon*, pretending to inuade *Iudæa*: but he bent his forces another way and ſtrooke the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Iſrael*, letting none liue to complaine vpon him. *Achis* ſuppoſing that *Dauid* had drawne bloud of his owne Nation, thought himſelfe aſſured of him: and therefore preparing to inuade *Iſrael*, ſummoneth *Dauid* to aſſiſt him, who diſſembling his intent, ſeemeth very willing thereto. But the reſt of the *Philiſtim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his diſpoſition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himſelfe to *Siklag*. At his return he found the towne burnt, his two wiues with the wiues and children of his people taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his fellowes mutined, but God gaue him comfort, and aſſurance to recouer all againe: which he did.

Ianſen in Pſal.

* It ſeemeth that *Simeon* neuer obtained *Siglag* till this time, for it is ſaid in the 1. of *Sam.c.27.* v 6 therefore *Siglag* pertaineth vnto the King of *Iuda* vnto this day.

This armie of the *Philiſtims* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three ſonnes were ſlaine. The newes with *Sauls* Crowne and bracelets were brought to *Dauid* at *Siklag*, in his returne from being victorious ouer *Amalech*, by a man of the ſame Nation, who auowed (though falſly) that himſelfe at *Sauls* requeſt had ſlaine him. *Dauid*, becauſe he had accuſed himſelfe, made no ſcruple to cauſe him to be ſlaine at the inſtant: and the ſooner, becauſe the probabilities gaue ſtrong euidence withall. Otherwiſe it followeth not that euery man ought to be beleeued of himſelfe, to his owne preiudice. For it is held in the law; *Confeſſio reorum non habenda eſt pro explorato crimine, niſi approbatio alia inſtruit religionem cognoſcentis. The priſoners confeſſion muſt not be taken for an euidence of the crime, vnleſſe ſome other proofe informe the conſcience of the Iudge.* For a man may confeſſe thoſe things of himſelfe, that the Iudge by examination may know to be impoſſible. But becauſe it is otherwiſe determined in the title *de cuſtodia reorum l. ſi confeſſus, & in cap. de pœnis l. qui ſententiam*, therefore doth the *Gloſſe* reconcile theſe two places in this ſort: *Si quis in iudicio ſponte de ſeipſo confiteatur, & poſteà maneat in confeſſione, id eſt ſatis. If any man in iudgement doe confeſſe of himſelfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perſeuere in his confeſſion, it is enough.* That *Dauid* greatly bewailed *Saul* it is not improbable, for death cutteth aſunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the ſtrength of *Iſrael* alſo fell, could not but ſtirre vp ſorrow, and moue compaſſion in the heart of *Dauid*.

2 *Sam*.1.

*In F. de quæſt. l.*1.

The victorie which the *Philiſtims* had gotten was ſo great, that ſome townes of the *Iſraelites*, euen beyond the riuer of *Iordan*, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left vnto the enemie, who tooke poſſeſſion of them without any reſiſtance made. Wherefore it may ſeeme ſtrange, that a Nation ſo warlike and ambitious as were the *Philiſtims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and ſeeke to make the Conqueſt entire.

Moſt like it ſeemes, that the Ciuill warre immediatly breaking out betweene *Dauid* and the houſe of *Saul*, wherein *Iuda* was diuided from the reſt of *Iſrael*, gaue them hope of an eaſie victorie ouer both; and thereby cauſed them to attempt nothing at the preſent, leſt by ſo doing they ſhould inforce their diſagreeing enemies to a neceſſarie reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part ſhould conſume the other; by which meanes, both the victors, and the vanquiſhed, would become a prey to the violence of ſuch as had beaten them, when their forces were vnited.

§. II.

Of the beginning of Dauids *reigne, and the warre made by* Abner *for* Isboſeth.

After the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the warre, ſought to aduance *Isboſeth* (or *Ieboſtus*, according to *Ioſephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdome of *Iſrael*: for *Mephiboſeth* the firſt ſon of *Ionathan* liued. Againſt this *Abner*, and *Isboſeth*, *Dauid* made a defenſiue warre, till *Abner* paſt *Iordan*, and entred the border of *Iuda*; at which time he ſent *Ioab* with ſuch forces as he had, to reſiſt *Abner*: *Isboſeth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *Dauid* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other neere *Gibeon*, where it ſeemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that Combat betweene the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Argiues*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300. being choſen of each Nation, of which number three perſons were onely left vnſlaine. The like triall by a farre leſſe number was performed by the *Horatij* and *Curiatij* for the *Romanes* and *Latines*. The ſame challenge *Goliah* the *Philiſtim* made, whom *Dauid* ſlew: a cuſtome very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like triall in his own perſon to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelue choſen of each part, in this warre of *Dauid* with the houſe of *Saul*, to wit, ſo many of *Beniamin*, and as many of *Iuda*: whoſe force and valor was ſo equall, as there ſuruiued not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrell ſtaide not heere: for the army of *Iuda* preſt *Abner* in groſſe, and brake him. Three hundreth and ſixtie men of *Abners* companions were ſlaine, and but twenty of *Iuda*: whereof *Aſahel* the brother of *Ioab* was one: who when he would needes purſue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perſwaſions could not be moued to quit him, he was forced to turne vpon him, wounded him to death, with the ſtroake of his ſpeare. For though *Aſahel* were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wilde *Roe*, and as *Ioſephus* reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horſes; and hoped to haue gotten great fame, if he could haue maſtered *Abner* (who, as *Aſahel* perſwaded himſelfe, had by being ouerthrowne and flying away loſt his courage) yet here it fell out true; *That the race is not to the ſwift.*

2 Sam.2.

Eccleſ.9.

That this ciuill warre laſted two yeeres, we finde it written in the ſecond of *Samuel* the ſecond Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter reſteth ſtill in diſpute, and ſome of the *Rabbines* conceiue that *Isboſeth* had then reigned two yeeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the partie of *Isboſeth* after this, and till ſuch time as there grew iealouſie betweene him and *Isboſeth* for *Sauls* concubine: neither did the death of *Isboſeth* inſtantly follow; but how long after the muther of *Abner* it happened, the ſame doth not certainly appeare.

Verſ.10.

§. III.

Of the death of Abner *ſlaine by* Ioab, *and of* Isboſeth *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.

Abner, reconciled to *Dauid*, was anon by *Ioab* murdered; for *Ioab* could not endure a companion in *Dauids* fauour, and in the commandement of his forces, by which he was growne ſo powerfull, as *Dauid* forbare to call him to account; for thus much he confeſſeth of himſelfe: *I am this day weake, and theſe men of the ſonnes of* Zeruiah *be too hard for me.* In this ſort *Dauid* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it cleare that he hated this fact of *Ioab*, he followed him with this publike imprecation; *Let the bloud fall on the head of* Ioab, *and on all his fathers houſe: and let them be*

2 Sam.3.27.

2 Sam.3.39.

verſe 29.

be ſubiect to vlcers, to the leproſie, to lameneſſe, to the ſword, and to pouertie, &c. For could any thing haue withſtood the ordinance of *God*, this murther committed by *Ioab* might greatly haue indangered *Dauids* eſtate, *Abner* being the mouth and truſt of all the reſt of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This miſchance therefore *Dauid* openly bewailed, ſo that all *Iſrael* perceiued him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being Generall of the men of warre, was of ſuch importance, that the Kings themſelues were faine to giue them great reſpect, as hath beene already ſhewed more at large. This office *Ioab* held in the armie of *Iuda*, and thought himſelfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to *Dauid* in kinred, and had beene partaker of all his aduerſitie; wherefore he did not thinke it meete, that an old enemy ſhould in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeede he was by nature ſo iealous of his dignitie and place, that he afterward ſlew *Amaſa* his owne kinſman and the Kings, vpon the ſame quarrell, taking it in high diſdaine to ſee him ioyned with himſelfe as captaine of the hoſte of *Iuda*; much leſſe could hee brooke a ſuperiour, and ſuch a one as had ſlaine his brother, and beene beaten himſelfe in battell. But howſoeuer *Ioab* did hate or deſpiſe *Abner*, *Dauid* eſteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Iſrael*, excuſing the ouerſight by which he might ſeeme to haue periſhed, by affirming that he died not like a foole, nor a man vanquiſhed, *But as a man falleth before wicked men, ſo* (ſaid he) *diddeſt thou fall.* 2 *Sam.*3. *Verſe* 34. And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a ſtronger hand deſtroyed vnawares, or whom ſubtiltie in free truſt bringeth to confuſion. For all vnder the *Sunne* are ſubiect to worldly miſeries and miſaduentures. Howſoeuer *Isboſeth* meant to haue dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he deſpaired greatly of his eſtate, and with him all *Iſrael* were poſſeſt with great feare: inſomuch as two of *Isboſeths* owne Captaines, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murthered *Isboſeth*, and preſenting his head to *Dauid*, receiued the ſame reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to haue ſlaine *Saul*. 2 *Sam.*4. *Isboſeth* being dead, all the Elders of *Iſrael* repaired to *Dauid* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and laſt time annointed by generall conſent.

§. IIII.

Of the flouriſhing time of Dauids *Kingdome, the taking of Ieruſalem, with two ouerthrowes giuen to the Philiſtims, and the conduction of the Arke to the Citie of* Dauid.

WHen *Dauid* was now eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, his firſt enterpriſe was vpon the *Iebuſites*, who in deriſion of his force, and confident in the ſtrength of the place (as is thought) manned their wals with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which *Dauid* ſoone after entred: all their other forces notwithſtanding. For hauing 2 *Sam.*5. maſtered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the Citie of *Dauid*) he became Lord of *Hieruſalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Iebuſites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moſes* and *Ioſua*, and after them almoſt 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place otherwiſe: *Except thou take away the blinde and the lame, thou ſhalt not come in hither.* For ſome thinke that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Iebuſites*: others, that it had reference to the Couenant made long before with *Iſaac*, and *Iaacob*: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wreſtling with the Angell, and that therefore till thoſe (that is, till that Couenant) be broken, *Dauid* ought not to moleſt them. But for my ſelfe I take it with *Ioſephus*, that they armed their wals with certaine impotent people at firſt, in ſcorne of *Dauids* attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeeres againſt all the children of *Iſrael*, *Ioſua*, the *Iudges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it alſo againſt *Dauid*.

When he had now poſſeſt himſelfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdome, and receiued congratulatorie Embaſſadours and preſents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained diuers other concubines and married moe wiues, by whom he had ten ſons in *Ieruſalem*, and by his former wiues he had ſixe in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. yeeres.

The *Philiſtims* hearing that *Dauid* was now annointed King, as wel of *Iuda* as of *Iſrael*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warme in his ſeat. And being encountred by *Dauid* at two ſeuerall times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, 2 *Sam.*5. they were at both times ouerthrowne. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then *Dauid* aſſembled 30000. choice *Iſraelites* to conduct the *Arke of God* from the houſe of *Abinadab* in *Gibea*, to the Citie of *Dauid*; which buſineſſe was interrupted by the death of *Vzzah* the ſonne of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord ſlew for preſuming to touch the *Arke*, though it were with intent to ſtay it from taking harme, when it was ſhaken. But after three yeeres it was with great ſolemnity brought into the Citie with ſacrifices, muſicke, dances, and all ſignes of ioyfulneſſe, in which *Dauid* himſelfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Arke*, and afterward told him in ſcorne, *That he was vncouered as a foole in the eyes of the maidens his ſeruants*; namely that he forgat his regall dignity both in apparell and behauiour; and mixed himſelfe among the baſe multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and ſtreetes: not that ſhe diſliked *Dauids* behauiour (as I take it) though ſhe made it the colour of her deriſion; but to rather the aboundant griefe, which this ſpectacle ſtirred vp, beholding the glory of her husband to whom ſhe was deliuered laſtly by force, and remembring the miſerable end of her father and brethren, out of whoſe ruines ſhe conceiued that the ſonne of *Iſhai* had built this his greatneſſe: together with the many new wiues and concubines imbraced ſince his poſſeſſion of *Ieruſalem*, made her breake out in thoſe deſpitefull tearmes, for which ſhe remained barren to her death.

1 Chro. c. v. 3.

This done, *Dauid* conſulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or houſe of *God*: but was forbidden it, becauſe he was a man of warre, and had ſhed bloud. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all deteſt homicide; hauing threatned, not in vaine, that he would require the bloud of man, at the hand of man and beaſt. The wars which *Dauid* had made were iuſt, and the bloud therein ſhed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cauſe it was not permitted that his hands ſhould lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appeares how greatly thoſe Princes deceiue themſelues, who thinke by bloudſhed and terrour of their warres, to make themſelues in greatneſſe like to the *Almightie*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercie and goodneſſe, or ſeeke the bleſſedneſſe promiſed by our *Sauiour* vnto the peacemakers.

Now although it was not pleaſing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *Dauids* founding, yet was his religious intent ſo well accepted, that hereupon he receiued both a confirmation of the Kingdome to him and his heires, and that happie promiſe of the euerlaſting throne, that ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his ſeede.

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§. V.

The ouerthrow of the Philiſtims and Moabites.

2 Sam. 8. v. 1.

SOone after this *Dauid* ouerthrew the *Philiſtims*, which made them altogether powerleſſe, and vnable to make any inuaſion vpon *Iſrael* in haſte. For it is written, *Accepit frænum Amgaris è manu Philiſthæorum*; which place our *Engliſh Geneua* conuerts in theſe words, And *Dauid tooke the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philiſtims*. The Latine of *Iunius* giueth another and a better ſenſe; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the ſtrong Citie of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and ſo the *Geneua* hath it in the marginall note. This Citie of *Gath* was the ſame which was afterward *Dio-Cæſarea*, ſet on the frontier of *Palæſtina* at the entrance into *Iudæa* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incurſions, and thereinto their retrait in all their inuaſions; which being taken by *Dauid* and demoliſhed, there was left no ſuch frontier towne of equall ſtrength to the *Philiſtims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* ſtood, the *Hebrews* call *Ammæ*, wherof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Plinie* in his firſt book, and Chap. 13. This expoſition is made plaine and confirmed in the firſt of *Chro.* the 18.

Iunius in 8. c. of the ſecond of *Sam.*

There was no nation bordering the *Iewes* that ſo greatly afflicted them as the *Philiſtims* did, who before the time of *Saul*, (to the end they might not ſharpen any weapon againſt them) did not leaue one Smith in all their Cities and villages of that kinde, but inforſt them to come downe into their territorie, for all iron worke whatſoeuer they needed; ſo as the *Iſraelites* till this time of *Dauid* were ſeldome free from paying tribute to the *Philiſtims*.

1 Sam. 13.

After this he gaue them foure other ouerthrowes: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came betweene. In the firſt of which he was indangered by *Iſhbi-benob*, the head of whoſe ſpeare weighed 300. ſheckles of braſſe, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abiſhai* ſuccoured *Dauid* and ſlew the *Philiſtim*, wherupon the Counſellors and Captaines of *Dauid* (leſt the light of *Iſrael* might by his loſſe be quenched) vowed that he ſhould not thenceforth hazard himſelfe in any battaile. The ſecond and third incounter and ouerthrow of the *Philiſtims* was at *Gob* a place neere *Geſar*, and the laſt at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better aſſured of the *Philiſtims* by the taking of *Geth*, he inuaded *Moab*, from whom notwithſtanding in his aduerſitie he ſought ſuccour and left his parents with him in truſt. But whether it were the ſame King or no it is not knowne. *2 Sam 21. v.17*

The *Rabbines* faine that *Moab* ſlew thoſe kinsfolkes of *Dauid*, which liued vnder his protection in *Sauls* time; but queſtionleſſe *Dauid* well knew how that Nation had bin alwayes enemies to *Iſrael*, and tooke all the occaſions to vex them that were offered. And he alſo remembred that in the 23. of *Deut.* God commanded *Iſrael* not to ſeeke the peace or proſperity of the *Moabites*, which *Dauid* well obſerued, for he deſtroyed two parts of the people, leauing a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Adadezer* the ſonne of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is ſet downe in the deſcription of the holy Land: to which I referre the Reader.

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§. VI.

The warre which Dauid *made vpon the Syrians.*

IT is written in the Text: Dauid *ſmote alſo* Hadadezer, *&c. as he went to recouer his border at the riuer Euphrates.* Now whether the words (*as he went to recouer his border*) be referred to *Dauid* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed vpon. *Iunius* thinkes that the article (*hee*) hath relation to *Dauid*, who finding *Tohu* oppreſt by *Hadadezer*, ouerthrew the one, and ſuccoured the other. But the ancient and moſt receiued opinion, that this recouery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *Dauid* had intended any ſuch enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in farre better caſe to haue proceeded after his victory than before: ſeeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his backe, either to purſue him, to take victuals and ſupplies from him, or to ſtop the paſſages of the mountaines vpon him at his returne.

Againe, ſeeing *Dauid* was either to paſſe through a part of *Arabia* the deſart, or by the plaines of *Palmyrena*, his army conſiſting of footmen, for the moſt, if not all: He had now both horſe and chariots good ſtore to carry his prouiſions through thoſe vncultiued places, by which he was to haue marched before he could haue reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But we finde that *Dauid* returned to *Hieruſalem*, after he had twice ouerthrowne the *Syrian* army, not bending his courſe towards the riuer *Euphrates*, but ſeeking to eſtabliſh his purchaſes already made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *Dauid*, that was going to inlarge his border, as afore is ſaid.

The king of *Syria Damaſcena*, and of *Damaſcus*, whereof that region is ſo called, hearing that *Adadezer* was ouerthrowne by the *Iſraelites*, fearing his owne eſtate, and the loſſe of his owne country which adioyned to *Syria Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, ſent for an army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his ſuccour: but theſe, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer*, and too ſoone for themſelues: for there periſhed of thoſe ſupplies 22000. This king of *Damaſcus*, *Ioſephus* (out of *Nicholaus* an ancient Hiſtorian) calleth *Adad*, who was alſo of the ſame name and family as all thoſe other *Adads* were: which now began to grow vp in greatneſſe, and ſo continued for ten deſcents, till they were extinguiſhed by the *Aſſyrians*, as is ſhewed heretofore. *Dauid* hauing now reduced *Damaſcus* vnder his obedience, left a garriſon therein, as he did in *Edom*: hauing alſo ſackt the adioyning cities of *Betah*, and *Berathi*, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which Cities *Ptolomie* calleth *Betah*, *Tauba*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*. *Tohu* or *Thoi* whoſe country of *Hamath* ioyned to *Adadezer* (as in the deſcription of the Holy land the reader may perceiue) ſent his ſonne *Ioram* to congratulate this ſucceſſe of *Dauid*: partly becauſe he had warre with *Adadezer*, and partly becauſe he feared *Dauid* now victorious. He alſo preſented *Dauid* with veſſels of gold, ſiluer, and braſſe; all which together with the golden ſhields of the *Aramites*, and *2 Sam.8.*

the beſt of all the ſpoiles of other Nations, *Dauid* dedicated vnto God at his returne. *Iunius* tranſlated the words (*clypeos aureos*) by *vmbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the boſſes only. The *Septuagint* cal them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But becauſe *Roboam* made ſhields of braſſe in place of theſe of *Adadezer*, at ſuch time as *Shicah* the *Ægyptian* ſackt the Temple of *Hieruſalem*, it may be gathered thereby that thoſe of *Adadezer* were golden ſhields.

2 Sam.1.

This done, *Dauid* ſent Embaſſadours to *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites* to congratulate his eſtabliſhment in his fathers Kingdome: for *Dauid* in the time of his affliction vnder *Saul*, had beene relieued by *Nahaſh*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill aduiſed, and ouer-iealous of his eſtate, vſed *Dauids* meſſengers ſo barbarouſly, and contemptuouſly (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments) as hee thereby drew a warre vpon himſelfe, which neither his owne ſtrength, nor all the aydes purchaſed could put off, or ſuſtaine. For notwithſtanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thouſand Souldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaſſalles of *Adadezer* twentie thouſand, and of *Maachah* and *Iſhtob* thirteene thouſand (for which hee diſburſed a thouſand talents of ſiluer) yet all theſe great armies together with the ſtrength of the *Ammonites*, were by *Ioab* and his brother *Abiſhai* eaſily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great loſſe or ſlaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* alſo retraited into their Cities, the one holding themſelues within the walles, the other in their deſarts adioyning, till *Ioab* was returned to *Hieruſalem*.

Maachab the North part of *Traconitis* remembred in *Deut.3.14.* *Iſhtob* or *Thob* a country neere *Gad* vnder the rockes of *Arnon.* *2 Sam.10.*

Hadadezer hearing that *Ioab* had diſmiſſed his armie, aſſembled his forces againe, and ſent all the companies that he could leuie out of *Meſopotamia*, who vnder the command of *Shobach* paſſed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South ſide thereof. *Dauid* hearing of this new preparation, aſſembled all the ableſt men of *Iſrael*, and marched towards the *Syrian* armie in *Palmyrena*, not yet entred into *Arabia*; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no leſſe diſtant from *Damaſcus*, towards the Northeaſt, than *Hieruſalem* was towards the Southweſt. Now *Dauid* (ſpeaking humanely) might with the more confidence goe on towards *Euphrates* (which was the fartheſt-off iourney that euer hee had) becauſe hee was now Lord of *Damaſcus*, which lay in the midway. Hee alſo poſſeſt himſelfe of * *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward ſtrongly fortified, and this Citie was but one dayes iourney from *Helam*, and the riuer *Euphrates*. So had he two ſafe retraites, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damaſcus*. In this encounter betweene *Dauid* and the *Syrians*, they loſt 40000. horſemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* Generall of their armie, The Chronicles call theſe 40000. Souldiers footmen, and ſo *Iunius* conuerts it, and ſo is it very probable. For the armie of *Iſrael* conſiſting of footemen, could hardly haue ſlaughtered 40000. horſemen, except they quitted their horſe and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbred at 7000. in the firſt of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceiue, all the Souldiers that ſerued in them with the conductors are included: ſo as there dyed of the *Syrians* in this warre againſt *Dauid*, before he forc't them to tribute, 100000. footemen, beſides all their horſemen and waggoners, and beſides all thoſe that *Ioab* ſlew, when they fled at the firſt encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabbah*. Notwithſtanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered ſtrength againe, and afflicted the Kings of *Iuda* often: but the Kings of *Iſrael* they impoueriſhed euen to the laſt end of that State.

Helam or *Chelam* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Alamatha* neere the foords of *Euphrates.* *2 Sam.10.*

* See *c.18.§.2.*

Dauid hauing now beaten the *Arabians* and *Meſopotamians*, from the partie and confederacie of *Ammon*: He ſent out *Ioab* the Lieutenant of his armies to forradge and deſtroy their territorie, and to beſiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Iſraelites* maſtered and poſſeſt. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garniſhed with precious ſtones, *Dauid* ſet on his owne head, and carried away with him the reſt of the riches and ſpoile of the Citie. And though *Dauid* ſtayed at *Hieruſalem*, following the warre of *Vriah* his wife, till ſuch time as the Citie was brought to extremitie, and ready to be entred: yet *Ioab* in honour of *Dauid* forbare the laſt aſſault, and entrance thereof, till his maſters arriuall. To the people he vſed extreame rigour (if we may ſo call it being exerciſed againſt heathen Idolaters,) for ſome of them he tare with harrowes,

rowes, ſome he ſawed aſunder, others he caſt into burning kils, in which he baked tile and bricke.

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§. VII.

Of Dauids *troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.*

BVt as victory begetteth ſecurity, and our preſent worldly felicity a forgetfulneſſe of our former miſeries, and many times of God himſelfe the giuer of all goodneſſe: ſo did theſe changes, in the fortune and ſtate of this good King, change alſo the zealous care which formerly he had to pleaſe God in the preciſe obſeruation of his Lawes and Commandements. For hauing now no dangerous apparant enemie (againſt whom he was wont to aske counſaile from the Lord) he began to be aduiſed by his owne humane affections and vaine deſires. For hee was not onely ſatisfied to take *Vriahs* wife from him, and to vſe her by ſtealth: but he imbrodered his adultery with *Vriahs* ſlaughter, giuing order to his truſtie ſeruant *Ioab* to marſhall him in the front or point of thoſe *Iſraelites*, which gaue an aſſault vpon the ſuburbes of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any poſſibility of preuailing. And, that which could no leſſe diſpleaſe God than the reſt, hee was content that many others of his beſt ſeruants and Souldiers ſhould periſh together with *Vriah*, hoping thereby to couer his particular ill intent againſt him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the higheſt of happineſſe; and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his trodden-downe ſorrowes began againe to ſpring; and thoſe perils which he had pulled vp by the rootes (as hee hoped) gaue him an after-harueſt of many cares and diſcontentments. And if it had pleaſed God to take the witneſſe of *Dauids* owne mouth againſt him, as *Dauid* himſelfe did againſt the *Amalekite*, which pretended to haue ſlaine *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehenſion as the other was of the death he ſuffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne errour, in the perſon of another, to wit, of him that tooke the poore mans ſheepe that had none elſe, the bereauer being Lord of many: Hee then vowed it to the liuing Lord, that ſuch a one ſhould die the death. And hereof, although it pleaſed God to pardon *Dauid*, for his life, which remiſſion the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he deliuered him Gods iuſtice together with his mercy in the tenour following; *Now therefore the ſword ſhall neuer depart from thy houſe, &c. Becauſe thou haſt taken his wife to be thy wife, and haſt ſlaine* Vriah *with the ſword of the children of Ammon.* Soone after this *Dauid* loſt the childe of adulterie which he begot on *Berſheba*. Secondly, his owne ſonne *Amnon* being in loue with his halfe ſiſter *Thamar*, by the aduiſe of his Couſin-german the ſonne of *Shimeah Dauids* brother, poſſeſt her by force: which when he had performed, he thruſt her from him in a careleſſe and deſpightfull manner. Two yeeres after which foule and inceſtuous act, *Abſalom* cauſed him to be murthered, at the feaſt of his ſheepeſhearing; not perchance in reuenge of *Thamars* rauiſhment alone: but hauing it in his heart to vſurpe the Kingdome; in which, becauſe he could not in any ſort be aſſuren of *Amnon*, he thought his affaire greatly aduanced by his deſtruction. So the one brother hauing rauiſhed his owne ſiſter, and then deſpiſed her; the other after a long diſſembled malice, firſt, made his owne brother drunken, and then ſlaughtered him; which done he fled away, and liued vnder the ſauegard of *Talmai* King of *Geſſur*, neeere *Damaſcus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abſalom* by the inuention of *Ioab*, (but chiefly becauſe of the great affection of *Dauid* towards his ſonne) was brought againe: firſt to the Kings fauour, and then to his preſence: Hee began inſtantly to practiſe againſt *Dauid* his father, ſeeking by the pretence of common iuſtice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win vnto himſelfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatned by the Lord as a puniſhment of *Dauids* ſinne.

2 Sam.11.15.

2 Sam.12. verſ.9. and 10.

2 Sam.13.

2 Sam.14.

The company which *Abſalom* gathered at the firſt were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Hieruſalem* to *Hebron*; pretending, though impiouſly, the performance

2 Sam.15.

of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired vnto him, and many troopes of people
from all places, he proclaimed himſelfe King, and was by the people (whoſe hearts
God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted ſo readily, that *Dauid* doubting to
be ſet vpon on the ſuddaine, durſt not truſt himſelfe in his owne Citie of *Hieruſalem*, nor
in any other walled towne for feare of ſurpriſe: but incamped in the fields and deſarts
with ſome 600. of his gards, and few elſe. The prieſts he left in *Hieruſalem* with the
Arke of God, from whom he deſired to be aduertiſed of thoſe things that chanced; to
whom he directed *Huſhai* his truſtie friend, and ſeruant, praying him to make himſelfe in
2 Sam.15. all his outward actions and counſels of *Abſaloms* party and confederacy, thereby the
better to diſcouer vnto him the purpoſes of *Achitophel*, a reuolting Counſailor, whoſe
practices he greatly doubted. And now when treaſon was in faſhion, *Ziba* alſo ſought to
betray his maſter *Mephiboſeth* the ſonne of *Ionathan*: And *Shimei* of the houſe of *Saul*
(the fire of whoſe hatred *Dauids* proſperity had ſmothered, but his aduerſity illightned)
holding himſelfe vpon the aduantage of a mountaine ſide, caſt ſtones at *Dauid*, and moſt
2 Sam.16. deſpightfully curſed him to his face: but *Dauid* attending no priuate reuenges, forbad
Abiſhai to purſue him for the preſent, yet left him among others in the rolle of his reuenge,
to his ſonne *Salomon*. *Abſalom* being now poſſeſt of *Hieruſalem*, was aduiſed by
Achitophel to vſe his fathers concubines in ſome ſuch publique place, as all *Iſrael* might
aſſure themſelues, that he was irreconciliable to his father: whereof being perſwaded,
they would then reſoluedly adhere to *Abſalom* and his cauſe, without feare of being
2 Sam.17. giuen vp vpon a reconciliation betweene them. This ſaluage and impious (though crafty
counſaile) *Achitophel* indeede vrged for his owne reſpect, as fearing that this rebellion
might take end to his deſtruction; who moſt of all other inflamed *Abſalom* againſt
his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *Dauid: I will raiſe*
2 Sam.c.12 *vp euill againſt thee out of thine owne houſe, and will take thy wiues before thine eyes, and*
v.11. *giue them vnto thy neighbour, and he ſhall lye with thy wiues in the ſight of the Sunne: for*
thou diddeſt it ſecretly, but I will doe this thing before all Iſrael, and before the Sunne. He
alſo gaue aduice to *Abſalom*, that himſelfe with an armie of 12000. men might be imployed
at the inſtant for the ſurprizing of *Dauid*; which had willingly beene imbraced
2 Sam.17.v.14 by *Abſalom*, had not *Huſhai Dauids* faithfull ſeruant giuen counter-aduice, and ſwayed
it: perſwading *Abſalom*, that it was fitter and more ſafe for him with all the ſtrength of
Iſrael, to purſue his father, than by ſuch a troope, which *Dauids* valour and thoſe of
his attendants might either indanger or reſiſt. This delay in *Abſalom*, and aduantage of
time gained by *Dauid*, was indeede, after God, the loſſe of the one, and deliuery of the
2 Sam.17.23. other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occaſion fore-ſhewed) the ſucceſſe
which followed, diſpoſed of his owne eſtate, and then forſooke both the party and the
care of *Abſalom*, and of his owne life.

Dauid being aduertiſed of this enterprize againſt him, marched away all night, and
paſt *Iordan*, poſſeſſing himſelfe of *Mahanaim* in the tribe of *Gad*: the ſame wherein *Isboſeth*
himſelfe in the warre againſt *Dauid* after *Sauls* death ſeated himſelfe. To which place
there repaired vnto him *Shobi*, the ſonne of *Nahaſh* the *Ammonite*, whom *Dauid* loued,
the ſame which *Ioſephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it be greatly diſputed, what this
Shobi was, yet the moſt generall and probable opinion makes him a ſecond brother to
Hanum, whom *Dauid* for his fathers ſake eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, after *Hanums*
ouerthrow. In thankefulneſſe whereof he relieued *Dauid* in this his extremity. There
came alſo to *Dauids* aſſiſtance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephiboſeth*,
and among others *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *Dauid* and all his
companie.

In the meane time both the King and *Abſalom* prepared to fight; *Abſalom* made *Amaſa*
Commander of the armie of *Iſrael*, the ſame place which *Ioab* held with *Dauid*; an
office next the King himſelfe, like vnto that of the Maiors of the Palace auncienty in
France. *Dauid*, perſwaded by his companie, ſtayed in *Mahanaim*, and diſpoſed the forces
he had to *Ioab*, *Abiſhai*, and *Ittai*, giuing them charge in the hearing of all that iſſued out
of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they ſhould ſpare the life of *Abſalom*. But *Ioab*, beſides
that he was very cruell by nature, remembred that *Abſalom* had lately diſpoſed of his gouernment
to *Amaſa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and newes brought him
15. that *Abſalom* hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when he could not perſwade the
16. 2 Sam.18.14. meſſenger to returne and kill him, he himſelfe with his owne ſeruants diſpatcht him.

It appeared alſo by the ſequell that *Ioab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *Dauid* yet liuing; and fearing the diſpoſition of *Abſalom*, he imbraced the preſent aduantage offered.

2 Sam.18.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *Dauid*, he mourned and ſorrowed, not onely as a man that had loſt a ſonne, but as one that had outliued all his worldly ioyes, and ſeene euery delight of life interred. For he ſo hid himſelfe from his people, as thoſe which hoped for honour and reward after ſo great a victory, couered themſelues alſo in the Citie, as if they had committed the greateſt offences, and had rather deſerued death than recompence. Whereupon *Ioab* preſenting himſelfe before *Dauid*, perſwaded him to diſſemble his ſorrow for the preſent, and to ſhew himſelfe to the Armie. For firſt, he told him that he had diſcountenanced his faithfull ſeruants, who had that day preſerued his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge ſo great a loue and conſtancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet reſoluedly expoſe themſelues to great perils for his ſake: but on the contrary, grieue and lament at their good ſucceſſe. For, no doubt, they might all haue bought their peace of *Abſalom* at an eaſie rate. Secondly, he vrged that it was generally beleeued, that he loued his enemies and hated his friends, and that he witneſſed by this his mourning, that he had not any reſpect of his Princes, and others his faithfull ſeruants, but would more haue ioyed if they had all periſhed, and *Abſalom* liued, than in the victory by their faithfulneſſe and approued valour gotten.

Laſtly, he vſed this preualent argument, that if the King came not out and ſhewed himſelfe publikely to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatning: *And that will be worſe vnto thee than all the euill that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By theſe ouer-bold and arrogant ſpeeches (though perchance vttered with a good intent) *Ioab* raiſed *Dauid* from his bed of ſorrow, and brought him to the gates of the Citie among the people, whom he aſſured of his loue and affection, eſpecially *Amaſa*, who commanded the Armie of *Abſalom*, to whom he promiſed the office of Lieutenantſhip; the ſame which *Abſalom* had giuen him, and which *Ioab* now enioyed. For *Dauid* doubted, that if *Amaſa* were not ſatisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, now vnder his commandement.

2 Sam.19.

This done, the King marched towards *Iordan* homeward, where in his paſſage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reuiled him to his face; but this remiſſion was but externall, as appeared afterward. He alſo accepted of *Mephiboſheth* his excuſe, whom *Ziba* had formerly falſly accuſed and betrayed.

2 Sam.19 23.

He alſo intreated *Barzillai* the *Gilcadite*, his late liberall Oaſt, to follow him to *Ieruſalem*, that he might reward his ſeruice done him; who excuſing himſelfe by his age, appointed his ſonne *Chimham* to attend the King.

2 Sam.19.38.

At *Gilgal* on this ſide *Iordan*, all the Tribes aſſembled, and after ſome contention which of them ought to haue moſt intereſt in *Dauid*, the Armie brake, and *Dauid* returned to *Ieruſalem*. But *Sheba* the ſonne of *Bichri*, a *Beniamite*, of the faction of the houſe of *Saul*, finding ſome diſcontent among the *Iſraelites*, withdrew them from *Dauid*, as from a ſtranger in whom they had no intereſt, and it ſeemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Iuda*, bare ſtill a good affection to the iſſues of their firſt King. *Dauid* imployed his reconciled Captaine *Amaſa*, to giue him contentment, and to witneſſe his truſt, as alſo becauſe he conceiued that *Amaſa* had intereſt in thoſe reuolts of *Iſrael* more than *Ioab* had. He receiued commandement from *Dauid* to aſſemble the Armie within three dayes, which he foreſlowed: but being onward on his way, *Abiſhai*, *Ioabs* brother, was ſent after him, with *Dauids* guard and beſt Souldiers, whom alſo *Ioab* accompanied: and ouertaking *Amaſa* neere *Gibeon*, pretending to imbrace him, gaue him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no leſſe iealous of *Amaſa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the ſame manner, and out of the ſame impatient ambition. This done, he purſued *Sheba*, and finding him incloſed in *Abel*, aſſaulted the Citie with that furie, that the Citizens by the perſwaſions of a wiſe woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Ioab* ouer the wals: which done, he retraited his Armie to *Ieruſalem*, and commanded, as before, all the hoſte of *Iſrael*.

2 Sam 20.10.

2 Sam.20.22.

The next act of *Dauids*, was the deliuerie of *Sauls* ſons or kinſemen to the *Gibeonites*, whom thoſe Citizens hung vp in reuenge of their fathers cruelty. *Dauid* had knowledge from the *Oracle of God*, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reaſon of *Saul* and his houſe; to wit, for the ſlaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore he willingly yeelded to giue them this ſatisfaction, both becauſe he had warrant from *God* himſelfe, as alſo if we may iudge humanely, to rid himſelfe of *Sauls* line, by whom he and his might, as well in the preſent as in the future, be greatly moleſted and indangered; onely he ſpared *Mephiboſheth* the ſonne of *Ionathan*, both for the loue he bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to *God*.

2 Sam.21.

Now where it is written in the Text; *The King tooke the two ſonnes of* Riſpah, *whom ſhe bare vnto* Saul, *and the fiue ſonnes of* Michol *the daughter of* Saul, *whom ſhe bare to* Adriel, *and deliuered them to the Gibeonites*:

Iunius cals this *Michol* the ſiſter of her that was *Dauids* wife, ſhe whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*; but *Michol* here named had *Adriel* to her husband: the ſame which is named *Merab* in the firſt of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was firſt promiſed to *Dauid*, when he ſlew *Goliah* in the valley of *Raphaim*: and becauſe it is written that *Michol* loued *Dauid*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *Dauid* had any humane reſpect in the deliuerie of her children, it is onely knowne to *God*.

Now whereas the *Geneua* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better tranſlation were out of the *Hebrew* word here vſed, hauing an eclipſis or defect, and ſignifieth, as I am informed, one of the ſame kinred, as in the 19. verſe of the ſame 21. Chapter it is ſaid of *Goliah* whoſe ſpeare was weightie as a weauers beame, when as by the ſame Eclipſis it muſt be vndeſtood by the brother of *Goliah*: *Goliah* himſelfe being formerly ſlaine.

As by the death of *Sauls* children *God* ſecured the houſe of *Dauid*, leauing no head vnto rebellion; ſo did he ſtrengthen both the King and Nation againſt forreine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commanders, the like of whom, for number and qualitie, that people of *Iſrael* is not knowne to haue had at any time before or after. Thirtie Captaines of thouſands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Ouer theſe were ſixe Coronels, whoſe valour was ſo extraordinary, that it might be well held as miraculous. Theſe Coronels had ſome difference of place and honour, which ſeemeth to haue beene giuen vpon meere conſideration of their vertue. For *Abiſhai* the brother of *Ioab*, who in the warre againſt the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lieutenant, and commanded halfe the army, could not attaine to the honour of the firſt ranke, but was faine to reſt contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the ſecond order, notwithſtanding his neereneſſe of bloud vnto the King, the flouriſhing eſtate of his owne houſe, and his well approued ſeruices. All theſe Coronels and Captaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may ſeeme to haue beene ſuch as were continually retained, or at the leaſt kept in readineſſe for any occaſion, conſidering that the numbers which were muſtered and drawne out, if neede required, into the field, very farre exceeded thirty thouſand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were moſt of them ſuch as had followed the King in *Sauls* time, and beene hardened with his aduerſities. Others there were very many, aud principall men in their ſeuerall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of *Saul*; but theſe Captaines and Coronels, (who with *Ioab*, that was Generall of all the Kings forces, make vp the number of 37.) were the eſpeciall men of warre, and reckoned as *Dauids* Worthies. The long reigne of *Dauid*, as it is knowne to haue conſumed many of theſe excellent men of warre, ſo may it probably be geſſed to haue waſted the moſt of thoſe whoſe deaths we finde no-where mentioned. For the ſonnes of *Zeruia*, who had beene too hard for *Dauid*, were worne away, and onely *Ioab* left in the beginning of *Salomon*, who wanted his brother *Abiſhai* to ſtand by his ſide in his laſt extremitie.

2 Sam.c.23. v.39.

By the actions forepaſſed in the time of *Dauid*, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33. yeeres, or thereabout; when the poſterity of *Saul* was rooted out, ſo that he enioyed about ſeauen yeeres of entire quiet and ſecurity, wherein it pleaſed God to remoue all impediments that might haue troubled the ſucceſſion of *Salomon* in his Fathers throne. In this time alſo *Dauid* hauing eſtabliſhed all things in *Iuda* and *Iſrael*, and the borders thereof, he againe diſpleaſed God by numbring the people, as in oſtentation of his power: in which he employed *Ioab*, with other Captaines of his armie, who after nine moneths and twentie dayes trauell, returned with the account and regiſter of all the people, able and fit to beare Armes, and they amounted to the number of thirteene hundred thouſand, beſides *Leui* and *Beniamin*, whereof in *Iuda* and the Cities thereof fiue hundred thouſand, and in *Iſrael* eight hundred thouſand.

2.Sam.24.
1.Chron.c.21.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three puniſhments, whereof he might ſubmit himſelfe to which he pleaſed; to wit, ſeauen yeeres famine; three moneths warre, wherein hee ſhould be vnproſperous in all attempts, and be chaced by his enemies; or a generall peſtilence to laſt three dayes: *Dauid* made choice to bow himſelfe vnder the hand of God onely, and left himſelfe ſubiect to that cruell diſeaſe, which hath no compaſſion or reſpect of perſons, of which there periſhed 70. thouſand. And heereby hee hath taught all that liue, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giueth vs this diuine reaſon; ***For his mercies are great.***

2.Sam.14.

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§. VIII.

Of the laſt acts of Dauid; Adoniahs *faction; the reuenge vpon* Ioab *and* Shimei.

LAſtly, when he grew weake and feeble, and paſt the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet aduiſed to lie in the armes of a young and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake eſtate of bodie, when hee was in a manner bed-rid, *Adonijah* his eldeſt ſonne (*Amnon* and *Abſalom* being now dead) hauing drawne vnto his partie that inuincible, renowned and feared *Ioab*, with *Abiathar* the Prieſt, began manifeſtly to prepare for his eſtabliſhment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldeſt now liuing of *Dauids* ſonnes, and a man of goodly perſonage, *Salomon* yet yong, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by S. *Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others ſuppoſe) he preſumed to carry the matter without reſiſtance. Hereof when *Dauid* had knowledge by *Berſabe* the mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promiſe, that *Salomon* her ſonne ſhould reigne after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the ſame thing vnto the King, and ſeconding her report of *Adonijah* his preſumption) the King calling vnto him *Zadoc* the Prieſt, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benaiah* the Captaine of his guard, gaue charge and commiſſion to annoint *Salomon*, and to ſet him on the Mule whereon himſelfe vſed to ride in his greateſt ſtate: which done, *Salomon* attended, and ſtrongly guarded by the ordinarie and choyce men of warre, the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, ſhewed himſelfe to the people. Thoſe tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, hee preſently abandoned his aſſiſtants, and for the ſafety of his life he held by the hornes of the Altar, whom for the preſent *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *Dauid* had remaining two eſpeciall cares, whereof he was deſirous to diſcharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be diſturbed by ſome rebellion againſt *Salomon*, the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he ſought by all meanes to aduance, and make the buſineſſe publique. To bring theſe intentions to good effect, hee ſummoned a Parliament, conſiſting of all the Princes of *Iſrael*, the Princes of the ſeuerall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; who did repaire vnto *Ieruſalem*.

1.Kings 1.
Chro.c.28.v.1.

In this aſſembly the King ſtood vp, and ſignified his purpoſe of building the Temple, ſhewing how the Lord had approoued the motion. Heerein he tooke occaſion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, ſhewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Iuda* (as *Iaacob* in his bleſſing prophetically bequeathed it) and that GOD himſelfe was pleaſed to make choyce of him among all his Fathers ſonnes. In like manner hee ſaid that God himſelfe had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his ſucceſſor: whereupon he earneſtly charged both the people and his ſonne, to conforme themſelues vnto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords houſe, which *Salomon* was choſen to build. Then produced he the patterne of the worke according to the forme which God himſelfe had appointed; and ſo laying open his owne preparations, hee exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

1.Chron.29.3

The Kings propoſition was ſo well approoued by the Princes and people, that whereas hee himſelfe had giuen three thouſand talents of gold, and ſeuen thouſand of ſiluer, they added vuto it ſauen thouſand of gold, and ten thonſand of ſiluer, beſides braſſe, iron, and iewels, heartily reioycing in the aduancement of ſo religious a worke. This buſineſſe being ſo well diſpatched, a ſolemne feaſt with great ſacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was againe annointed King, and receiued fealtie of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren, the ſonnes of King *Dauid*. *Salomon* being thus eſtabliſhed King, his Father *Dauid* finding himſelfe euen in the hands of death, firſt exhorted his ſonne to exerciſe the ſame courage and ſtrength of minde, which himſelfe had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he vttered theſe mighty words; *Take heede to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and keepe his ſtatutes and his commandements, and his iudgements, and his teſtimonies, as it is written in the Law of* Moſes, *&c.* to the performance of which, GOD faſtened the ſucceſſion, and proſperitie of his iſſues. For this done (ſaith GOD himſelfe) *Thou ſhalt not want one of thy poſteritie to ſit vpon the Throne of Iſrael.*

1.King 2.3.

1.Kin.1.20.

Secondly, he aduiſed him concerning *Ioab*, who out of doubt had ſerued *Dauid* from the firſt aſſault of *Ieruſalem* to the laſt of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, ſauing that he faſtened himſelfe to *Adonijah* (his maſter yet liuing) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath neuer left cruelty vnreuenged, ſo was it his will that *Ioab* ſhould drinke of the ſame cup, whereof he had enforced other men to taſte, and ſuffer the ſame violence which himſelfe had vniuſtly ſtrooken others withall, *Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit:* for he had bereaued *Abner* and *Amaſa* of their liues, hauing againſt the one the pretence onely of his brothers ſlaughter, whom *Abner* had ſlaine in the time of warre, and could not auoyd him: againſt the other but a meere iealouſie of his growing great in the fauour of *Dauid*. And though *Ioab* aſſured himſelfe that *Abner* & *Amaſa* being dead, there was none left eyther to equall him or ſupplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raiſed vp *Benhaiah* the ſonne of *Iehoiadah*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *Dauid* giueth this cauſe to *Salomon* againſt *Ioab*, that he ſlue the Captaines of the hoſte of *Iſrael*, and ſhed bloud of battell in peace; and to this apparant and iuſt cauſe, it is not improbable but that *Dauid* remembred the ill affection of *Ioab* towards *Salomon*, which *Ioab* made manifeſt by the vntimely ſetting vp of *Adonijah*, *Dauid* yet liuing. Some other offence *Ioab* had committed againſt *Dauid*, of which in theſe words he put his ſonne *Salomon* in minde; *Thou knoweſt alſo what* Ioab *the ſonne of* Seruiah *did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abſalom*, contrary to the Kings deſire, or by the proud words vſed to him when hee mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abſalom*; or whether it were the publiſhing of *Dauids* letter vnto him for the killing of *Vriah*, thereby to diſgrace *Salomon* as deſcended of ſuch a mother, the Scriptures are ſilent. True it is, that thoſe great men of warre doe oftentimes behaue themſelues exceeding inſolently towards their Princes, both in reſpect of their ſeruice done, as alſo becauſe they flatter themſelues with an opinion, that eyther their maſters cannot miſſe them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath ouerthrown many a worthy man otherwiſe deſeruing great honour and reſpect.

1.King. 2.

1.King 2.

He alſo gaue order to *Salomon*, to ridde himſelfe of *Shimei*, who not long before had caſt ſtones at *Dauid*, and curſed him to his face. And albeit by reaſon of his oath and promiſe *Dauid* ſpared *Shimei* all the time himſelfe liued, yet being duſt and in the graue, hee ſlue him by the hand of *Salomon* his Sonne. Hence it ſeemeth that King *Henry* the ſeuenth of *England* had his patterne, when hee gaue order to *Henrie* the eight to execute *Pool* as ſoone as himſelfe was buried, hauing made promiſe to the King of *Spaine* when he deliuered *Pool* vnto him, that while he liued he would neuer put him to death, nor ſuffer violent hands to be laid vpon him.

1.King 2.

And yet did not the execution of *Ioab* yeeld vnto *Salomon* any ſuch great profit or aſſurance as he hoped for. For he found a yong *Adad* of *Idumæa*, and *Reſin* of *Damaſcus* to vexe him: who, as the Scriptures witneſſe, were emboldened to enterprize vpon *Salomon*, hearing that *Dauid* ſlept with his fathers, and that *Ioab* the Captaine of the hoſt was dead. Now when *Dauid* had reigned in all fortie yeeres, to wit, in *Hebron* 7. yeeres, and in *Ieruſalem* three and thirtie, he died.

1.King.11.

For his perſon, he was of ſmall ſtature, but exceeding ſtrong. For his internall gifts and graces hee ſo farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart, he was ſaid by God himſelfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The *Pſalmes* which hee wrote witneſſe his pietie, and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to *Paulinus*:

Paulinus: Dauid Simonides *noſter*, Pindarus, *&* Alcæus, Flaccus, *quoque* Catullus, *&* Serenus, *Chriſtum lyra perſonat, & in decachordo Pſalterio ab inferis ſuſcitat reſurgentem*; Dauid (ſaith he) *our* Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus *and* Serenus, *hee playeth Chriſt on his harpe, and on a ten ſtringed Pſalter he raiſeth him vp riſing from the dead*. And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Chriſt more lightſomely and liuely than all the reſt.

The booke of the *Pſalmes*, ſaith *Glycas*, was diuided, ordered and diſtinguiſhed by *Ezekias*: but whether all the *Pſalmes* were written by *Dauid*, it is diuerſly diſputed. For *Athanaſius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceiue diuers Authors anſwering the titles of the ſeuerall *Pſalmes*, as *Moſes*, *Salomon*, and the reſt hereafter named, and that onely 73. *Pſalmes* were compoſed by *Dauid* himſelfe, namely, thoſe which are intituled *ipſius Dauid*. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are beſtowed on *Aſaph* the ſon of *Barachia*, eleuen other on the ſonnes of *Korath*; and eleuen are aſcribed to *Moſes*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and ſo they are intituled in the olde Hebrew Copies, though the vulgar and *Septuagint* (three excepted) ſtile them otherwiſe. The ſuppoſed nine Authors of theſe *Pſalmes* which *Dauid* wrote not, *Sixt: Senenſis* nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Moſes*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrarie to *Hierome*, maketh one of *Dauids* ſingers) *Aſaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Eziaira*, *Idithum*, and the three ſonnes of *Chore*. But S. *Chryſoſtome* makes *Dauid* the ſole Author of all the *Pſalmes*, and ſo doth S. *Auguſtine*, reaſoning in this manner: Although (ſaith he) ſome there are that aſcribe thoſe *Pſalmes* onely to *Dauid*, which are ouer-written *ipſius Dauid*, and the reſt intituled *ipſi Dauid*, to others, this opinion (ſaith he) *Voce Euangelica Saluatoris ipſius refutatur, vbi ait quòd ipſe* Dauid *in ſpiritu Chriſtum dixerit eſſe ſuum Dominum, quoniam Pſalmus* 109. *ſic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede à dextris meis, &c.* The voyce of the Goſpell refutes this opinion, where it ſaith, that *Dauid* himſelfe in the ſpirit called Chriſt his Lord, becauſe the 109. *Pſalme* begins thus: *The Lord ſaid vnto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Laſtly, his teſtimonies are vſed both by Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and hee was as a paterne to all the Kings and Princes that ſucceeded him.

Athan. in Synod. Hier. epiſt. 134. *Lyr. in exp.* 1. *pſ.*

Vid. Sixt. Senẽ. Bib ſanct. l. 1. *fol.* 10 *&* 11.

Aug de Ci. Dei l. 13. *c.* 14.

His Storie and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan* and *Gad*, as it is in the firſt of *Chron.* 29. *verſ.* 19. For the ſeuerall parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreate chiefly of *Dauid*, were as it ſeemes written by theſe three holy men.

Conſtantine Manaſſes hath an opinion, that the *Troians* during the time of the ſiege, ſought for ſuccour from *Dauid*, and that hee ſtayed neuter in that warre. But it ſeemeth that *Manaſſes* did miſcaſt the time twixt *Dauid* and the *Troian* warre. For it is generally receiued that *Troy* fell betweene the times of *Abdon* and *Samſon* Iudges of *Iſrael*, about the worlds yeere 2848. and *Dauid* died in the yeere 2991.

C. 17. §. 6. 7.

In his annales tranſlated out of Greeke into Latin by *Ioannes Leunclaius*.

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§. IX.

Of the treaſures of Dauid *and* Salomon.

HIs treaſures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the firſt of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thouſand talents of Gold, and a thouſand thouſand talents of ſiluer, and of braſſe and yron paſſing all weight, which is more than any King of the world poſſeſt beſides himſelfe, and his ſonne to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thouſand three hundred thirty & three cartload, and a third of a cartload of ſiluer, allowing two thouſand weight of ſiluer or ſixe thouſand pound ſterling to euery cartload, beſides threeſcore and ſeuenteene millions of French Crownes, or of our money twenty threee millions and a thouſand pound: a matter, but for the teſtimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beleefe. For that any riches were left him it doth not appeare, ſeeing that the Iudges had not any treaſure, nor any ſoueraigne power to make leuies: but when they went to the warres, they were followed by ſuch voluntaries as the ſeuerall tribes by turnes gaue them: ſeeing alſo that *Saul* who was of a meane Parentage, and perpetually vexed and inuaded by the *Philiſtims*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part poſſeſt by his enemies.

Verſ. 14.

Therefore it were not amiſſe to conſider how *Dauid* within the ſpace of not very many yeeres, might amaſſe vp ſuch mighty treaſures. For though parſimonie be it ſelfe a great reuenue, yet needs there muſt haue beene ſome other great meanes. It ſeemes that he made the vttermoſt profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Euſebius* in his ninth booke and laſt Chapter *de præparatione Euangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *Dauid*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a nauie in *Melanis* (or as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a Citie of *Arabia*, and from thence ſent men to digge for gold in the Iland *Vrphe*, which *Ortelius* thinkes, was *Ophir*, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Euſebius* (erring perhaps in this circumſtance) ſaith that this Iland is in the red Sea; from whence, ſaith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into *Iury*. *Pineda, lib.4. de rebus Salamonis, c.1.* thinkes that *Dauid* did this way alſo inrich himſelfe, and citeth this teſtimony of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *Dauid* had many other waies to gather riches. Much land doubtleſſe he gained by conqueſt, from the *Canaanites* and *Philiſtims*, beſides thoſe fruitfull valleys neere *Iordan* in *Trachonitis* and *Baſan*, and the beſt of *Syria*, and other Countries bordering the *Iſraelites*. Theſe demaines belike he kept in his owne hands, and with his infinite number of captiues, which hee tooke in his warres, which were not able to redeeme themſelues, husbanded thoſe grounds for his greateſt aduantage. For it is written, 1.*Chron.* 17. that *Iehonathan* was ouer his treaſures in the field, in the villages, in the Cities, in the townes; that *Ezri* was ouer the labourers that tilled his ground; *Simei* ouer the vineyards; and *Sabdi* ouer the ſtore of the wine; *Baal Hanan* ouer the Oliue trees, and *Ioaſh* ouer the ſtate of the oyle: alſo that hee had herdſ-men that had charge ouer his cattell, both in the high Lands, and in the plaines, ouer his Sheepe, Camels, and Aſſes. And this cuſtome of enriching themſelues by husbandrie and Cattell, the ancient Kings euery where held, both before and after *Dauids* time. For wee reade of *Pharao*, that he ſpake to *Ioſeph* to appoint ſome of his brethren or of their ſeruants, to bee Rulers ouer his cattell. Wee reade of *Vzzia*, that hee loued husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dreſſers of Vines: likewiſe we reade it in all *Greeke* Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did ſpecially conſiſt in their Heards and flockes, whereof it were needleſſe to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus* or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *Dauid* it is not vnlikely, but that thoſe captiues which were not imployed in husbandrie, were many of them vſed by him in all ſorts of gainefull profeſſions, as the ancient *Romans* in like manner vſed their ſlaues.

Gen 47.

2.Chron.26.

To theſe profits (beſides the tributes and impoſitions which doubtleſſe were great, and beſides the innumerable preſents which yeerely were brought him, or extraordinarilie ſent him, by *Tohu* and others) wee may adde the great ſpoyles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which hee conquered: alſo the head money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*; *By the law of capitation or head money*, euery man rich or poore paying halfe a ſickle of the Sanctuarie, which is about as much as fourteene pence, and ſo in all it amounted to a wondrous ſumme in that Kingdome: wherein one thouſand thouſand fiue hundred and ſeuentie thouſand fighting men were numbred by *Ioab*. Now although this Law of capitation bee thought by ſome very learned not to haue beene perpetuall (which opinion of theirs neuertheleſſe they confeſſe is againſt the *Hebrew* expoſitions) yet *Dauid* vpon this occaſion is not vnlikely to haue put it in practize. And by theſe meanes might he be able to leaue thoſe huge treaſures to *Salomon*. Yet it may ſeeme that this great maſſe of gold and ſiluer left by *Dauid*, the leaſt part was his owne in priuate, and ſo will it appeare the leſſe wonderfull that hee left ſo much. Of his owne liberalitie we finde, that hee gaue to the building of the Temple three thouſand talents of gold, and ſeuen thouſand talents of ſiluer, a great ſumme: but holding a very ſmall proportion to the other. Wherefore wee are to conſider, that the treaſures of the ſanctuarie it ſelfe were exceeding great, as needs they muſt haue beene hauing receiued continuall encreaſe, without any loſſe or diminution euer ſince the time of *Moſes* and *Ioſuah*. The reuenues of the Sanctuarie (beſides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defraied the daily expences, and maintained the Prieſts and *Leuites*) were partly raiſed out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the ſpoyles gotten in warre. For all the bootie was diuided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the Countrie receiued benefit of the victorie, yet ſo, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the reſt, as being fewer, and therefore receiuing more for euerie ſingle ſhare.

1.Chron 21.

Num.31.27.

Out of this purchaſe was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people receiued, and one in fiue hundred, of that which was giuen to the Souldiers; namely one hundred and one thouſand part of the whole bootie. So in the ſpoyle of *Midian*, thirty two thouſand women being taken, the armie had ſixteene thouſand of them for ſlaues, and the Congregation had other ſixteene thouſand; but out of the ſixteene thouſand giuen to the Armie, were exempted two & thirtie for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this meanes, the leſſer that the Armie was which had expoſed it ſelfe to danger, the greater profit had euery Souldier; but when it conſiſted of many hands, they who remaining at home were faine to vndergoe more than ordinarie trauaile in domeſticall affaires, did receiue by ſo much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increaſed, either by ſome eſpeciall commandement, as when all the gold, and ſiluer, and other mettalls found in *Iericho*, were conſecrated vnto God; or by thankefulneſſe of the Rulers and People, as when after the victorie obtained againſt the *Midianites* without the loſſe of one man, all Iewells, Bracelets, Eare-rings, and the like, were offered vp, as voluntarie preſents.

Num.31.40.

Ioſ.6.19.

Num.31.50.

Now howſoeuer the *Iſraelites* were many times oppreſſed, and troden down by other Nations, yet were not theſe treaſures robbed or ſpoyled; for the enemies neuer gat poſſeſſion of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwiſe be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie muſt haue beene exceeding great; as containing aboue one hundreth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Iſraelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchaſed by ſo many victories, as they obtained againſt the bordering Nations. For that this treaſurie was not defrauded of the due portion, it is euident; ſeeing that before the time of *Dauid* and his Lieutenant *Ioab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had vſed to dedicate of the ſpoyles obtained in warre, to maintaine the houſe of the Lord: the like whereof may be well preſumed of the former Iudges and Captaines of other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conqueſt of *Dauid* brought into the Land farre greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchaſed, thoſe of *Ioſua* perhaps excepted: but theſe vaſt ſummes of an hundred thouſand Talents of ſiluer, may ſeeme rather to haue beene made vp, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treaſures laid vp in many former Ages, than to haue beene the meere fruits of his owne induſtrie.

1. Chron.c 26. v. 27. & 28.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifeſt how he gathered them; for he receiued of yeerely reuennues with his tributes *666*. Talents of gold, beſides the Cuſtomes of Spices. He had alſo ſixe rich Returnes from the Eaſt *India*, which greatly increaſed his ſtore. For his ſhips performed that voyage euery three yeeres, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and ruled fortie yeeres. Beſides this, all *Iudæa* and *Iſrael* were now maſtered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damaſcena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Ituræa*; all of *Idumæa*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewiſe did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Heuites*, *Iebuſites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet dextinguiſhed, though ſubjected.

A Talent of gold is 770. french crowns

1.King.10.14.

1.King.c.9.v.20.&c.10.v.29.

Into this flouriſhing eſtate was the Kingdom of *Iſrael* reduced by *Dauid*, who after 40 yeers raigne, and 70. yeeres of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the Citie of *Dauid*. It is written by *Ioſephus* that there was hid in *Dauids* Tombe a maruailous quantitie of treaſures, inſomuch as *Hyrcanus* (who firſt of the *Chaſmanæi*, or race of *Maccabees*, called himſelfe King) one thouſand and three hundred yeeres after, drew thence three thouſand Talents, to rid himſelfe of *Antiochus* then beſieging *Ieruſalem*; and afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had alſo an exceeding maſſe of gold and ſiluer therein. And it was an ancient cuſtome to burie treaſure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being diſcouered by the *Spaniards*, they inriched themſelues by nothing ſo much in their firſt Conqueſt. That *Salomon* did burie ſo much treaſure in his fathers graue, it would hardly be beleeued, in regard of the great exactions with which hee was faine to burthen the people, notwithſtanding all the riches which hee got otherwiſe, or which were left vnto him: were it not withall conſidered that his want of monie grew from ſuch magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulcher of *Dauid* the Scriptures haue no mention, but onely the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Iuda*, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the

1.Chrō.29.28.

Ioſep. Ant.l.7.

Monuments

Peregrinat. Hieroſol. D. N. Ch. Radz. Epiſt. 2.

Monuments of thoſe Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of *Vlika*) they remained within theſe thirty yeeres, and are like to remaine ſtill, are able to make report credible of the coſt beſtowed vpon them.

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§. X.

Of the Philiſtims, whom Dauid *abſolutely maſtered: and of ſundry other contemporaries with* Dauid.

OF the *Philiſtims*, whoſe pride *Dauid* was the firſt that abſolutely maſtered, in this concluſion of *Dauids* time ſomewhat heere may be ſpoken.

Iſid. l. 9. 19.
Ioſ. l. 1. ant. 17.
1. Sam. 6.

They deſcended of *Caſloim*, who, according to *Iſidor* and *Ioſephus*, was one of the ſonnes of *Miſraim*, and was ſurnamed *Philiſtim*, as *Eſau* was ſurnamed *Edom*, and *Iacob Iſrael*. There were of them fiue Cities of pettie principalities; namely, *Azotus*, or *Aſdod*, *Gaza* or *Aczaph*, *Aſcalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It ſeemeth that *Caſloim* was the firſt founder of this nation, becauſe of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Ægyptians*.

Gen. 20.

The firſt King of theſe *Philiſtims*, which the Scriptures haue named, was that *Abimelech* which loued *Sara*, *Abrahams* wife.

Gen. 26.

The ſecond *Abimelech* liued at once with *Iſaac*, to whom *Iſaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then reſiding at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumæa*, which *Abimelech* fancied *Iſaac* his wife: as his father had done *Sara*.

Iud. 16. 1. Sam. 18. 29.
1. Sam 21. 11.
1. King. 2.

After *Abimelech* the ſecond, the *Philiſtims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *Dauids* time: perhaps the gouernment was turned into *Ariſtocraticall*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philiſtims*, howſoeuer *Achis* be named king of *Gath*, the ſame to whom *Dauid* fled, and who againe gaue him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Sauls* time.

After him we reade of another *Achis* who liued with *Salomon*, to whom *Semei* trauelled to fetch backe his fugitiue ſeruant, what time the ſeeking of his ſeruant was the loſſe of his life. *Ieremie* the Prophet ſpeaketh of the Kings of *Palæſtin* or *Philiſtim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Aſcalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The reſt of the warres of the *Philiſtims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the *Iudges*, of *Saul* and *Dauid*, and therefore I ſhall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There liued at once with *Dauid*, the third of the *Siluij* King of *Alba*, called *Latinus Siluius*, who is ſaid to haue ruled that part of *Italie* fiftie yeers. And about his fourteenth yeere *Codrus* the laſt King of the *Athenians* died, to whom ſucceeded the firſt Prince of thoſe, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidæ*, without regall name gouerned *Athens* during their life.

The reaſons which moued the *Athenians* to change their gouernment, were not drawn from any inconuenience found in the rule of Soueraigntie, but in honour of *Codrus* onelie. For when the *Græcians* of *Doris*, a region betweene *Phocis* and the mountain of *Oeta*, ſought counſaile from the Oracle, for their ſucceſſe in the warres againſt the *Athenians*, it was anſwered, that then vndoubtedly they ſhould preuaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtaine any victorie againſt the Nation, and yet preſerue the *Athenian* King liuing. *Codrus* by ſome intelligence being informed of this anſwere, withdrew himſelfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common ſouldier, entred the Campe of the *Dorians*, and killing the firſt hee encountred, was himſelfe forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31. King of *Aſſyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. yeere of *Dauid*, and held it 38. yeeres.

Neere the ſame time began *Ixion* the ſecond King of the *Heraclidæ*, the ſonne of *Euryſthenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the ſecond of the *Heraclidæ* in *Lacedæmon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his ſucceſſours were called *Agidæ*, for many yeeres after. Hee reſtored the *Laconians* to their former libertie: hee ouercame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refuſed to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and theirs to perpetuall ſlauerie; whereof it came, that all the *Meſſenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helotes*.

In like ſort from the *Sclaui* came the word *Slaue*. For when that Nation iſſuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Ruſsia*, had ſeized vpon the country of *Illyria* & made it their owne by conqueſt, their victorie pleaſed them ſo highlie, that thereupon they called themſelues by a new name, *Slauos*, which is in their language *glorious*. But in after times (that warmer Climate hauing thawed their northerne hardineſs, and not ripened their wits) when they were troden downe, and made ſeruants with their neighbours; the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaues*, vſing the word as a name of reproach: in which ſenſe it is now currant through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and ſomewhat later, about the 23. yeere of *Dauid*, and ſay, that *Acheſtratus* was the fourth King of this race, the ſame whom *Euſebius* calls *Labotes*, and ſets him in the thirteenth yeere of *Salomon*.

Euſeb. in Chrō.

In the tenth yeere of *Acheſtratus*, *Androclus* the third ſonne of *Codrus* aſſiſted by the *Iones*, built *Epheſus* in *Caria*, who after the adioyning of the Ile of *Samos* to his territorie, was ſlaine by the *Carians* whoſe countrie he vſurped. He was buried (ſaith *Pauſanias*) in one of the gates of *Epheſus* called *Magnetes*, his armed *Statua* being ſet ouer him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had ſubdued the *Ionians* (the next prouince to *Epheſus* on the ſea coaſt of *Aſia* the leſſe) he inlarged his Dominions vpon the *Æoles*, which ioyneth to *Ionia*: and that his poſteritie gouerned the Cities of *Epheſus* and *Erythræ* by the name of *Baſilidæ* in *Strabo* his owne time. Of the expedition of the *Iones* how they came hither out of *Peloponeſus*, I haue * ſpoken alreadie vpon occaſion of the returne of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponeſus*, wherein with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achæi*, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the *Iones* ſucceeded that of the *Heraclidæ* 100. yeeres.

The Eaſt-gate of *Epheſus* toward *Magneſia* vpō the riuer *Mæander*.

Ariſt. l. 5. pol. c. 6.

*See *Ch.* in this *17. Ch. 9. 1. poſt. medium.*

The Citie of *Epheſus* became exceeding famous: firſt, for the temple of *Diana* therein built: which had in length 425. foote, and 220. in breadth, ſuſtained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foote high: whereof 27. were moſt curiouſly grauen, & all the reſt of choyce marble poliſht, the worke being firſt ſet out by *Cteſiphon* of *Gnoſſos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the firſt that receiued the Chriſtian faith, of which *Timothie* was Biſhop; to whom, and to the *Epheſians*, Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtles ſo intituled. The other Citie poſſeſt by *Androclus* in *Æolis* was alſo vniuerſally ſpoken of by reaſon of *Sibylla*, ſurnamed *Erythræa*: who liued 740. yeeres before Chriſt was borne. Saint *Auguſtine* auoweth that a *Romane Proconſul* ſhewed him in an ancient Greek coppie certaine verſes of this Propheteſſe: which began (as Saint *Auguſtine* changed them into Latine) in theſe words: *Ieſus Chriſtus Dei filius, ſaluator. Ieſus Chriſt ſonne of GOD, the Sauiour.*

Plin. l. 2. c. 58. & l. 7. c. 37.

About the time that *Ioab* beſieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to gouerne in *Egypt*; the ſame that was father in Law to *Salomon*, whoſe Epiſtles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Euſebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *Dauid*, was the Citie of *Magneſia* in *Aſia* the leſſe founded, the ſame which is ſeated vpon the riuer *Mæander*, where *Scipio* gaue the great ouerthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territorie are the beſt Horſes of the leſſer *Aſia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.

About the ſame time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to *Seruius*, with whom *Strabo* ioyneth the *Cumæans* of *Æolis*, ſaying, that to the one of theſe people the gouernment was giuen, with condition that the other ſhould giue name to the City. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous ſcholler of *Iſocrates*.

Seru. in Aeneid. 3. Strabo. l. 5.

Euſebius and *Caſſiodor* finde the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. yeere of *Dauid*, but much miſtaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metinus* the ſonne of *Badezor*, brother to *Iezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Iſrael*; and betweene the death of *Dauid*, and the firſt of *Achab*, there were waſted about 95. yeeres.

In this time alſo *Acaſtus* liued, the ſecond of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteene in deſcent before the State changed into a *Magiſtracie* of ten yeeres. Some writers make it probable that the *Æolians* led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Oreſtes*, poſſeſt the Citie and Iſland of *Thebes* about this time. In the 32. yeere of *Dauid*, *Hiram* began to reigne in *Tyre*, according to *Ioſephus*, who ſaith that in his twelfth yeere *Salomon* began the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in *Ioſephus*, to miſreckon times, which in this point he doth ſo ſtrangely, as if hee knew not how at all to caſt any accompt. For it is manifeſt that *Hiram* ſent meſſengers, and Cedars vnto *Dauid*, ſoone after his taking of *Ieruſalem*, which was in the very beginning of *Dauids* reigne ouer *Iſrael*, when as yet hee had reigned onely ſeauen yeeres in *Hebron*, ouer the houſe of *Iuda*. Wherefore it muſt needes bee that *Hiram* had reigned aboue

Euſeb. in Chrō.

Herod. in vit. Hom. & Strab. l. 14.

Antiq. cont.

2. Sam. 5.

30. yeeres before *Salomon*; vnleſſe more credit ſhould be giuen to thoſe *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Ioſephus*, than to the plaine words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the ſame *Hiram* which liued both with *Dauid* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainely manifeſt.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of *SALOMON*.

§. I.

Of the eſtabliſhing of Salomon : *of birthright, and the cauſe of* Adonijahs *death, and of* Salomons *wiſedome*.

SALOMON, who was brought vp vnder the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reigne ouer *Iuda* and *Iſrael*, in the yeere of the World 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: hee was alſo called *Iedidiia*, or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan*, becauſe the Lord loued him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomons* anointing, diſpatched Embaſſadours toward him, congratulating his eſtabliſhment: a cuſtome betweene Princes very ancient. Whence wee reade that 2. Sam. 10. *Dauid* did in like ſort ſalute *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the Kingdome.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in bloud, though his reigne were peaceable. For ſoone after *Dauids* death, hee cauſed his brother *Adonijah* to be ſlaine by *Benaiah* the ſonne of *Iehoiada*, taking occaſion from *Adonijah* his deſiring by *Berſheba*, that the young maide *Abiſhag* (which lay in *Dauids* boſome in his latter dayes, to keepe him warme) might be giuen to him. Whatſoeuer hee pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and ſought the kingdome contrary to the will of *Dauid*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is ſaid that a word is enough to the wiſe, and hee that ſees but the claw, may know whether it be a Lyon or no: ſo it may ſeem that to the quick-ſighted wiſedome of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonſtration of a new treaſon. For they which had beene concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by a 2.Sam. 16.21. King: whence *Achitophel* wiſhed *Abſalon* to take his Fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *Dauid* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not giue them to any other, but ſhut them vp, and they remained widowed vntill their death. 2 Sam. 2. 3. And this it ſeemes was the depth of *Isboſheths* quarrell againſt *Abner*, for hauing his Fathers Concubine. And ſome ſignification of this cuſtome may ſeeme too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *Dauid*; *I haue giuen thee thy maſters houſe, and thy maſters wiues.* 1.Sam.20.30. And in the words of *Saul* vpbraiding *Ionathan*, that he had choſen *Dauid* to the ſhame of the nakedneſſe of his Mother. Hereunto perhaps was ſome reference to this purpoſe of *Adonijah*, to marrie with her that was alwaies preſent with *Dauid* in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was paſt, for the conueying of the Kingdom to *Salomon*. There might be diuers further occaſions, as either that hee would learne ſuch things by her as might be for the aduantage of his ambition, or that hee would perſwade her to forge ſome ſtrange tale about *Dauids* laſt Teſtament, or any thing elſe that might preiudice the title of *Salomon*.

1.King.2.15. As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, & with the cuſtomes of the *Iewes*[a]; yet the Kings of the *Iewes* were ſo abſolute, as they did therein, and in all elſe what they pleaſed. Some examples alſo they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to vſe this paternall authoritie in transferring the birthright to a younger ſonne: namely, of *Iacobs* diſheriting *Reuben*, and giuing the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Ioſeph*: of whom hee made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *Dauid*, it appeareth by the words of *Berſabe* and *Nathan* to *Dauid*, and of *Ionathan* to *Adonijah*. For as for popular election, that it was neceſſarie to confirme, or that the refuſall of the people had authoritie to fruſtrate the elder

15. ag-
n. nao
ei por duo-
rum:nu ipſius
eſt ius pri. oge-
nitorū. 1. Reg.
1. v.17.& .20.
& v.29.& 34
1 King. 1. 1. v.
20. & 37.

elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it now here appeares in the ſtories of the *Iewes*. It is ſaid indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Gilgal*: that is, they acknowledged and 1.Sam.11.14. eſtabliſhed him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elſewhere the phraſe of chuſing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they ſhould not make themſelues a King, it is ſaid, *Thou ſhalt make him* Deut.17.30. *King whom the Lord ſhall chuſe*.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the ſame time that hee put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himſelfe alſo of *Ioab*, and three yeeres after of *Shimei*, as *Dauid* had aduiſed him: he diſplaced alſo the Prieſt *Abiathar*, who tooke part with *Adonijah* againſt him: but in reſpect of his office, and that he followed *Dauid* in all his afflictions; and becauſe 1.King.2. he had borne the *Arke of God* before his Father, hee ſpared his life. And thus being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdome, he tooke the daughter of *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt* to Wife: for ſo *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thouſand Sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bade him aske what he would at his hands; *Salomon chooſeth wiſedome, which pleaſed God. And God ſaid vnto him, Becauſe thou haſt asked this thing, and haſt not asked for thy ſelfe long life, neither haſt thou asked riches for thy ſelfe, nor haſt asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I haue done according to thy words*: by which wee may informe our ſelues what deſires are moſt pleaſing to God, and what not. For the coueting after long life in reſpect of our ſelues, cannot but proceed of ſelfe-loue, which is the roote of all impietie: the deſire of priuate riches is an affection of couetouſneſſe which God abhorreth; to affect reuenge, is as much as to take the ſword out of Gods hand, and to diſtruſt his Iuſtice. And in that it pleaſed God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in minde of his brothers ſlaughter, for which he had not any warrant eyther from *Dauid*, or from the Law of God. But becauſe *Salomon* deſired wiſedome onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleaſed God to giue him withall that which he deſired not. *And I haue alſo giuen thee* (ſaith God) *that which thou haſt not asked, both riches and honour*. This gift of wiſedome our *Commentators* ſtretch to almoſt all kindes of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and liuing creatures the Scripture teſtifieth, though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of *Salomons* 1.King.4.33. wiſedome, was in the knowledge of gouerning his kingdome: whence, as it were for an 1.King.3.9. example of his wiſedome, the Scripture telleth how ſoone he iudged the controuerſie betweene the two harlots.

§. II.

Of Salomons *building and glorie.*

HE then entred into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom hee had much of his materials, for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had receiued a double charge, one from his father *Dauid*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *Dauid*, that *Hee called* Solomon *his ſonne, and charged him to build a houſe for the Lord God of Iſrael*: ſo doth *Toſtatus* giue the force of a 1.Chron.22.6. Toſt.q.26.in 1.Chron. diuine precept to theſe words, *Behold, a ſonne is borne vnto thee, &c. Hee ſhall build an houſe for my Name.*

He began the worke of the Temple, in the beginning of the fourth yeere of his reigne, 1.King.c.6. at which time alſo he prepared his fleete at *Eſiongaber* to trade for gold in the Eaſt *Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to ſupply the charge of ſo great a worke. For that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were paſſing to and fro it is manifeſt. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the *Almaggim* trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this moſt glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was giuen by 1.Chrō.28.29. God himſelfe) many learned men haue written, *as Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Barradas, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda*, and others, to whom I referre the Reader.

For the cutting and ſquaring of the Cedars which ſerued that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thouſand Carpenters, 10. thouſand euery moneth by courſe: he alſo vſed 80. thouſand Maſons in the mountaine, and 70. thouſand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceiued, hee ſelected out of the *Proſelites*, beſides three thouſand three hundred 1.King.5. maſters of his worke; ſo as hee paid and imployed in all one hundred eightie three thouſand and three hundred men, in which number the *Sidonians* which were farre more skilfull in hewing timber than the *Iſraelites*, may (as I thinke) bee included. For *Hiram* cauſed his ſeruants to bring downe the Cedars and Firres from *Libanon* to the ſea, and thence ſent them in raffes to *Ioppe*, or the next port to *Hieruſalem*. For in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the ſecond Chapter, it is plaine, that all but the thirtie thouſand Carpenters, and the ouer-ſeers, were ſtrangers, and as it ſeemeth, the vaſſals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt*. In recompence of all this timber and ſtone, *Salomon* gaue *Hiram* twentie thouſand meaſures of wheate, and twentie meaſures of pure oyle yeerely. *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus* in the ninth booke of his preparation, the laſt Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the ſame as *Huram* and *Hiram*) King of *Tyre* in theſe words:

1 King. 5. v. 9

1 King. 5. 11.

Rex Salomon Suroni, *Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœniciæ regi, Amico paterno ſalutem. Scias me à Deo magno* Dauid *patris mei regnum accepiſſe, cumq; mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creauit, condere, vt etiam ad te ſcriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te vt artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.*

King Salomon *to King* Suron, *of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, ſendeth greeting; You may vnderſtand that I haue receiued of the great God of my father* Dauid, *the Kingdome: and when my father commanded mee to build a Temple to God which created heauen and earth, hee commanded alſo that I ſhould write to you. I write therefore to you, and beſeech you, that you would be pleaſed to ſend me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.*

To which the King *Suron* made this anſwere.

Suron, *Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœniciæ rex,* Salomoni *regi ſalutem Lectis literis gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam ſcribis fabros miniſtroſq; ad condendum Templum eſſe tibi mittendos, miſi ad te millia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur vt neceſſarijs non egeant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.*

Suron *of Tyre, Sidon and Phœnicia King,* to *King* Salomon *greeting: when I read your letters, I gaue God thankes, who hath inſtalled you in your fathers Kingdome. And becauſe you write, that Carpenters and Workemen may be ſent to build Gods Temple, I haue ſent you foureſcore thouſand men, and a Maſter-builder a Tyrian, borne of a Iewiſh woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all neceſſaries be prouided for them, and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to vs.*

Ioſ. Ant. l. 8. c. 2

The Copies of theſe letters were extant in *Ioſephus* time, as himſelfe affirmeth, and to be ſeene, ſaith he, *Tam in noſtris quàm in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne, as in the Tyrian annals.* But he deliuereth them ſomwhat in different tearmes, as the Reader may finde in his Antiquities. But were this intercourſe betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram* eyther by meſſage or by writing, it is ſomewhat otherwiſe deliuered in the Scriptures, than eyther *Eupolemus* or *Ioſephus* ſet it downe, but ſo, that in ſubſtance there is little difference betweene the one and the other.

1 King. 5. from the 1. v. to the 9

The like letter in effect *Salomon* is ſaid to haue written to *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, and was anſwered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas ſome *Commentors* vpon *Salomon* finde that *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, gaue *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Euſebius*, I doe not finde any ſuch addition of *magnus* in *Euſebius* in the laſt chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in *Ioſephus* in the eight booke and ſecond chapter of the *Iewes* Antiquities: it being a vaine title vſed by ſome of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* Kings, and vſed likewiſe by the *Parthians*, and many other after them, inſomuch as in latter times it grew common, and was vſurped by meane perſons in reſpect of the great *Hermes* the firſt, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightineſſe.

After the finiſhing and dedication of the Temple and houſe of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified *Ieruſalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had beene the auncient Metropolis of the *Canaanites*, before *Ioſuahs* time: ſo did he *Gaza* of the *Philiſtims*: hee built *Berothon*, *Gerar*, and the *Millo* or munition of *Hieruſalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it ſeemeth

Ioſ. Ant. l. 8. c. 2

in fauour of *Salomon*) came vp into the edge of *Ephraim*, and tooke *Gerar*, which place the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the ſword, and burnt their Citie. The place and territorie hee gaue *Salomons* wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that becauſe *Salomon* was then buſied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the warre; that he entreated his father in law to rid him of theſe neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But hee thereby taught the *Ægyptians* to viſit thoſe parts againe before they were ſent for; and in his ſonne *Rehoboams* time *Sheſhack* this mans ſucceſſor did ſacke *Ieruſalem* it ſelfe.

Salomon alſo built *Megiddo* in *Manaſſe*, on this ſide *Iordan*, and *Balah* in *Dan*: alſo *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolomies Thamoron* in the deſart of *Iuda*, or (as *Ioſephus* thinks) *Palmyra* in the deſart of *Syria*, which *Palmyra* becauſe it ſtood on the vtmoſt border of *Salomons* dominion to the northeaſt of *Libanus*, and was of *Dauids* conqueſt when hee wan *Damaſcus*; it may ſeeme that *Salomon* therefore beſtowed thereon the moſt coſt, and fortified it with the beſt Art that that age had. *Ioſephus* calls this place *Thadamora*, by which name (ſaith hee) giuen by *Salomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Hierom* in his booke of *Hebrew* places, calls it *Thermeth*. In aftertimes, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In reſpect of this great charge of building *Salomon* raiſed tribute through all his Dominions, beſides an hundred and twentie talents of gold receiued from *Hirams* ſeruants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty townes in or neere the vpper *Galilee*, but becauſe they ſtood in an vnfruitfull and mariſh ground, *Hiram* refuſed them, and therefore was the territorie called *Chabul*.

Ioſ.l.8.ant.c.2.

Ioſeph.l.8.ant.c.2.

Theſe townes, as it is ſuppoſed, lay in *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*, *Non quod gentes ibi habitarent: ſed quia ſub ditione regis gentilis erat*, *Not that it was poſſeſt by the Gentiles* (ſaith *Naucleru*s) *but becauſe it was vnder the rule of a King that was a Gentile.* Howſoeuer it were, it is true that *Salomon* in the 21. yeere fortified thoſe places, which *Hiram* refuſed. Further, hee made a iourney into *Syria Zobah*, and eſtabliſhed his tributes; the firſt and laſt warre (if in that expedition he were driuen to fight) that he made in perſon in all his life. He then viſited the border of all his Dominions, paſſing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmyrena*, and ſo to the Deſarts of *Idumæa*, from whence he viſited *Eziongaber* and *Eloth*, the vttermoſt place of the South of all his territories, bordering to the red ſea: which Cities I haue deſcribed in the Storie of *Moſes*.

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§. III.

Of Salomons *ſending to Ophir, and of ſome ſeeming contradictions about* Salomons *riches, and of* Pinedas *conceit of two ſtrange paſſages about Africke.*

Here *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of Ships for *India*, with whom *Hiram* ioyned in that voyage, and furniſhed him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all other the moſt expert ſea-men. From this part of *Arabia*, which at this time belonged to *Edom*, and was conquered by *Dauid*, did the Fleet paſſe to the Eaſt *India*, which was not farre off, namely to *Ophir*, one of the Iſlands of the *Moluccas*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witneſſe the *Spaniards*, who notwithſtanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, doe yet plant in thoſe Iſlands of the Eaſt at *Manilia*, and recouer a great quantitie from thence, and with leſſe labour than they doe in any one part of *Peru*, or new *Spaine*.

The returne which was made by theſe Ships amounted to foure hundred and twentie talents, but in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the eight, it is written 450. talents: whereof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the fleet, and wages of men, and 420. talents, which makes fiue and twenty hundred and twenty thouſand Crownes, came cleere. And thus muſt thoſe two places bee reconciled. As for the place 1. *Reg*. 10. 14. which ſpeaketh of ſixe hundred ſixty and ſixe talents of gold, that ſumme, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomons* which were yeerely, and which came to him beſides theſe profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as diuers haue thought) but a Countrey in the Eaſt *Indies*; with ſome reaſon why at thoſe times they could not make more ſpeedie returne to *Ieruſalem* from the Eaſt *Indies* then in three yeers; and that *Tharſis* in Scripture is diuers times taken for the Ocean, hath beene already declared in the firſt booke.

*C.8.§.9.10.*15.*

Lib.4.de rebus Salomonis c.6. & 15.

Onely it remaineth that I ſhould ſpeake ſomewhat of ***Pineda*** his ſtrange conceits, who being a ***Spaniard*** of ***Bætica***, would faine haue ***Gades*** or ***Calis-malis***, in olde times called ***Tarteſſus***, which is the Southweſt corner of that Prouince, to be the ***Tharſis*** from whence ***Salomon*** fetcht his gold; for no other reaſon, as it ſeemes, but for loue of his own countrie, and becauſe of ſome affinitie of ſound betweene ***Tharſis*** and ***Tarteſſus***. For whereas it may ſeeme ſtrange that it ſhould be three yeres ere they that tooke ſhip in the red ſea, ſhould returne from the Eaſt ***Indies*** to ***Ieruſalem***, this hath beene in part anſwered alreadie. And further, the intelligent may conceiue of ſundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metall, and in their other trafficke, and in their land-carriages betweene ***Ieruſalem*** and the red ſea, and perhaps alſo elſewhere: ſo that wee haue no need to make ***Salomons*** men to goe many thouſand miles out of their way to ***Gades***, round about all ***Africk***, that ſo they might be long a comming home.

For the direct way to ***Gades*** (which if ***Salomon*** and the ***Iſraelites*** knew not, the ***Tyrians*** which went with them, could not haue beene ignorant of) was along the ***Mediterran ſea***, and ſo (beſides many wonderfull inconueniences, and terrible nauigation in rounding ***Africa***) they ſhould haue eſcaped the troubleſome land-carriage betweene ***Ieruſalem*** and the red ſea through drie, deſart, and theeuiſh Countries: and within 30. mile of ***Ieruſalem*** at ***Ioppe***, or ſome other hauen in ***Salomons*** owne Countrie, haue laden and vnladen their ſhips.

But this direct courſe they could not hold (ſaith ***Pineda***) becauſe the huge Iſland of ***Atlantis*** in largeneſſe greater than all ***Africk*** and ***Aſia***, being ſwallowed vp in the ***Atlantik Ocean*** hindred ***Salomons*** ſhips from paſſing through the ſtraits of ***Gibraltar***: for this he alleadgeth ***Plato*** in ***Timæo***. But that this calamitie happened about ***Salomons*** time, or that thereby the Straights of ***Gades*** were filled with mud and made vnpaſſable, that there could be no comming to ***Gades*** by the ***Mediterran ſea***: or that this indraught where the ſea runneth moſt violently, and moſt eaſily ſcowreth his channell, ſhould be filled with mud, and not alſo the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Iland is ſuppoſed to haue ſtood: or that ***Salomons*** ſhips being in the red ſea, ſhould neglect the golden mines of the Eaſt ***Indies*** (which were infinitely better and neerer to the red ſea, than any in ***Spain***) to ſeeke gold at ***Cadyz*** by the way of compaſſing ***Affrica***, it is moſt ridiculous to imagine. For the ***Spaniard*** himſelfe that hath alſo the rich ***Peru*** in the Weſt, fortifieth in the Eaſt ***Indies***, and inhabites ſome part thereof, as in ***Manilia***, finding in thoſe parts no leſſe quantitie of gold (the ſmall territorie which hee there poſſeſſeth conſidered) than in ***Peru***.

De rebus Sal. l. 4. c. 12. 11.
As it appeares he tooke a ſhip at *Iapho* or *Ioppe. c. 1. v. 3.*

The ſame ***Pineda*** hath another ſtrange paſſage round about all ***Africa***, which elſewhere he dreames of: ſuppoſing whereas ***Ionas*** ſailing to ***Tharſis*** the Citie of ***Cilicia***, was caſt out in the ***Mediterran ſea***, and taken vp there by a Whale, that this Whale in three dayes ſwimming aboue twelue thouſand Engliſh miles, along the ***Mediterran ſeas***, and ſo through the ſtreights of ***Gades***, and along all the huge ſeas round about ***Africa***, caſt vp ***Ionas*** vpon the ſhore of the red ſea, that ſo hee might haue perhaps ſome ſixe miles the ſhorter (though much the worſe) way to ***Niniuie***. This conceit he grounds onely vpon the ambiguitie of the word ***Suph***, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the red ſea (as if we ſhould call it ***mare algoſum, the ſea full of weeds***) for the red ſea. But in ***Ionas*** 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper ſignification for weeds, and not as ***Pineda*** would haue it, who in this place againſt his owne rule (which elſewhere he giueth vs) ſuppoſeth ſtrange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale finiſhed in three dayes, is a greater miracle, than the very preſeruation of ***Ionas*** in the bellie of the Whale: and therefore ſeeing there is no neceſſitie of this miracle, we ſend it backe vnto him, keeping his owne rule which in this place he forgets; ***Miracula non ſunt multiplicanda.*** And againe, ***Non ſunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio noua fingenda***, ***Miracles are not to be multiplied without neceſſitie, nor deliuered without cauſe, nor fained at pleaſure.*** Therefore we leaue this man in his dreames, which (were he not otherwiſe very learned and iudicious) might bee thought vnworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our ſtorie of ***Salomon***.

Eng. F.

The Queene of ***Sabaes*** comming from farre to ***Salomon***, (as it ſeemes, from ***Arabia fœlix***, and not, as ſome thinke, from ***Æthiopia***) and her rich preſents, and ***Salomons*** reciprocall magnificence, and his reſoluing of her difficult queſtions, thoſe are ſet downe at large in the text. But herein ***Ioſephus*** is greatly miſtaken, who calls this Queene of ***Saba***

Nicaules, the ſucceſſour (ſaith he out of *Herodotus*) of thoſe thirty and eight *Ægyptian* *Ioſ.ant.8.1.2.* Kings which ſucceeded *Mineus* the founder of *Memphis*; adding, that after this *Ægyptian*, and the father in Law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Ægypt*. For as it is elſewhere proued that the Queene was of *Arabia*, not of *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*; ſo were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in Law of *Salomon*. Yea, aboue three hundred *2 King.c.23.& 2 Chron.c 25.* yeeres after *Salomon*, *Pharao Necho* ſlew *Ioſias* King of *Iuda*. *Ier.c.46.v.2.*

It is alſo written of *Salomon*, that he kept in garriſons foureteene thouſand Chariots, and twelue thouſand horſemen; that he ſpent in Court euery day thirtie meaſures of fine flower, threeſcore meaſures of wheat, one hundred ſheepe, beſides ſtags and fallow deare, bugles and fowle; foure thouſand ſtalles of horſes he had for his chariots and other vſes, and for the twelue thouſand horſemen of his guard. For, the ten thouſand ſtals in the firſt of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for ſo many horſes, whence in the ſecond *2 King.4.31.* of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but foure thouſand ſtals or teemes, and in euery teeme ten horſes, as *Iunius* and the *Geneua* vnderſtand it. He was ſaid to be wiſer than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*, to which *Iunius* addeth a fift, to wit, *Ezrak*. For the *Geneua* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Ioſephus* writes them *Athan*, *Æman*, *Chalceus* and *Donan* the ſonnes of *Hemon*. He ſpake three thouſand Prouerbes, and his ſongs were one thouſand and fiue, whereof either the moſt part periſhed in the Captiuitie of *Babylon*, or elſe becauſe many acts of *Salomons* were written and kept among the publique Records of Ciuill cauſes and not Eccleſiaſticall, therefore they were not thought neceſſary to be inſerted into Gods booke.

§. IIII.

Of the fall of Salomon, *and how long he liued.*

NOw as he had plentie of all other things, ſo had he no ſcarcitie of women. For beſides his ſeuen hundred Wiues, he kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people ſhould accompanie the daughters of Idolators) he tooke Wiues out of *Ægypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when hee fell a doting, his Wiues turned his heart after other Gods, as *Aſteroth* of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemoſh* of *Moab*.

Theſe things God puniſhed by *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, and by *Ieroboam* his owne ſeruant, and one of the maſters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his ſonne *Roboam*, ten of the twelue parts of all the territorie he had. *Deus dùm in peccatores animaduertit, aliorum peccatis vtitur, quæ ipſe non fecit.* God in puniſhing *P.Mart.in reg.* ſinners, vſeth the ſinnes of others, which he himſelfe wrought not.

In the reigne of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence, and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Fortie yeeres he reigned: how many he liued, it is not written, and muſt therefore be found onely by coniecture. The moſt likely way to gueſſe at the truth in this caſe, is by conſidering the actions of *Dauid* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby we may beſt make eſtimation of the yeeres which they conſumed, and conſequently learne the true, or moſt likely yeere of his natiuitie. Seauen yeeres *Dauid* reigned in *Hebron*: in his eighth yeere he tooke *Ieruſalem*, and warred with the *Philiſtims*, who alſo troubled him the yeere following. The bringing home of the Arke ſeemes to haue beene in the tenth yeere of *Dauid*, and his intention to build *2 King.c.7.v.1* the Temple in the yeere enſuing, at which time he had ſufficient leiſure, liuing in reſt. After this he had warres with the *Philiſtims*, *Moabites*, *Aramites* and *Edomites*, which muſt needes haue held him fiue yeeres, conſidered that the *Aramites* of *Damaſco* raiſed warre againſt him, after ſuch time as he had beaten *Hadadezer*; and that in euery of *2 Sam.c.11.v.1.* theſe warres he had the entire victory. Neither is it likely that theſe ſeruices occupied any longer time, becauſe in thoſe dayes and places there were no wintering campes in vſe, but at conuenient ſeaſons of the yeere Kings went forth to warre, diſpatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly vpon the ſpoyle of the enemies countrie, partly vpon the priuate prouiſion which euery ſouldier made for himſelfe. The 17. yeere of *Dauid*, in which he tooke *Mephiboſeth* the ſonne *1 Sam.c.17. v.17.& 18.*

of *Ionathan* into his Court, appeareth to haue paſſed away in quiet; and the yeere following to haue begun the warre with *Ammon*; but ſomewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for *Ioab* after the victorie, returned immediately to *Ieruſalem*) the cauſes and preparations for that warre taking vp all the Summer. *Dauids* perſonall expedition againſt the *Aramites* wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Hadadezer* vnder his owne allegiance, appeares manifeſtly to haue beene the next yeeres worke, wherein he did cut off all meanes of ſuccour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab* and *Idumæa* being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it muſt haue beene the 20. yeare of *Dauids* reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he ſent forth *Ioab* to beſiege *Rabba*, and finiſhed the warre of *Ammon*: wherein alſo fell out the matter of *Vriahs* wife. So one halfe of *Dauids* reigne was very proſperous: in the other halfe he felt great ſorrow by the expectation, execution, and ſad remembrance of that heauie iudgement laid vpon him by God for his foule and bloudy offence.

Now very manifeſt it is, that in the yeere after the death of that childe which was begotten in adulterie, *Salomon* was borne, who muſt needs therefore haue beene nineteene yeeres old or thereabout, when he began to reigne at the deceaſe of his father, as being begotten in the 21. yeere of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all fortie.

This account hath alſo good coherence with the following times of *Dauid*, as may be collected out of enſuing actions: for two yeeres paſſed ere *Abſalon* ſlew his brother *Ammon*; three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeeres more ere he came into the Kings preſence. After this he prepared horſes and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which ſeemes to haue beene one yeeres work. So the rebellion it ſelfe with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amaſa* and the reſt, may well ſeeme to haue beene in the 30. yeere of *Dauids* reigne.

Whether the three yeeres of famine ſhould be reckoned apart from the laſt yeeres of warre with the *Philiſtims*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to coniecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the ten remaining yeeres of *Dauid* there was time ſufficient, and to ſpare, both for the three yeeres of famine, for foure yeeres of warre, and for numbring the people, with the peſtilence enſuing; as alſo for his owne laſt infirmitie, and diſpoſing of the Kingdome. Yet indeede it ſeemes that the warre with the *Philiſtims*, was but one yeeres worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* neere vnto *Gezer*, and the laſt at *Gath*. This war the *Philiſtims* vndertooke, as it ſeemeth, vpon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Iſrael*, and perhaps emboldened by *Dauids* olde age: for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwads hindered by his men from expoſing himſelfe vnto danger any more. So *Dauid* had ſixe or ſeauen yeeres of reſt, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of Warre died (being of his owne age) whereby the ſtirring ſpirit of *Adonijah* found little ſuccour in the broken partie of *Ioab* the ſonne of *Zeruia*.

1 Kin c.2.v.9. & c.3.v.7.

At this time it might both truely be ſaid by *Dauid* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wiſe man*, and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a yong childe*; for nineteene yeeres of age might well agree with either of theſe two ſpeeches.

Neuertheleſſe there are ſome that gather out of *Salomons* profeſſing himſelfe a child, that he was but eleuen yeeres old when hee began to reigne. Of theſe *Rabbi Salomon* ſeemes the firſt Author, whom other of great learning and iudgement haue herein followed: grounding themſelues perhaps vpon that which is ſaid of *Abſolons* rebellion, that it was after fortie yeeres, which they vnderſtood as yeeres of *Dauids* reigne. But whereas *Rehoboam* the ſonne of *Salomon* was 41. yeeres old when he began to reigne, it would follow hereby that his Father had begotten him, being himſelfe but a child of nine or ten yeeres old; the difference betweene their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned fortie yeeres) were but eleuen yeeres old when his reigne began. To auoide this inconuenience, *Ioſephus* allowes 80. yeeres of reigne to *Salomon*; a report ſo diſagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needes no confutation. Some indeede haue in fauour of this opinion conſtrued the words of *Ioſephus*, as if they included all the yeeres of *Salomons* life. But by ſuch reckoning he ſhould haue beene 40. yeeres old at his Fathers death; and conſequently ſhould haue beene borne long before his Father had wonne *Ieruſalem*; which is a manifeſt vntruth. Wherefore the 40. yeeres remem-

2 Sam.15.7.

remembred in *Abſalons* rebellion, may either ſeeme to haue reference to the ſpace betweene *Dauids* firſt anointment, and the trouble which God brought vpon him for his wickedneſſe, or perhaps be read (according to *Ioſephus*, *Theodoret*, and the *Latine* tranſlation) foure yeeres; which paſſed betweene the returne of *Abſalon* to *Ieruſalem*, and his breaking out.

§. V.
Of Salomons *writings.*

THere remaine of *Salomons* workes, the *Prouerbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Salomon*. In the firſt he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the ſecond, the vanity of humane nature; in the third he ſingeth as it were the *Epithalamion* of Chriſt and his Church. For the Booke intituled, The wiſedome of *Salomon*, (which ſome giue vnto *Salomon*, and ſome make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Hierome* and many others of the beſt learned make vs thinke it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri ſapientiæ* (ſaith Hierome) *qui* Salomonis *inſcribitur, Græcam redolet eloquentiam; The ſtile of the booke of wiſedome, which is aſcribed to* Salomon, *ſauoureth of the Græcian eloquence*; and of the ſame opinion was S. *Auguſtine*, and yet he confeſſeth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citie of God, that the Author of that Booke hath a direct foretelling of the Paſſion of Chriſt in theſe words: *Circumueniamus iuſtum quoniam inſuauis eſt nobis, &c. Let vs circumuent the righteous, for he is vnpleaſing to vs, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh vs for offending againſt the Law, he makes his boaſt to haue the knowledge of God, and he calleth himſelfe the ſonne of the Lord, &c.* and ſo doth the courſe of all the following words point directly at Chriſt. The Bookes of *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Prouerbs*, and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moſes Kimchi*, aſcribeth to *Iſay* the Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diſeaſes, and graued the ſame on the ſides of the Porch of the Temple, which they ſay *Ezechias* pulled downe, becauſe the people neglecting helpe from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoueries.

Hier. ad Cromaſium.

Sap. 2.

S. Sen. fol. 62.

Reinecc. in Iul. Hiſt.

Of *Salomons* books of Inuocations and Inchantments to cure diſeaſes, and expell euill ſpirits, *Ioſephus* hath written at large, though as I conceiue, rather out of his owne inuention, or from ſome vncertaine report, than truely.

He alſo ſpeaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the roote in *Salomons* ring diſpoſſeſt diuers perſons, of euill ſpirits in the preſence of *Veſpaſian*, and many others, which I will not ſtand to examine.

Certainely ſo ſtrange an example of humane frailty hath neuer beene read of as this King: who hauing receiued wiſedome from God himſelfe, in honour of whom, and for his onely ſeruice, he built the firſt and moſt glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Iſrael* and *Iudæa*, not by the law of Nature, but by the loue of God, and became the wiſeſt, richeſt, and happieſt of all Kings, did in the end, by the perſwaſion of a few weake and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forſake the Lord of all the world, and the giuer of all goodneſſe, of which he was more liberall to this King, than to any that euer the world had. Of whom *Siracides* writeth in this manner: Salomon *reigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that hee might build a houſe to his name, and prepare the Sanctuary for euer; How wiſe waſt thou in thy youth, and waſt filled with vnderſtanding, as with a floud? Thy minde couered the whole earth, and hath filled it with graue and darke ſentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou waſt beloued, &c.* but thus he concludeth: *Thou didſt bow thy loynes to Women, and waſt ouer-come by thy body, thou didſt ſtaine thine honour, and haſt defiled thy poſteritie, and haſt brought wrath vpon thy children, and felt ſorrow for thy folly.* cap. 27.

§. VI.
Of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

NEere the beginning of *Salomons* reigne, *Ageſilaus* the third of the *Heraclidæ* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedæmon*; and ſoone after *Syluius Alba* the fourth of the *Syluij*, ſwayed thoſe Kingdomes: *Laoſthenes* then gouerning *Aſſyria*: *Agaſtus* and *Archippus* the ſecond and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the ſixe and twentieth of *Salomons* reigne *Hiram* of *Tyre* died, to whom *Baliaſtrus* ſucceeded, and reigned ſeuenteene yeeres, after *Mercators* account, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his ſonnes. *Ioſephus* giues him fewer yeeres. *Theophilus Antiochenus* againſt *Autolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not ſome Kings omitted betweene the death of *Hiram*, and the reigne of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Seſac* or *Shiſak* (as our *Engliſh Geneua* termes him) began to gouerne in *Ægypt*, being the ſame with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Soſachis*; *Ioſephus*, *Suſac*; *Cedrenus*, *Suſeſinus*, *Euſebius* in the columne of the *Ægyptian* Kings, *Smendes*, and in that of the *Hebrewes*, *Suſac*. *Ioſephus* in the eight of his Antiquities reproueth it as an errour in *Herodotus*, that he aſcribeth the acts of *Suſac* to *Seſoſtris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might haue done by compariſon, accounting *Seſac* another *Seſoſtris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Seſoſtris* I haue ſpoken already in the ſtory of the *Ægyptian* Princes: onely in this he was reproued, that he cauſed foure of his captiue Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was diſpoſed to be ſeene, and to ride in triumph: one of which foure, ſaith *Eutropius*, at ſuch time as *Seſoſtris* was carried out to take the aire, caſt his head continually backe vpon the two fore-moſt wheeles next him; which *Seſoſtris* perceiuing, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion? to whom the captiue King anſwered, that in thoſe he beheld the inſtability of all worldly things; for that both the loweſt part of the wheele was ſuddainely carried about, and became the higheſt, and the vpmoſt part was as ſuddainly turned downe-ward and vnder all: which when *Seſoſtris* had iudiciouſly weighed, he diſmiſſed thoſe Princes, and all other from the like ſeruitude in the future. Of this *Seſoſtris*, and that he could not be taken for *Seſac*, I haue ſpoken at large in that part of the *Ægyptian* Kings preceding.

Hiſt. Miſcel. l.17.

Chap. XIX.

Of Salomons *Succeſſors vntill the end of* Iehoſaphat.

§. I.

Of Rehoboam *his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and* Ieroboams *Idolatry.*

R*Ehoboam* the Sonne of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an *Ammoniteſſe*, now forty yeeres old, ſucceeded his Father *Salomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Iſrael* were aſſembled: who attended a while the returne of *Ieroboam* as yet in *Ægypt*, ſince he fled thither fearing *Salomon*. After his arriuall the people preſented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eaſed of thoſe great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, ſi amare mallet quàm metui*; *So ſhould his Empire* (ſaith *Ioſephus*) *be more aſſured, if he deſired rather to be beloued than feared*: whereof he tooke three dayes to deliberate before his anſwere; of whom therefore it could not be ſaid as of *Dauid*, that he was wiſer than all his Teachers. For as of himſelfe he knew not how to reſolue, ſo had he not the iudgement to diſcerne of counſels, which is the very teſt of wiſedome in Princes, and in all men elſe. But notwithſtanding that he had conſulted with thoſe graue and aduiſed men, that ſerued his Father, who perſwaded him by all meanes to ſatisfie the multitude: he was tranſported by his familiars and fauourites, not onely to continue on the backs of his ſubiects thoſe burdens which greatly cruſht them; but (vaunting falſly of greatneſſe exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in ſharpe, or rather in terrible tearmes, to lay yet heauier, and more vnſupportable loades on them. But as it appeared by the ſucceſſe, thoſe yonger aduiſers greatly miſtooke the nature of ſeuerity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it ſelfe: they alſo were ignorant that it ought to be vſed for the helpe, and not for the harme of ſubiects. For what is the ſtrength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters haue euer laſted long, but thoſe which haue beene

Ant.l.8.c.3.

twiſted and forged by loue onely? His witleſſe paraſites could well iudge of the Kings diſpoſition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things elſe, it ſufficed and inabled them ſufficiently for the places they held. But this anſwere of *Rehoboam* did not a little aduance *Ieroboams* deſignes. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future aduancement, theſe the Kings threats (changing the peoples loue into furie) confirmed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no ſooner arriued, than elected King of *Iſrael*: the people cryed out, What portion haue we in *Dauid*? we haue no inheritance in the Sonne of *Iſhai*. Now though themſelues, euen all the Tribes *2 Sam c.5.1.* of *Iſral*, had conſented to *Dauids* anointing at *Hebron* the ſecond time, acknowledgeing that they were his bones and his fleſh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgat both the bands of nature, and their dutie to God, and, as all alienated reſolued hearts doe, they ſerued themſelues for the preſent with impudent excuſes. And now ouer-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* ſent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man moſt hatefull to all his Subiects, to pacifie them: whom they inſtantly beat to death with ſtones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from *Sichem* with all ſpeede, and re- *1 King.12.22.* couered *Ieruſalem*, where preparing to inuade *Iſrael*, with an hundred and foure-ſcore thouſand choſen men, *Shemai* in the perſon of God commanding to the contrary, all was ſtayed for the preſent. In the meane time *Ieroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this ſide, and *Penuel* on the other ſide of *Iordan*; and fearing that the Vnion and exerciſe of one Religion would alſo ioyne the peoples hearts againe to the Houſe of *Dauid*; and hauing in all likelihood alſo promiſed the *Ægyptians* to follow their Idolatry: he ſet vp two Calues of gold for the Children of *Iſrael* to worſhip, impiouſly perſwading them that thoſe were the Gods, or at leaſt by theſe he repreſented thoſe Gods, which deliuered them out of *Ægypt*: and refuſing the ſeruice of the *Leuites*, he made Prieſts fit for ſuch gods. It muſt needes be that by baniſhing the *Leuites* which ſerued *Dauid* and *Salomon* through all *Iſrael*, *Ieroboam* greatly inriched himſelfe: as taking into his hands all thoſe Cities which were giuen them by *Moſes* and *Ioſua*, for as it is written, *The Leuites left their ſuburbs, and their poſſeſſion, and came to Iuda, &c.* This irreligious policie of *Ieroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that neuer could be rooted out, vntill *Iſrael* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecie and miracles impugned ſufficiently when it firſt began; but the affections maintaining it, were ſo ſtrong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could make them yeelde. *Ieroboam* could *1 King.13.v.4* not be moued now by the authority of *Abia*, who from the Lord had firſt promiſed vnto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as he ſtretched it ouer the Altar, which alſo claue a-ſunder, according to the ſigne, which the man of God *Verſe 5.* had giuen him by the commandement of God, who againe recouered and cured him *Verſe 6.* of that defect; yet he continued as obſtinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the ſafeſt courſe in policie to proceede as he had begun. This impious inuention of *Ieroboam*, who forſooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Miniſters taught them, was by a moderne Hiſtorian compared with the policies of late Ages; obſeruing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. *Sic qui hodiè* (ſaith he) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda, præſentéſq; vtilitates ſibi tanquàm vltimum finem conſtituunt, cauſam quam vocant ſtatus in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipſa tuenda, promouenda, conſeruanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si iniuria proximo irroganda, ſi iuſtitiæ honeſtatiſq; leges ſubuertendæ, ſi religio ipſa peſſundanda, ſi deniq; omnia iura diuina, & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefaſq; relinquendum cenſent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipſos, modò id, quod è re ſua eſſe ſibi perſuadent, obtineant, ac ſi nullus ſit qui talia curet, caſtigareuè poſſit Deus; So they who are now called* **Politi-***tians, propounding to themſelues, as their vtmoſt end and ſcope, their owne commoditie and preſent profit; are wont to alleage the caſe of ſtate forſooth, as the principall point to be regarded: for the good of the ſtate, for aduancing, preſeruing, or encreaſing of the ſtate, they thinke that they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppreſſe their neighbour, to ouerturne all lawes of iuſtice and honeſty, if religion it ſelfe muſt goe to wracke, yea if all rights of God and Man muſt be violated, they will try all courſes, be it right, be it wrong, they will doe any thing; let all goe to ruine, what care they, ſo long as they may haue what they would; as who ſhould ſay, there were no God that would offer to meddle in ſuch matters, or had power to correct them.*

Indeede this allegation of *raggione del ſtato*, did ſerue as well to vp-hold, as at the

Amos 7.13.
2 Kings 10 16.
2 Kings 10.20.

firſt it had done to bring in this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Vpon this ground *Amazia* the Prieſt of *Bethel*, counſailed the Prophet *Amos*, not to prophecie at *Bethel*; *For* (ſaith he) *it is the Kings Court*. Vpon this ground euen *Iehu* that had maſſacred the Prieſts of *Baal*, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wiſe depart from that politique ſinne of *Ieroboam* the ſonne of *Nebat*, which made *Iſrael* to ſinne. It was reaſon of ſtate that perſwaded the laſt famous *French King Henrie* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Proteſtants whom he forſooke, obeyed him, but ſome of the Papiſts whom he followed, murdered him. So ſtrongly doth the painted vizzor of wiſe proceeding delude euen thoſe that know the foule face of impietie lurking vnder it, and behold the wretched ends that haue euer followed it; whereof *Iehu* and all the Kings of *Iſrael* had and were themſelues very great examples.

§. II.

Of Rehoboam *his impietie; for which he was puniſhed by* Seſac: *of his end and Contemporaries.*

2 Chron. 12.
1 Kings 14.13.

WHile *Ieroboam* was occupied in ſetting vp his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other ſide, hauing now little hope to recouer the Prouinces loſt, ſtrengthened the principall places remaining, with all endeuour: for he fortified and victualled fifteene Cities of *Iudah* and *Beniamin*: not that he feared *Ieroboam* alone, but the *Ægyptians*, to whom *Ieroboam* had not onely faſtned himſelfe, but withall inuited them to inuade *Iudæa*: laying perchance before them the incountable riches of *Dauid* and *Solomon*, which might now be eaſily had, ſeeing ten of the twelue Tribes were reuolted, and become enemies to the *Iudæans*. So as by thoſe two wayes (of late yeeres often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of forraigne force, *Ieroboam* hoped to ſettle himſelfe in the ſeate of *Iſrael*, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatry in a few yeeres after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* alſo, hauing as he thought, by fortifying diuers places, aſſured his eſtate, forſooke the Law of the liuing God, and made high places, and Images, and Groues on euery high Hill, and vnder euery greene Tree.

2 Chron. 12.3.
Ioſ. Ant. 8. c. 4.
2 Chron. 12.
2 Kings 14.
Annot. in 12. Chron.
Plin. l. 6. c. 29.
Ptol. Aſia. tab. 3
Cap. 47. v. 13.

And therefore in the fifth yeere of his reigne, *Seſac* or *Shiſhac* before ſpoken of, being now King of *Ægypt*, and with whom as well *Adad* of *Idumæa*, as *Ieroboam*, were familiar, and his inſtruments; entred *Iudæa* with twelue thouſand Chariots, and threeſcore thouſand Horſe, beſides foot-men, which *Ioſephus* numbers at foure hundred thouſand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations: *Ægyptians, Lubæans, Succæans,* and *Cuſites*. The *Lubæans* wete *Lybæans*, the next bordering Region to *Ægypt*, on the Weſt-ſide. The *Cuſites* were of *Petræa*, and of the *Deſart Arabia*, which afterward followed *Zerah* againſt *Aſa* King of *Iuda*. The *Succæans* according to *Iunius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which ſignifieth Tents: he doth ſuppoſe that they were the *Troglodytæ*, mentioned often in *Plinie*, *Ptolomie*, and other Authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not farre from the bankes of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about ſixe hundred *Engliſh* miles from the beſt and Maritimate part of *Ægypt*: and therefore I doe not think that the *Succims*, or *Succæi* were thoſe *Troglodytæ*, but rather thoſe *Arabians* which *Ptolomie* cals *Arabes Ægyptij*, or, *Ichthyophagi*, which poſſeſſe that part of *Ægypt* betweene the mountaines called *Alabaſtrini*, and the red Sea, farre neerer *Ægypt*, and readier to be leuied then thoſe remoued *Sauages* of the *Troglodytæ*.

With this great and powerfull Army, *Seſac* inuaded *Iudæa*, and (beſides many other ſtrong Cities) wan *Ieruſalem* it ſelfe; of which, and of the Temple, and Kings houſe, he took the ſpoile, carrying away (beſides other treaſures) the golden ſhields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of thoſe which *Dauid* recouered from *Adadezer*, in the *Syrian* war: theſe *Rehoboam* ſupplied with Targets of braſſe, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality: whom *Syracides* calleth, The fooliſhneſſe of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of *Ægypt* claimed the ſoueraigntie of *Iudæa*, and held the *Iewes* as their Tributaries: *Seſac*, as it ſeemes, rendring vp to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the word of God, where premiſing the deliuerance of *Iuda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithſtanding leaue them vnder the yoke of *Ægypt*, in theſe words: *Neuertheleſſe, they* (to wit, the *Iudæans*) *ſhall be his ſeruants, that is, the ſeruants of* Seſac.

After this ouerthrow and diſhonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelue yeeres,and his loſſes receiued by *Seſac*, notwithſtanding, he continued the warre againſt *Ieroboam* all his life time. After his death *Ieroboam* gouerned *Iſrael* foure yeeres.

Rehoboam liued 58. yeeres,and reigned 17.his ſtorie was written at large by *Shemeiah* and *Hiddon* the Prophets,but the ſame periſhed with that of *Nathan*,and the reſt.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Terſippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or Gouernors for life after *Codrus*,gouerned in *Athens*. *Abdaſtrartus*,or *Abſtrartus*,in *Tyre*. *Doriſthus* the fift of the *Heraclidæ* in *Sparta*,according to *Euſebeus* (others make him the ſixt) and *Priminas* the fourth in *Corinth*. Ouer the *Latines* reigned *Syluius Alba*, and *Syluius Atys*,the fourth and fifth of the *Syluij*.

Euſeb.Cron.

About the 12.of *Rehoboam*, *Abdaſtrartus* King of *Tyre* was murthered by his Nurſes ſons,or foſter brethren,the elder of which vſurped the Kingdome twelue yeeres.

Towards his latter times *Periciades*,or *Pyrithiades*, began to gouerne *Aſſyria*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Aſtartus*, the ſonne of *Baleaſtartus*,recouered the Kingdome of *Tyre* from the *Vſurpers*.

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§. III.

Of the great battaile betweene Ieroboam *and* Abia, *with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods iudgements.*

A*Bijah* the ſonne of *Rehoboam*,inherited his Fathers Kingdome,and his vices. He raiſed an Armie of foure hundred thouſand, with which he inuaded *Ieroboam*, who encountred him with a double number of eight hundred thouſand: Both Armies ioyned neere to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Ieroboam* was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the ſtrength of *Iſrael* broken; for there fell of that ſide fiue hundred thouſand, the greateſt ouerthrow that euer was giuen or receiued of thoſe Nations. *Abijah* being now maſter of the field, recouered *Bethel*, *Ieſhanah*, and *Ephron*; ſoone after which diſcomfiture, *Ieroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. yeeres. *Abijah*, the better to ſtrengthen himſelfe,entred into league with *Heſion*,the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*; as may be gathered out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*: he reigned but three yeeres,and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet, as ſome part of his Fathers were.

2 Chron.16.23

Here we ſee how it pleaſed God to puniſh the ſinnes of *Salomon* in his Sonne *Rehoboam*: firſt,by an Idolator and Traitor: and then by the ſucceſſor of that *Ægyptian*,whoſe daughter *Salomon* had married,thereby the better to aſſure his eſtate,which while he ſerued God, was by God aſſured againſt all and the greateſt neighbouring Kings;and when he forſooke him, it was torne aſunder by his meaneſt Vaſſals: Not that the Father wanted ſtrength to defend him from the *Ægyptian Seſac*. For the ſonne *Abijah* was able to leuie foure hundred thouſand men, and with the ſame number he ouerthrew eight hundred thouſand *Iſraelites*, and ſlew of them fiue hundred thouſand; God giuing ſpirit, courage, and inuention, when, and where it pleaſeth him. And as in thoſe times the cauſes were expreſt, why it pleaſed God to puniſh both Kings and their People: the ſame being both before, and at the inſtant deliuered by Prophets; ſo the ſame iuſt God, who liueth and gouerneth all things for euer, doeth in theſe our times giue victory,courage,and diſcourage, raiſe, and throw downe Kings, Eſtates, Cities,and Nations, for the ſame offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the preſent: for which reaſon, in theſe and other the afflictions of *Iſrael*, alwayes the cauſes are ſet downe, that they might be as precedents to ſucceeding ages. They were puniſhed with famine in *Dauids* time for three yeeres, *For Saul and his bloudy houſe, &c.* And *Dauid* towards his latter end ſuffered all ſorts of afflictions, and ſorrowes in effect, for *Vriah*. *Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelue torne from his ſonne for his Idolatry. *Rehoboam* was ſpoyled of his riches and honour by *Seſac* of *Ægypt*, becauſe the people of *Iuda* made images, high places, and groues, &c. And becauſe they ſuffered *Sodomites* in the Land. *Ieroboam* was puniſhed in himſelfe and his poſteritie, for the golden *Calues* that he erected. *Ioram* had all his ſonnes ſlaine by the *Philiſtims*, and his very bowels torne out of his body by an excoriating flixe,for murthering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Iezebel* were ſlaine,the bloud of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogges: for the falſe accuſing and killing of *Naboth*. So alſo hath God puniſhed the ſame and

2 Sam.21.1.

the like ſinnes in all after-times, and in theſe our dayes by the ſame famine, plagues, warre, loſſe, vexation, death, ſickneſſe, and calamities, howſoeuer the wiſe men of the world raiſe theſe effects no higher than to ſecond cauſes, and ſuch other accidents; which, as being next their eyes and eares, ſeeme to them to worke euery alteration that happeneth.

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§. IIII.

Of Aſa *and his Contemporaries.*

2 Chron.14.

2 Chron.15.16.

2 Chron 14.9.

TO *Abijah* ſucceeded *Aſa*, who enioyed peace for his firſt ten yeeres, in which time he eſtabliſhed the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to ſtrange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groues, and taking away their high places. He alſo ſpared not his owne mother, who was an Idolatreſſe, but depoſing her from her regencie, brake her Idoll, ſtampt it, and burnt it. Hee alſo fortified many Cities, and other places, prouiding (as prouident Kings doe) for the troubles of war in the leaſure of peace. For not long after he was inuaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Iudæa*, and with ſuch a multitude entred the territorie of *Aſa*, as (for any thing that I haue read) were neuer aſſembled of that Nation, either before or ſince. For it is written, that there came againſt the *Iudæans*, *Zerah* of *Aethiopia*, with an hoſte of ten hundred thouſand, and three hundred Charіots, which *Aſa* encountred with an Armie of fiue hundred and fourescore thouſand, leuied out of thoſe two Tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, which obeyed him, and with which hee ouerthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the ſpoyle both of their Cities and Campes

* In the former booke *c.4* §.14. *item c.8.* § *10.* * *6.*

2 Chron.14.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Æthiopian*, I haue * proued already, and were it but the length betweene *Æthiopia* and *Iudæa*, and the ſtrong flouriſhing Regions of *Ægypt* interiacent (who would not ſuffer a million of ſtrangers to paſſe through them) it were ſufficient to make it appeare how fooliſh the opinion is, that theſe inuaders were *Æthiopians*. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were ſpoyled by the *Iudæans*, in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* ſtandeth vpon the torrent of *Beſor*, which *Dauid* paſt ouer when he ſurprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*; this proueth ſufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier towne, ſtanding on the vttermoſt South-border of all *Iudæa*, from all parts of *Æthiopia* ſixe hundred miles. Alſo the ſpoyles which *Aſa* tooke, as the cattell, Camels, and ſheepe, whereof he ſacrificed fiue thouſand, ſhew them to be *Arabians* adioyning, and not farre off, and not vnknowne *Æthiopians*. And if it be obiected that theſe deſart countries can hardly yeelde a million of men fit for the wars, I anſwer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petræa*, and the Deſart which compaſſe two parts of the holy Land, ſhould yeeld ten hundred thouſand, as that two Tribes of the twelue, ſhould arme fiue hundred and foure ſcore thouſand Beſides, it anſwereth to the promiſe of *God* to *Abraham*, that theſe Nations ſhould exceede in number; for *God* ſpake it of *Iſmael*, that hee would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that hee ſhould beget twelue Princes, &c.

2 Chro.16.v.1.

Baaſha a King of *Iſrael* began to reigne in the third of *Aſa*, and fearing the greatnes of *Aſa* after his great victory, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadezer*, to ioyne with him againſt *Aſa*; and to the end to blocke him vp, he fortified *Rama*, which lieth in the way from *Ieruſalem* towards *Samaria*.

This warre began according to the letter of the *Scriptures* in the 36. yeere of *Aſa* his reigne: but becauſe in the firſt of Kings the 16. it is ſaid that *Baaſha* died in the 26. yeere of *Aſa*; therfore could not *Baaſha* begin this war in the 35. of *Aſa* his reigne, but in the 35. yeere of the diuiſion of *Iuda* and *Iſrael*; for ſo many yeeres it was from the firſt of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of *Aſa*. It may ſeeme ſtrange, that *Aſa* being able to bring into the field an Armie of fiue hundred and foure ſcore thouſand good Souldiers, did not eaſily driue away *Baaſha*, and defeat him of his purpoſes; the victories of *Abia* againſt *Ieroboam*, and of *Aſa* himſelfe againſt *Zerah*, being yet freſh in minde, which might well haue emboldened the men of *Iuda*, and aſmuch diſheartened the enemies. Queſtionleſſe there were ſome important Circumſtances, omitted in the Text, which cauſed *Aſa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of ſo many hundred thouſands of hands, in the late ſeruice againſt *Zerah*, had cauſed many mens priuate buſineſſes to lye vndiſpatched, whereby the people being now intentiue to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be vnwilling to ſtir againſt the *Iſraelites*, chooſing rather to winke at apparant inconuenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardneſſe of the people might haue deterred *Aſa* from aduenturing himſelfe with the leaſt part of his forces, and committing the ſucceſſe into the hands of Gods. Howſoeuer it were, he took the treaſures remaining in the Temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* againſt *Baaſha*, whoſe imployments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baaſha*. For the *Iſraelites* were his borderers, and next neighbours, whom neither himſelfe (after his inuaſion) nor his ſucceſſors after him euer gaue ouer, till they had made themſelues maſters of that Kingdome. So *Benhadad* being now entred into *Nepthalim*, without reſiſtance, he ſpoyled diuers principall Cities thereof, and inforced *Baaſha* to quit *Rama*, and to leaue the ſame to *Aſa*, with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the ſame: which done, *Benhadad*, who loued neither party, being loden with the ſpoiles of *Iſrael*, and the treaſures of *Iuda*, returned to *Damaſcus*. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Aſa*, in that he now relyed on the ſtrength of *Syria*, and did not reſt himſelfe on the fauour and aſſiſtance of God, he not onely cauſed *Hanani* to be impriſoned, but he began to burden and oppreſſe his people, and was therefore ſtrooken with the grieuous paines of the gout in his feete, wherewith after he had beene two yeeres continually tormented, he gaue vp the ghoſt when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

2 Chron. 16.4.

1 Kings 15.

2 Chron. 16.

There liued with *Aſa*, *Ageſilaus* the ſixt of the *Heraclidæ*, and *Bacis* the fift King of the ſame race in *Corinth*, of whom his ſucceſſors were afterward called *Bacidæ*. *Aſtartus*, and *Aſtarimus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Aſtarimus* tooke reuenge on his brother *Phelletes*; for the murther of *Ithobalus* Prieſt of the goddeſſe *Aſtarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worſhipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the *Latines*: *Pirithiades* and *Ophrateus* the *Aſſyrians*: *Terſippus* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Ægypt*; who dying in the 36. yeere of *Aſa*, left *Cheops* his ſucceſſour, that reigned fiftie ſixe yeeres, euen to the 16. of *Ioas*.

Euſeb. in Chron.

§. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reigne of Aſa.

IN the reigne of *Aſa* the Kingdome of *Iſrael* felt great and violent commotions, which might haue reduced the ten Tribes vnto their former allegeance to the houſe of *Dauid*, if the wiſedome of God had not otherwiſe determined. The wickedneſſe of *Ieroboam* had in his latter dayes, the ſentence of heauy vengeance laid vpon it, by the mouth of *Ahia*, the ſame Prophet which had foretold the diuiſion of *Iſrael*, for the ſinne of *Salomon*, and his reigne ouer the ten Tribes. One ſonne *Ieroboam* had among others, in whom onely God found ſo much pietie, as (though it ſufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured vnto him a peaceable end; an honourable teſtimony of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was moſt happy) the fauourable approbation of God himſelfe.

After the loſſe of this good ſonne, the vngodly father was ſoone taken away: a miſerable creature, ſo conſcious of his vile vnthankefulneſſe to God, that he durſt not ſuffer his owne name to be vſed in conſulting with an holy Prophet, aſſured of the ruine hanging ouer him and his, yea of Gods extreame hatred; yet forbearing to deſtroy thoſe accurſed Idols, that wrought his confuſion. So loath he was to forſake his worldly wiſdome, when the world was ready to forſake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memory excepted.

Nadab the ſonne of *Ieroboam*, reigned in the ſecond and third yeeres of *Aſa*, which are reckoned as two yeeres, though indeede his fathers laſt yeere of two and twenty did run along (how farre is vncertaine) with the ſecond of *Aſa*, whoſe third yeere was the firſt of *Baaſha*, ſo that perhaps this *Nadab* enioyed not his Kingdome one whole yeere. He did not alter his fathers courſes, neither did God alter his ſentence. It ſeemes that hee little feared the iudgements denounced againſt his fathers houſe: for as a Prince that

1 Kings 15.25.

was ſecure of his owne eſtate, he armed all *Iſrael* againſt the *Philiſtims*, and beſieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were ſo, that the people were offended with his ill ſucceſſe, and recalled to minde their grieuous loſſe of fiue hundred thouſand vnder *Ieroboam*, counting it an vnluckie family to the Nation; or whether by ſome particular indiſcretion, he exaſperated them) ſlaine he was by *Baaſha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his ſtead, *Baaſha* was no ſooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the houſe of *Ieroboam*, that none of them might moleſt him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the ſword. That he did this for priuate reſpects, and not in regard of Gods will to haue it ſo, it is euident by his continuing in the ſame forme of Idolatry which *Ieroboam* had begun. Wherefore he receiued the ſame ſentence from God that had beene laid vpon *Ieroboam*; which was executed vpon him alſo in the ſame ſort. He began to infeſt *Aſa*, by fortifying *Ramah*; but was diuerted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did waſte his Countrey, deſtroying all the Land of *Nepthalim*. Foure and twenty yeeres he reigned: and then dying, left the Crowne to *Ela* his ſonne; who enioyed it, as *Nadab* the ſonne of *Ieroboam* had done, two yeeres currant, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an idolater as his father: and withall a riotous perſon. Hee ſent an Armie againſt *Gibbethon*, the ſame Towne of the *Philiſtims*, before which *Nadab* the ſon of *Ieroboam* periſhed; but he ſat at home the whileſt, feaſting and drinking with his Minions, whereby he gaue ſuch aduantage againſt himſelfe, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Maſter ſo diſſolute, and his behauiour ſo contemptible, conceiued hope of the like fortune as *Baaſha* had found, by doing as *Baaſha* had done. Wherefore he did ſet vpon *Ela* in his drunkenneſſe, and ſlue him. Preſently vpon which fact, he ſtiled himſelfe King of *Iſrael*: and began his reigne with maſſacring all the houſe of *Baaſha*; extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolke, but vnto all his friends in *Tirza*. Theſe newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers inſtead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they ſaluted King, they (quitted the ſiege of *Gibbethon*) preſented themſelues before *Tirza*; which in ſhort ſpace they may ſeeme to haue forced. *Zimri* wanting ſtrength to defend the Citie, not courage to keepe himſelfe from falling aliue into his enemies hands, did ſet fire on the Palace, conſuming it and himſelfe together to aſhes. Seauen dayes he is ſaid to haue reigned: accounting (as is moſt likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Campe. For *Zimri* was alſo an idolater, *walking in the way of* Ieroboam; and therefore is likly to haue had more time wherein to declare himſelfe, than the reigne of ſeauen dayes, and thoſe conſumed partly in murthering the friends of *Baaſha*, partly in ſeeking to haue defended his owne life. After the death of *Ela*, there aroſe another King to oppoſe the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may ſeeme, that *Zimri* had made his party ſtrong, as being able to ſet vp a new head, who doubtleſſe would neuer haue appeared, if there had not beene ready to his hand, ſome ſtrength, not vnlikely to reſiſt and vanquiſh the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out, I doe not finde; onely it appeares that his ſide was decayed, and ſo he died, leauing no other Succeſſor than his concurrent.

1 Kings 16.19.

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§. VI.

A coniecture of the cauſes hindering the revnion of Iſrael with Iuda, which might haue beene effected by theſe troubles.

ANy man that ſhall conſider the ſtate of *Iſrael* in thoſe times, may iuſtly wonder how it came to paſſe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already ſuffered vnder theſe vnfortunate Princes, and with the preſent ciuill warres, did not returne to their ancient Kings, and reunite themſelues with the mighty Tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppreſſed factions, did not call in *Aſa*, but rather choſe the one to endure a deſperate neceſſity of yeeding, or burning himſelfe, the other to languiſh away, a man forſaken: than to haue recourſe vnto a remedy, ſo ſure, ſo ready, and ſo honourable. To ſay that God was pleaſed to haue it ſo, were a true, but an idle anſwere (for his ſecret will is the cauſe of all things) vnleſſe it could be proued, that he had forbidden *Aſa* to deale in that buſineſſe, as he forbad *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the reſtraint laid by God vpon *Rehoboam*, did onely binde his hands from attempting the ſuppreſſion of that preſent inſurrection; it appeares by the Warre continued betweene *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, ſo many yeeres following: wherein *Abia* ſo farre preuailed, that he wan a great battaile, and recouered ſome Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his owne Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly looke into the ſecond cauſes, mouing the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to ſuffer any thing vnder new vpſtarts, rather than to caſt their eyes vpon that Royall houſe of *Dauid*, from which the ſucceſſion of fiue Kings in lineall deſcent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly haue beene laid vpon the meane beginnings thereof. To thinke that *Omri* had preuented his Competitors, in making peace with *Aſa*, were a coniecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an Idolater, *but did worſe than all that were before him*; which as it might ſerue alone to proue, that *Aſa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, ſo the courſe which he profeſſed to take at the very firſt, of reuenging the maſſacre committed vpon the family and friends of *Baaſha*, (*Aſa* his mortall enemy) giues manifeſt reaſon, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, ſhould more iuſtly than he haue expected the friendſhip of *Iuda* in that quarrell. Wherefore, in ſearching out the reaſon of this backwardneſſe in the ten Tribes (which was ſuch that they may ſeeme to haue neuer thought vpon the matter) to ſubmit themſelues to their true Princes; it were not amiſſe to examine the cauſes, mouing the people to reuenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the ſon of *Ieroboam*, who followed the wars in perſon, as a man of ſpirit and courage. Surely it is apparant, that the very firſt defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we looke vpon humane reaſon) occaſioned by deſire of breaking that heauie yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their deſire was to haue a King that ſhould not oppreſſe them; not to haue no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had cauſed them to renounce him, they did immediatly chooſe *Ieroboam* in his ſtead, as a man likely to affoord that liberty vnto them, for which he had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it ſeemes) herein altogether deceiued. For his affectation of popularity appeares in his building of decayed Townes, and in the inſtitution of his new deuiſed idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them, to trauaile ſo farre as to *Ieruſalem*. But whether it were ſo, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to ceaſe, towards the latter end of his reigne, and in the reigne of his ſonne, when long time of poſſeſſion had confirmed his title, which at the firſt was onely good by courteſie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in ſuch caſes) were more offended by ſome prerogatiues of a King that he ſtill retained in his owne hands, than pleaſed with his remiſſion of other burdens: it is cleerely apparant, that the whole armie of all *Iſrael* ioyned with *Baaſha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Ieroboams* houſe.

1 Kings 16.25.

Now the reigne of *Baaſha* himſelfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) euery way vnfortunate; his labour and coſt at *Rama* was caſt away; the other ſide of his Kingdome harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one towne of *Gibbethon* from the *Philiſtims*, but left that buſineſſe to his ſonne, who likewiſe appeares an vnprofitable ſluggard. Wherefore it muſt needes be, that the fauour of the people toward the houſe of *Baaſha* grew from his good forme of Ciuill gouernment, which happely he reduced to a more temperate method than *Ieroboam* euer meant to doe. And ſurely he that ſhall take pains to looke into thoſe examples, which are extant of the different courſes, held by the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, in adminiſtration of iuſtice, will finde it moſt probable, that vpon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued ſo auerſe from the line of *Dauid*; as to thinke all aduerſity more tolerable, than the weightie Scepter of that houſe. For the death of *Ioab* and *Shimei* was indeede by them deſerued; yet in that they ſuffered it without forme of iudgement, they ſuffered like vnto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without iudgement, and without any crime obiected, other than the Kings iealouſie: out of which by the ſame rule of arbitrary iuſtice (vnder which it may be ſuppoſed that many were caſt away) hee would haue ſlaine *Ieroboam* (if hee could haue caught him) before he had yet committed any offence, as appeares by his confident returne out of *Ægypt*, like one that was knowne to haue endured wrong, hauing not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Iehoram* did vpon his brethren, and vpon ſundry of his greateſt men; as alſo *Ioaſh* did ſo put to death *Zachariah*, the ſonne of *Iehoiada*, who had made him King, *euen in the court of the houſe of the Lord*: *and* Manaſſes *did ſhed innocent bloud exceeding much, till he repleniſhed Ieruſalem from corner to corner*: and this was imputed to him as another fault; *beſides his ſinne, wherewith he made Iuda to ſinne*. Contrariwiſe, among the kings of *Iſrael* we finde no monument of ſuch arbitrary proceeding, vnleſſe perhaps the words of *Iehoram* the ſonne of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an inſtance, when he ſaid, *God doe ſo to me, and more alſo, if the head of* Eliſha *the ſonne of* Shaphat *ſhall ſtand on him this day*: whereby it is not plaine whether he meant to kill him without more adoe; or to haue him condemned as a falſe Prophet, that had made them hold out againſt the *Aramites*, till they were faine to eate their owne children; which he thought a ſufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpoſe to deliuer them. The death of *Naboth* ſheweth rather the liberty which the *Iſraelites* enioyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not feare to ſtand vpon his owne right, though *Ahab* were euen ſicke for anger; neither was he for that cauſe put to death, as vpon commandement, but made away by conſpiracie, the matter being handled after a iudiciall forme, which might giue ſatisfaction to the people, ignorant of the deuice, though to God it could not.

2 Chro. 24. 21.

2 King. 21. 16.

2 King. 6. 31.

The murther of the Prophet is continually aſcribed to *Iezabel*, an impudent woman, and not vnto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made whereby their liues were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people, being idolaters, were both pleaſed with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Iuda* (ſuch as are regiſtred) proue them to vſe a more abſolute manner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither doe their ſufferings witneſſe the contrary. For of thoſe which reigned ouer *Iuda*, from the diuiſion of the Kingdome, to the captiuity of the ten Tribes, three were ſlaine by the people, and two were denied a buriall amongſt their anceſtors. Yea, the death of *Ahazia* and his brethren, ſlaine by *Iehu*, with the deſtruction of all the Royall ſeede of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can reade) ſtirre vp in the people any ſuch thirſt of reuenge, as might by the ſuddenneſſe and vniformity teſtifie the affection to be generall, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes; vnleſſe we ſhould thinke that the death of *Athalia*, after ſeauen yeeres reigne, were occaſioned rather by the memory of her ill purchaſing, than by the preſent ſence of her tyrannicall abuſing the gouernment, whereon ſhe had ſeiſed. On the other ſide, ſuch of the Kings of *Iſrael* as periſhed by treaſon (which were ſeauen of the twenty) were all ſlaine by conſpiracie of the great men, who aſpired by treaſon to the Crowne: the people being ſo farre from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Soueraignes, that (after *Nadab*) they did neuer forbeare to reuenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approue the good ſucceſſe of treaſon, vnleſſe feare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly reuenged vpon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, vpon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterouſly got and vſurped, for a little while, their places; onely three of the ſeauen remaine, whoſe ends how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeede it is preciſely ſaid of the ſlaughter, committed on *Ahabs* children by *Iehu*, that the people durſt not fight with him that did it, becauſe *they were exceedingly afraid*: and the ſame feare might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whoſe hiſtory (as others of that time) is curſorily paſſed ouer. The like may be pronounced, and more abſolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that neuer any of them periſhed by fury of the people, but by treaſon of ſuch as did ſucceed them; neither was there any motiue vrging ſo forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in priſon, as feare leſt the people ſhould ſtirre in their quarrell. And certainely (howſoeuer all that the Law cals treaſon, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings deſtruction) in thoſe treaſonable inſurrections of the vulgar, which haue here moſt preuailed, the furie of the multitude hath quenched it ſelfe with the bloud of ſome great Officers; no ſuch rebellions, howſoeuer wicked and barbarous otherwiſe, thirſting after the ruine of their naturall Soueraigne, but rather forbearing the aduantages gotten vpon his Royall perſon: which if any man impute vnto groſſe ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truely, aſcribe to a reuerent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who,

2 King 19. 10.

2 King 10. 4.

who,being looſened by *Pallas*,did with his hundred hands giue aſſiſtance to *Iupiter*,when all the reſt of the gods conſpired againſt him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as ſignifying, that Monarches need not to feare any courbing of their abſolutenes by mightie ſubiects, as long as by wiſedome they keepe the hearts of the people, who will be ſure to come in on their ſide. Though indeed the Storie might very well haue borne the ſame interpretation, as it is rehearſed by *Homer*, who tells vs that *Pallas* was one of the conſpiracie, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by looſening *Briareus*. For a good forme of gouernment ſufficeth by it ſelfe to retaine the people, not onely without aſſiſtance of a laborious Wit, but euen againſt all deuices of the greateſt and ſhrewdeſt politicians: euery Sherife and Conſtable, being ſooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any ouer-weening Rebell how mightie ſoeuer, can againſt him.

This declaration of the peoples loue, being ſeldome found in *Iuda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it ſelfe of gouernment there was ſuch, as neither gaue occaſion of contentment vnto the ſubiects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Vpon which reaſons it may ſeeme that the multitude was kept vſually diſarmed. For otherwiſe it would haue beene almoſt impoſſible, that *Athalia* the ſiſter of *Ahab*, a ſtranger to the royall bloud of *Iuda*, ſhould by the onely authoritie of a Queene mother haue deſtroyed all the ſeed of *Dauid*, and vſurped the Kingdome very neere 7. yeeres, without finding any reſiſtance. Yea when *Iehoiada* the high Prieſt had agreed with the Captains and principall men of the Land to ſet vp *Ioaſh* their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; hee was faine to giue to theſe Captaines and their men, *the ſpeares and the ſhields that were King* Dauids, *and were in the houſe of the Lord.* But we need not enter into ſuch particulars. Queſtionleſſe, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their dutie toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admiſſion, holding the Crowne by a more vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reaſon, why the ten Tribes did neuer ſeek to returne to their ancient Lords: but after the deſtruction of their ſixe firſt Kings, which died in the reigne of *Aſa*, admitted a ſeuenth of a new familie, rather than they would conſubiect themſelues, with thoſe of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, vnder a more honourable, but more heauie yoke.

So *Aſa* hauing ſeene the death of 7. kings of *Iſrael*, died himſelfe after one and fortie yeeres reigne, leauing *Iehoſaphat* his ſonne to deale with *Ahab* the ſonne of *Omri*, who was the eight King ouer the tenne Tribes.

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§. VII.

Of Iehoſaphat *and his contemporaries.*

IEhoſaphat, who ſucceeded *Aſa*, was a Prince religious and happie; he deſtroyed all the Groues, Altars, and high places dedicated to idolatrie, and ſent teachers to all places and people wanting inſtruction; he recouered the tribute due vnto him by the *Arabians* and *Philiſtims*: from the one hee had ſiluer, from the other ſheepe and goates to the number of fifteene thouſand and foure hundred. The numbers of men of warre were more then admirable: for it is written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thouſand, *Iehohanam* of two hundred and foureſcore thouſand, and *Amaſia* of two hundred thouſand; alſo that hee had, beſides theſe, in *Beniamin* of thoſe that bare ſhields, which wee call *Targetiers*, and of Archers vnder *Eliada*, two hundred thouſand, and vnder the commandement of *Iehozabad* a hundred and foureſcore thouſand: which numbred together, make eleuen hundred and ſixtie thouſand, all which are ſaid to haue waited vpon the King, beſides his garriſons.

2. Chron.17.

That *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, a territorie not much exceeding the Countie of *Kent*, ſhould muſter eleuen hundred and ſixtie thouſand fighting men, it is very ſtrange, and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. *Ioab* in *Dauids* time found fiue hundred thouſand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and foure ſcore thouſand: *Abia* foure hundred and eight thouſand: *Aſa* fiue hundred and foureſcore-thouſand: *Amaziah* inrolled all that could beare armes, and they amounted to three hundred thouſand. Sureie, whereas it is written that when newes was brought to *Iehoſaphat* that *Moab* & *Ammon* were

2. Sam 24.4.

were entred his territorie to the Weſt of *Iordan*, and that their numbers were many, hee feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would haue feared euen the armie of *Xerxes*, if hee could haue brought into the field 11. hundred and 60. thouſand fighting men, leauing all his ſtrong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my ſelfe to better iudgement) that theſe numbers ſpecified in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the 17. diſtributed to ſeuerall Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thouſand vnder *Adnah*, and the 200. and foure-ſcore thouſand vnder *Iehohanam*, were afterward commanded and muſtered by *Amaſiah*, *Eliada*, and *Iehoſabad*: for the groſſe and totall is not in that place ſet downe, as it was vnder the other Kings formerly named. Againe, as the aydes which *Iehoſaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not ſhew that hee was a Prince of extraordinarie power, ſo the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which hee feared, could neuer make the one halfe of thoſe numbers, which he that commanded leaſt among *Iehoſhaphats* Leaders had vnder him.

This mightie Prince notwithſtanding his greatneſſe, yet he ioyned in friendſhip with *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, who had married that wicked woman *Iezabel*. Him *Ioſaphat* viſited at *Samaria*, and cauſed his ſonne *Ioram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Achabs* daughter.

Ahab perſwaded *Ioſaphat* to aſſiſt him in the Warre againſt the *Syrians*, who held the Citie of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or *Baalites* to foretell the ſucceſſe: who promiſed him victorie. But *Iehoſaphat* beleeued nothing at all in thoſe diuiners, but reſolued firſt of all to conferre with ſome one Prophet of the Lord God of *Iſrael*. Heereupon *Achab* made anſwere that he had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that Prophet, becauſe hee alwaies foretold of euill, and neuer of any good towards him. Yet *Michaiah* was ſent for to the King, but by the way the meſſenger prayed him to conſent with the reſt of the Prophets: and to promiſe victory vnto them as they did. But *Michaiah* ſpake the truth, and repeated his viſion to both the Kings, which was, that *God asked who ſhall perſwade* Ahab, *that hee may goe vp and fall at Ramoth Gilead?* to whom a ſpirit that ſtood before the Lord anſwered, that hee would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a falſe ſpirit to delude. For as it is ſaid by Chriſt: *Non enim vos eſtis qui loquimini, ſed ſpiritus patris veſtri loquitur in vobis:* It is not you that ſpeake, but the Spirit of your Father ſpeakes in you: ſo in a contrary kinde did the deuill in the Prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, incourage *Achab* to his deſtruction. And as *P. Martyr* vpon this place well obſerueth, theſe euill ſpirits are miniſters of Gods vengeance, and are vſed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes ſometime imploy. For as it pleaſeth God by his good Angels, to ſaue and deliuer from deſtruction, of which the Scriptures haue many examples: ſo on the contrarie, it is by the euill that hee puniſheth and deſtroyeth, both which are ſaid to performe the will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. *Eccleſiaſticus* remembreth a ſecond ſort of malignant natures, but they are euery-where viſible. There are ſpirits, ſaith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on ſure ſtroakes. In the time of deſtruction they ſhew foorth their power, and accompliſh the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* hauing by this his reuelation greatly diſpleaſed the King, and the Prophets whoſe ſpirit he diſcouered, was ſtrooken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baals* Prophets, and by *Achab* himſelfe committed to priſon: where he appointed him to be reſerued and fedde with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, anſwered, *If thou returne in peace, the Lord hath not ſpoken by mee* Neuertheleſſe *Achab* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. *Iehoſaphat* returned to *Ieruſalem*, where he was reprehended by *Iehu* the Prophet for aſſiſting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

2.Chron.18.

After this the *Aramites* or *Damaſcens*, ioyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumæans* to inuade *Iudæa*: who paſſe *Iordan* and encampe at *Engaddi*, and when *Iehoſaphat* gathered his armie, the Prophet *Iahaziel* foretold him of the victorie, which ſhould bee obtained without any bloud-ſhed of his part: and ſo when *Iehoſaphat* approached, this aſſembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, diſagreeing with the *Idumæans*, and quarrelling for ſome cauſes among themſelues, thoſe of *Ammon* and *Moab* ſet vpon the *Idumæans*, and brake them vtterly: which done, they alſo inuaded each other; in which broile *Iehoſaphat* arriuing tooke the ſpoyle of them all without any loſſe of his part, as it was foretold and promiſed by God. Notwithſtanding this victorie, *Iehoſaphat* arriuing, tooke the ſpoyle of them all, without any loſſe of his part, as it was foretold and promiſed

2.Chron.20.

miſed by God. Notwithſtanding this victory, *Iehoſaphat* forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for aſſiſting an Idolatrous King, did notwithſtanding ioyne with *Ochazias*, the ſonne of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to ſend to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Salomon* had: but as *Eliezor* the Prophet foretold him, his ſhips periſhed, and were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and ſo that enterprize was ouerthrowne.

2.Chron 20.

Yet hee taketh part with *Iehoram* the brother of *Ochazias*, againſt the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Iuda* and *Iſrael* the *Edomites* ioyne their forces, not forgetting, it ſeemes, that the *Moabites* aſſiſted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before deſtroyed their armie.

The *Moabites*, ſubiects to *Dauid* & *Salomon*, forſaking the Kings of *Iuda*, gaue themſelues for vaſſals to *Ieroboam*, and ſo they continued to his ſucceſſors till the death of *Achab*: but *Iehoſaphat*, notwithſtanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it ſeemeth, he was drawne into this warre both to be auenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Iuda* to *Iſrael*, as alſo becauſe they had lately ioyned themſelues with the *Syrians* againſt *Ioſaphat*, & thirdly, to puniſh their double rebellion who firſt forſooke *Iuda* & now *Iſrael*.

Both Kings reſolued to paſſe by the way of *Idumæa*, thereby the better to aſſure that Nation, for we finde that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* againſt *Iehoſaphat*: But whether they had then declared themſelues againſt *Iehoſaphat*, it is not certaine, for in the 2. of *Chronicles*. 11. *verſ*. 8. it is written that in the time of *Iehoram*, the ſonne of *Iehoſaphat*, *Edom* rebelled, and therefore it ſeemeth to mee that the *Edomites*, when they were ſlaine by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themſelues ſatiſfied in ſuch conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, and to ioyne themſelues with the armie of *Iuda*. For that they were numbred among the enemies of *Ioſaphat*, it is plaine in the 2. of *Chron*. the 20. and as plaine *c*. 2. *v*. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Iehoſaphats* death. Now in the paſſage of theſe Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinarie heat of the yere, or whether the *Idumæans* hauing a purpoſe to rebell, miſled the armie of *Iuda* and *Iſrael*, with intent to infeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they ſuffered the ſame, if not a greater thirſt than the armies of *Craſſus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had, in all likelihood vtterly periſhed, had not *Eliſha* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water ſprang, by which not onely *Iehoſaphat* and his armie, but *Iehoram* King of *Iſrael* an Idolator was relieued: the great mercy and goodneſſe of God hauing euer bin prone to ſaue the euill for the good, whereas he neuer deſtroyed the good for the euill.

The miſerable iſſue of this warre, and how *Moab* burnt his ſonne, or the ſonne of the King of *Edom*, for ſacrifice on the rampire of his owne Citie, I haue already written in the life of *Iehoram* among the Kings of *Iſrael*. *Iehoſaphat* raigned 25. yeeres and died, he was buried in the valley of *Iehoſaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* ſet ouer his graue is yet to be ſeene, ſaith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Iehu* the ſonne of *Hanani*.

2.King.3.
2.Chron 20.
Broch.ter.ſact.

There liued with *Iehoſaphat*, *Ophratenes* in *Aſſyria*, *Capetus* and *Tiberinus* Kings of the *Albans* in *Italie*; of the latter the riuer *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) tooke name.

In *Iehoſaphats* time alſo ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Ageſilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the ſame race, of the *Heraclidæ* the ſeuenth in *Lacedæmon*. *Badeſorus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Iehoram* the *Iſraelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of Iehoram *the ſonne of* Iehoſaphat *and* Ahazia.

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§. I.

That Iehoram *was made King ſundry times.*

IEhoram the ſonne of *Iehoſaphat* King of *Iuda* began to raigne at thirtie two yeeres of age, and liued vntill he was fortie yeeres old, being eight yeeres a King: but of theſe eight yeeres, which *Iehoram* is ſaid to haue reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* warre with *Ahab*, left this *Iehoram* King in his ſtead, as *Ahab* did his ſonne *Ahazia*. This appeares by the ſeuerall beginnings, which are giuen in Scripture to the two *Iehorams* Kings of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, and to *Ahazia* the eldeſt ſonne of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is ſaid

1.Kin.22.v.52

2.King.1.17.

2.King 3.v.1. and 9.

2.King.8.16.

1.Kin.22.42.

ſaid to haue begun his reigne, in the ſeuenteenth yeere of *Iehoſaphat*. *Iehoram* the brother of *Abazia* ſucceeded him in the ſecond yeere of *Iehoram the ſonne of Iehoſaphat King of Iuda*, that is, in the next yeere after that *Iehoram* of *Iuda* was deſigned King by his father; it being (as we finde elſewhere) *the eighteenth yeere of* Iehoſaphat *himſelfe*, who went with the *Iſraelite* againſt *Moab*. Heereby it appeares that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained ſtill by *Iehoſaphat*, who gouerned abſolutely by himſelfe, not communicating the rule with his ſonne. But in *the fift yeere of* Iehoram *King of Iſrael*, which was the two and twentieth of *Iehoſaphat*, the olde King tooke vnto him, as partner in the Gouernment, this his eldeſt ſonne, who was at that time 32. yeeres old, his Father being 57. Now foraſmuch as *Iehoſaphat reigned* 25. *yeeres*, it is euident that his ſonne did not reigne alone till the eight of *Ioram* King of *Iſrael*. The like regard is to bee had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Iuda & Iſrael*, who did not alwaies reigne preciſely ſo long as the bare letter of the text may ſeeme at firſt to affirme: but their yeeres were ſometimes compleat, ſometimes onely current, ſometimes confounded with the yeeres of their ſucceſſors or foregoers, and muſt therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of thoſe others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing leſſe needfull than curious, to enquire into the reaſons mouing *Iehoſaphat* either to aſſume vnto him his ſonne as partner in the Kingdome, whileſt hee was able himſelfe to command both in peace and in warre, the like hauing neuer beene done by any of his progenitors, or hauing once (in the 17. of his reigne) vouchſafed vnto him that honour, to reſume it vnto himſelfe, or at leaſtwiſe to deferre the confirmation of it, vntill foure or fiue yeeres were paſſed. Yet foraſmuch as to enter into the examination of theſe paſſages, may be a meane to find ſome light, whereby we may more clearelie diſcouer the cauſes of much extraordinary buſineſſe enſuing, I hold it not amiſſe to make ſuch coniecture, as the circumſtances of the Story briefly handled in the Scriptures may ſeeme to approoue.

We are therefore to conſider, that this King *Iehoſaphat* was the firſt of *Rehoboams* iſſue that euer entred into any ſtreight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Iuda* before him, had with much labour and long warre, tired themſelues in vaine, making ſmall profit of the greateſt aduantages that could be wiſhed. Wherefore *Iehoſaphat* thought it the wiſeſt way, to make a league offenſiue and defenſiue betweene *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, whereby each might enioy their owne in quiet.

2.Chro.19.v. 2. and 3.

This confederacie made by a religious King, with one that did *hate the Lord*, could not long proſper, as not iſſuing from the true *roote and fountaine of all wiſedome*: yet as a piece of ſound policie, doubtleſſe it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likely to ariſe, with mutuall fortification of both thoſe kingdomes, againſt the vncircumciſed nations their ancient enemies. This apparant benefit, being ſo ineſtimable a iewell, that it might not eaſily be loſt, but continue as hereditarie from father to ſonne, it was thought a very good courſe to haue it confirmed by ſome ſure bond of affinitie, and thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omri*, and ſiſter of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, giuen in marriage to *Iehoram*, who was ſonne and heire apparent to the King of *Iuda*. This Lady was of a maſculine ſpirit, and had learned ſo much of Queene *Iezabel* her brothers wife, that ſhe durſt vndertake, and could throughly performe a great deale more in *Ieruſalem*, than the other knew how to compaſſe in *Samaria*. Shee was indeed a fire-brand, ordained by God to conſume a great part of the nobleſt houſes in *Iuda*, and perhaps of thoſe men or their children, whoſe worldly wiſedome, regardleſſe of Gods pleaſure, had brought her in.

The firſt fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* warre at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Iuda* and *Iſrael* did aduenture equally, but the profit of the victorie ſhould haue redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very ſeldome thriue by matching with Idolators, but rather ſerue the turnes of thoſe falſe friends, who being ill affected to God himſelfe, cannot be well affected to his ſeruants. Before their ſetting forth *Ahab* deſigned, as King, his ſonne *Ahazia*; not ſo much perhaps in regard of the vncertaine euents of warre (for none of his predeceſſors had euer done the like vpon the like occaſions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Micaia* (for hee deſpiſed them) as inuiting *Iehoſaphat* by his owne example, to take the ſame courſe, wherein he preuailed.

§. II.

Probable coniectures of the motiues inducing the old King Iehoſaphat *to change his purpoſe often, in making his ſonne* Iehoram *King.*

MAny arguments doe very ſtrongly proue *Iehoram* to haue been wholly ouer-ruled by his wife; eſpecially for his forſaking the religion of his godly Anceſtors, and following the abhominable ſuperſtitions of the houſe of *Achab.*

That ſhe was a woman of intollerable pride, and abhorring to liue a priuate life, the whole courſe of her actions witneſſeth at large. Much vaine matter ſhe was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and vnworthy perſons in compariſon of him, and of his children, which were begotten vpon the daughter and ſiſter of two great Kings, not vpon baſe women & meere ſubiects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained againſt the *Syrian Benhadad*, were matter ſufficient to make an inſolent man thinke highly of himſelfe, as being allied ſo honourably; who could otherwiſe haue found in his heart well enough, to deſpiſe all his brethren, as being the eldeſt, and heire apparant to the Crowne, whereof alreadie he had, in a manner, the poſſeſſion.

How ſoone his vices brake out, or how long he diſſembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainely be knowne. Like enough it is, that ſome ſmoke, out of the hidden fire, did very ſoone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon cauſed the young man to know himſelfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his yonger brethren. And ſurely the doings of *Iehoſaphat* about the ſame time, argue no ſmall diſtemper of the whole country, through the miſgouernment of his vngodly ſon. For the good King was faine to make his progreſſe round about the Land, reclaiming the people vnto the ſeruice of God, and appointing Iudges *throughout all the ſtrong* Cities *of Iuda Citie by Citie.* This had beene a needleſſe labour, if the religion taught and ſtrongly maintained by *Aſa*, and by himſelfe, had not ſuffered alteration, and the courſe of Iuſtice beene peruerted, by the power of ſuch as had borne authoritie. But the neceſſitie that then was of reformation, appeares by the charge which the King did giue to the Iudges; and by his commiſſion giuen to one of the Prieſts in ſpirituall cauſes, and to the ſteward of his houſe in temporall matters, to be generall ouerſeers.

2.Chron 19.v.4.5.&c.

This was not till after the death of *Ahazia* the ſonne of *Ahab*; but how long after it is vncertaine. For *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* began his reigne (as hath beene alreadie noted) in the eighteenth of *Iehoſaphat*, which was then accounted the ſecond of *Iehoram*, *Iehoſaphats* ſonne, though afterward this *Iehoram* of *Iuda* had another firſt and ſecond yeere, euen in his fathers time, before hee reigned alone, as the beſt Chronologers and expoſitors of the holy text agree. So hee continued in priuate eſtate, vntill the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occaſions inducing his reſtitution to former dignitie are not ſet downe, yet we may not thinke, that motiues thereto, appearing ſubſtantiall, were wanting. *Iehoram* of *Iſrael* held the ſame correſpondencie with *Iehoſaphat* that his father had done; and made vſe of it. He drew the *Iudæan* into the warre of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young Prince of *Iuda* was againe ordained King by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition he had beene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enterprize againſt *Moab* did not occupie ſo much time, as from the eighteenth of *Iehoſaphat*, in which yeere that Nation rebelled againſt *Iſrael*, vnto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations betweene the two Kings of *Iuda* and *Iſrael*, and the affinitie betweene them contracted in the perſon of *Iehoram*, might offer ſome good occaſions thereunto. Neither is it certaine how the behauiour of the yonger ſonnes, in their elder brothers diſgrace, might cauſe their Father to put him in poſſeſſion for feare of tumult after his death; or the deepe diſſimulation of *Iehoram* himſelfe might winne the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing vſuall in miſchieuous fell natures, to be as abiect and ſeruile in time of aduerſitie, as inſolent and bloudy vpon aduantage. This is manifeſt, that being repoſſeſſed of his former eſtate, he demeaned himſelfe in ſuch wiſe toward his brethren, as cauſed their Father to enable them, not onely with ſtore *of ſiluer and gold, and of precious things*, (which kind of liberalitie other Kings doubtleſſe had vſed vnto their yonger ſons) but with the cuſtodie of *ſtrong Cities in Iuda*, to aſſure them, if it might haue beene, by vnwonted meanes, againſt vnwonted perils.

2.Chron.21.3.

§. III.

The doings of Iehoram *when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.*

BVt all this prouidence auailed nothing; for an higher prouidence had otherwiſe determined of the ſequele. When once the good olde man, their Father, was dead, the yonger ſonnes of *Iehoſaphat* found ſtrong Cities, a weake defence, againſt the power of him vnto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the ſummons of a King their brother, then had he them without any more adoe; if they ſtood vpon their guard, then were they Traitors, and ſo vnable to hold out againſt him, who beſides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the *Iſraelitiſh* Kingdome againſt them; ſo that the apparent likelihood of their finall ouerthrow, ſufficed to make all forſake them in the very beginning. Howſoeuer it was, they were all taken and ſlaine, and with them for company many great men of the Land; ſuch belike, as eyther had taken their part, when the Tyrant ſought their liues, or had beene appointed Rulers of the Countrie, when *Iehoram* was depoſed from his Gouernment; in which Office they, without forbearing to doe iuſtice, could hardly auoyd the doing of many things, derogatorie to their yong Maſter; which if he would now call treaſon, ſaying that hee was then King, who durſt ſay the contrary?

After this *Iehoram* tooke vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innouations in Religion: wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to giue way and ſafe conduct vnto Superſtition and Idolatrie, nor to prouoke and encourage the people to that ſinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were ſo much addicted, hauing ſuch knowledge of God, and of his deteſting that aboue all other ſinnes; but hee vſed compulſion, and was (if not the very firſt) the firſt that is regiſtred, to haue ſet vp Irreligion by force.

Whileſt he was thus buſied at home, in doing what he liſted, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled againſt him abroad; and hauing hitherto, ſince *Dauids* time, beene gouerned by a *Viceroy*, did now make vnto themſelues a King. Againſt theſe *Iehoram* in perſon made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of aduantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing ſome of thoſe whom hee ſhould haue ſubdued, and kept his ſeruants. Now began the prophecie of *Iſaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Eſau* in proceſſe of time ſhould breake the yoke of *Iacob*. For after this the *Edomites* could neuer be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Iuda*, but held their owne ſo well, that when, after many ciuill and forraine warres, the *Iewes* by ſundry Nations had beene brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his Son, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the *Iewes*, in the decrepit age of *Iſrael*, and reigned as Kings, euen in *Ieruſalem* it ſelfe.

The freedome of the *Edomites*, though purchaſed ſomewhat dearely, encouraged *Libna*, a great Citie within *Iuda*, which in the time of *Ioſua* had a peculiar King, to rebell againſt *Iehoram*, and ſet it ſelfe at libertie. *Libna* ſtood in the confines of *Beniamin* and of *Dan*, farre from the aſſiſtance of any bordering enemies to *Iuda*, and therefore ſo vnlikelie it was to haue maintained it ſelfe in libertie, that it may ſeeme ſtrange how it could eſcape from vtter deſtruction, or at the leaſt from ſome terrible vengeance, moſt likely to haue beene taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and throughly incenſed Lord. The *Iſraelite* held ſuch good intelligence at that time with *Iuda*, that hee would not haue accepted the Towne, had it offered it ſelfe vnto him: neither doe wee reade that it ſought how to caſt it ſelfe into a new ſubiection, but continued a free eſtate. The rebellion of it againſt *Iehoram*, was, *Becauſe he had forſaken the Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to haue not onely beene the firſt and remote cauſe, but euen the next and immediate reaſon, mouing the inhabitants to doe as they did: for it was a Towne of the *Leuites*: who muſt needs be driuen into great extremities, when a religion contrarie to Gods Law, had not onely ſome allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulſiue authoritie to force vnto it all that were vnwilling. As for the vſe of the Temple at *Ieruſalem* (which, beeing deuout men, they might feare to loſe by this rebellion) it was neuer denied to thoſe of the

2.Chron.21.10.

ten reuolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather inuited the *Iſraelites* thither, and gaue them kinde entertainment: vnder Idolaters they muſt haue beene without it, whether they liued free or in ſubiection. Yet it ſeemes that priuate reaſons were not wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than ſuffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall viſitation before remembred, wherein *Iehoſaphat* reformed his Kingdome, the good olde King appointing new Gouernours, and giuing them eſpeciall charge to doe iuſtice without reſpect of perſons, vſed theſe words, *The Leuites ſhall be Officers before you; Be of good courage, and doe it, and the Lord ſhall be with the good.* By theſe phraſes, it ſeemes, that he encouraged them againſt the more powerfull, than iuſt proceedings of his ſon; whom if the *Leuites* did (according to the truſt repoſed in them) neglect in diſcharging their dueties, likely it is that he meant to be euen with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heauy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not heereupon deſtroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) ſo much as beſieged or moleſted, may iuſtly ſeeme very ſtrange. And the more ſtrange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Iehoſaphat* was able to raiſe, being ſufficient to haue ouer-whelmed any one Towne, and buried it vnder the earth, which they might well in one moneth haue caſt into it with ſhouels, by ordinary approaches.

2 Chr. [illegible]

But it ſeemes that of thoſe great numbers which his Father could haue leuied, there were not many whom *Iehoram* could well truſt; and therefore perhaps hee thought it an eaſier loſſe, to let one Towne goe, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to puniſh it. So deſperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happineſſe to be feared, than to bee loued; are faine themſelues to ſtand in feare of thoſe, by whom they might haue beene dreadfull vnto others.

§. IIII.

Of the miſeries falling vpon Iehoram, *and of his death.*

THeſe afflictions not ſufficing to make any impreſſion of God diſpleaſure in the minde of the wicked Prince; a Prophecie in writing was deliuered vnto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wiues, and his owne bodie. Hereby likewiſe it appeares that he was a cruell Perſecutor of Gods ſeruants; in as much as the Prophets durſt not reproue him to his face, as they had done many of his predeceſſors, both good and euill Kings; but were faine to denounce Gods iudgements againſt him by letters, keeping themſelues cloſe and farre from him. This Epiſtle is ſaide to haue beene ſent vnto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was tranſlated, and *Elizeus* prophecied in his ſtead before this time, euen in the dayes of *Iehoſaphat*. Wherefore it may bee that *Elias* left this prophecie in writing behinde him, or that (as ſome coniecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occaſion that wee reade *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be beleeued than the Tradition held by ſome of the *Iewiſh Rabbins*, that *Elias* from heauen did ſend this Epiſtle; a tale ſomewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deuiſed by *Eraſmus*, or of the Verſe that was ſent from heauen to S. *Giles*.

2 *Chron.* 21. 12.

2 *Kin* c. 2. *and* c. 3. v. 11.

But whoſoeuer was the Author of this threatning Epiſtle, the accompliſhment of the prophecie was as terrible, as the ſentence. For the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians* brake into *Iudæa*, and tooke the Kings houſe, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wiues; all which they ſlew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. Theſe *Philiſtims* had not preſumed ſince the time of *Dauid*, to make any offenſiue warre till now; for they were by him almoſt conſumed, and had loſt the beſt of their Townes, maintaining themſelues in the reſt of their ſmall Territories, by defenſiue armes, to which they were conſtrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Iſraelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to haue beene then as they are now, a naked people, all horſemen, and ill appointed; their Countrie affording no other furniture, than ſuch as might make them fitter to rob and ſpoile in the open fields, than to offend ſtrong Cities ſuch as were thicke ſet in *Iuda*. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, deſtroying ſome, and building other ſome very ſtately Cities. But it muſt be conſidered; that this was when they had learned of the

Romanes the Art of Warre; and that the Prouiſions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one ſubdued Prouince, did make them able and skilfull in purſuing their conqueſt, and going on into Regions farre remooued from them. At this day hauing loſt in effect all that they had gotten, ſuch of them as liue in *Arabia* it ſelfe are good horſemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous paſſengers, but vnable to deale with good Souldiers, as riding ſtarke naked, and rather truſting in the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes, than in any other meanes of reſiſtance, where they are well oppoſed. And ſuch, or little better, may they ſeeme to haue beene, that ſpoyled *Iudæa* in the time of *Ieboram*. For their Countrie was alwaies barren and deſert, wanting manuall Arts whereby to ſupply the naturalls with furniture: neither are theſe bands named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philiſtims*. Out of this we may inferre, that one halfe, yea or one quarter of the numbers found in the leaſt muſter of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* vnder *Iehoſaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eightie thouſand fighting men) had been enough to haue driuen away far greater forces than theſe enemies are likely to haue brought into the field, had not the people beene vnable to deale with them, for lacke of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes iealouſie, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the *Philiſtims*.

It may ſeeme that the houſe of the King which theſe inuaders tooke, was not his Palace in *Ieruſalem*, but rather ſome other houſe of his abroad in the Countrie, where his wiues and children at that time lay for their recreation: becauſe we reade not that they did ſacke the Citie, or ſpoyle the Temple, which would haue inuited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got poſſeſſion thereof. Yet perhaps they tooke *Ieruſalem* it ſelfe by ſurprize, the people being diſarmed, and the Kings guards too weake to keepe them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, becauſe it was ſo large and populous; and therefore hauing done what ſpoyle they could, with-drew themſelues with ſuch purchaſe as they were able ſafely to conueigh away.

The ſlaughter commmitted by *Iehu* on the two and fortie brethren of *Ahazia*, or (as they are called elſewhere) ſo many of his brothers ſonnes, and the cruell maſſacre wherein all the Royall ſeede periſhed (onely *Ioas* excepted) vnder the tyrannie of *Athalia*, following within two yeeres after this inuaſion of the *Philiſtims*, and *Arabians*, make it ſeeme probable, that the ſonnes of *Ieboram* were not all ſlaine at once, but that rather the firſt murther beganne in his owne time, and was ſeconded by many other heauie blowes, wherewith his houſe was inceſſantly ſtriken, vntill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After theſe calamities, the hand of God was extended againſt the bodie of this wicked King, ſmiting him with a grieuous diſeaſe in his bowels, which left him not vntill his guts fell out, and his wretched ſoule departed from his miſerable carcaſſe. The people of the Land, as they had ſmall cauſe of comfort in his life, ſo had they not the good manners to pretend ſorrow for his death; wherefore hee was denied a place of buriall among his Anceſtors the Kings of *Iuda*, though his owne ſonne ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the ſame ſpirits that had beene his Fathers euill Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous enterring of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to prouide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatneſſe, to retaine her fauourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne ſuch *Counſellours of the houſe of Ahab*, as were fitteſt for her turne. Wherefore ſhee thought it vnſeaſonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a ſtately funerall of a man by them deteſted: but rather choſe to let the blame of things paſſed be layd vpon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her ſelfe and hers, which it now did concerne her to auoid. Such is the qualitie of wicked Inſtigators, hauing made greedie vſe of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his owne vices, but with their faults alſo, the man whoſe euill inclinations their ſiniſter counſailes haue made worſe, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Ieboram* fel out indeed in a buſie time; when his friend and couſin the *Iſraelite*, who had the ſame name, was entangled in a difficult warre againſt the *Aramite*; and therefore could haue had no better leyſure to help *Athalia*, in ſetting of things according to her owne minde, than hee had (perhaps through the ſame hinderance) to helpe her husband, when hee was diſtreſſed by the *Philiſtims*. Yea rather hee needed and craued the aſſiſtance of the men of *Iuda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not

2.Chron.24.4.

not ſped ſo well the laſt time, that they ſhould willingly runne thither againe, vnleſſe they were very fairely intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I haue thought good to handle the more particularly (purſuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumſtances remembred in holy Scripture, would guide mee by their directions) to the end that it might more plainely appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the reuealed will of God, accompliſh neuertheleſſe his hidden purpoſe, and without miraculous meanes, confound themſelues in the ſeeming-wiſe deuices of their owne folly: as likewiſe to the end that all men might learne, to ſubmit their iudgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to thinke, that they may ſafely diſpenſe with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wiſedome dictateth vnto them. For in ſuch kinde of vnhappie ſubtilties, it is manifeſt that *Athalia* was able to furniſh both her Husband and her Sonne; but the iſſue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appeare, in that which immediately followeth.

§. V.

Of the reigne of Ahazia, *and his buſineſſe with the King of Iſrael.*

OChazias, or *Ahazia*, the ſonne of *Iehoram* and *Athalia*, beganne his reigne ouer *Iuda* in the twelfth yeere of *Iehoram* the ſonne of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, and reigned but one yeere. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bredde much diſputation, whereof I ſee no more probable concluſion, than that of *Torniellus*, alleaging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588. which ſaith that hee was twentie yeeres olde in the beginning of his Kingdome; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that doe giue him two yeeres more. Like enough he is to haue beene young: for hee was gouerned by his Mother, and her Miniſters, who gaue him counſaile by which hee periſhed. In matter of Religion hee altered none of his Fathers courſes. In matter of ſtate, hee likewiſe vp-held the league made with the houſe of *Ahab*. He was much buſied in doing little, and that with ill ſucceſſe. He accompanied his Couſin the *Iſraelite* againſt *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wan, but not without blowes: for the *Aramites* fought ſo well, that the King of *Iſrael* was faine to aduenture his owne perſon, which ſcaped not vnwounded.

The Towne being won was manned ſtrongly, in expectation of ſome attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* king of *Aram*: which done, *Iehoram* King of *Iſrael* with-drew himſelfe to the Citie of *Izreel*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to *Ieruſalem*. It ſeemes that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all ſcantly one yeere, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken vp a great part,) when he did make a new iourney, as it were for good manners ſake, to viſit the King of *Iſrael*, who lay ſore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing ſome new plots, which his preſence would haue hindered, and therefore ſought euery occaſion to thruſt him abroad: for otherwiſe it was but a vaine piece of worke ſo to leaue his kingdome, hauing no other buſineſſe than by way of complement to goe ſee one whom he had ſeene yeſterday. Certaine it is that the Lord had reſolued at this time to put in execution that heauie iudgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet vpon the houſe of *Ahab*. And hereunto at this time had he diſpoſed not onely the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might ſeeme to haue beene accidentall; but the very thoughts and affections of ſuch perſons, as intended nothing leſſe than the fulfilling of his high pleaſure. Of theſe *Athalia* doubtleſſe was one; whoſe miſchieuous purpoſes it will ſhortly be needefull for explanation of ſome difficulties ariſing, that we diligently conſider and examine.

§. VI.

How Ahazia *periſhed with the houſe of* Ahab: *and how that Familie was deſtroyed by* Iehu.

THe whole Armie of *Iſrael*, with all the principall Captaines lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Diſciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were ſitting together; who calling out among them *Iehu*, a principall man, tooke him apart, and anointed him King ouer *Iſrael*, rehearſing vnto him the Prophecie of *Elias* againſt the houſe of *Ahab*, and letting him vnderſtand that it was the pleaſure of God to make him executioner of that ſentence. The faſhion of the Meſſenger was ſuch as bredde in the Captaines a deſire to know the errand, which *Iehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had ouer-heard all the talke or no. When hee had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forth-with proclaimed him King. For the Prophecie of *Elias* was well knowne among them, neither durſt any one oppoſe himſelfe againſt him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

Iehu, who had vpon the ſudden this great honour throwne vpon him, was not ſlow to put himſelfe in poſſeſſion of it, but vſed the firſt heat of their affections who ioyned with him, in ſetting on foot the buſineſſe which neerely concerned him, and was not to be fore-ſlowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The firſt care taken was that no newes of the reuolt might be carried th *Izreel*, whereby the King might haue had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreſeene, he marched ſwiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet ſecure. King *Iehoram* was now ſo well recouered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cauſe it ſeemes that there was much feaſting, and ioy made, eſpecially by Queene *Iezabel*, who kept her ſtate ſo well, that the brethren of *Ahazia* comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to ſalute the Queene, as to viſit the King.

Certaine it is, that ſince the rebellion of *Moab* againſt *Iſrael*, the houſe of *Ahab* did neuer ſo much flouriſh as at this time. Seuenty Princes of the bloud Royall there were that liued in *Samaria*; *Iehoram* the ſonne of Queene *Iezabel* had wonne *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vaine, with loſſe of his life; and hee wonne it by valiant fight, wherein he receiued wounds, of which the danger was now paſt, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was ſo great between *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, that it might ſuffice to daunt all their common enemies, leauing no hope of ſucceſſe, to any rebellious enterprizer: ſo that now the prophecie of *Elias*, might be forgotten, or no otherwiſe remembred, than as an vnlikely tale by them that beheld the maieſticall face of the Court, wherein ſo great a friend as the King of *Iuda* was entertained, and fortie Princes of his bloud expected.

In the middeſt of this ſecuritie, whileſt theſe great Eſtates were (perhaps) either conſulting about proſequution of their intents, firſt againſt the *Aramites*, and then againſt *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebells & enemies: or elſe were triumphing in ioy of that which was already atchieued, and the Queene Mother dreſſing her ſelfe in the braueſt manner to come downe amongſt them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower diſcouered a company comming. Theſe newes were not very troubleſome: for the Armie that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be readie againſt all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be diſcharged vpon ſome notice taken that the enemie would not, or could not ſtirre. Onely the King ſent out an Horſe-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The meſſenger comming to *Iehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to giue the King as little warning as might bee. The ſeeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an anſwere, might argue the matter to be of ſmall importance: yet the King to be ſatisfied, ſent out another that ſhould bring him word how all went; and hee was likewiſe detained by *Iehu*. Theſe dumbe ſhowes bred ſome ſuſpicion in *Iehoram*, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew ſo neere, that they might, though not perfectly, bee diſcerned, and notice taken of *Iehu* himſelfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to diſcouer any weakeneſſe, cauſed his Chariot to bee made ready, and iſſued forth with *Ahazia* King of *Iuda* in his company, whoſe preſence added maieſtie to his traine, when ſtrength to reſiſt, or expedition to flee had beene more needfull. This could not be done ſo haſtily, but that *Iehu* was come euen to the Townes end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Iehoram* began to ſalute *Iehu* with termes of peace, but receiuing a bitter anſwere, his heart failed him, ſo that crying out vpon the treaſon to his fellow King, hee turned away to haue fled. But *Iehu* ſoone ouertooke him with an arrow, where-with he ſtrooke him dead, and threw his carkaſſe into that field, which, purchaſed with the bloud of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with the bloud of the vniuſt poſſeſſour. Neyther did *Abazia* eſcape ſo well, but that he was arreſted by a wound, which held him till death did ſeize vpon him.

The Kings Palace was ioyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Iezabel* might ſoone be aduertiſed of this calamitie, if ſhe did not with her owne eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whoſe iudgement, pronounced againſt her long before, had ouer-taken her, when ſhe leaſt expected it. But ſhee, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her ſelfe ready in all haſte, and painted her face, hoping with her ſtately and imperious lookes to daunt the Traitour, or at leaſt to vtter ſome *Apophthegme*, that ſhould expreſſe her braue ſpirit, and brand him with ſuch a reproach as might make him odious for euer. Little did ſhe thinke vpon the hungry dogs that were ordained to deuoure her, whoſe paunches the *ſtibium*, with which ſhe beſmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the ſcolding language wherewith ſhe armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As *Iehu* drew neere, ſhe opened her window, and looking out vpon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enioyed the fruits of his treaſon, and murther of the King his Maſter. This was in meere humane valuation ſtoutly ſpoken, but was indeed a part of miſerable folly, as are all things, howſoeuer laudable, if they haue an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*. Her owne *Eunuches* that ſtood by and heard her, were not affected ſo much as with any compaſſion of her fortune; much leſſe was her enemie daunted with her proud ſpirit. When *Iehu* ſaw that ſhee did vſe the little remainder of her life in ſeeking to vexe him, hee made her preſently to vnderſtand her owne eſtate, by deeds and not by words. He onely called to her ſeruants to know which of them would be on his ſide, and ſoone found them readie to offer their ſeruice, before the very face of their proud Ladie. Heereupon hee commanded them to caſt her downe head-long: which immediately they performed without all regard of her greatneſſe and eſtate, wherein ſhe had a few houres before ſhined ſo gloriouſly in the eyes of men; of men that conſidered not the iudgements of God that had beene denounced againſt her.

So periſhed this accurſed woman by the rude hands of her owne ſeruants, at the commandement of her greateſt enemie, that was yeſterday her ſubiect, but now her Lord: and ſhee periſhed miſerably ſtruggling in vaine with baſe groomes, who contumeliouſly did hale and thruſt her, whileſt her inſulting enemie ſate on Horſe-backe, adding indignitie to her greefe by ſcornefull beholding the ſhamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her bodie vnder foote. Her dead carcaſſe that was left without the walls was deuoured by dogges, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murther, and oppreſſion, with ſlow, but ſure paiment, and full intereſt.

Abazia King of *Iuda* fleeing a-pace from *Iehu*, was ouer-taken by the way where hee lurked; and receiuing his deadly wound in the Kingdome of *Samaria*, was ſuffered to get him gone (which he did in all haſte) and ſeeke his buriall in his owne kingdome: and this fauour he obtained for his grand-fathers ſake, not for his fathers, nor his owne. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Ieruſalem*, where hee was enterred with his Anceſtors, hauing reigned about one yeere.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia, *and whoſe Sonne he was that ſucceeded her.*

§. I.

Of Athalia *her vſurping the Kingdome, and what pretences ſhe might forge.*

2.Chron.22.9.

AFter the death of *Ahazia*, it is ſaid that his houſe *was not able to retaine the Kingdome*: which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* vpon the death of her Sonne, haue giuen occaſion to diuers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Ioas*, who reigned ſhortly after. For *Athalia* being thus diſpoyled of her Sonne, vnder whoſe name ſhee had ruled at her pleaſure, did forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the bloud, and ſlew them, that ſo ſhe might occupie the Royall Throne her ſelfe, & reigne as Queene, rather than liue a Subiect. Shee had before-hand put into great place, and made Counſailours vnto her ſonne, ſuch as were fitteſt for her purpoſe, and ready at all times to execute her will: that ſhee kept a ſtrong guard about her it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Iehoram*, vpon the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearefull to ſtirre, whatſoeuer they ſaw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent ſoeuer it be, is ſeldome or neuer ſo ſhameleſſe as to refuſe the commoditie of goodly pretences offering themſelues; but rather ſcrapes together all that will any way ſerue to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not abſurd for vs to thinke, that *Athalia*, when ſhe ſaw the Princes of the Royall bloud, all of them in a manner, ſlaine by her husband, and afterwards his owne children deſtroyed by the *Philiſtims*, began euen then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practice, into faire likelihoods, thoſe poſſibilities where-with her husbands bad fortune had preſented her. Not without great ſhow of reaſon, either by her owne mouth, or by ſome truſtie creature of hers, might ſhe giue him to vnderſtand, how needful it were to take the beſt order whileſt as yet he might, for feare of the worſt that might happen. If the iſſue of *Dauid*, which now remained onely in his Familie, ſhould by any accident faile (as wofull experience had alreadie ſhewed what might after come to paſſe) the people of *Iuda* were not vnlikely to chooſe a King of ſome new ſtocke, a popular ſeditious man peraduenture, one that to countenance his owne vnworthineſſe, would not care what aſperſions hee laid vpon that Royall houſe, which was fallen downe. And who could aſſure him, that ſome ambitious ſpirit, fore-ſeeing what might be gotten thereby, did not alreadie contriue the deſtruction of him, and all his ſeede? Wherefore it were the wiſeſt way to deſigne by his authoritie, not onely his Succeſſour, but alſo the reuerſioner, and ſo to prouide, that the Crowne might neuer bee ſubiect to any riſeling, but remaine in the diſpoſition of them that loued him beſt, if the worſt that might be feared comming to paſſe, his owne poſteritie could not retaine it.

Such perſwaſions being vrged, and earneſtly followed, by the importunate ſollicitation of her that gouerned his affections, were able to make the iealous Tyrant thinke, that the onely way to fruſtrate all deuices of ſuch as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the laſt and yongeſt of his houſe, whom it moſt concerned, as being the Queene-Mother, to vp-hold the firſt and eldeſt.

If *Athalia* tooke no ſuch courſe as this in her husbands times, yet might ſhe do it in her Sonnes. For *Ahazia* (beſides that he was wholly ruled by his Mother) was not likely to take much care for the ſecuritie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wiues, in reſpect of his owne-borne-Mother, little better then Concubines, and their children baſely begotten. But if this miſchieuous woman forgat her ſelfe ſo farre in her wicked policie, that ſhee loſt all opportunitie which the weakeneſſe of her husband and ſonne did afford, of procuring vnto her ſelfe ſome ſeeming Title: yet could ſhee afterwards faine ſome ſuch matter, as boldly ſhee might: being ſure that none would aske to ſee her euidence, for feare of being ſent to learne the certaintie of her ſonne or huſband in another World. But I rather thinke that ſhe tooke order for her affaires before-hand. For though ſhee had no reaſon to ſuſpect or feare the ſuddaine death of her ſonnne, yet it was the wiſeſt way to prouide betimes againſt all that might happen, whileſt her husbands iſſue by other women was yong and vnable to reſiſt. We plainly finde that the Brethren or Nephewes of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and fortie, were ſent to the Court of *Iſrael*, onely to ſalute the children of the King, and the children of the Queene. The ſlender occaſion of which long iourney, conſidered together with the qualitie of theſe perſons (being in effect all the ſtocke of *Iehoram* that could be growne to any ſtrength) makes it very ſuſpicious that their entertainement in *Iezabels* houſe would onely haue beene more formall, but little differing in ſubſtance, from that which they found at the hand of *Iehu*. He that lookes into the courſes held both before and after by theſe two Queenes, will finde cauſe enough to thinke no leſſe. Of ſuch as haue aſpired vnto Lordſhips not belonging to them, and thruſt out the right Heires by pretence of Teſtaments, that had no other validitie than the ſword of ſuch as claimed by them could giue, Hiſtories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may ſay, Behold, this is new? It hath beene already in the old time that was before vs.* That a King might ſhed his brothers bloud, was proued by *Salomon* vpon *Adonia*; that he might aliene the Crown from his naturall Heires, *Dauid* had giuen proofe; but theſe had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that pleaſe them, will neglect the reaſons of thoſe examples, if they pleaſe them not, and reſt contented with the practice, as more willingly ſhewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* ſlew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entring into another. Iehoram *ſlew all his brethren, which were better than he*: *Dauid* purchaſed the Kingdome, and might the more freely diſpoſe of it, yet he diſpoſed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Iehoram*, who had loſt much and gotten nothing, thought that he might aliene the remainder at his pleaſure; or if *Ahazia* ſought to cut off the ſucceſſion of his brethren, or of their iſſue: either of theſe was to be anſwered with the words which *Iehoiada* the Prieſt vſed afterwards, in declaring the title of *Ioaſh*: *Behold, the Kings ſonne muſt reigne; as the Lord hath ſaid of the ſonnes of* Dauid. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend ſome title, whatſoeuer it might be, to the Crowne of *Iuda*; yet is it moſt certaine that ſhe had thereunto no right at all, but onely got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and ſo ſhe held it ſixe whole yeeres, and a part of the ſeauenth, in good ſeeming ſecuritie.

Eccleſ.1.10.

2 Chr.21.v.13.

§. II.

How Iehu *ſpent his time in Iſrael, ſo that he could not moleſt* Athalia.

IN all this time *Iehu* did neuer goe about to diſturbe her; which in reaſon he was likely to deſire, being an enemy to her whole Houſe. But hee was occupied at the firſt in eſtabliſhing himſelfe, rooting out the poſterity of *Ahab*, and reforming ſomewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres againſt the *Aramite*, wherein he was ſo farre ouercharged, that hardly he could retaine his owne, much leſſe attempt vpon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were ſeuentie liuing in *Samaria*, out of which number *Iehu* by letter aduiſed the Citizens to ſet vp ſome one as King, and to prepare themſelues to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was, which they well vnderſtood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to reſiſt him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom hee had ſlaine, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their ſeruice; wherein they ſo readily ſhewed themſelues obedient, that in leſſe than one dayes warning, they ſent him the heads of all thoſe Princes, as they were inioyned by a ſecond letter from him. After this he ſurprized all the Prieſts of *Baal* by a ſubtiltie, faining a great ſacrifice to their god, by which meanes he drew them altogether into one Temple, where hee ſlew them: and in the ſame zeale to God vtterly demoliſhed all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie deuiſed by *Ieroboam*, no King of *Iſrael* had euer greater reaſon than *Iehu* to deſtroy it. For he needed not to feare leſt the people ſhould be allured vnto the houſe of *Dauid*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted vp, and the Crowne of *Iuda* in the poſſeſſion of a cruell Tyranneſſe: he had receiued his kingdome by the vnexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeale expreſſed in deſtroying *Baal* out of *Iſrael*, he was promiſed, notwithſtanding his following the ſinne of *Ieroboam*, that the Kingdome ſhould remaine in his Familie, to the fourth Generation. But all this would not ſerue; he would needs helpe to piece out Gods prouidence with his owne circumſpection; doing therein like a fooliſh greedie gameſter, who by ſtealing a needleſſe Card to aſſure himſelfe of winning a ſtake, forfeits his whole teſt. Hee had queſtionleſſe diſpleaſed many, by that which he did againſt *Baal*; and many more he ſhould offend by taking from them the vſe of a ſuperſtition, ſo long practized as was that Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*. Yet all theſe, how many ſoeuer they were, had neuer once thought vpon making him King, if God, whom, (to retaine them,) hee now forſooke, had not giuen him the Crowne, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the meanes of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Iehu* drew terrible vengeance of God vpon *Iſrael*, whereof *Hazael* King of *Damaſcus* was the Executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may finde in the prophecie of *Elizeus*, who fore-told it, ſaying: *Their ſtrong Cities ſhalt thou ſet on fire; and their yong men ſhalt thou ſlay with the ſword, and ſhalt daſh their Infants againſt the ſtones, and rent in pieces their women with child.* So did not onely the wickedneſſe of *Ahab* cauſe the ruine of his whole houſe, but the obſtinate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable miſery vpon all the Land. For the furie of *Hazaels* victorie was not quenched with the deſtruction of a few Townes, nor wearied with one inuaſion; but he *ſmote them in all the coaſts of Iſrael*, and waſted all the Countrie beyond the Riuer of *Iordan*, Notwithſtanding all theſe calamities, it ſeemes that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; (*For in thoſe dayes the Lord began to loathe Iſrael*,) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble Houſe of *Ahab*, vnder which they had beaten thoſe enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had brauely fought for the conqueſt of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to reſtore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were faine to make wofull ſhifts, liuing vnder a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Maſter that had put him in truſt, than in defending his people from their cruell enemies. Thus it commonly fals out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in ſeruing him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in ſtead of the eaſe and pleaſure to themſelues propounded by contrary courſes, ouer-whelmed with the troubles which they ſought to auoide, and therein by God whom they firſt forſooke, forſaken, and left vnto the wretched labours of their owne blinde wiſedome, wherein they had repoſed all their confidence.

2 Kin. 8. v. 12.

2 Kin. 10. v. 32

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§. III.

Of Athaliahs *Gouernment.*

THeſe calamities falling vpon *Iſrael*, kept *Athalia* ſafe on that ſide, giuing her leiſure to looke to things at home; as hauing little to doe abroad, vnleſſe it were ſo that ſhe held ſome correſpondencie with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grand-father King *Aſa*, who had done the like. And ſome probability that ſhe did ſo, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For wee finde, that this *wicked* Athalia *and her children brake vp the houſe of God, and all things that were dedicate for the houſe of the Lord did they beſtow vpon* Baalim. Such a ſacriledge, though it proceeded from a deſire to ſet out her owne Idolatry, with ſuch pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want ſome faire pretext of neceſſity of the State ſo requiring: in which caſe others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next ſucceſſour was faine to doe the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taſte of that which was formerly thence extracted for his ſake.

2 Chro. 24. v. 7.

Vnder this impious gouernment of *Athalia*, the deuotion of the Prieſts and Leuites was very notable, and ſerued (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himſelfe, howſoeuer the Queenes proceedings aduanced the contrary. For the pouerty of that ſacred Tribe of *Leui* muſt needes haue beene exceeding great at this time, all their lands and poſſeſſions in the ten Tribes being vtterly loſt, the oblations and other perquiſites, by which they liued, being now very few, and ſmall; and the ſtore laid vp in better times vnder godly Kings, being all taken away by ſhamefull robberie. Yet they vp-held in all this miſery the ſeruice of God, and the daily ſacrifice, keeping daily their courſes, and performing obedience to the high Prieſt, no leſſe than in thoſe dayes wherein their entertainment was farre better.

§. IIII.

Of the preſeruation of Ioas.

IEhoiada then occupied the high Prieſthood, an honourable, wiſe, and religious man. To his carefulneſſe it may be aſcribed, that the ſtate of the Church was in ſome ſlender ſort vp-held in thoſe vnhappy times. His wife was *Iehoſhabeth*, who was daughter of King *Iehoram*, and ſiſter to *Ahazia*, a godly Lady and vertuous, whoſe piety makes it ſeeme that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her acceſſe to the Court argue the contrary: but her diſcreet carriage might more eaſily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers houſe, than the education vnder ſuch a Mother could haue permitted her to be ſuch as ſhe was. By her care *Ioaſh* the yong Prince that reigned ſoone after, was conueighed out of the nourſery, when *Athalia* deſtroyed all the Kings children, and was carried ſecretly into the Temple, where as ſecretly he was brought vp. How it came to paſſe that this yong childe was not hunted out, when his body was miſſing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his eſcape, I will not ſtand to examine: for it was not good in policie, that the people ſhould heare ſay, that one of the children had auoided that cruell blow; it might haue made them hearken after innouations, and ſo be the leſſe conformable to the preſent gouernment. So *Ioaſh* was deliuered out of that ſlaughter, he and his Nurſe being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peraduenture to be caſt away, as hauing no other guard than a poore woman that gaue him ſucke, who fooliſhly doubting that ſhe her ſelfe ſhould haue beene ſlaine, was fled away with him into ſome deſolate place, where it was like enough that ſhe and he ſhould periſh. In ſuch caſes flatterers, or men deſirous of reward, eaſily coine ſuch tales, and rather ſweare them to be true in their owne knowledge, than they will loſe the thankes due to their ioyfull tidings.

§ V.

Whoſe Sonne Ioas *was.*

†. I.

Whether Ioas *may be thought likely to haue beene the Sonne of* Ahazia.

NOw concerning this *Ioaſh*, whoſe ſonne he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirme, and hath cauſed much controuerſie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him *the ſonne of* Ahaziah, ſeeme plaine enough. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might giue title of Sonne vnto him, in regard that he was his Succeſſor, I neither by my ſelfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to anſwere the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that thinke him to haue beene, or not, the naturall Sonne of *Ahazia*. For whereas it is ſaid, that *the houſe of* Ahazia *was not able to retaine the Kingdome*; ſome doe inferre that this *Ioaſh* was not properly called his Sonne, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore ſucceeded him, as a ſonne in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For ſhe perceiuing that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom ſhe had no intereſt, might eaſily finde cauſe to feare, that the tyranny exerciſed by her husband at her inſtigation vpon ſo many noble Houſes, would now be reuenged vpon her ſelfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this caſe terrifie both her and her Minions; the ſentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Iezabel* teaching her what might happen to a mother Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had beene heire to the Crowne; for ſhe that had power enough to make her ſelfe Queene, could with more eaſe, and leſſe enuie, haue taken vpon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie ſhe might haue done her pleaſure, and beene the more both obayed by others, and

2 Kings 11.2. & 2 Chro.22. v.11.

2 Chr 22. v. 9.

and ſecure of her owne eſtate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherefore it was not needefull, that ſhe ſhould be ſo vnnaturall, as to deſtroy the childe of her owne ſonne, of whoſe life ſhe might haue made greater vſe, than ſhe could of his death: whereas indeede, the loue of grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little leſſe than that of Mothers to their children.

This argument is very ſtrong. For it may ſeeme incredible, that all naturall affection ſhould be caſt a-ſide, when as neither neceſſity vrgeth, nor any commoditie thereby gotten requireth it, yea when all humane policy doth teach one the ſame, which nature without reaſon would haue perſwaded.

†. II.

That Ioas *did not deſcend from* Nathan.

BVt (as it is more eaſie to finde a difficulty in that which is related, than to ſhew how it might haue otherwiſe beene) the pedegree of this *Ioaſh* is, by them which thinke him not the ſonne of *Ahazia*, ſet downe in ſuch ſort that it may very iuſtly be ſuſpected. They ſay that he deſcended from *Nathan* the ſonne of *Dauid*, and not from *Salomon*, to which purpoſe they bring a Hiſtorie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *Dauid*, ſaying that the line of *Salomon* held the kingdome with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the familie of *Nathan* ſhould ſucceede it. Concerning this *Nathan* the ſonne of *Dauid* there are that would haue him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they thinke, was by *Dauid* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as alſo S. *Auguſtine* ſometime was, but afterward he reuoked it, as was meete; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the ſonnes of *Dauid*, by *Bathſhua* the daughter of *Ammes*, and therefore 1 Chro 3.5. could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I finde him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him, *Eraſmus*, and *Faber Stapulenſis*, haue likewiſe held the ſame of *Ioaſh*, deriuing him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and thoſe other brethren of *Salomon* by the ſame mother, are thought, vpon good likelihoods, to haue beene the children of *Vria* the *Hittite*: and ſo are they accounted by ſundry of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenſis*, who follow the *Hebrew* expoſitors of that place in the firſt of *Chronicles*, The words of *Salomon* calling himſelfe the onely begotten of his mother, doe approue this expoſition: for we reade of no more than two ſonnes which *Bathſhua* or *Bathſheba* did beare vnto *Dauid*, whereof the one begotten in adultery, died an infant, and *Salomon* onely of her children by the King did liue. So that the reſt muſt needes haue beene the children of *Vria*, and are thought to haue beene *Dauids* onely by adoption. Wherefore, if *Ioas* had not beene the ſonne of *Ahazia*, then muſt that pedegree haue beene falſe, wherein S. *Matthew* deriueth him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not *our bleſſed Sauiour* iſſued from the loynes of *Dauid*, according to the fleſh, but had onely beene of his line by courteſie of the Nation, and forme of Law, as any other might haue beene. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawne many late writers into the opinion that *Ioaſh* was not of the poſterity of *Salomon*, it is enough to ſay, that this was *Frier Annius* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath any ſuch matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to ſpeake what he liſt.

†. III.

That Ioas *may probably be thought to haue beene the ſonne of* Iehoram.

IN ſo doubtfull a caſe, if it ſeeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought vpon, me thinkes it were not amiſſe to lay open at once, and peruſe together 2 Kin.8.v.19. two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedneſſe of *Iehoram* the ſonne of *Iehoſaphat* King of *Iuda*, for which he and his children periſhed, rehearſeth it as one of Gods mercies towards the houſe of *Dauid*, that according to his promiſe hee would *giue him a light, and to his children for euer*: the other doth ſay, that for the offences of the ſame *Iehoram, there was not a ſonne left him, ſaue* Iehoahas *the yongeſt of his ſonnes*. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promiſe to *Dauid*, that after thoſe maſſacres of *Iehoram* vpon all his brethren, and of the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians* vpon the children of *Iehoram*, one of the ſeede of *Dauid* eſcaped; why may it not be thought that he was ſaid to haue eſcaped, in whom the line of *Dauid* was preſerued? for had all the race of *Salomon*

mon beene rooted vp in theſe wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* ſucceeded in place thereof; like enough it is that ſome remembrance more particular would haue beene extant, of an euent ſo memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguiſhed, it is indeede apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by S. *Luke*: but the preſeruation of the houſe of *Dauid*, mentioned in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the perſon of *Iehoahas*, in whom the Royall branch of *Salomon*, the naturall, and not onely legall iſſue remaining of *Dauid*, was kept aliue. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Ioaſh*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdome, was the yongeſt ſonne of *Iehoram*, whoſe life *Athalia* as a ſtepdame, was not likely to purſue. For it were not eaſily vnderſtood, why the preſeruation of *Dauids* line, by *Gods* eſpeciall mercy, in regard of his promiſe made, ſhould pertaine rather to that time, when beſides *Ahazia* himſelfe, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) ſonnes of his brethren remaining aliue, which afterwards were all ſlaine by *Iehu*; than haue reference to the lamentable deſtruction and little leſſe than extirpation of that progeny, wherein one onely did eſcape. Certainly that inhumane murther which *Iehoram* committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Hiſtory) reuenged vpon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accompliſhed by the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, but being onely begun by them, was afterwards proſecuted by *Iehu*, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that ſame wicked woman, at whoſe inſtigation he had committed ſuch barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heauie iudgement laid vpon *Iehoram* and all his children, onely *Iehoahas* his yongeſt ſon was exempted; whom therefore if I ſhould affirme to be the ſame with *Ioas*, which is called the ſonne of *Ahazia*, I ſhould not want good probability. Some further appearance of neceſſity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwiſe haue beene. For it was the yongeſt ſonne of *Iehoram* in whom the race was preſerued; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, ſeeing that he was twenty yeeres old at the leaſt (as is already noted) when he began to reigne, and conſequently, was borne in the eighteenth or twentieth yeere of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more vnlikely, either that *Iehoram* ſhould haue begotten many children before he was eighteene yeeres old, or that hauing (as he had) many wiues and children, hee ſhould vpon the ſodaine, at his eighteenth yeere, become vnfruitfull, and beget no more in twenty yeeres following: each of which muſt haue beene true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the ſame *Iehoahas*, which was his yongeſt ſonne. But this inconuenience is taken away, and thoſe other doubts ariſing from the cauſeleſſe crueltie of *Athalia*, in ſeeking the life of *Ioas*, are eaſily cleered, if *Ioas* and *Iehoahas* were one. Neither doth his age withſtand this opinion. For he was *ſeuen yeeres old when he began to reigne*; which if we vnderſtand of yeeres compleat, he might haue beene a yeere old at the death of *Iehoram*, being begotten ſomewhat after the beginning of his ſickeneſſe. Neither is it more abſurd to ſay that he was the naturall ſonne of *Iehoram*, though called the ſon of *Ahazia*, than it were to ſay, as great Authors haue done, this difficultie notwithſtanding, that he was of the poſteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to anſwere; which, had it concurred with the reſt, might haue ſerued as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Iehoahas*, that ſoundeth much more neere to *Ioas*, than to *Ahazia*, in an *Engliſh* eare, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by ſome, skilfull in that language) through the diuerſitie of certaine letters, differ much from that which it moſt reſembleth in our Weſterne manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be ſo that *Ahazia* himſelfe bee alſo called *Azaria*, and muſt haue had three names, if hee were the ſame with *Iehoahas*; in which manner *Ioas* might alſo haue had ſeuerall names; yet, becauſe I finde no other warrant heereof than a bare poſſibilitie, I will not preſume to build an opinion vpon the weake foundation of mine owne coniecture, but leaue all to the conſideration of ſuch as haue more abilitie to iudge, and leiſure to conſider of this point.

2 King. 10.13.

2 Chro. 22. v. 8

2 Chron. 21. 14.

2 Chron. 24. 1.

2 Chron. 22. 6.

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†. IIII.

Vpon what reaſons Athalia *might ſeeke to deſtroy* Ioas, *if he were her owne grandchilde.*

IF therefore we ſhall follow that which is commonly receiued, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be ſaid, that *Athalia* was not onely blinded by the paſſions of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worſhip of *Baalim*, but purſued the accompliſhment of ſome vnnaturall deſires, in ſeeking the deſtruction of her grand-childe, and the reſt of the bloud Royall. For whether it were ſo that *Athalia* (as proud and cruell women are not alwayes chaſte) had imitated the liberty of *Iezabel* her ſiſter in law, whoſe whoredomes were vpbraided by *Iehu* to her ſonne; or whether ſhe had children by ſome former husband, before ſhe was married vnto *Iehoram* (which is not vnlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and ſiſter to *Ahab*) certaine it is that ſhe had ſonnes of her owne, and thoſe old enough to be imployed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to ſettle the Crowne vpon her owne children, ſhe did ſeeke to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimes. As for *Ioas*, if ſhe were his grand-mother, yet ſhe might miſtruſt the intereſt which his mother would haue in him, leſt when he came to yeeres, it might draw him from her deuotion. And hereof (beſides that women doe commonly better loue their daughters husbands, than their ſonnes wiues) there is ſome appearance in the reigne of her ſonne: for ſhe made him ſpend all his time in idle iourneys, to no other apparant end, than that ſhe might rule at home; and he liuing abroad be eſtranged from his wife, and entertaine ſome new fancies, wherein *Iezabel* had cunning enough to be his tutoreſſe. But when the ſword of *Iehu* had rudely cut in ſunder all theſe fine deuices, then was *Athalia* faine to goe roundly to worke, and doe as ſhe did, whereby ſhe thought to make all ſure. Otherwiſe, if (as I could rather thinke) ſhe were onely ſtepdame to *Ioas*, we neede not ſeeke into the reaſons mouing her to take away his life; her owne hatred was cauſe enough to diſpatch him among the firſt.

2.Kin.c.9.v.22

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§ VI.

A digreſsion, wherein is maintained the liberty of vſing coniecture in Hiſtories.

THus much concerning the perſon of *Ioas*, from whom, as from a new roote, the tree of *Dauid* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I conſider the nature of this Hiſtorie, and the diuerſitie betweene it and others, the leſſe me thinkes I neede to ſuſpect mine owne preſumption, as deſeruing blame, for curioſity in matter of doubt, or boldneſſe in liberty of coniecture. For all Hiſtories doe giue vs information of humane counſailes and euents, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they ſpeake onely at randome, and many times falſly. This we often finde in prophane writers, who aſcribe the ill ſucceſſe of great vndertakings to the neglect of ſome impious Rites, whereof indeede God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omiſſion. Hereat we may the leſſe wonder, if we conſider the anſwere made by the *Iewes* in *Ægypt* vnto *Ieremie* the Prophet reprehending their idolatry. For, howſoeuer the written Law of *God* was knowne vnto the people, and his puniſhments laid vpon them for contempt thereof, were very terrible, and euen then but newly executed; yet were they ſo obſtinately bent vnto their wils, that they would not by any meanes be drawne to acknowledge the true cauſe of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worſhip the *Queene of Heauen*, as they and their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had vſed to doe; *For then* (ſaid they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no euill*: adding that all manner of miſeries were befallen them, ſince they left off that ſeruice of the *Queene of Heauen*. So blinde is the wiſedome of man, in looking into the counſaile of God, which to finde out there is no better nor other guide than his owne written will not peruerted by vaine additions.

Ier.44.v.17. & 18.

But this Hiſtorie of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Iuda* hath herein a ſingular prerogatiue aboue all that haue beene written by the moſt ſufficient of meerely humane authors: it ſetteth downe expreſly the true, and firſt cauſes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his ouer-forwardneſſe in battaile; the ruine of his familie, to the ſecuritie of *Iehoram* in *Izreel*; nor the victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raiſed in *Iſrael*, by the comming of *Iehu*; but referring all vnto the will of God, I meane, to his reuealed will: from which that his hidden purpoſes doe not varie, this ſtorie, by many great examples, giues moſt notable proofe. True it is, that the concurrence of ſecond cauſes with their effects, is in theſe bookes nothing largely deſcribed; nor perhaps exactly in any of thoſe Hiſtories that are in theſe points moſt copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidnie*, that Hiſtorians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but ſomewhat of their ſubſtance. Informations are often falſe, records not alwayes true, and notorious actions commonly inſufficient to diſcouer the paſſions which did ſet them firſt on foote. Wherefore they are faine (I ſpeake of the beſt, and in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Liuie* euery one circumſtance of *Claudius* his iourney againſt *Aſdrubal* in *Italie*, fitting all to another buſineſſe, or any practice of that kinde, is neither Hiſtoricall, nor Poeticall) to ſearch into the particular humour of Princes, and of thoſe which haue gouerned their affections, or the inſtruments by which they wrought, from whence they doe collect the moſt likely motiues, or impediments of euery buſineſſe; and ſo figuring as neere to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they iudiciouſly conſider the defects in counſaile, or obliquity in proceeding.

S. Phi. Sid. in his Apol. for Poetry

Yet all this, for the moſt part, is not enough to giue aſſurance, howſoeuer it may giue ſatisfaction. For the heart of man is vnſearchable: and Princes, howſoeuer their intents be ſeldome hidden from ſome of thoſe many eyes which prie both into them, and into ſuch as liue about them; yet ſometimes either by their owne cloſe temper, or by ſome ſubtill miſte, they conceale the trueth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themſelues lye dead, and buried in obliuion, when the preparations which they begat, are conuerted to another vſe. The induſtrie of an Hiſtorian, hauing ſo many things to wearie it, may well be excuſed, when finding apparant cauſe enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further ſearch; though it often fall out, where ſundry occaſions worke to the ſame end, that one ſmall matter in a weake minde is more effectuall, than many that ſeemes farre greater. So comes it many times to paſſe, that great fires, which conſume whole houſes or Townes, beginne with a few ſtrawes, that are waſted or not ſeene; when the flame is diſcouered, hauing faſtned vpon ſome wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Queſtionleſſe it is, that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greekes*, proceeded from deſire of the *Perſians* to inlarge their Empire: howſoeuer the enterprize of the *Athenians* vpon *Sardes*, was noiſed abroad as the ground of that quarrell: yet *Herodotus* telleth vs, that the wanton deſire of Queene *Atoſſa*, to haue the *Grecian* dames her bondwomen, did firſt moue *Darius* to prepare for this warre before he had receiued any iniury; and when he did not yet ſo much deſire to get more, as to enioy what was already gotten.

Hero. l. 3.

I will not here ſtand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more iuſtly reprehended by ſome, or defended by others, for alleadging the vaine appetite, and ſecret ſpeech of the Queene in bed with her husband, as the cauſe of thoſe great euils following; this I may boldly affirme, (hauing I thinke, in euery eſtate ſome ſufficient witneſſe) that matters of much conſequence, founded in all ſeeming vpon ſubſtantiall reaſons, haue iſſued indeede from ſuch pettie trifles, as no Hiſtorian would either thinke vpon, or could well ſearch out.

Therefore it was a good anſwer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certaine Frier, comming to viſit him in his Popedome, as hauing long before in his meaner eſtate, beene his familiar friend. This poore Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to vſe his old liberty of ſpeech, aduentured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was poſſible for his Holineſſe, whom he rather tooke for a direct honeſt man, than any cunning politian, to attaine vnto the Papacie; in compaſſing of which, all the ſubtiltie (ſaid he) of the moſt crafty braines, finde worke enough: and therefore the more I thinke vpon the Art of the Conclaue, and your vnaptneſſe thereto, the more I needes muſt wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to ſatisfie the plaine dealing Frier, dealt with him againe as plainly, ſaying, Hadſt thou liued abroad as I haue done, and ſeene by what folly this world is gouerned, thou wouldeſt wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred vnto thoſe exorbitant engines, by which the courſe of affaires is moued, the Pope ſaid true. For the wiſeſt of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more cloſely, and earneſtly, than right reaſon either needes or can. But if we lift vp our thoughts to that ſupreme Gouernour, of whoſe Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was ſaid of *Iupiter*:

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventoſum, & vrbes, regnaq; triſtia
Diuoſq;, mortaleſq; turmas,
Imperio regit vnus æquo.

Who rules the duller earth, the winde-ſwolne ſtreames,
The ciuill Cities, and the th'infernall realmes,
Who th'hoſt of heauen, and the mortall band,
Alone doth gouerne by his iuſt command:

Then ſhall we finde the quite contrary. In him there is no vncertainety nor change; he foreſeeth all things, and all things diſpoſeth to his owne honour; He neither deceiueth nor can be deceiued, but continuing one and the ſame for euer, doth conſtantly gouerne all creatures by that Law, which he hath preſcribed and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriuers, and the proſperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their deſtruction: yea, this broad and head-long paſſage to hell, is not ſo delightfull as it ſeemes at the firſt entrance, but hath growing in it, beſides the poyſons which infect the ſoule, many cruell thornes deepely wounding the body; all which, if any few eſcape, they haue onely this miſerable aduantage of others, that their deſcent was the more ſwift and expedite. But the ſeruice of God is the path guiding vs to perfect happineſſe, & hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeelding ſuch abundance of ioy to the conſcience, as doth eaſily counteruaile all afflictions whatſoeuer; though indeede thoſe brambles that ſometimes teare the ſkinne of ſuch as walke in this bleſſed way, doe commonly lay hold vpon them at ſuch time as they ſit down to take their eaſe, and make them wiſh themſelues at their iournies end, in the preſence of their Lord whom they Pſal.16.v.11. faithfully ſerue, in whoſe *preſence is the fulneſſe of ioy, and at whoſe right hand are pleaſures for euermore.*

Wherefore it being the end and ſcope of all Hiſtory, to teach by example of times paſt, ſuch wiſedome as may guide our deſires and actions, we ſhould not maruaile though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda and Iſrael*, being written by men inſpired with the Spirit of God, inſtruct vs chiefly, in that which is moſt requiſite for vs to know, as the meanes to attaine vnto true felicitie, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illuſtrate this infallible rule; *The feare of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdome.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) beene written by ſome Prophet after the captiuitie: we may well beleeue that the counſaile of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous will, ſhould haue occupied either the whole or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpoſe of *Darius*, the deſire of his Wife, and the buſineſſe at *Sardes*, with other occurrents, beene the leſſe true, though they might haue beene omitted, as the leſſe materiall: but theſe things it had beene lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Hiſtories, or out of circumſtances otherwiſe appearing, wherein he ſhould not haue done iniurie to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborne to derogate from the firſt cauſes, by aſcribing to the ſecond more then was due.

Such, or little different, is the buſineſſe that I haue now in hand: wherein I cannot beleeue that any man of iudgement will taxe me, as either fabulous or preſumptuous. For he doth not faine, that rehearſeth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he depraue the Text, that ſeeketh to illuſtrate and make good in humane reaſon, thoſe things, which authority alone, without further circumſtance, ought to haue confirmed in euery mans beliefe. And this may ſuffice in defence of the liberty, which I haue vſed in coniectures, and may hereafter vſe when occaſion ſhall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor miſbeſeeming an Hiſtorian.

§. VII.

The conſpiracie againſt Athalia.

WHen *Athalia* had now ſixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of *Iuda*, and had found neither any forreine enemie, nor domeſticall aduerſarie to diſturbe her poſſeſſion, ſuddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickedneſſe meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and ſhamefull death. For the growth of the yong Prince began to be ſuch, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had beene very vnfitting that his education ſhould be ſimple, to make him ſeeme the childe of ſome poore man (as for his ſafety it was requiſite,) when his capacitie required to haue beene indued with the ſtomacke and qualities meete for a King. All this *Iehoiada* the Prieſt conſidered, and withall, the great increaſe of impietie, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to ſpread it ſelfe ouer all the Countrie, if care were not vſed to weede it vp very ſpeedily. Wherefore he aſſociated vnto himſelfe fiue of the Captaines, in whoſe fidelity he had beſt aſſurance, and hauing taken an oath of them, and ſhewed them the Kings ſonne, he made a Couenant with them, to aduance him to the Kingdome. Theſe drew in others of the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the firſt onely that they ſhould repaire to *Ieruſalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perſwaſions to win them to the buſineſſe: the promiſe of the Lord vnto the houſe of *Dauid*, was enough to aſſure them, that the action was both lawfull, and likely to ſucceede as they deſired.

But in compaſſing their intent ſome difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they ſhould bring their purpoſe to good iſſue; neither were the Captaines, and other aſſociats of *Iehoiada* able by cloſe working, to draw together ſo many truſty and ſeruiceable hands as would ſuffice to manage the buſineſſe. To helpe in this caſe, the Prieſt gaue order to ſuch of the *Leuites*, as had finiſhed their courſes in waiting on the Diuine ſeruice at the Temple, and were now relieued by others that ſucceeded in their turnes, that they ſhould not depart vntill they knew his further pleaſure. So by admitting the new commers, and not diſcharging the old, he had, without any noiſe, made vp ſuch a number, as would be able to deale with the Queenes ordinary Guard, and that was enough; for if the Tyranneſſe did not preuaile againſt them at the firſt brunt, the fauour of the People was like to ſhew it ſelfe on their ſide, who made head againſt her. Theſe *Leuites* were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the perſon of the King, who as yet was kept cloſe; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents, were beſtowed in the vtter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it ſelfe had ſtore enough; King *Dauid* had left an Armory to the place, which was now employed to defence of his iſſue.

All things being in a readineſſe, and the day come, wherein this high deſigne was to be put in execution; *Iehoiada* deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents; appointed a guard vnto the Kings perſon, produced him openly, and gaue vnto him the Crowne; vſing all ceremonies accuſtomed in ſuch ſolemnities, with great applauſe of the people. Of theſe doings, the Queene was the laſt that heard any word; which is not ſo ſtrange as it may ſeeme: for inſolent natures, by dealing outragiouſly with ſuch as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly loſe the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whileſt yet it may be preuented, and haue no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the ſuddenneſſe, behold it in the ſhape of ineuitable miſchiefe.

All *Ieruſalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the newes, others ran forth to ſee, and the common ioy was ſo great, that without apprehenſion of perill, vnder the windowes of the Court, were the people running and praiſing the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourſe, and noiſe of folkes in the ſtreetes, making towards the Temple, with much vnuſuall paſſion in their lookes, did preſently conceiue, that ſomewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, ſhe did not apprehend. Howſoeuer it were, ſhe meant to vſe her owne wiſedome in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occaſion might happen to require. It may be, that ſhe thought it ſome eſpeciall ſolemnity vſed in the Diuine ſeruice, which cauſed this much adoe; and hereof the vnaccuſtomed number of *Leuites*, and of other deuout men, about the towne, might giue ſome preſumption.

2 Chron.23.12

Many things argue that ſhe little thought vpon her owne Tragedie; although *Ioſephus* would make it ſeeme otherwiſe. For we finde in the Text, *She came to the people into the houſe of the Lord* (which was neere to her Palace) and that when ſhe looked and ſaw the King ſtand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the Land

2 Chron.23.12 & 13. & 2.
1 King c.11. v.13. & 14.

Land by him, and the Trumpetters proclaiming him, ſhe rent her clothes, and cryed, Treaſon, Treaſon. Hereby it appeares that ſhe was quietly going, without any miſtruſt or feare, to take her place; which when ſhe found occupied by another, then ſhe began to afflict her ſelfe, as one caſt away, and cryed out in vaine vpon the Treaſon, whereby ſhe ſaw that ſhe muſt periſh. But that ſhe came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Ioſephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten backe, ſhe entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the yong Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had ſhe truely knowne how things went, ſhe would ſurely haue gathered her friends about her, and vſed thoſe forces in defence of her Crowne, by which ſhe gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainely, if it were granted, that ſhe, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had beene meere madneſſe in her, to enter the place alone, when her aſſiſtants were kept out; but if ſhe perceiuing that neither her authority, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let in her guard, would neuertheleſſe take vpon her to command the death of the new King, calling a childe of ſeauen yeeres old a Conſpirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom ſhe ſaw to be armed in his defence, may we not thinke that ſhe was mad in the moſt extreame degree? Certaine it is that the counſaile of God would haue taken effect, in her deſtruction, had ſhe vſed the moſt likely meanes to diſappoint it: yet we neede not ſo cut her throate with any morall impoſſibilities. It is enough to ſay, that the godly zeale of *Iehoiada* found more eaſie ſucceſſe, through her indiſcretion, than otherwiſe could haue beene expected; ſo that at his appointment, ſhe was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and ſlaine, yea ſo, that no bloud, ſaue her owne, was ſhed in that quarrell; her ſmall traine that ſhe brought along with her, not daring to ſtand in her defence.

§. VIII.

The death of Athalia, *with a compariſon of her and* Iezabel.

MOſt like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the raſhneſſe of her Nephew *Iehoram* the *Iſraelite*, who did fooliſhly caſt himſelfe into the very throat of danger, gaping vpon him, onely through his eager deſire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet, ſhe her ſelfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and hauing liued ſuch a life as *Iezabel* had done, was rewarded with a ſutable death. Theſe two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatreſſe, and a Murdreſſe. The onely difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Iezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them ſuruiuing her husband about eight yeeres, did ſpend their time in ſatisfying her owne affections; the one vſing tyrannie, as the exerciſe of her haughty minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnchaſte body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in thoſe things which may ſeeme in this world to pertaine vnto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the ſuddaine by Conſpirators, and each of them exclayming vpon the Treaſon, receiued ſentence from the mouth of one that had liued vnder her ſubiection; in execution whereof, *Iezabel* was trampled vnder the feet of her enemies horſes; *Athalia* ſlaine at her owne horſe-gate; the death of *Athalia* hauing (though not much) the more leiſure to vexe her proud heart; that of *Iezabel*, the more indignity, and ſhame of body. Touching their buriall, *Iezabel* was deuoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we doe not finde. Like enough it is, that ſhe was buried, as hauing not perſecuted and ſlaine the Lords Prophets, but ſuffered the Prieſts to exerciſe their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument, for ſhe was a Church-robber. The ſeruice of *Baal* erected by theſe two Queenes, was deſtroyed as ſoone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Prieſts of that Religion, ſlaine. Herein alſo it came to paſſe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who ſlue them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the ſame hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who ſeemes to haue beene her good friend) pretended her reuenge, as any part of his quarrell to *Iuda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Iezabel* periſhed in few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behinde her, it is vncertaine; ſhe had ſons liuing after ſhe was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were ſlaine with her, we doe not finde.

Deut. 24.16.

This is a matter not vnworthy of conſideration, in regard of much that may depend vpon it, For if the children of *Athalia* had beene in *Ieruſalem* when their Mother fell, their death would ſurely haue followed hers as neerely, and beene regiſtred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Prieſt of *Baal*. That Law by which *God forbad that the children ſhould die for the fathers*, could not haue ſaued theſe vngracious Imps, whom the clauſe following would haue cut off, which commands, that euery man ſhould die for his owne ſinne. Seeing therefore that they had beene profeſſors and aduancers of that vile and Idolatrous worſhip of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the houſe of *Baal* with the ſpoyle of it; likely it is, that they ſhould not haue eſcaped with life, if *Iehoiada* the Prieſt could haue gotten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cauſe enough requiring their death, ſo the ſecuritie of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craued as much, and that very earneſtly. For theſe had beene eſteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her aſſiſtants in that particular buſineſſe of robbing the Temple, may be thought to haue carried a great ſway in other matters, as Princes, and fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is euident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his warres againſt *Iehu*) abſent from *Ieruſalem*; whereby *Iehoiada* might, with the more confidence, aduenture to take Armes againſt their Mother, that was deſolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Ioas *and* Amaſia, *with their Contemporaries; where ſomewhat of the building of Carthage.*

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§. I.

Of Ioas *his doings, whileſt* Iehoiada *the Prieſt liued.*

2 Chro 24.14

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole Countrie of *Iuda* was filled with great ioy; and quietneſſe; wherein *Ioas* a childe of ſeauen yeeres old or there-about; began his reigne, which continued almoſt fortie yeeres. During his minoritie, hee liued vnder the protection of that honourable man *Iehoiada* the Prieſt, who did as faithfully gouerne the Kingdome, as he had before carefully preſerued the Kings life, and reſtored him vnto the Throne of his anceſtors. When he came to mans eſtate, he tooke by appointment of *Iehoiada* two wiues, and begat Sonnes and Daughters, repairing the family of *Dauid*, which was almoſt worne out. The firſt Act that hee tooke in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needefull piece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickedneſſe of vngodly Tyrants; and requiſite it was that he ſhould vp-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had vp-held. This buſineſſe he followed with ſo earneſt a zeale, that not onely the *Leuites* were more ſlacke than he, but euen *Iehoiada* was faine to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the taxe impoſed by *Moſes*, partly out of the liberalitie of the people: who gaue ſo freely, that the Temple, beſides all reparations, was enriched with veſſels of gold and ſiluer, and with all other Vtenſiles. The ſacrifices likewiſe were offered, as vnder godly Kings they had beene, and the ſeruice of God was magnificently celebrated.

§ II.

The death of Iehoiada, *and Apoſtaſie of* Ioas.

BVt this endured no longer than the life of *Iehoiada* the Prieſt: who hauing liued an hundred and thirtie yeeres, dyed before his Countrie could haue ſpared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Iuda*, as he well deſerued, hauing preſerued the race of them, and reſtored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that houſe, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themſelues, and all their iſſue. Yet his honorable Funerall ſeemes to haue beene giuen to him, at the motion of the people; it being ſaid, *They buried him in the Citie of* Dauid. As for the King himſelfe, who did owe to him no leſſe than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to haue beene Author of it, ſeeing that he was as eaſily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby beene diſcharged of ſome heauie debt.

For after the death of *Iehoiada*, when the Princes of *Iuda* began to flatter their King, he ſoone forgat, not onely the benefits, receiued by this worthie man his old Counſellour, but alſo the good precepts which he had receiued from him, yea and God himſelfe, the Author of all goodneſſe. Theſe Princes drew him to the worſhip of Idols, wherewith *Iehoram* and *Athalia* had ſo infected the Countrie, in fifteene or ſixteene yeeres; that thirty yeeres, or there-about, of the reigne of *Ioas*, wherein the true Religion was exerciſed, were not able to cleere it from that miſchiefe. The King himſelfe, when once he was entred into theſe courſes, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertie, to deſpiſe the ſeruice of God; and a manifeſt proofe of his being now King indeede, that he regarded no longer the ſowre admonitions of deuout Prieſts. Hereby it appeares, that his former zeale was onely counterfaited, wherein like an Actor vpon the ſtage, he had ſtriuen to expreſſe much more liuely affection, than they could ſhew, that were indeede religious.

§. III.

The cauſes and times of the Syrians inuading Iuda in the dayes of Ioas.

BVt God, from whom he was broken looſe, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not eaſily be ſhaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, hauing taken *Gath*, a Towne of the *Philiſtims*, addreſſed himſelfe towards *Ieruſalem*, whither the little diſtance of way, and great hope of a rich bootie, did inuite him. He had an Armie heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the warre (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of *Iuda* had aſſiſted the *Iſraelites*, in their enterpriſes vpon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I thinke he did not want ſome further inſtigation. For if the Kingdome of *Iuda* had moleſted the *Aramites*, in the time of his predeceſſour, this was throughly recompenſed, by forbearing to ſuccour *Iſrael*, and leauing the ten Tribes in their extreame miſery, to the fury of *Hazael* himſelfe. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* ſhould haue gone about to awake a ſleeping Dogge, and ſtirre vp againſt himſelfe a powerfull enemy, before he had aſſured the conqueſt of *Iſrael*, that lay betweene *Ieruſalem* and his owne Kingdome, if ſome opportunity had not performed ſuch eaſie and good ſucceſſe, as might rather aduance, than any way diſturbe his future proceedings againſt the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the ſonnes of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promiſing (as men expelled their Countries vſually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his ſide; and not to remaine, as *Ioas* did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and *Iſrael*, but to ioyne all their forces with his, as they had cauſe, for the rooting out of *Iehu* his poſteritie, who, like a bloudy Traytor, had vtterly deſtroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, euen the whole houſe of *Ahab*, to which he was a ſubiect. If this were ſo, *Hazael* had the more apparant reaſon to inuade the Kingdome of *Iuda*. Howſoeuer it were, we finde it plainely, that *Ioas* was 2 *Kin.*12.18. afraid of him, and therefore *tooke all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treaſures of the houſe of the Lord*, or in his owne houſe, with which preſent he redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (queſtionleſſe) thinking it a better bargaine, to get ſo much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the aſſurance of this, for the poſſibilitie of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich bootie of vnhappie treaſure, which, belonging to the liuing God, remained a ſmall while in the poſſeſſion of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but ſent him quickely to the graue. For in the thirtie ſeuenth yeere of *Ioas*, which was the fifteenth of *Iehoahaz*, hee made this purchaſe; but in the ſame or very next yeere hee died, leauing all that he had vnto his Sonne *Benhadad*, with whom theſe treaſures proſpered none otherwiſe, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterpriſe of *Hazael* is, by ſome, confounded with that warre of the *Aramites* vpon *Iuda*, mentioned in the ſecond Booke of *Chronicles*. But the reaſons alleaged by them that hold the contrarie opinion, doe forcibly prooue, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without bloud-ſhed or fight; in the later, *Ioas* tryed the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worſt, he loſt all his Princes, and hardlie eſcaped with life: In the one, *Hazael* himſelfe was preſent; in the other, hee was not named: but contrariwiſe, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may ſeeme to haue then beene the Sonne of *Hazael*) is ſaid to haue beene at *Damaſcus*. The firſt Armie came to conquer, and was ſo great, that it terrified the King of *Iuda*; The ſecond was a *ſmall company of men*, which did animate *Ioas* (in vaine, for God was againſt him) to deale with them, as hauing *a very great Armie*.

2 Chrō.24.24.

Now, concerning the time of this former inuaſion, I cannot perceiue that God forſooke him, till hee had firſt forſaken God. There are indeed ſome, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Iehoiada* the Prieſt, becauſe that ſtorie is ioyned vnto the reſtauration of the Temple. This had beene probable, if the death of *Iehoiada* had beene afterwards mentioned in that place of the ſecond Booke of *Kings*; or if the Apoſtaſie of *Ioas*, or any other matter implying ſo much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may diſpoſe of all things, according to his owne will and pleaſure, neither was hee more vniuſt in the afflictions of *Iob* that righteous man, or the death of *Ioſias* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid vpon *Pharaoh*, or his iudgements vpon the houſe of *Ahab*. But it appeares plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent ſeruice of God therewithall, which are ioyned together, were vſed *in the houſe of the Lord continually, all the dayes of Iehoiada*; ſoone after whoſe death, if not immediately vpon it, that is (as ſome very learnedly collect) in the ſixe, or thirty ſeuenth yeere of this *Ioas* his reigne, the King falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foule Idolater.

2.Chrō.24 14.

And indeed we commonly obſerue, that the croſſes which it hath pleaſed God ſometimes to lay vpon his ſeruants, without any cauſe notorious in the eyes of men, haue alwaies tended vnto the bettering of their good. In which reſpect, euen the ſufferings of the bleſſed Martyrs (*the death of his Saints being precious in the ſight of the Lord*) are to their great aduantage. But with euill and rebellious men, God keepeth a more euen & ſtrict account; permitting vſually their faults to get the ſtart of their puniſhment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedneſſe be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but ſuffering them to runne on in their wicked courſes, to their greater miſerie. So hath he dealt with many; and ſo it appeares that hee dealt with *Ioas*. For this vnhappie man did not onely continue an obſtinate Idolater, but grew ſo forgetfull of God and all goodneſſe, as if hee had ſtrouen to exceed the wickedneſſe of all that went before him, and to leaue ſuch a villainous patterne vnto others, as few or none of the moſt barbarous Tyrants ſhould endure to imitate.

Pſal 115.15

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§. IIII.

How Zacharia *was murderered by* Ioas.

SVndry Prophets hauing laboured in vaine to reclaime the people from their ſuperſtition, *Zacharia* the ſonne of *Iehoiada* the Prieſt, was ſtirred vp at length by the Spirit of God, to admoniſh them of their wickedneſſe, and make them vnderſtand the puniſhment due vnto it, whereof they ſtood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man ſo much honoured, and ſonne to a man ſo exceedingly beloued in his life-time, and reuerenced, that if *Ioas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemie, yet ought he in common honeſtie, to haue cloaked his ill affection, and haue vſed at leaſt ſome part of the reſpect that was due to ſuch a perſon: On the other ſide, the ſingular affection which he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecountable benefits, which they had done vnto him, from his firſt infancie, were ſuch, as ſhould haue placed *Zacharia* in the moſt hearty and aſſured loue of *Ioas*, yea though he had been otherwiſe a man of very ſmall marke, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the meſſage of a Prophet ſent from God, ſhould be heard with reuerence, how ſimple ſoeuer he appeares that brings it. But this King *Ioas*, hauing already ſcorned the admonitions and proteſtations of ſuch Prophets as firſt were ſent, did now deale with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen in that parable of our Sauiour, dealt with the heyre of the Vineyard; who ſaid, *This is the heyre, come let vs kill him that the inheritance may be ours.* By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an abſolute Commander, ſuppoſing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as one durſt tell him the plaine truth, how great ſoeuer that mans deſeruing were, that did ſo, yea though Gods commandement required it. So they conſpired againſt this holy Prophet, and ſtoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any forme of open Law, as was practiſed vpon *Naboth*; or whether ſurpriſing him by any cloſe treacherie, I doe neyther reade, nor can coniecture. The dignitie of his perſon, conſidered together with their treacherous conſpiracie, makes it probable, that they durſt not call him into publique iudgement, though that the manner of his death, being ſuch as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted vpon malefactors, may argue the contrarie. Moſt likely it is, that the Kings commaundement, by which hee ſuffered, tooke place in ſtead of Law: which exerciſe of meere power (as hath beene alreadie noted) was nothing ſtrange amongſt the Kings of *Iuda*.

Luke 20.14.

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§. V.

How Ioas *was ſhamefully beaten by the Aramites, and of his death.*

THis odious murther, committed by an vnthankefull ſnake vpon the man in whoſe boſome he had beene foſtered, as of it ſelfe alone it ſufficed, to make the wretched Tyrant hatefull to men of his owne time, and his memorie deteſted in all ages; ſo had it the well-deſcribed curſe of the bleſſed Martyr, to accompany it vnto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell downe ſwiftly, and heauily vpon the head of that vngratefull monſter. It was the laſt yeere of his reigne; the end of his time comming then vpon him, when hee thought himſelfe beginning to liue how he liſted without controulement. When that yeere was expired, the *Aramites* came into the Countrie, rather as may ſeeme to get pillage, than to performe any great action; for they *came with a ſmall companie of men*: but God had intended to doe more by them, than they themſelues did hope for.

2.Chrõ.24.24.

That *Ioas* naturally was a coward, his bloudie malice againſt his beſt friend, is, in my iudgement proofe ſufficient: though otherwiſe his baſe compoſition with *Hazael*, when he might haue leauied (as his ſonne after him did muſter) three hundred thouſand choſen men for the warre, doth well enough ſhew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how ſtout of diſpoſition their King was, when hee might haue his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Rouers, hee tooke a verie great Armie, ſo that wiſe men might well perceiue, that he knew what he did, making ſhew as if he would fight for his Countrie, and expoſe himſelfe to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere oſtentation, and no perill to be feared; hee going forth ſo ſtronglie appointed, againſt ſo weake enemies. Thus might wiſe men thinke, and laugh at him in ſecret; conſidering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reaſon was (as they ſay) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wiſedome of this world is fooliſhneſſe, did laugh not onely at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King ſecure, by reaſon of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *Ioas* met, whether it were by ſome folly of the Leaders, or by ſome amazement happening among the Souldiers, or by whatſoeuer means it pleaſed God to worke, ſo it was, that that great Army of *Iuda* receiued a notable ouer-throw, and all the Princes were deſtroyed: the Princes of *Iuda*, at whoſe perſwaſion the King had become a Rebell to the King of Kings. As for *Ioas* himſelfe (as *Abulenſis* and others expound the ſtorie) he was ſorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and ſhamefully tormented, to wring out of him an exceſſiue ranſome.

And ſurely, all circumſtances doe greatly ſtrengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old tranſlation) ſaith, they exerciſed vpon *Ioas* ignominious iudgements; and that departing from him, they diſmiſſed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-fauouredly. Now at that time *Ioas* the ſonne of *Iehoahaz* reigned ouer *Iſrael*, and *Benhadad* the ſonne of *Hazael* ouer the *Syrians* in *Damaſcus*; the one a valiant vnder-taking Prince, raiſed vp by God to reſtore the State of his miſerable Countrie; the other inferiour euery way to his father, of whoſe purchaſes hee loſt a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betweene theſe two Princes, promiſing no other euent than ſuch as afterward followed, might haue giuen to the King of *Iuda* good cauſe to be bold, and plucke vp his ſpirits, which *Hazael* had beaten downe, if God had not beene againſt him. But his fearefull heart beeing likely to quake vpon any apprehenſion of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with ſome ſhew of Warre at his doores, it were eaſie to make him craue any tolerable conditions of peace. The vnexpected good ſucceſſe hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as inexpected) ill ſucceſſe, which the *Aramites* found in their following Warres againſt the King of *Iſrael*, ſheweth plainely the weakeneſſe of all earthly might, reſiſting the power of the Almightie. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdome of *Iuda*, after more then fortie yeeres time of gathering ſtrength, was vnable to driue out a ſmall companie of Enemies; and the Kingdome of *Iſrael*, hauing ſo been trodden downe by *Hazael*, that onely fifty Horſemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thouſand Foot-men were left; preuailed againſt his Sonne, and recouered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples heereof are euerie-where found, and therefore I will not inſiſt vpon this; though indeed wee ſhould not, if wee be Gods children, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent reports of our heauenly Fathers honour, than of the noble actes performed by our fore-father vpon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they liſted, & ſaw that they were not able, being ſo few, to take any poſſeſſion of the Countrie, they departed out of *Iuda* loaden with ſpoyle, which they ſent to *Damaſcus*, themſelues belike falling vpon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they ſped not halfe ſo well. The King of *Iuda* being in ill caſe, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the ſonnes of an *Ammoniteſſe*, and of a *Moabiteſſe*, whom ſome (becauſe onely their Mothers names, being ſtrangers, are expreſſed) thinke to haue beene bond-men. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, leſt (as Tyrants vſe) he ſhould reuenge his diſaſter vpon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatſoeuer elſe it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tels vs plainlie, that, *For the bloud of the children of Iehoiada*, this befell him. And the ſame appeares to haue beene vſed as the pretence of their conſpiracie, in excuſe of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the ſonne aud ſucceſſor of *Ioas*, durſt not puniſh them, till his Kingdome was eſtabliſhed: but contrariwiſe, his bodie was judged vnworthie of buriall in the Sepulchers of the Kings: whereby it appeares, that the death of *Zacharia* cauſed the treaſon, wrought againſt the King, to find more approbation, than was requiſite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompenſed by his Sonne, vpon the Traytors, with well-deſerued death.

2 Chron.24.25

§. VI.

Of the Princes liuing in the time of Ioas: *of the time when Carthage was built*; *and of* Dido.

THere liued with *Ioas*, *Mezades* and *Diognetus* in *Athens*: *Endemus* and *Ariſtomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Syluius*, and after him *Syluius Alladius*, were Kings of the *Albans* in *Italie*. *Ocrazapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirtie ſeuenth King ſucceeding vnto *Ophratanes*, began his reigne ouer the *Aſſyrians*, about the eighteenth yeere of *Ioas*, which laſted fortie two yeeres. In the ſixteenth of *Ioas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Seſac*, ſucceeded vnto *Cheops* in the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, and held it fiftie yeeres.

In this time of *Ioas*, was likewiſe the reigne of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*; the building of which Citie is, by diuers Authors, placed in diuers ages, ſome reporting it to be 70. yeeres yonger than *Rome*, others aboue 400. yeeres elder, few or none of them giuing any reaſon of their aſſertions, but leauing vs vncertaine whom to follow: *Ioſephus*, who had read the Annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred fortie and three yeeres and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth yeere of *Hyram* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the ſeuenth of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Ioſephus*) are very perplexed, and ſerue not very well to make cleere the totall ſumme. But whether it were ſo that *Ioſephus* did omit, or elſe that he did miſ-write ſome number of the yeeres, which he reckoneth in Fractions, as they were diuided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hyram* to *Pigmalion*; we may well enough beleeue, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whoſe bookes hee giues vs the whole ſumme, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightlie reckon the difference of time, betweene two workes no longer following one the other, than the memorie of three or foure generations might eaſily reach. This hundred fortie and foure yeeres current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleuenth yeere of *Ioas*, was a hundred fortie and three yeeres before the birth of *Rome*, and after the deſtruction of *Troy*, two hundred eighty and nine: a time ſo long after the death of *Æneas*, that wee might truely conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Auſonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Ioſep.Cont.App. lib.1.

Auſo.Ep.117.

Illa ego ſum Dido *vultu quam conſpicis hoſpes,*
Aſſimulata modis pulchraq; mirificis.
Talis eram, ſed non Maro *quam mihi finxit, erat mens,*
Vita nec inceſtis læta cupidinibus,
(Namq; nec Æneas *vidit me Troius vnquam*
Nec Lybiam aduenit, claſſibus Iliacis.
Sed furias fugiens, atq; arma procacis Iarbæ,
Seruaui, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo, caſtos quod pertulit enſes)
Non furor, aut læſo crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidiſſe iuuat: vixi ſine vulnere famæ,
Vlta virum, poſitis mœnibus oppetij.
Inuida cur in me ſtimulaſti Muſa Maronem,
Fingeret vt noſtræ damna pudicitiæ?
Vos magis Hiſtoricis lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum concubituſq; canunt.
Falſidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,
Humaniſq; deos aſſimulant vitijs.

Which in effect is this,

I Am that *Dido* which thou heere do'ſt ſee,
Cunningly framed in beauteous Imag'rie.
Like this I was, but had not ſuch a ſoule,
As *Maro* fained, inceſtuous and foule.
Æneas neuer with his *Troian* hoaſt
Beheld my face, or landed on this coaſt.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,
Not mou'd by furious loue or iealouſie;
I did with weapon chaſte, to ſaue my fame,
Make way for death vntimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but firſt I built a Towne,
Reueng'd my husbands death, liv'd with renowne.
Why did'ſt thou ſtirre vp *Virgil*, enuious Muſe,
Falſely my name and honour to abuſe?
Readers beleeue Hiſtorians; not thoſe
Which to the world *Ioues* thefts and vice expoſe.
Poets are lyers, and for verſes ſake
Will make the gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* vnto the firſt *Punick* warre, that *Carthage* grew and flouriſhed in wealth and conqueſts, we finde in many hiſtories: but in particular wee finde little of the *Carthaginian* affaires before that warre, excepting thoſe few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Iſle of *Sicil.* Wee will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mightie Citie, vntill ſuch time as they ſhall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally deſtroyed; and proſecute in the meane while the Hiſtorie that is now in hand.

§. VII.

The beginning of Amazia *his reigne. Of* Ioas *King of Iſrael, and* Eliſha *the Prophet.*

AMazias, the ſonne of *Ioaſh*, being twenty fiue yeeres old when his Father died, tooke poſſeſſion of the Kingdome of *Iuda*, wherein he laboured ſo to demeane himſelfe, as his new beginning reigne might be leaſt offenſiue. The Law of *Moſes* he profeſſed to obſerue; which howſoeuer it had beene ſecretly deſpiſed ſince the time of *Iehoram*, by many great perſons of the Land, yet had it by prouiſion of good Princes, yea and of bad ones (in their beſt times) imitating the good, but eſpecially by the care of holy Prieſts, taken ſuch deepe root in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plauſible, who did not conforme himſelfe vnto it. And at that preſent time, the ſlaughter, which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawne the late King from the ſeruice of God, being ſeconded by the death of the King himſelfe, euen whileſt that execrable murther, committed by the King vpon *Zecharia*, was yet freſh in memorie, did ſerue as a notable example of Gods juſtice againſt Idolaters, both to animate the better ſort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to diſcourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to ſuch an euill end. He therefore, hauing learned of his father the arte of diſſimulation, did not onely forbeare to puniſh the Traytors that had ſlaine King *Ioas*, but gaue way to the time, and ſuffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Iehoram* formerly had beene, in the City of *Dauid*, yet not among the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Iuda*. Neuertheleſſe, after this, when (belike) the noyſe of the people hauing wearied it ſelfe into ſilence, it was found that the Conſpirators (howſoeuer their deed done, was applauded as the handie-worke of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor ſtrong maintainers of their perſons, but reſted ſecure, as hauing done well, ſeeing it was not ill taken: the King, who perceiued his gouernment well eſtabliſhed, called them into queſtion, at ſuch a time, as the heate of mens affections being well allayed, it was eaſie to diſtinguiſh between their treaſons and Gods judgements, which, by their treaſons had taken plauſible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were ſuffered to liue; which could not but giue contentment to the people, ſeeing that their King did the office of a iuſt Prince, rather than of a reuenging ſonne. This being done, and his owne life better ſecured, by ſuch exemplary juſtice, againſt the like attempts; *Amazia* carried himſelfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and ſo continued in reſt, about twelue or thirteene yeeres.

As *Amazia* gathered ſtrength in *Iuda* by the commoditie of a long peace, ſo *Ioas* the *Iſraelite* grew as faſt in power, by following the warre hotly againſt the *Aramites*. Hee was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predeceſſors had beene, worſhipping the Calues of *Ieroboam*. For this ſinne had God ſo plagued the houſe of *Iehu*, that the tenne Tribes wanted little of being vtterly conſumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Iehu* and his ſonne *Iehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Iehu*, ſufficed not to with-draw him from this politique Idolatrie; ſo were the miſeries, rewarding that impietie, vnable to reclaime *Iehoahaz* from the ſame impious courſe: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Iſrael*, did condeſcend vnto the prayers of this vngodlie Prince, euen then when hee and his miſerable ſubiects, were obſtinate in following their owne abhominable waies. Therefore in temporall matters the tenne Tribes recouered apace, but the fauour of God, which had beene infinitely more worth, I doe not finde, nor beleeue, that they ſought; that they had it not, I finde in the words of the Prophet, ſaying plainely to *Amazia*, *The Lord is not with Iſrael, neither with all the* 2.Chron.25.7. *houſe of* Ephraim.

Whether it were ſo, that the great Prophet *Eliſha*, who liued in thoſe times, did foretell the proſperitie of the *Iſraelites* vnder the Reigne of *Ioas*; or whether *Iehoahaz*, wearied and broken with long aduerſitie, thought it the wiſeſt way, to diſcharge himſelfe in part of the heauie cares attending thoſe vnhappy *Syrian* Warres, by laying the burthen vpon his hopefull ſonne; wee finde that *in the thirtie-ſeuenth yeere of* Ioas, *King of Iuda*, Ioas *the ſonne of* Iehoahaz *began to reigne ouer Iſrael in Samaria*, which was in the 15. yeere of his fathers reigne, and ſome two or three yeers before his death. *2.Kings 13.10.*

It appeares that this young Prince, euen from the beginning of his Rule, did ſo well husband that poore ſtocke that he receiued from his Father, of ten Chariots, fiftie Horſemen, and ten thouſand Foot, that he might ſeeme likely to proue a thriuer. Amongſt other circumſtances, the words which he ſpake to *Eliſha* the Prophet, argue no leſſe. For *Ioas* viſiting the Prophet, who lay ſicke, ſpake vnto him thus; *O my father, my father, the Chariot of Iſrael, and the horſe-men of the ſame:* by which manner of ſpeech he did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had ſtood his Kingdome in more ſtead, than all the Horſes and Chariots could doe. *2.Kin.13.14.*

This Prophet who ſucceeded vnto *Elias*, about the firſt yeere of *Ioram* the ſonne of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, died (as ſome haue probably collected) about the third or fourth yeere of this *Ioas*, the Nephew of *Iehu*. To ſhew how the ſpirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did reſt vpon him; it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that hee did not onely raiſe a dead childe vnto life, as *Elias* had done, but when hee himſelfe was dead, it pleaſed God that his dead bones ſhould reſtore life vnto a carcaſſe, which touched them in the graue. In fine, hee beſtowed, as a legacie, three victories vpon King *Ioas*, who thereby did ſet *Iſrael* in a faire way of recouering all that the *Aramites* had vſurped, and weakening the Kings of *Damaſco* in ſuch ſort, that they were neuer after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of Amazia *his warre againſt* Edom; *His Apoſtaſie; and ouerthrow by* Ioas.

THe happie ſucceſſe which *Ioas* had found in his warre againſt the *Aramites*, was ſuch as might kindle in *Amazia* a deſire of vndertaking ſome expedition, wherein himſelfe might purchaſe the like honour. His kingdome could furniſh three hundred thouſand ſeruiceable men for the Warres; and his treaſures were ſufficient for the payment of theſe, and the hire of many more. Cauſe of warre hee had very iuſt againſt the *Edomites*, who hauing rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Iehoram*, had about fifty yeeres beene vnreclaimed, partly by reaſon of the troubles happening in *Iuda*, partly through the ſloth and timerouſneſſe of his father *Ioas*. Yet, foraſmuch as the men of *Iuda* had in many yeeres beene without all exerciſe of Warre (excepting that vnhappie fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wiſedome to increaſe his forces, with ſouldiers waged out of *Iſrael*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of ſiluer, *an hundred thouſand valiant men*, as the Scripture telleth vs, though *Ioſephus* diminiſh the number, ſaying that they were but twentie thouſand. *2.Chron. 21 6. Ioſ. Antiq. Iud. lib. 9.c.10.*

This great Armie, which with ſo much coſt *Amazia* had hired out of *Iſrael*, hee was faine to diſmiſſe, before he had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet with ill ſucceſſe, if he ſtrengthened himſelfe with the helpe of thoſe men, whom God (though in mercy hee gaue them victorie againſt the cruell *Aramites*) did not loue, becauſe they were Idolaters. The *Iſraelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this diſmiſſion, as an high diſgrace; which to reuenge, they fell vpon a piece of *Iuda* in their returne, and ſhewed their malice in the ſlaughter of three thouſand men; and ſome ſpoyle, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his owne forces, knowing that God would bee aſſiſtant to their journey, entered couragiouſly into the *Edomites* Countrie; ouer whom obtaining victorie, he ſlew ten thouſand, and tooke other ten thouſand priſoners, all which hee threw from an high rocke; holding them, it ſeemes, rather as Traytors, than as iuſt enemies. This victorie did not ſeeme to reduce *Edom* vnder the ſubjection of the Crowne of *Iuda*, which might bee the cauſe of that ſeueritie, which was vſed to the priſoners; the *Edomites* that had eſcaped, refuſing to buy the liues of their friends and kinſmen at ſo deare a rate, as the loſſe of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount

Seir, *Amazia* tooke, as appeares by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places moſt indefenſible, in that he left no garriſons there, whereby hee might another yeere the better haue purſued the conqueſt of the whole Countrie. Howſoeuer it were, he got both honour by the iourney, and gaines enough, had he not loſt himſelfe.

Among other ſpoyles of the *Edomites*, were carried away their gods, which being vanquiſhed and taken priſoners, did deſerue well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwiſe I know not by what ſtrange witchcraft, ſo beſotted this vnworthy King *Amazia*, that *hee ſet them vp to be his gods, and worſhipped them, and burned incenſe vnto them.*

2 Chron. 25. 14.

For this when hee was rebuked by a Prophet ſent from God, hee gaue a churliſh and threatning anſwere; asking the Prophet, Who made him a Counſeller, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the worſt. If either the coſtly ſtuffe, whereof theſe Idols were made, or the curious workemanſhip and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had rauiſhed the Kings fancie; me thinkes, hee ſhould haue rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as houſe-hold ornaments and things of pleaſure; than thereby haue ſuffered himſelfe to be blinded, with ſuch vnreaſonable deuotion towards them. If the ſuperſtitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more ſhould the bad ſeruice which they had done to their old Clients, haue moued him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it ſeemes to me, that the ſame affections carried him from God, vnto the ſeruice of Idols, which afterwards mooued him to talke ſo roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and ſent away ſuch auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of *Iſrael*; which done, it is ſaid, that *he was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike, that God would now rather aſſiſt him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts deſire. But with better reaſon hee ſhould haue limited his deſires by the will of God, whoſe pleaſure it was, that *Eſau* hauing broken the yoke of *Iacob* from his necke, accordingly as *Iſaac* had foretold, ſhould no more become his ſeruant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to reconquer all the Countrie of *Edom*, hee failed of his expectation; yet ſo, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might haue well contented him.

2 Chron. 25. 11.

But there is a fooliſh and a wretched pride, wherewith men being tranſported, can ill endure to aſcribe vnto God the honour of thoſe actions, in which it hath pleaſed him to vſe their owne induſtrie, courage, or fore-ſight. Therefore it is commonly ſeene, that they, who entring into battaile, are carefull to pray for aide from heauen, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giuer of victorie; when the field is wonne, doe vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how hee got ſuch a ground of aduantage; another, how he gaue checke to ſuch a battalion; a third, how he ſeized on the enemies Canon; euery one ſtriuing to magnifie himſelfe, whileſt all forget God, as one that had not beene preſent in the action. To aſcribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confeſſe, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as hee which findeth better ſucceſſe, than he did, or in reaſon might expect, is deepely bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happineſſe; ſo he whoſe meere wiſedome and labour hath brought things to a proſperous iſſue, is doubly bound to ſhew himſelfe thankefull, both for the victory, and for thoſe vertues by which the victorie was gotten. And indeed ſo farre from weakeneſſe is the nature of ſuch thankeſgiuing, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no vertue being ſo truly heroicall, as that by which the ſpirit of man aduanceth it ſelfe with confidence of acceptation, vnto the loue of God. In which ſenſe it is a braue ſpeech that **Euander** in *Virgil*, vſeth to *Æneas*, none but a Chriſtian being capable of the admonition:

Aude hoſpes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.

With this Philoſophie *Amazia* (as appears by his cariage) troubled not his head: he had ſhewed himſelfe a better man of warre than any King of *Iuda*, ſince the time of *Iehoſaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people ſhould thinke him little inferior to *Dauid*: of which honour he ſaw no reaſon why the Prophets ſhould rob him, who had made him loſe an hundred talents, and done him no pleaſure; hee hauing preuailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That hee was diſtempered with ſuch vaine thoughts as theſe (beſides the witneſſe of his impietie following) *Ioſephus* doth teſtifie;

Ioſ. Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

Aaa

teſtifie; ſaying, That he deſpiſed God, and that being puft vp with his good ſucceſſe, of which neuertheleſſe he would not acknowledge God to be the Author, he commanded *Ioas* King of *Iſrael* to become his ſubject, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their Soueraigne, as they had done his Anceſtors King *Dauid* and *Salomon*. Some thinke that his quarrell to *Ioas* was rather grounded vpon the iniurie done to him by the *Iſraelites*, whom hee diſmiſſed in the journey againſt Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the ſenſe of a late wrong had more power to ſtirre him vp, than the remembrance of an olde title, forgotten long ſince, and by himſelfe neglected thirteene or foureteene yeeres. Neuertheleſſe it might ſo be, that when he was thus prouoked, hee thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would alſo call old matters into queſtion; that ſo the Kings of *Iſrael* might, at the leaſt, learne to keepe their ſubjects from offending *Iuda*, for feare of endangering their owne Crownes. Had *Amazia* deſired onely recompence for the iniurie done to him, it is not improbable that hee ſhould haue had ſome reaſonable anſwere from *Ioas*; who was not deſirous to fight with him. But the anſwere which *Ioas* returned, likening himſelfe to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in reſpect of him to no better than a thiſtle, ſhewes that the challenge was made in inſolent tearmes, ſtuft perhaps with ſuch proud compariſon of Nobilitie, as might bee made (according to that which *Ioſephus* had written) betweene a King of ancient race, and one of leſſe nobilitie than vertue.

Sophocles in Aiace Lor.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Aiax*, that when going to the warre of *Troy*, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victorie by Gods aſſiſtance, he made anſwere, That by Gods aſſiſtance, a coward could get victorie, but hee would get it alone without ſuch helpe: after which proud ſpeech, though he did many valiant acts, he had ſmall thanks, and finally killing himſelfe in a madneſſe, whereinto hee fell vpon diſgrace receiued, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazia* did vtter ſuch words, I doe not finde: but hauing once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of ſuch words, hee was rewarded with ſucceſſe according. The verie firſt counſaile wherein this warre was concluded, ſerues to prooue that hee was a wiſe Prince indeed at *Ieruſalem*, among his Paraſites; but a foole when he had to deale with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weake people, truſting more in the ſite of their Countrey, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Ioas*, who from ſo poore beginnings had rayſed himſelfe to ſuch ſtrength, that hee was able to lend his friend a hundred thouſand men, and had all his Nation exerciſed, and trained vp, in a long victorious warre. But as *Amazia* diſcouered much want of judgemen, in vndertaking ſuch a match; ſo in proſecuting the buſineſſe, when it was ſet on foot, hee behaued himſelfe as a man of little experience, who hauing once onely tried his fortune, and found it to bee good, thought that in Warre there was nothing elſe to doe, than ſend a defiance, fight, and winne. *Ioas* on the contrarie ſide, hauing beene accuſtomed to deale with a ſtronger enemy than the King of *Iuda*, vſed that celeritie, which peraduenture had often ſtood him in good ſtead againſt the *Aramite*. Hee did not ſit waiting till the enemies brake in and waſted his Countrie, but preſented himſelfe with an Armie in *Iuda*, readie to bid battaile to *Amazia*, and ſaue him the labour of a long iournie. This could not but greatly diſcourage thoſe of *Iuda*; who (beſides the impreſſion of feare which an inuaſion beates into people, not inured to the like) hauing deuoured, in their greedie hopes, the ſpoyle of *Iſrael*, fully perſwading themſelues to get as much, and at as eaſie rate as in the iournie of *Edom*; were ſo farre diſappointed of their expectation, that well they might ſuſpect all new aſſurance of good lucke, when the olde had thus beguiled them. All this notwithſtanding, their King that had ſtomack enough to challenge the Patrimonie of *Salomon*, thought like another *Dauid* to winne it by the ſword. The iſſue of which foole-hardineſſe might eaſily haue beene foreſeene in humane reaſon; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the firſt and ominous beginning of the Warre. But meere humane wiſedome, howſoeuer it might foreſee much, could not haue prognoſticated all the miſchiefe that fell vpon *Amazia*. For as ſoone as the two Armies came in ſight, God, whoſe helpe this wretched man had ſo deſpiſed, did (as *Ioſephus* reports it) ſtrike ſuch terrour and amazement into the men of *Iuda*, that without one blow giuen, they fled all away, leauing their King to ſhift for himſelfe; which hee did ſo ill, that his enemie had ſoone caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into moſt abiect baſeneſſe. That the Armie which fled

Ioſ. Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

fled, ſuſtained any other loſſe than of honour, I neither finde in the Scriptures nor in *Ioſephus*; it being likely that the ſoone beginning of their flight, which made it the more ſhamefull, made it alſo the more ſafe. But of the miſchiefe that followed this ouerthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazia* himſelfe ſhould ſuſtaine the whole diſgrace. For *Ioas* carried him directly to *Ieruſalem*, where he bad him procure that the gates might be opened to let him in and his Armie; threatning him otherwiſe with preſent death. So much amazed was the miſerable caytiue, with theſe dreadfull words, that he durſt do no other, than perſwade the Citizens, to yeeld themſelues to the mercie of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwards being in weaker ſtate, held out two yeeres, againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, was vtterly diſmayed, when the King, that ſhould haue giuen his life to ſaue it, vſed all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of *Ieruſalem* were opened to *Ioas*, with which honour (greater than any King of *Iſrael* had euer obtained) he could not reſt contented, but, the more to deſpite *Amazia* and his people, hee cauſe 400. cubits of the wall to be throwne down, and entred the Citie in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him, as in triumph. This done, he ſackt the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and ſo, taking hoſtages of *Amazia*, he diſmiſſed the poore creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

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§. IX.

A diſcourſe of the reaſons hindering Ioas *from vniting* Iuda *to the Crowne of Iſrael, when he had wonne Ieruſalem, and held* Amazia *priſoner. The end of* Ioas *his Reigne.*

WEe may iuſtly maruell how it came to paſſe, that *Ioas*, being thus in poſſeſſion of *Ieruſalem*, hauing the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, & his owne entire, could be ſo content to depart quietly, with a little ſpoyle, when he might haue ſeized vpon the whole Kingdome. The reigne of *Athalia* had giuen him cauſe to hope, that the iſſue of *Dauid* might be diſpoſſeſſed of that crowne; his owne Nobilitie, being the ſonne and grand-childe of Kings, together with the famous acts that hee had done, were enough to make the people of *Iuda* thinke highly of him; who might alſo haue preferred his forme of gouernment, before that of their owne Kings, eſpecially at ſuch a time, when a long ſucceſſion of wicked Princes had ſmothered the thanks, which were due to the memorie of a few good ones. The commodity that would haue enſued, vpon the vnion of all the twelue Tribes, vnder one Prince, is ſo apparant, that I need not to inſiſt on it. That any meſſage from God forbad the *Iſraelite* (as afterwards in the victorie which *Peka* the ſonne of *Romelia* got vpon *Ahaz*) to turne his preſent aduantage, to the beſt vſe, wee doe not reade. All this makes it the more difficult to reſolue the queſtion, why a Prince ſo well exerciſed, as *Ioas* had beene, in recouering his owne, and winning from his enemy, ſhould forſake the poſſeſſion of *Ieruſalem*, and wilfully neglect the poſſibilities, or rather caſt away the full aſſurance of ſo faire a conqueſt, as the kingdome of *Iuda*.

But concerning that point, which, of all others, had beene moſt materiall, I meane the deſire of the vanquiſhed people to accept the *Iſraelite* for their King, it is plainely ſeene, that entring *Ieruſalem* in triumphant manner, *Ioas* was vnable to concoct his owne proſperitie. For the opening of the gates had beene enough to haue let him not onely into the Citie, but into the Royall Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreatie (eſpecially hauing ſure meanes of compulſion) he might haue made his owne, when they ſaw themſelues betrayed, and baſely giuen away by him whoſe they had beene before. The faire marke which this opportunity preſented, hee did not ayme at, becauſe his ambition was otherwiſe and more meanely buſied, in leuelling at the glory of a triumphant entrie through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwards haue been corrected well enough, if entring as an enemie, and ſhewing what he could doe, by ſpending his anger vpon the walls, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and laboured to ſhew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his couetouſneſſe beganne, and ſought to pleaſe it ſelfe, with that which is commonly moſt readie to the ſpoyler, yet ſhould be moſt forborne. The Treaſure wherewith *Seſac*, *Hazael*, and the *Philiſtims*, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirſt, ought not to haue tempted the appetite of *Ioas*, who though an Idolatour, 1 Chron.26.15.

yet acknowledged alſo and worſhipped the eternall God, whoſe Temple was at *Ieruſalem*. Therefore when the people ſaw him take his way directly to ſeiſe that holy place, and lay his rauenous hands vpon the conſecrated veſſels, calling the family of *Obed Edom* (*whoſe children had hereditarie charge of the treaſurie*) to a ſtrict account, as if they had beene Officers of his owne Exchequer; they conſidered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a Noble Prince, an *Iſraelite* and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that courſe, which the moſt vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the ſame phraſe) hath wiſely auoyded; by ſtealing a few Apples, he loſt the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people deteſted him, and after the reſpite of a few dayes, might by comparing themſelues one to one, perceiue his Souldiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of ſo great a Citie. It is not ſo eaſie to hold by force a mighty towne entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by vnaduiſed feare. For when the Citizens, not being diſarmed, recouer their ſpirits, and begin to vnderſtand their firſt errour; they will thinke vpon euery aduantage, of place, of prouiſions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-ſtones; and rather chooſe by deſperate reſolution, to correct the euils growne out of their former cowardice, than ſuffer thoſe miſchiefes to poyſon the body, which in ſuch halfe-conqueſts, are eaſily taſted in the mouth. A more liuely example hereof cannot be deſired, than the Citie of *Florence*, which through the weakeneſſe of *Peter de Medices*, gouerning therein as a Prince, was reduced into ſuch hard tearmes, that it opened the gates vnto the French King *Charles* the Eighth, who not plainely profeſſing himſelfe either friend or foe to the Eſtate, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himſelfe and his horſe armed, with his lance vpon his thigh. Many inſolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell miniſtred, betweene them and the Townes-men: ſo farre forth that the *Florentines*, to preſerue their liberty, were driuen to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intollerable conditions, demanding huge ſummes of ready money, and the abſolute Signorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But *Peter Caponi*, a principall Citizen, catching theſe Articles from the Kings Secretarie, and tearing them before his face, bad him ſound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bels: which peremptorie words made the French bethinke themſelues, and come readily to this agreement, that for fortie thouſand pounds, and not halfe of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* ſhould not onely depart in peace, but reſtore whatſoeuer he had of their Dominion, and continue their aſſured friend. So dangerous a matter did it ſeeme for that braue Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of *Naples*, to fight in the ſtreets, againſt the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other buſineſſe (and ſo perhaps had *Ioas*, as ſhall anon be ſhewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehenſion of imminent danger that made him come to reaſon. In ſuch caſes the firing of houſes, vſually drawes euery Citizen to ſaue his owne, leauing victory to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and reſolued, women can quench, as faſt as the enemy, hauing other things to looke vnto, can ſet on fire. And indeede that Commander is more giuen to anger than regardfull of profit, who vpon the vncertaine hope of deſtroying a Towne, forſakes the aſſurance of a good compoſition. Diuerſity of circumſtance may alter the caſe: it is enough to ſay, that it might be in *Ieruſalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How ſtrongly ſoeuer *Ioas* might hold himſelfe within *Ieruſalem*, he could not eaſily depart from thence, with his booty ſafe, if the Army of *Iuda*, which had beene more terrified than weakned in the late encounter, ſhould re-enforce it ſelfe, and giue him a check vpon the way. Wherefore it was wiſely done of him, to take hoſtages for his better ſecurity, his Army being vpon returne, and better loden than when it came forth; for which cauſes it was the more vnapt to fight.

Beſides theſe impediments, within the Citie and without, ſeruing to coole the ambition of *Ioas*, and keepe it downe from aſpiring to the Crowne of *Iuda*; it appeares that ſomewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Eliſha* the Prophet; who when this *Ioas* had ſmitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that he ſhould no oftner ſmite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Iſrael* had againſt *Aram*, are by ſome, and with great probability, referred vnto the fifth, ſixth and ſeauenth yeeres of *Ioas*: after which time, if any loſſes enſuing had blemiſhed the former good ſucceſſe, ill might the King of *Iſrael* haue likened himſelfe to a ſtately Cedar, and worſe could he haue either lent the *Iudæan* one hundred thouſand men, or meet him in battell, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thouſand of his owne. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by the words of *Eliſha*, that after three victories, *Ioas* ſhould finde ſome change of fortune, and ſuffer loſſe; we muſt needs conclude, That the *Aramite* preuailed vpon him this yeere, it being the laſt of his Reigne. That this was ſo, and that the *Syrians*, taking aduantage of *Ioas* his abſence, gaue ſuch a blow to *Iſrael*, as the King at his returne was not able to remedie, but rather fell himſelfe into new misfortunes, which increaſed the calamitie, wee may euidently perceiue in that which is ſpoken of *Ieroboam* his ſonne. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſaw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Iſrael*, and that hauing *not decreed to put out the name of Iſrael from vnder the heauen, he preſerued them by the hand of* Ieroboam *the ſonne of* Ioas. This is enough to prooue, that the victorious Reigne of *Ioas* was concluded with a ſad cataſtrophe; the riches of the Temple haſtning his miſerie and death, as they had done with *Seſac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craſſus*, and other ſacrilegious Potentates.

Thus eyther through indignation conceiued againſt him, by the people of *Ieruſalem*, and courage which they tooke to ſet vpon him within the Walls: or though preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrey, to bid him battell in open field, and recouer by a new charge the honour which was loſt at the former encounter; or through the miſeries daily brought vpon his owne Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his abſence, if not by all of theſe; *Ioas* was driuen to lay aſide all thought of winning the Kingdome of *Iuda*; and taking hoſtages for his quiet paſſage, made all haſte homewards, where he found a ſad wel-come, and being vtterly forſaken of his wonted proſperitie, forſooke alſo his life in few moneths after, leauing his Kingdome to *Ieroboam* the ſecond, his fortunate and valiant ſonne.

§ X.

The end of Amazia *his Reigne and Life.*

ANy man is able to gheſſe how *Amazia* looked, when the enemy had left him. Hee that had vaunted ſo much of his owne great proweſſe and skill in Armes, threatning to worke wonders, and ſet vp a-new the glorious Empire of *Dauid*, was now vncaſed of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing ſo terrible a beaſt as hee had beene painted. Much argument of ſcoffing at him he had miniſtred vnto ſuch, as held him in diſlike; which at this time, doubtleſſe, were very many: for the ſhame that falls vpon an inſolent man, ſeldome failes of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia* (beſides that the multitude are alwaies prone to lay the blame vpon their Gouernours, euen of thoſe calamities which happened by their owne default) there was no childe in all *Ieruſalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this miſchiefe. He had not onelie challenged a good man of Warre, being himſelfe a Daſtard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had baſely pleaded for the common enemy, to haue him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes he might ſee what ſpoyle there was, and not make a bad bargaine by heare-ſay. The father of this *Amazia*, was a beaſtly man; yet when the *Aramites* tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his owne life at ſo deare a rate, as the Citie and Temple of *Ieruſalem*. Had he offered; ſhould they haue made his promiſe good? ſurely the haſt which they had made in condeſcending to this hard match, was very vnfortunate: for by keeping out the *Iſraelite* (which was eaſie enough) any little while, they ſhould ſoone haue beene rid of him, ſeeing that the *Aramites* would haue made him runne home, with greater ſpeed than he came forth. Then alſo, when hauing truſſed vp his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would haue ſerued to perſwade him to leaue his load behind; had not their good King deliuered vp hoſtages, to ſecure his returne, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vexe the heart of this vnhappie King: it had beene well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault vnto God, that had puniſhed him by all this diſhonour. But wee finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that hee continued an Idolator to the very laſt. For it is ſaid of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treaſon againſt him in Ieruſalem*; a manifeſt

2.Chrõ.25.27.

proofe that hee was not reclaimed, vnto his liues end. And certainely, they which tell a man in his aduerſitie of his faults paſſed, ſhall ſooner be thought to vpbraid him with his fortune, than to ſeeke his reformation. Wherefore it is no maruell, that Prieſts and Prophets were leſſe welcome to him, than euer they had beene. On the other ſide, flatterers, and ſuch as were deſirous to put a heart into him, whereof themſelues might alwayes be maſters, wanted not plauſible matter to reuiue him. For hee was not firſt, nor ſecond, of the Kings of *Iuda*, that had beene ouercome in battell. *Dauid* himſelfe had abandoned the Citie, leauing it, before the Enemie was in ſight, vnto *Abſalom* his rebellious ſonne. Many beſides him had receiued loſſes, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Ioas* might ſo eaſily haue beene kept out; why did their Anceſtors let *Seſac* in? *Aſa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands he emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excuſeable by neceſſitie of the State. Belike theſe traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if ſo, hee ſhould rather liue to puniſh them, than to dye to pleaſe them. Though wherein had hee giuen them any cauſe of diſpleaſure? It was hee indeed that commanded to ſet open the gates to *Ioas*; but it was the people that did it. Good ſeruants ought not to haue obeyed their Maſters Commandements, to his diſaduantage, when they ſaw him not maſter of his owne Perſon. As his captiuitie did acquite him from blame, of all things that hee did or ſuffered in that condition; ſo was that misfortune it ſelfe, in true eſtimation, as highly to his honour, as deepely to his loſſe. For had he beene as haſty to flye, as others were; hee might haue eſcaped, as well as others did. But ſeeking to teach the baſe Multitude courage, by his Royall example, hee was ſhamefully betrayed by thoſe in whom he truſted. Vnworthy creatures that could readily obey him, when ſpeaking another mans words, being priſoner, hee commanded them to yeeld; hauing neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bade them ſtand to it and fight like men. The beſt was that they muſt needs acknowledge his miſchance, as the occaſion whereby many thouſand liues were ſaued; the Enemie hauing wiſely preferred the ſurpriſe of a Lion that was Captaine, before the chaſe and ſlaughter of an Army of Stags that followed him.

Theſe or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to perſwade him, that it was euen ſo indeed. And ſuch excuſes might haue ſerued well enough to pleaſe the people, if the King had firſt ſtudied how to pleaſe God. But hee that was vnwilling to aſcribe vnto God the good ſucceſſe foretold by a Prophet; could eaſily finde how to impute this late diſaſter, vnto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it ſeemes that hee meant to keepe himſelfe ſafe from her, by ſitting ſtill; for in fifteene yeeres following (ſo long he out-liued his honour) we finde not that he ſtirred. As for his ſubiects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his gouernment, yet wee may ſee by his end, that the middle time was ill ſpent among them, increaſing their hatred, to his owne ruine. He that ſuſpecteth his owne worth, or other mens opinions, thinking the leſſe regard is had of his perſon, than he beleeueth to be due to his place, will commonly ſpend all the force of his authoritie, in purchaſing the name of a ſeuere man. For the affected ſowreneſſe of a vaine fellow, doth many times reſemble the grauitie of one that is wiſe: and the feare wherein they liue, which are ſubiect vnto oppreſſion, carries a ſhew of reuerence, to him that does the wrong; at leaſt it ſerues to dazle the eyes of vnderlings, keeping them from prying into the weakeneſſe of ſuch as haue iuriſdiction ouer them. Thus the time, wherein, by well vſing it, men might attaine to be ſuch as they ought, they do vſually miſ-ſpend, in ſeeking to appeare ſuch as they are not. This is a vain & deceiueable courſe, procuring in ſtead of the reſpect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous conſequence, eſpecially when an vnable ſpirit, being ouer-perted with ſo high authoritie, is too paſſionate in the execution of ſuch an Office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazia* thought by extreame rigour to hold vp his reputation, what did hee elſe than ſtriue to make the people thinke he hated them, when of themſelues they were apt enough to beleeue that he did not loue them? The beſt was that he had, by reuenging his fathers death prouided well enough for his owne ſecuritie: but who ſhould take vengeance (or vpon whom?) of ſuch a murther, wherein euery one had a part? Surely God himſelfe, who had not giuen commandement or leaue vnto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in ſhedding the bloud of his Annointed. Yet as *Amazia*, careleſſe of God, was carried headlong by his owne affections; ſo his ſubiects, following the ſame ill example, without requiring what belonged vnto their duties, roſe vp againſt him, with ſuch headlong furie, that being vnable to defend himſelfe in *Ieruſalem*, he was driuen to forſake the Citie, and flye to *Lachis*, for ſafegard of his life. But ſo extreame was the hatred conceiued againſt him, and ſo generall, that neither his abſence could allay the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his preſence in the Countrey abroad procure friends, to defend his life. Queſtionleſſe, he choſe the Towne of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other beſt affected to him; yet found he there none other fauour, than that the people did not kill him with their owne hands: for when the Conſpiratours (who troubled not themſelues about raiſing an Armie for the matter) ſent purſuers after him, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the vtmoſt Citie of his Dominion Weſtward, ſtanding ſomewhat without the border of *Iuda*; ſo that he might haue made an eaſie eſcape (if he durſt aduenture) into the Territorie of the *Philiſtims*, or the Kingdome of *Iſrael*. Therefore it may ſeeme that he was detained there, where certaine it is that he found no kinde of fauour: for had not the people of this Towne, added their owne treaſon to the generall inſurrection; the murtherers could not at ſo good leiſure as they did, haue carried away his body to *Ieruſalem*, where they gaue him buriall with his fathers.

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§. XI.

Of the Interregnum, *or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of* Iuda, *after the death of* Amazia.

IT hath already beene ſhewed, that the reignes of the Kings of *Iuda* and *Iſrael* were ſometimes to be meaſured by compleat yeeres, otherwhiles, by yeeres current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the laſt yeeres of his fathers Reigne, or the foremoſt of his ſonnes. But we are now arriued at a meere vacation, wherein the Crowne of *Iuda* lay void eleauen whole yeeres: a thing not plainly ſet downe in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Ioſephus*, and therefore hard to be beleeued, were it not proued by neceſſary conſequence.

Twice we finde it written, that *Amazia, King of Iuda, liued after the death of* Ioas *King of Iſrael fifteene yeeres*; whereupon it followes, that the death of *Amazia*, was about the end of fifteene yeeres compleate, which *Ieroboam* the ſecond (who *in the fifteenth yeere of* Amazia *was made King ouer Iſrael*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the ſucceſſion of *Vzzia*, who is alſo called *Azaria*, vnto his father in the Kingdome of *Iuda*, was eleauen yeeres later than the ſixteenth of *Ieroboam*: for it is expreſſed, that Azaria *began to reigne in the ſeauen and twentieth yeere of* Ieroboam; the ſixteenth yeere of his life, being ioyned with the firſt of two and fiftie that he reigned. So the *Interregnum* of eleauen yeeres cannot be diuided, without ſome hard meanes vſed, of interpreting the Text otherwiſe than the letter ſounds.

2 Chron. 25.2. & 2 Kin. 14.17
2 King. 14.23.
2 King. 15.1.

Yet ſome coniectures there are made, which tend to keepe all euen, without acknowledging any voide time. For it is thought that in the place laſt of all cited, by the ſeauen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam*, we ſhould perhaps vnderſtand the ſeauen and twentieth yeere of his life; or elſe (becauſe the like words are no where elſe interpreted in the like ſenſe) that *Azaria* was eleauen yeeres vnder age, that is, fiue yeeres old, when his father died, and ſo his ſixteenth yeere might concurre with the ſeauen and twentieth of *Ieroboam*; or that the Text it ſelfe may haue ſuffered ſome wrong, by miſwriting twenty ſeauen for ſeauenteene yeeres; and ſo, by making the ſeauenteenth yeere of *Ieroboam* to be newly begun, all may be ſalued. Theſe are the coniectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the firſt of which, it may ſuffice, that the Author himſelfe doth eaſily let it paſſe, as improbable; the laſt is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that vpon euery doubt, we ſhould call the text in queſtion, which could not be ſatisfied in all coppies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the ſecond, it may be held with ſome qualification, that *Azaria* began his Reigne being fiue yeeres old; but then muſt we adde thoſe eleauen yeeres which paſſed in his minority, to the two and fiftie that followed his ſixteenth yeere, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an *interregnum*.

But why ſhould we be ſo carefull to auoide an *interregnum* in *Iuda*, ſeeing that the like neceſſity hath inforced all good Writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeeres, in the Kingdome of *Iſrael?* The ſpace of time betweene *Ieroboams* death, and the beginning of *Zachariahs* Reigne, and ſuch another gap found betweene the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hoſea*, haue made it eaſily to be admitted into *Samaria*, which the conſideration of things as they ſtood in *Iuda*, when *Aamazia* was ſlaine, doth make more probable to haue happened there, yea although the neceſſity of computation were not ſo apparant.

For the publike furie, hauing ſo farre extended it ſelfe, as vnto the deſtruction of the Kings owne perſon, was not like to be appeaſed without order taken for obtaining ſome redreſſe of thoſe matters, which had cauſed it at the firſt to breake forth into ſuch extremity. We neede not thetefore wonder how it came to paſſe, that they which already had throwne themſelues into ſuch an horrible treaſon, ſhould afterwards dare to withhold the Crowne from a Prince of that age, which being inueſted in all ornaments of Regality, is neuertheleſſe expoſed to many iniuries, proceeding from head-ſtrong and forgetfull ſubiects.

As for their coniecture, who make *Azaria* to haue beene King but one and forty yeeres, after he came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, becauſe it agrees too harſhly with the Text. The beſt opinion were that, which giues vnto *Ieroboam* eleauen yeeres of Reigne with his Father, before he began to reigne ſingle in the fifteenth of *Amazia*; did it not ſwallow vp almoſt the whole Reigne of *Ioas*, and extending the yeeres of thoſe which reigned in *Iſrael* (by making ſuch of them compleat, as were onely current) and take at the ſhorteſt the Reignes of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not ſtand to diſpute further of this: euery man may follow his owne opinion, and ſee mine more plainely in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for theſe purpoſes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporarie with Amazia, *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

THe Princes liuing with *Amazia*, and in the eleauen yeeres that followed his death, were *Ioas* and *Ieroboam* in *Iſrael*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Ægypt*; *Syluius Alladius*, and *Syluius Auentinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedæmon Thelectus*, in whoſe time the *Spartans* wan from the *Achaians*, *Gerauthæ*, *Amyclæ*, and ſome other Townes.

But more notable than all theſe, was *Aſſyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth yeere of *Amazia*, ſucceeding his father *Ocrazapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty yeeres, and was ſlaine the laſt of the eleuen void yeeres which fore-went the Reigne of *Azaria*. In him ended (as moſt agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thouſand, two hundred and fortie yeeres. A moſt luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, paſſing away his time among ſtrumpets, whom he imitated both in apparell and behauiour.

In theſe voluptuous courſes he liued an vnhappy life, knowing himſelfe to be ſo vile, that he durſt not let any man haue a ſight of him; yet ſeene he was at length, and the ſight of him was ſo odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who gouerned *Media* vnder him, finding meanes to behold the perſon of his King, was ſo incenſed with that beaſtly ſpectacle, of a man diſguiſed in womans attire, and ſtriuing to counterfeit an harlot, that he thought it a great ſhame to liue vnder the command of ſo vnworthy a creature. Purpoſing therefore to free himſelfe and others from ſo baſe ſubiection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleſis* or *Beloſus* a *Chaldæan*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* ſhould fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleaſed with the prophecie, did promiſe vnto *Beloſus* himſelfe the gouernment of *Babylon*; and ſo concluding how to handle the buſineſſe; one of them ſtirred vp the *Medes*, and allured the *Perſians* into the quarrell, the other perſwaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themſelues in the ſame cauſe. Theſe foure Nations armed fortie thouſand men againſt *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himſelfe, but gathering ſuch forces as he could, out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deedes refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, anſwere to the manner of his retiredneſſe. For in three battailes he carried away the better, driuing *Arbaces* and his followers into ſuch feareful tearmes, that had not *Beloſus* promiſed them conſtantly ſome vnexpected ſuccours, they would forthwith haue broken vp their Campe. About the ſame time, an Armie out of *Bactria* was comming to aſſiſt the King; but *Arbaces* encountring it vpon the way, perſwaded ſo ſtrongly by promiſe of liberty, that thoſe forces ioyned themſelues with his. The ſodaine departure of the enemy ſeeming to be a flight, cauſed *Sardanapalus* to feaſt his Armie, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being ſtrengthened with this new ſupply, came vpon him by night, and forced his Campe, which through ouer-great ſecurity was vnprepared for reſiſtance.

This ouerthrow did ſo weaken the Kings heart, that leauing his wiues brother *Salamenus* to keepe the field, he withdrew himſelfe into the Citie of *Niniue*; which, till new aides that he ſent for ſhould come, he thought eaſily to defend; it hauing beene prophecied, that *Niniue* ſhould neuer be taken, till the Riuer were enemy to the Towne. Of the greatneſſe and ſtrength of *Niniue*, enough hath beene ſpoken in our diſcourſe of *Ninus*. It was ſo well victualled, that *Arbaces* (hauing in two battailes ouerthrowne the Kings Armie, and ſlaine *Salamenus*) was faine to lye two whole yeeres before it, in hope to winne it by famine; whereof yet he ſaw no appearance. It ſeemes that he wanted Engines and skill to force thoſe wals, which were a hundred foote high, and thicke enough for three Charriots in front to paſſe vpon the rampire. But that which he could not doe in two yeeres, the Riuer of *Tygris* did in the third: for being high ſwolne with raines, it not onely drowned a part of the Citie through which it ran, but threw downe twentie furlongs of the wall, and made a faire breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accompliſhment of the old Oracle, or ſeeing no meanes of reſiſtance left, ſhutting vp himſelfe into his Palace, with his wiues, Eunuches and all his treaſures, did ſet the houſe on fire, wherewith he and they were together conſumed. *Strabo* ſpeakes of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale* a Citie of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inſcription, ſhewing that he built that Citie and *Tharſus* vpon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eate and drinke, and make merry, encouraging others, with verſes well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example, teſtified that his nature was more prone to ſenſuality, than to any vertue beſeeming a Prince.

Strabo l 9.

There are ſome that faintly report otherwiſe of his end; ſaying that *Arbaces*, when he firſt found him among his Concubines, was ſo enraged, that ſuddenly he ſlew him with a dagger. But the more generall conſent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Cteſias* a *Greeke* Writer, that liued in the Court of *Perſia*, where the truth might beſt be knowne.

Diod.Sic.l.2. c.7.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Aſſyria*; from the time of *Semiramis*, vnto *Sardanapalus*, though I beleeue that they were ſometimes (yet not, as *Oroſius* hath it, inceſſantly) buſied, in offenſiue or elſe defenſiue armes; yet for the moſt part of them I doe better truſt *Diodorus Siculus*, who ſaith that their names were ouerpaſſed by *Cteſias*, becauſe they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatſoeuer they did; that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath ſaid of them is very true; *Silence and obliuion hath oppreſſed them.*

Diod.l.2.c.6.

Theophilus Antiochenus l.2.

Chap. XXIII.

Of Vzzia.

§. I.

The proſperitie of Vzzia, *and of* Ieroboam *the ſecond, who reigned with him in Iſrael. Of the Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes after the death of* Ieroboam. *Of* Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem *and* Pekahia.

V*zzia*, who is alſo called *Azaria*, the ſonne of *Iotham*, was made King of *Iuda*, when he was ſixteene yeeres old, in the ſeauen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam* the ſonne of *Ioas* King of *Iſrael*. He ſerued the God of his father *Dauid*, and had therefore good ſucceſſe in all his enterpriſes. He built *Eloth*, a Towne that ſtood neere to the Red Sea, and reſtored it to *Iuda*. He ouercame the *Philiſtims*, of whoſe Townes he diſmantled ſome, and built others in ſundry parts of their Territories. Alſo he got the maſtrie ouer ſome parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his proſperous warres, wherein (as *Ioſephus* rehearſeth his acts) he began with the *Philiſtims*, and then proceeded vnto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Armie conſiſted of three hundred and ſeauen thouſand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thouſand and ſixe hundred Captaines. For all this multitude the King prepared *ſhields, and ſpeares, and helmets*, and other Armes requiſite; following therein happily a courſe quite oppoſite vnto that which ſome of his late predeceſſours had held, who thought it better policie to vſe the ſeruice of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre *the Princes and all the Charriots*.

2 Chro. 26.14.

2 Chron. 21.9.

As the victories of *Vzzia* were farre more important, than the atchieuements of all that had reigned in *Iuda*, ſince the time of *Dauid*; ſo were his riches and magnificent workes, equall, if not ſuperiour to any of theirs that had beene Kings betweene him and *Salomon*. For beſides that great conqueſts are wont to repay the charges of Warre with triple intereſt, he had the skill to vſe, as well as the happineſſe to get. He turned his Lands to the beſt vſe, keeping Ploughmen and Dreſſers of Vines, in grounds conuenient for ſuch husbandry. In other places he had Cattell feeding, whereof he might well keepe great ſtore, hauing won ſo much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had aboundance of waſte ground ſeruing for paſturage. For defence of his Cattell and Heardſmen, he built Towres in the wilderneſſe. He alſo digged many Ciſternes or Ponds. *Ioſephus* cals them Water-courſes; but in ſuch dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the moſt likely places. If by theſe Towres he ſo commanded the water, that none could without his conſent, releeue themſelues therewith; queſtionleſſe he tooke the onely courſe, by which he might ſecurely hold the Lordſhip ouer all the Wilderneſſe; it being hardly paſſable, by reaſon of the extreame drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the vſe of Trauailers.

Beſides all this coſt, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of ſundry Townes among the *Philiſtims*; he repaired the wall of *Ieruſalem*, which *Ioas* had broken downe, and fortified it with Towres, whereof ſome were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The State of *Iſrael* did neuer ſo flouriſh, as at this time, ſince the diuiſion of the twelue Tribes into two Kingdomes. For as *Vzzia* preuailed in the South, ſo (if not more) *Ieroboam* the ſonne of *Ioas*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories againſt the *Syrians*, he wan the Royall Citie of *Damaſcus*, and he wan *Hamath*, with all the Countrie there about *from the entring of Hamath, vnto the Sea of the Wilderneſſe*, that is, (as the moſt expound it) vnto the vaſt deſerts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was vndiſcouered. So the bounds of *Iſrael* in thoſe parts, were in time of this *Ieroboam*, the ſame (or not much narrower) which they had beene in the Reigne of *Dauid*.

2 Reg. 14.25. 28.

But it was not for the pietie of *Ieroboam*, that he thriued ſo well, for he was an Idolater: it was onely the compaſſion which the Lord had on *Iſrael*, ſeeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which cauſed him to alter the ſucceſſe of warre, and to throw the victorious *Aramites* vnder the feete of thoſe whom they had ſo cruelly oppreſſed. The line of *Iehu*, to which God had promiſed the Kingdome of *Iſrael vnto the fourth generation*, was now not farre from the end; and now againe it was inuited vnto repentance, by new benefits, as it had beene at the beginning. But the ſinne of *Ieroboam* the ſonne of *Nebat*, was held ſo precious, that neither the Kingdome it ſelfe, giuen to him by God, was able to draw *Iehu* from that politike Idolatry; nor the miſery falling vpon him and his poſteritie, to bring them to a better courſe of Religion; nor yet, at the laſt, this great proſperity of *Ieroboam* the ſonne of *Ioas*, to make him render the honour that was due, to the onely giuer of victorie. Wherefore the promiſe of God, made vnto *Iehu*, that his ſons, *vnto the fourth generation*, ſhould ſit on the throne of *Iſrael*, was not enlarged; but, being almoſt expired, gaue warning of the approaching end, by an accident (ſo ſtrange, that we, who finde no particulars recorded, can hardly gheſſe at the occaſions) foregoing the laſt accompliſhment.

2 Reg.10.13.

When *Ieroboam* the Sonne of *Ioas*, after a victorious reigne of one and forty yeeres, had ended his life, it ſeemes in all reaſon that *Zacharia* his ſonne, ſhould forthwith haue beene admitted, to reigne in his ſtead; the Nobilitie of that race hauing gotten ſuch a luſtre, by the immediate ſucceſſion of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the crowne paſſed by election, muſt needes haue appeared baſe; and the vertue of the laſt King, hauing beene ſo great, as might well ſerue to lay the foundation of a new houſe, much more to eſtabliſh the already confirmed right of a family ſo rooted in poſſeſſion. All this notwithſtanding, two or three and twentie yeeres did paſſe, before *Zacharia* the ſonne of *Ieroboam* was, by vniforme conſent, receiued as King. The true originall cauſes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calues did ſtand: yet ſecond inſtruments of this diſturbance, are likely not to haue beene wanting, vpon which, the wiſdome of man was ready to caſt an eye. Probable it is, that the Captaines of the Army (who afterwards ſlew one another, ſo faſt, that in foureteen yeers there reigned fiue Kings) did now by head-ſtrong violence, rent the Kingdome aſunder, holding each what he could, and either deſpiſing or hating ſome qualities in *Zacharia*; vntill, after many yeeres, wearied with diſſention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they conſented to yeelde all quietly to the ſon of *Ieroboam*. That this *Anarchie* laſted almoſt three and twenty yeeres, we finde by the difference of time, betweene the fifteenth yeere of *Vzzia*, which was the laſt of *Ieroboam* his one and fortieth (his ſeauen and twentieth concurring with the firſt of *Vzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the ſame *Vzzia*, in the laſt ſixe moneths whereof *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are ſome indeede that by ſuppoſing *Ieroboam* to haue reigned with his father eleauen yeeres, doe cut off the *interregnum* in *Iuda* (before mentioned) and by the ſame reaſon, abridge this *Anarchie*, that was before the Reigne of *Zacharia* in *Iſrael*. Yet they leaue it twelue yeeres long: which is time ſufficient to proue, that the Kingdome of the ten Tribes was no leſſe diſtempered, than as is already noted. But I chooſe rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the Word, than this doubtfull coniecture, that giues to *Ieroboam* two and fiftie yeeres, by adding three quarters of his fathers Reigne vnto his owne, which was it ſelfe indeede ſo long, that he may well ſeeme to haue begun it very yong: for I doe not thinke, that God bleſſed this Idolater, both with a longer reigne, and with a longer life, than he did his ſeruant *Dauid*.

Thus much being ſpoken of the time, wherein the throane of *Iſrael* was voide, before the reigne of *Zacharia*, little may ſuffice to be ſaid of his Reigne it ſelfe, which laſted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely was he King; in which time he declared himſelfe a worſhipper of the golden Calues; which was enough to iuſtifie the iudgement of God, whereby he was ſlaine. He was the laſt of *Iehu's* houſe; being (incluſiuely) the firſt of that line; which may haue beene ſome cauſe of the troubles impeaching his orderly ſucceſſion: the prophecie hauing determined that race in the fourth generation. But (beſides that Gods promiſe was extended vnto the vtmoſt) there was no warrant giuen to *Sallum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had beene giuen to *Iehu*, for the ſlaughter of *Iehoram*, and for the eradication of *Ahabs* houſe.

Zacharia hauing beene ſixe moneths a King, was then ſlaine by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, *the ſpace of a moneth in Samaria.* What this *Sallum* was, I doe not finde; ſaue onely that he was a Traytour, and the ſonne of one *Iabeſh*, whereby his father got no honour. It ſeemes that he was one of thoſe, who in time of faction had laboured for himſelfe; and now, when all other Competitors were ſitten downe, thought eaſily to preuaile againſt that King, in whoſe perſon the race of *Iehu* was to faile. Manifeſt it is, that *Sallum* had a ſtrong party: for *Tiphſah* or *Thapſa*, and the coaſt thereof euen from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem*, his enemy and ſupplanter then lay, refuſed to admit, as King in his ſtead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* receiued the reward of his treaſon, and was ſlaine by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

2 King.15.13

Menahem the ſonne of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten yeeres. In oppoſition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: for he not onely deſtroyed *Tiphſah*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript vp all their women with childe, becauſe they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty beene vſed in reuenge of *Zacharias* death, it is like that he would haue beene as earneſt, in procuring vnto him his Fathers Crowne when it was firſt due. But in performing that office, there was vſed ſuch long deliberation, that we may plainly diſcouer Ambition, Diſdaine, and other priuate paſſions, to haue beene the cauſes of this beaſtly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it ſeemes) in the beginning of his Reigne, *Pul*, King of *Aſſyria*, came againſt the Land of *Iſrael*; whom this new King appeaſed, with a thouſand talents of ſiluer, leauied vpon all the ſubſtantiall men in his Countrey. With this money the *Iſraelite* purchaſed, not onely the peace of his Kingdome, but his owne eſtabliſhment therein: ſome factious man (belike) hauing either inuited *Pul* thither, or (if he came vncalled) ſought to vſe his helpe, in depoſing this ill beloued King. *Ioſephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his Reigne was no milder than his entrance. But after tenne yeeres, his tyrannie ended with his life: and *Pekahia*, his Sonne, occupied his roome.

Ioſ.ant.l.9.c.11

Of this *Pekahia* the ſtorie is ſhort: for he reigned onely two yeeres; at the end whereof, he was ſlaine by *Peka*, the Sonne of *Remalia*, whoſe treaſon was rewarded with the Crowne of *Iſrael*, as, in time comming, another mans Treaſon againſt himſelfe ſhall be. There needes no more to be ſaid of *Menahem*, and his Sonne, ſaue that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the Sonne (as we finde in *Ioſephus*) like to his Father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Aſſyrian* King, who firſt opened vnto thoſe Northerne Nations the way into *Palæſtina*; it will ſhortly follow in order of the Storie, to deliuer our opinion: whether he were that *Beloſus* (called alſo *Beleſes*, and by ſome, *Phul Belochus*) who ioyned with *Arbaces* the *Median*, againſt *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were ſome other man. At the preſent it is more fit that we relate the end of *Vzzia's* life, who out-liued the happineſſe wherein we left him.

Ioſ ibid.

§. II.

The end of Vzzia *his Reigne and life.*

AS the zeale of *Iehoiada*, that godly Prieſt, was the meane, to preſerue the linage of *Dauid*, in the perſon of *Ioas*; ſo it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Vzzia*, to bring him vp, and aduance him to the Crowne of *Iuda*, when the hatred borne to his Father *Amazia*, had endangered his ſucceſſion. For it is ſaid of *Vzzia*, That *he ſought God in the dayes of* Zecharia *(which vnderſtood the viſions of God) and when as he ſought the Lord, God made him proſper.*

2 Chron.26.5.

But, when he was ſtrong, his heart was lifted vp to his deſtruction: for he tranſgreſſed againſt the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incenſe, vpon the Altar of incenſe. Thus he thought to enlarge his owne authority, by medling in the Prieſts office, whoſe power had in euery extremity beene ſo helpefull to the Kings of *Iuda*, that meere gratitude, and ciuill policie, ſhould haue held backe *Vzzia* from incroching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had beene ſilent in this caſe, and not forbidding it. Howſoeuer the King forgot his dutie, the Prieſts remembred theirs, and God forgat not to aſſiſt them. *Azaria* the high Prieſt interrupted the Kings purpoſe, and gaue him to vnderſtand, how little to his honour it would proue, that he tooke vpon him the office of the ſonnes of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* foureſcore other Prieſts, valiant men, but their

Verſ.16.

their valour was ſhewed onely in aſſiſting the high Prieſt, when (according to his dutie) he reprehended the Kings preſumption. This was enough, the reſt God himſelfe performed. We finde in *Ioſephus*, that the King had apparelled himſelfe in Prieſtly habit, and that he threatned *Azarias* and his Companions, to puniſh them with death, vnleſſe they would be quiet. *Ioſephus*, indeede, inlargeth the Storie, by inſerting a great Earth-quake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled ſoure furlongs, till it reſted againſt another Hill, ſtopping vp the high wayes, and ſpoyling the Kings Garden in the paſſage. With this Earth-quake, he ſaith, that the rooſe of the Temple did cleaue, and that a Sunne-beame did light vpon the Kings face, which was preſently infected with leproſie. All this may haue beene true; and ſome there are who thinke that this Earth-quake is the ſame, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherein they doe much miſſe-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake ſpoken of by *Amos*, was in the dayes of *Ieroboam* King of *Iſrael*, who dyed ſeauen and thirtie yeeres before *Vzzia*; ſo that *Iotham* the Sonne of *Vzzia*, which ſupplied his Fathers place in gouernment of the Land, ſhould, by this accompt, haue beene then vnborne: for he was but fiue and twenty yeeres old, when he began to reigne as King. Therefore, thus farre onely we haue aſſurance; that *while* Vzzia *was wroth with the Prieſts, the leproſie roſe vp in his forehead, before the Prieſts.* Hereupon he was cauſed, in all haſte, to depart the place, and to liue in a houſe by himſelfe, vntill he dyed; the rule ouer the Kings houſe, and ouer all the Land, being committed to *Iotham*, his Sonne, and Succeſſor. *Iotham* tooke not vpon himſelfe the ſtile of a King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the ſame field wherein his Anceſtors lay interred, yet in a Monument a-part from the reſt, becauſe he was a Leper.

Ioſ. ant. l. 9. c. 11

2 Chro. 26. 20.

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§. III.

Of the Prophets which liued in the time of Vzzia; *and of Princes then ruling in Ægypt, and in ſome other Countries.*

IN the time of *Vzzia* were the firſt of the leſſer Prophets, *Hoſea*, *Ioel*, *Amos*, *Obadia*, and *Ionas*. It is not indeede ſet downe, when *Ioel*, or *Obadia*, did prophecie: but if the Prophets, whoſe times are not expreſſed, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then muſt theſe two be iudged contemporarie with *Hoſea* and *Amos*, who liued vnder King *Vzzia*. To enquire which of theſe fiue was the moſt ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at leaſt a ſuperfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* liued, hath ſo painefully beene ſought, without reprehenſion; how can he be taxed, which offers to ſearch out the antiquitie of theſe holy Prophets? It ſeemes to me, that the firſt of theſe, in order of time, was the Prophet *Ionas*; who foretold the great victories of *Ieroboam* King of *Iſrael*; and therefore is like to haue prophecied in the dayes of *Ioas*, whileſt the affliction of *Iſrael* was *exceeding bitter*; the Text it ſelfe intimating no leſſe: by which conſequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whoſe workes are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdome of *Iſrael*, are now loſt. That which remaineth of him, ſeemes, not without reaſon, vnto ſome very learned, to haue belonged vnto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whoſe dayes *Niniue* was firſt of all deſtroyed. This Prophet rather taught Chriſt by his ſufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the reſt are found expreſſe promiſes of the Meſſias.

2 Chron. c. 14. v. 25. 26.

In the reigne of *Vzzia* likewiſe it was, that *Eſai*, the firſt of the foure great Prophets, began to ſee his viſions. This difference of *great and leſſer* Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they haue left written (as S. *Auguſtine* giues reaſon of the diſtinction) becauſe the greater haue written larger Bookes. The Prophet *Eſai* was great indeede, not onely in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobility, (for their opinion is reiected, who thinke him to haue beene the ſonne of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he liued; but for the excellency, both of his ſtile and argument, wherein he ſo plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Paſſion, and whole Hiſtorie of our Sauiour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Euangeliſt, as a Prophet; hauing written in ſuch wiſe, That (as *Hierome* ſaith) *one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Hiſtorie of matters already paſt.*

Aug. de Ciui. Dei. l. 18. c. 19.

Hier. in praef. ſuper Eſaiam.

Bocchoris was King of *Ægypt*, and the ninth yeere of his Reigne, by our computation whereof in due place we will giue reaſon) was current, when *Vzzia* tooke poſſeſſion of the Kingdome of *Iuda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Aſychis* followed in the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, vnto him ſucceeded *Anyſis*; and theſe two occupied that Crowne ſixe yeeres. Then *Sabacus*, an *Æthiopian*, became King of *Ægypt*, and held it fiftie yeeres, whereof the ten firſt ran along with the laſt of *Vzzia* his Reigne and life. Of theſe and other *Ægyptian* Kings, more ſhall be ſpoken, when their affaires ſhall come to be intermedled with the buſineſſe of *Iuda*.

In *Athens*, the two laſt yeeres of *Ariphron* his twenty, the ſeauen and twentieth of *Theſpeius*, the twentieth of *Agamneſtor*, and three the firſt of *Æſchylus* his three and twenty, made euen with the two and fiftie of *Vzzia*: as likewiſe did in *Alba* the laſt ſeauen of *Siluius Auentinus* his ſeauen and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Siluius Procas*, and two and twenty the firſt of *Syluius Amulius*. In *Media Arbaces* began his new Kingdome, in the firſt of *Vzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty yeeres, his Sonne *Soſarmus* ſucceeded him, and reigned thirty yeeres. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diuiſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, betweene him and others, when they had oppreſſed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it conuenient to vſe more particular diſcourſe, that we may not wander in too great vncertainty in the Story of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, who haue already found the way into *Palæſtina*, and are not likely to forget it.

§. IIII.

Of the Aſſyrian Kings, deſcending from Phul: *and whether* Phul *and* Beloſus *were one perſon; or heads of ſundry Families, that reigned a-part in Niniue and Babylon.*

BY that which hath formerly beene ſhewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparant, that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the reſt of the Confederates did not onely ſubmit themſelues in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be iudged by him; receiuing by his authority ſentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited liues. The firſt example of this his power, was ſhowne vpon *Beloſus* the *Babylonian*, by whoſe eſpeciall aduice and helpe, *Arbaces* himſelfe was become ſo great, Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exerciſed in ſo tyrannicall a manner, as might giue offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had aſſiſted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Beloſus*, he vſed the counſaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne grace; allowing him to hold, not onely the Citie and Prouince of *Babylon*, but alſo thoſe treaſures, for embezeling whereof his life had beene endangered.

In like manner, he gaue rewards to the reſt of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Prouinces; retaining (as it appeares) onely the Soueraigntie to himſelfe, which to vſe immoderately he did naturally abhorre. He is ſaid, indeede, to haue excited the *Medes* againſt *Sardanapalus*, by propounding vnto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promiſe, he deſtroyed the Citie of *Niniue*; permitting the Citizens neuertheleſſe to take and carry away euery one his owne goods. The other Nations that ioyned with him, as the *Perſians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his ſide, by the allurement of liberty; which he himſelfe ſo greatly loued, that by ſlacking too much the reines of his owne Soueraignty, he did more harme to the generall eſtate of *Media*, than the pleaſure of the freedome, which it enioyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmanaſſar* (or perhaps by ſome of his Progenitors) whom we finde, in the Scriptures, to haue held ſome Townes of the *Medes*; and the ciuill adminiſtration was ſo diſorderly, that the people themſelues were glad to ſee that reformation, which *Deioces*, the fift of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that gouernement, by reducing them into ſtricter tearmes of obedience.

How the force of the *Aſſyrians* grew to be ſuch, as might in foureſcore yeeres, if not ſooner, both extend it ſelfe vnto the conqueſt of *Iſrael*, & teare away ſome part of *Media*, it is a queſtion hardly to be anſwered; not only in regard of the deſtruction of *Niniue*, and ſubuerſion of the *Aſſyrian* Kingdome, whereof the *Medes*, vnder *Arbaces*, had the honor, who may ſeeme at that time to haue kept the *Aſſyrians* vnder their ſubiection, when the reſt of the Prouinces were ſet at liberty; but in conſideration of the Kings themſelues, who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Niniue*, are confounded by ſome, and diſtinguiſhed by others; whereby their Hiſtorie is made vncertaine.

I will firſt therefore deliuer the opinion generally receiued, and the grounds whereupon it ſtands: then, producing the obiections made againſt it; I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Ioſeph Scaliger*, with thoſe learned that ſubſcribe thereunto, and the iudgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or haue followed the Ancients in this doubtfull caſe. Neither ſhall it be needfull to ſet downe a-part the ſeuerall authorities and arguments of ſundry men adding ſomewhat of weight or of clearneſſe one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole ſubſtance of each diſcourſe: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without feare to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine owne, but meerely led by thoſe reaſons which vpon examination of each part, ſeemed to me moſt forceable, though to others they may perhaps appeare weake.

That which, vntill of late, hath paſſed as currant, is this; That *Beloſus* was the ſame King, who, firſt of the *Aſſyrians*, entred *Palæſtina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his Authors with ſuch as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is ſaid, that he was a skilfull Aſtrologer, ſubtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by compoſition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Aſſyria*: finally, that he reigned eight and forty yeeres, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat-phalaſar* his Sonne, in whoſe Poſterity it continued ſome few deſcents, till the houſe of *Merodach* preuailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metaſthenes* were ſufficient proofe, could not be gainſaid: for that Author (ſuch as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howſoeuer *Annius* his Authors deſerue to be ſuſpected, it ſtands with no reaſon, that we ſhould conclude all to be falſe which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, iuſtifie it by diuers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumſtances found in all Authors, and repugnant vnto no Hiſtorie at all. For it is manifeſt by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeede the foundation whereupon all haue built) that *Arbaces* and *Beloſus* were Partners in the action againſt *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who ioyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewiſe other Captaines were with gouernements: but that any third Perſon was ſo eminent, as to haue *Aſſyria* it ſelfe, the chiefe Countrey of the Empire, beſtowed vpon him, it is a thing whereof not the leaſt appearance is found in any Hiſtory. And certainely it ſtood with little reaſon, that the *Aſſyrians* ſhould be committed vnto a peculiar King, at ſuch time as it was not thought meete to truſt them in their owne wals and houſes. Rather it is apparent, that the deſtruction of *Niniue* by *Arbaces*, and the tranſplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policie becauſe thereby the people of that Nation might be kept downe from aſpiring to recouer the Soueraigntie, which elſe they would haue thought to belong, as of right, vnto the Seat of the Empire.

Vpon ſuch conſiderations did the *Romanes*, in ages long after following, deſtroy *Carthage*, and diſſolue the Corporation, or Body politike, of the Citizens of *Capua*; becauſe thoſe two Townes were capable of the Empire: a matter eſteemed ouerdangerous euen to *Rome* it ſelfe, that was Miſtreſſe of them both. This being ſo, how can it be thought that the *Aſſyrians* in three or foure yeeres had erected their Kingdome a-new, vnder one *Pul*? or what muſt this *Pul* haue beene (of whoſe deſeruings, or entermedling, or indeed of whoſe very name, we finde no mention in the Warre againſt *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell, either by generall conſent in diuiſion of the Prouinces, or by his owne power and purchaſe very ſoone after? Surely he was none other than *Beloſus*; whoſe neere Neighbourhood gaue him opportunity (as he was wiſe enough to play his owne game) both to get *Aſſyria* to himſelfe, and to empeach any other man, that ſhould haue attempted to ſeize vpon it. The Prouince of *Babylon*, which *Beloſus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the *Perſian* Empire, was able to furniſh him with all that was requiſite for ſuch a buſineſſe: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and ſiluer that had been in the Palace of *Niniue*. And queſtionleſſe to reſtore ſuch a Citie as *Niniue*, was an enterpriſe fit for none to take in hand, except he had ſuch meanes as *Beloſus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Beloſus*, is likely to haue wanted.

Tull. contra Rullum. or. 2.

Herodot. l. 1.

Beſides all this, had *Pul* been a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus*, and Lord of *Aſſyria*, which

Ioſep ant. l. 10. cap. 12.

lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia*, it would not haue beene an eaſie matter for him, to paſſe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Armie, ſeeking bootie afarre off in *Iſrael*: the onely action by which the name of *Phul* is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the ſame whom prophane writers haue called *Beloſus*, *Beleſes*, and *Beleſtis*, (in like manner as *Ioſephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called neuer otherwiſe than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the ſonne of *Aſtyages*, and called of the *Greekes* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this ſcruple vtterly remoued. For *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia* did border vpon *Syria* and *Palæſtina*: ſo that *Beloſus*, hauing ſetled his affaires in *Aſſyria* towards the Eaſt and North, might with good leiſure encroach vpon the Countries that lay on the other ſide of his Kingdome, to the South and Weſt. He that lookes into all particulars, may finde euery one circumſtance concurring, to proue that *Phul* who inuaded *Iſrael*, was none other than *Beloſus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who ioyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no ſmall part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was ouerthrowne, did enter into that action, meerely for the loue of *Beloſus*. The friendſhip of theſe *Arabians* was a thing of maine importance, to thoſe that were to paſſe ouer *Euphrates* with an Armie into *Syria*. Wherefore *Beloſus*, that held good correſpondence with them; and whoſe moſt fruitfull Prouince, adioyning to their barraine quarters, might yeerely doe them ineſtimable pleaſures; was not onely likely to haue quiet paſſage through their borders, but their vtmoſt aſſiſtance: yea, it ſtands with good reaſon, that they, who loued not *Iſrael*, ſhould for their owne behoofe haue giuen him intelligence, of the deſtruction and ciuill broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby, as this *Pul* got a thouſand talents, ſo it ſeemes that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heauie neighbour of *Ieroboam*, recouered their owne, ſetting vp a new King in *Damaſco*, and clearing the coaſt of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wilderneſſe to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garriſons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations diuided by *Euphrates* hold together in ſo good tearmes of friendſhip: it was ancient conſanguinity; the memorie whereof was auaileable to the *Syrians*, in the time of *Dauid*, when the *Aramites* beyond the Riuer came ouer willingly, to the ſuccour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damaſco*. So *Beloſus* had good reaſon to looke into thoſe parts; what a King reigning ſo farre off as *Niniue*, ſhould haue to doe in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to ſhew.

But concerning this laſt argument of the buſineſſe which might allure the *Chaldæans* into *Palæſtina*, it may be doubted, leſt it ſhould ſeeme to haue ill coherence with that which hath beene ſaid of the long Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes. For if the Crowne of *Iſrael* were worne by no man in three and twenty yeeres, then is it likely that *Beloſus* was either vnwilling to ſtirre, or vnable to take the aduantage when it was faireſt, and firſt diſcouered. This might haue compelled thoſe, who alone were not ſtrong enough, to ſeeke after helpe from ſome Prince that lay further off; and ſo the opinion of thoſe that diſtinguiſh *Phul* from *Beloſus*, would be ſomewhat confirmed. On the other ſide, if we ſay, that *Beloſus* did paſſe the Riuer of *Euphrates*, as ſoone as he found liklihood of making a proſperous iourney, then may it ſeeme that the *inter-regnum* in *Iſrael* was not ſo long as we haue made it: for three and twenty yeeres leiſure would haue afforded better opportunity, which ought not to haue beene loſt.

For anſwer hereunto, we are to conſider, what *Oroſius* and *Euſebius* haue written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they preuailed and grew mighty, betweene the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an errour of *Oroſius*, where he ſuppoſeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldæans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Euſebius* doe concurre, that the authority of *Arbaces* did reſtraine the ambition, which by his abſence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull onely of it ſelfe. Now, though ſome haue coniectured that all *Aſſyria* was giuen to *Beloſus* (as an ouerplus, beſides the Prouince of *Babylon* which was his by plaine bargaine made aforehand) in regard of his high deſeruings; yet the opinion more commonly receiued, is, that he did onely encroach vpon that Prouince by little and little, whileſt *Arbaces* liued, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himſelfe. Seeing therefore, that there paſſed but twelue yeeres betweene the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his Reigne; manifeſt it is, that the conqueſt of *Aſſyria*, and ſetling of that Countrey, was worke enough to hold *Beloſus* occupyed, beſides the reſtauration of *Niniue*, which alone was able to take vp all the time remaining of his Reigne, if perhaps he liued to ſee it finiſhed in his owne dayes. So that this argument may rather ſerue to proue that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were one perſon; foraſmuch as the iourney of *Phul* againſt *Iſrael* was not made vntill *Beloſus* could finde leiſure; and the time of aduantage which *Beloſus* did let ſlip, argued his buſineſſe in ſome other quarter, namely in that Prouince of which *Phul* is called King. Briefely, it may be ſaid, that he who conquered *Aſſyria*, and performed ſomewhat vpon a Countrey ſo farre diſtant as *Palæſtina*, was likely to haue beene, at leaſt, named in ſome Hiſtorie, or, if not himſelfe, yet his Countrey to haue beene ſpoken of for thoſe victories: but we neither heare of *Phul*, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, ſacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatſoeuer of the *Aſſyrians*, done in thoſe times; whereas of *Beloſus*, and the power of the *Chaldæans*, we finde good Record.

Surely, that great ſlaughter of ſo many thouſand *Aſſyrians*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and vnfortunate warre, which ouerwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine and vtter deſolation of *Niniue*, muſt needes haue ſo weakened the ſtate of *Aſſyria*, that it could not in thirty yeeres ſpace be able to inuade *Palæſtina*, which the ancient Kings, reigning in *Niniue*, had, in all their greatneſſe, forborne to attempt. Yet theſe afflictions, diſabling that Countrey, did helpe to enable *Beloſus* to ſubdue it; who hauing once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (eſpecially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interpoſition of that Country, ſecure of the *Scythians*, and other war-like Nations on that ſide, might very well turne Southward, and try his fortune in thoſe Kingdomes, whereinto ciuill diſſention of the inhabitants, and the bordering enuie of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damaſco*, friends and Couſins to the *Chaldæans* and *Meſopotamians*, did inuite him. For theſe, and the other before alleadged reaſons, it may be concluded, That what is ſaid of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be vnderſtood of *Beloſus*; euen as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaſhaſht*, and *Ahaſhueroſh*, with the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the ſame, whom prophane Hiſtorians, by names better knowne in their owne Countries, haue called *Nabopollaſſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: eſpecially conſidering, that hereby we ſhall neither contradict any thing that hath beene written of old, nor neede to trouble our ſelues and others with framing new coniectures. This in effect is that, which they alleadge in maintenance of the opinion commonly receiued.

Now this being once granted; other things, of more importance, will of themſelues eaſily follow. For it is a matter of no great conſequence to know the truth of this point (conſidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Beloſus*, or ſome other man: the whole race of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found thoſe famous Princes, *Nabonaſſar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopollaſſar* (famous for the Aſtronomicall obſeruations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore *Beloſus* or *Beleſis* were that *Phul* which inuaded *Iſrael*; if he and his poſterity reigned both in *Niniue* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Aſar*, from whom *Salmanaſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſarhaddon* deſcended; then it is manifeſt, that we muſt ſeeke *Nabonaſſar*, the *Babylonian* King, among theſe Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanaſar*, who is knowne to haue reigned in thoſe yeeres, which *Ptolomey* the mathematitian hath aſſigned vnto *Nabonaſſar*. As for *Merodach*, who ſupplanted *Aſar-haddon*, manifeſt it is, that he and his ſucceſſors were of another houſe. This is the ſcope and end of all his diſputation.

But they that maintaine the contrary part, will not be ſatisfied with ſuch coniectures. They lay hold vpon the concluſion, and by ſhaking that into pieces, hope to ouerthrow all the premiſſes, vpon which it is inferred. For (ſay they) if *Nabonaſſar*, that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanaſſar*, or any of thoſe other *Aſſyrian* Kings, then is it manifeſt, that the races were diſtinct, and that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were ſeuerall Kings. This conſequence is ſo plaine, that it needes no confirmation. To proue that *Nabonaſſar* was a diſtinct perſon from *Salmanaſſar*, are brought ſuch arguments as would ſtagger the reſolution of him that had ſworne to hold the contrary. For firſt, *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Aſſyria*. This is proued by his name, which is meerely *Chaldæan*, whereas *Salman*, the firſt part of *Salmanaſſars* name, is proper to the *Aſſyrians*.

It is likewiſe proued by the Aſtronomicall obſeruations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Aſſyrians*, doe ſhew, that *Nabonaſſar*, from whom *Ptolomie* drawes that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Aſſyrian*. Thirdly, and more ſtrongly, it is confirmed by the ſucceſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his owne language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more briefely in *Eſay* his propheſie, *Merodach*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan*, the ſonne of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach*, the ſonne of *Baladan*, King of *Babel*, were the ſonne of *Nabonaſſar*, then was *Nabonaſſar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanaſſar* King of *Aſſyria*.

Eſay 39.1.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of theſe two names, *Nabonaſſar* and *Salmanaſſar*; which in *Greeke* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinitie therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanaſſar* carried captiue ſome part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the *Prouince* of *Babylon*, *Salmanaſſar* had gotten ſomewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it ſelfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign ouer *Babylon* in the ſixt yeere of *Hezekia*, at which time *Salmanaſſar* tooke *Samaria*; therefore, if *Salmanaſſar* were King of *Babylon*, then muſt we ſay that he and *Merodach*, yea and *Nabonaſſar*, were all one man. Theſe are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Ioſeph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded vpon likelihood of coniectures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more neceſſary inference.

Touching all that was ſaid before of *Phul Beloſus*, for the prouing that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were not ſundry Kings; *Ioſeph Scaliger* pitties their ignorance, that haue ſpent their labour to ſo little purpoſe. Honeſt and painefull men he confeſſeth that they were, who by their diligence might haue won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annius* his Authors, giuen ſuch offence, that men refuſed thereupon to reade their Bookes and Chronologies. A ſhort anſwere.

For mine owne part, howſoeuer I beleeue nothing that *Annius* his *Beroſus*, *Metaſthenes*, and others of that ſtampe affirme, in reſpect of their bare authority; yet am I not ſo ſqueamiſh, but that I can well enough digeſt a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of theſe good fellowes alleaged in it: I haue (ſomewhat peraduenture too often) already ſpoken my minde of *Annius* his Authors: neuertheleſſe, I may ſay here againe, that where other Hiſtories are ſilent, or ſpeake not enough, there may we without ſhame borrow of theſe, as much as agrees with that little which elſewhere we finde, and ſerueth to explaine or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeede are thoſe honeſt and painfull men (as *Scaliger* tearmes them, meaning, if I miſtake him not; good ſilly fellowes) who ſet downe the *Aſſyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords alſo of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Beloſus*, and *Salmanaſſar* for *Nabonaſſar*, ſuch Writers as a man ſhould be aſhamed or vnwilling to reade. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though diſliking him in generall) *Gerard Mercator* is not ſo ſlight a Chronologer, that he ſhould be laughed out of doores, with the name of an honeſt meaning fellow.

But I will not make compariſons betweene *Scaliger* and *Mercator*, they were both of them men notably learned: let vs examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and ſee whether they be of ſuch force, as cannot either be reſiſted or auoided. It will eaſily be granted, that *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Aſſyria*, ſome men doubt whether *Scaligers* reaſons be enough to proue. For though *Nabonaſſar* be a *Chaldæan* name, and *Salmanaſſar* an *Aſſyrian*; yet what hinders vs from beleeuing, that one man in two languages might be called by two ſeuerall names? That Aſtronomie flouriſhed among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to proue *Nabonaſſar* either an Aſtrologer, or a *Chaldæan*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himſelfe cals them, *Prophetas neſcio quos, qui* Nabonaſſarum *Aſtronomum fuiſſe in ſomnis viderunt*; *Prophets I know not who, that in their ſleepe haue dreampt of* Nabonaſſar, *that he was an Aſtrologer*.

Scal.Canon.l.3

Whether *Nabonaſſar* were an Aſtrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negatiue. But as his being Lord ouer the *Chaldæans*, doth not proue him to haue beene learned in their ſciences; ſo doth it not proue him, not to haue beene alſo King of *Aſſyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, who was borne in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Sonne, King of *Spaine*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men farre more learned in all

Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then liuing in *Spaine*, if *Spaine* at that time had any; yet I thinke, Poſteritie will not vſe this as an argument, to prooue that *Spaine* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanaſſar* or *Nabonaſſar*, did vſe the *Aſſyrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Schollers: but it ſeemes, that hee and his poſteritie, by giuing themſelues wholly to the more warlike Nation, loſt the richer, out of which they firſt iſſued; as likewiſe King *Philip* loſt partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the Netherlands, by ſuch a courſe. As for the two vn-anſwerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* termes them, being me-thinkes none other than anſweres to ſomewhat that is or might be alleaged on the contrary ſide) one of them which is drawne from the vnlike ſound and writing of thoſe names, *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will diſpute; for it is not likeneſſe of ſound, but agreement of time, and many circumſtances elſe, that muſt take away the diſtinction of perſons: the other likewiſe may be granted; which is, that *Salmanaſſar* might be Lord of ſome places in the Prouince of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it ſelfe: this indeed might be ſo, and it might be otherwiſe. Hitherto there is nothing ſaue conjecture. But in that which is alleaged out of the Prophet *Eſai*, concerning *Merodach* the ſonne of *Baladan*; and in that which is ſaid of this *Merodach*, or *Mardokenpadus*, his being the Succeſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, and his beginning to reigne in the ſixt yeere of *Hezekia*, I finde matter of more difficultie, than can be anſwered in haſte. I will therefore deferre the handling of theſe objections vntill I meet with their ſubiect in his proper place; which will be when wee come to the time of *Hezekia*, wherein *Merodach* liued and was King. Yet that I may not leaue too great a ſcruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I heere ſatisfie him; that how ſtrong ſoeuer this argument may ſeeme, *Scaliger* himſelfe did liue to retract it, ingenuouſly confeſſing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the ſonne of *Nabonaſſar*, hee had beene deceiued.

Now therefore let vs conſider, in what ſort they haue faſhioned their Storie, who taking *Pul* to bee a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus* or *Beleſtis*, haue in like ſort, as was neceſſarie, diſtinguiſhed their off-ſpring, making that of *Pul* to faile in *Aſarhaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And heere I muſt firſt confeſſe mine want of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that haue gone about to reduce this narration into ſome ſuch order, as might preſent vnto vs the bodie of this Hiſtorie, in one view. Diuers, indeed, there are, whom I haue ſeene, that ſince *Ioſeph Scaliger* deliuered his opinion, haue written in fauour of ſome one or other point thereof: but *Sethus Caluiſius* himſelfe, who hath abridged *Scaligers* learned Worke, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not beene carefull to giue vs notice, how long *Beloſus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulaſſar*, did reigne, (perhaps becauſe he found it not expreſſed in *Scaliger*) but is content to ſet downe *Baladan*, for the ſame perſon with *Nabonaſſar*, which *Scaliger* himſelfe reuoked. In this caſe therefore I muſt lay downe the plot of theſe diuided Kingdomes, in ſuch ſort as I finde it contriued by *Auguſtinus Torniellus*; who onely of all that I haue ſeene, ſets downe the ſucceſſion, continuance, and acts, of thoſe that reigned in *Aſſyria* after *Sardanapalus*, diſtinguiſhing them from *Beloſus*, and his Poſteritie, of whom hee hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. *Paul*, whoſe Annales were printed the laſt yeere; he appeares to me a man of curious induſtrie, ſound iudgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning thoſe *Proteſtant* Writers, by whoſe Bookes hee hath receiued good information, and enriched his workes by inſerting ſomewhat of theirs. But in this buſineſſe hee hath openly profeſſed to follow *Scaliger*, whoſe helpe, without wrong or diſhonour to himſelfe, he hath both vſed and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not ſpare to doe right vnto *Torniellus*; but confeſſe my ſelfe to haue receiued benefit by his writing; and wiſh that his Annales had ſooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed mee in ſome things, ſo would he haue inſtructed and emboldned me, to write more fully and leſſe timorouſly in other things, which now I haue not leiſure to reuiſe. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly deliuered, and yet feared leſt it had ouer-haſtily paſſed out of my hand, and beene expoſed to other mens conſtructions) of the foure Kings that inuaded the Vallie of *Siddim*, and were ſlaine by *Abraham*, I find him aduenturing, as I haue done, to ſay, that they may probably be thought to haue beene ſome pettie Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithſtanding. But now let vs conſider how

C.1.§.13

how he hath ordered theſe laſt *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the deſtruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the moſt mightie, ſought to get all to himſelfe, but was oppoſed by *Beloſus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerfull man in *Aſſyria*, ſided with *Beloſus*, and they two preuailed ſo farre, that finally *Arbaces* was content to ſhare the Empire with them, making ſuch a diuiſion thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire, betweene *Octauian*, *Anthonie*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Tornellus* offers not this, or the reſt, as matter of certainetie) that *Arbaces* made himſelfe Soueraigne Lord of all, and placed the ſeate of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Beloſus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Aſſyria*. But in ſhort ſpace, that is, in foure yeeres, it came to paſſe, by the juſt judgement of God, that *Phul* and *Beloſus* rebelled againſt *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done againſt *Sardanapalus*; and in ſtead of being his Viceroyes, made themſelues abſolute Kings. And to this later opinion *Torniellus* himſelfe leanes, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Hiſtories. Why he did make and publiſh the former ſuppoſition, reſoluing to hold the later, I ſhall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to gueſſe. Hauing thus deuiſed, how *Phul* and *Beloſus* might, at the firſt, attaine to be Kings, he orders their time, and their ſucceſſors, in this manner.

Foure yeeres after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reigne, and continues eight and forty yeeres. *Theglatphalaſar* (whoſe name, and the names of other Princes, I write diuerſly, according as the Authors whom I haue in hand are pleaſed to diuerſifie them) ſucceeding vnto *Phul*, reigned three and twentie. *Salmanaſſar* followed him, and reigned tenne. After him *Senacherib* reigned ſeuen: and when he was ſlaine, *Aſarhaddon* his ſonne ten yeeres; in whom that Line failed.

The ſame time that *Phul* tooke vpon him as King of *Aſſyria*, or not long after, (why not rather afore? for ſo it had beene more likely) *Beloſus* vſurped the Kingdome of *Babylon*, and held it threeſcore and eight yeeres; at the leaſt threeſcore and eight yeeres did paſſe, before *Nabonaſſar* followed him in the poſſeſſion.

To *Nabonaſſar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinkes to be *Baladan*, are aſſigned ſixe and twentie yeeres: then two and fiftie to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: foure and twentie to *Ben Merodach*: and laſtly, one and twentie to *Nabolaſſar*, the father of *Nabuchodonoſor*, who is like to offer matter of further diſputation.

Concerning the originall of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truely ſay, That the conjectures of other men, who giue all to *Beloſus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appeare to me more neerely reſembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that *Torniellus* would haue conceiued two different wayes, by which *Phul* might haue gotten *Aſſyria* (for how *Beloſus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could haue contented him. He adhæres to the later of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Hiſtorians. But he perceiued, that to make *Phul* on the ſuddain King of *Aſſyria*; or to giue him ſo noble a Prouince, as would, of it ſelfe, inuite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing moſt vnlikely to haue happened, vnleſſe his deſerts (whereof wee finde no mention) had beene proportionable to ſo high a reward. And for this cauſe (as I take it) hath he deuiſed the meanes, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of ſo great a ſhare in the Empire. If this were a true or probable ſuppoſition, then would a new doubt ariſe, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that diuided all betweene them, was vtterly forgotten by all Hiſtorians? yea, why this Diuiſion it ſelfe, and the ciuill Warres that cauſed it, were neuer heard of? Queſtionleſſe, the interuerting of ſome Treaſures by *Beloſus*, with his Iudgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre leſſe note. Therefore I doe not ſee, how one of the two inconueniences can this way be auoyded; but that eyther we muſt confeſſe, the Dominion giuen to *Phul* to haue beene exceeding his merits, or elſe his merits, and name withall, to haue beene ſtrangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make vs thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring ſuch a ſequele, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Beloſus* againſt *Arbaces*, it was almoſt impoſſible for the *Aſſyrians* to recouer ſuch ſtrength in foure yeeres, as might ſerue to hold out in rebellion: for *Beloſus*, it was needleſſe to rebell, conſidering, that *Arbaces* did not ſeeke to moleſt him, but rather permitted (as being an ouer-great fauourer of libertie) euen the *Medes*, that were vnder his owne Gouernment to doe what they liſted.

But it is now fit that wee peruſe the Catalogue of theſe Kings: not paſſing through them all (for ſome will require a large diſcourſe in their owne times) but ſpeaking of their order and time in generall. If it be ſo vnlawfull to thinke, that ſome of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, eſpecially ſuch, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparant likelihood; why then is it ſaid, that *Phul* did reigne in *Aſſyria* eight and fortie yeeres? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painefull and iudicious Writers haue found this number of yeeres, to agree fitly with the courſe of things in Hiſtory: yet all of them tooke it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the puniſhment of *Annius* his forgerie (as queſtionleſſe he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probabilitie, he be not beleeued for his owne ſake; though for our owne ſakes we make vſe of his boldneſſe, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing elſe being offered) we are vnwilling our ſelues to be Authors of new, though not vnprobable conjectures. Heerein we ſhall haue this commoditie, that we may without bluſhing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame vpon *Annius*, againſt whom wee ſhall be ſure to finde friends that will take our part.

The reignes of *Theglathalaſar* and *Salmanaſſar* did reach, by *Annius* his meaſure, to the length of fiue and twenty yeeres the one, and ſeuenteene the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and ſeuen from the latter of them, to fit (as I thinke) his owne computation; vſing the liberty whereof I ſpake laſt: for that any Author, ſaue our good *Metaſthenes*, or thoſe that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of theſe did reigne, it is more then I haue yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Aſarhaddon*, *Torniellus* giues the ſame length of reigne, which is found in *Metaſthenes*. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate ſo much vnto themſelues, as may very well be allowed vnto a man ſo iudicious as is *Torniellus*: and yet I could wiſh that hee had forborne to condemne the followers of *Annius*, in this buſineſſe, wherein hee himſelfe hath choſen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to ſay, as elſe he muſt haue done, almoſt nothing.

The like liberty we finde that he hath vſed in meaſuring the reignes of the *Chaldæans*; filling vp all the ſpace betweene the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonaſſar*, with the threeſcore and eight yeeres of *Beloſus*. In this reſpect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Beloſus* might haue begun his reigne ſomwhat later than *Phul*: for threeſcore and eight yeeres would ſeeme a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no yong man when he tooke poſſeſſion of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by ſhortning his reigne, ſeeing his life reacheth to the end of ſuch a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a priuate man, enough for a long liuer? Indeed, eight and forty yeeres had been ſomwhat of the moſt, conſidering that hee ſeemes by the ſtorie to haue beene little leſſe, at ſuch time as he ioyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty yeres, did well deſerue that note (which *Torniellus* aduiſedly giues) that if his reigne extended not ſo farre, then the reigne of ſuch as came after him, occupied the middle time, vnto *Nabonaſſar*.

I neither doe reprehend the boldneſſe of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modeſtie of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Caluiſius*, in forbearing to ſet downe as warrantable, ſuch things as depend onely vpon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledg is taken away from vs by Antiquitie, muſt be deſcribed in Hiſtory, as Geographers in their Maps deſcribe thoſe Countries, whereof as yet there is made no true diſcouerie, that is, eyther by leauing ſome part blanke, or by inſerting the Land of Pigmies, Rockes of loade-ſtone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Riuers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrarie to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from diſtance of place, allowes not ſuch libertie to a Deſcriber, as that which ariſeth from the remedileſſe obliuion of conſuming time. For it is true that the Poet ſaith;

——— *Neq; feruidis*
Pars incluſa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
Durataq; ſole Niues,
Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora Nauitæ.

Nor Southerne heate, nor Northerne ſnow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The ſubject Regions can fence,
And keepe the greedie Merchant thence.
The ſubtile Shipmen way will finde,
Storme neuer ſo the Seas with winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe ſerue onely to miſ-lead ſuch diſcouerers as raſhly beleeue them; drawing vpon the publiſhers, eyther ſome angry curſes, or well deſerued ſcorne; but to keepe their owne credit, they cannot ſerue alwaies. To which purpoſe I remember a pretie jeſt of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spaniſh* Gentleman, who had beene employed by his King in planting a Colonie vpon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I aked him, being then my Priſoner, ſome queſtion about an Iſland in thoſe Streights, which me thought, might haue done eyther benefit or diſpleaſure to his enterpriſe, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters wiues Iſland*; ſaying, That whileſt the fellow drew that Map, his wife ſitting by, deſired to put in one Countrey for her; that ſhe, in imagination, might haue an Iſland of her owne. But in filling vp the blankes of old Hiſtories, wee need not be ſo ſcrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time ſhould runne backward, and by reſtoring the things themſelues to knowledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: What if ſome good Copie of an ancient Author could be found, ſhewing (if we haue it not alreadie) the perfect truth of theſe vncertainties? would it bee more ſhame to haue beleeued in the meane while, *Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to haue beleeued nothing? Heere I will not ſay, that the credit, which wee giue to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be giuen to one of thoſe Authors whoſe names he pretendeth. Let it ſuffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather truſt *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his aſſertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approued Hiſtories than their conjecture, as in this point it ſeemes to me; it hauing moreouer gotten ſome credit, by the approbation of many, and thoſe not meanly learned.

To end this tedious diſputation; I hold it a ſure courſe in examination of ſuch opinions, as haue once gotten the credit of being generall, ſo to deale as *Pacuuius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them deſirous to put all the Senatours of the Citie to death. He lockt the Senatours vp within the State-houſe, and offered their liues to the Peoples mercie; obtaining thus much, that none of them ſhould periſh, vntill the Commonaltie had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was haſtie; for as faſt as euery name was read, all the town cryed, Let him die: but the execution required more leiſure; for in ſubſtituting of another, ſome notorious vice of the Perſon, or baſeneſſe of his condition, or inſufficiencie of his qualitie, made each new one that was offered, to be rejected: ſo that finding the worſe and leſſe choiſe, the further and the more that they ſought, it was finally agreed, that the olde ſhould be kept for lacke of better.

§ V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

AFter this diuiſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, followes the inſtauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reigne of the ſame King *Vzzia*, and in his one and fiftieth yeere. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that theſe games were eſtabliſhed by *Iphitus*, in the firſt of *Iotham*: yet is not that opinion ſo generall, but that Authors, waightie enough, haue giuen to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting thoſe things vnto the ſacred Hiſtorie, which are found in prophane Authors, wee ſhould not be too carefull of drawing the *Hebrewes* to thoſe workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that ſetting in due order theſe beginnings of accompts, we ioyne them to matters of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*, where occaſion requires.

Theſe *Olympian* games and exerciſes of actiuitie, were firſt inſtituted by *Hercules*, who meaſured the length of the race by his owne foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the ſtature and likely ſtrength of *Hercules* his bodie. They tooke name, not from the Mountaine *Olympus*, but from the Citie *Olympia*, otherwiſe *Piſa*, neere vnto *Elis*; where alſo

Iupiters Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Græcians*, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*. Theſe games were exerciſed from euery fourth yeare compleat, in the plaines of *Elis*, a Citie of *Peloponneſus*, neere the riuer *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, theſe meetings were diſcontinued for many yeeres, till *Iphitus* by aduice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-eſtabliſhed them, *Lycurgus* the Law-giuer then liuing: from which time they were continued by the *Græcians*, till the reigne of *Theodoſius* the Emperor, according to *Cedrenus*: others thinke that they were diſſolued vnder *Conſtantine* the Great.

Aul. Gell l.1.c. 1. ex Plut.
Plut. out of *Hermippus.*

From this inſtitution, *Varro* accompted the *Græcian* times, and their ſtories, to be certaine: but reckoned all before either doubtfull, or fabulous: and yet *Plinie* giues little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reigne of *Cyrus*, who began in the fiue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Euſebius* out of *Diodore*, *Caſtor*, *Polybius*, and others hath gathered, in whoſe time the ſeuen wiſe *Græcians* flouriſhed. For *Solon* had ſpeech with *Crœſus*, and *Crœſus* was ouerthrowne and taken by *Cyrus*.

Plin.l.36.c.4.

Many patient and piercing braines haue laboured to finde out the certaine beginning of theſe *Olympiads*, namely, to ſet them in the true yeere of the World, and the reigne of ſuch and ſuch Kings: but ſeeing they all differ in the firſt accompt, that is, of the Worlds yeare, they can hardly iumpe in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril againſt *Iulian*, and *Didymus*, begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Oſias*, or *Azariah*.

Euſebius, who is contrarie to himſelfe in this reckoning, accounts with thoſe that finde the very firſt *Olympiad* in the beginning of the foure hundreth and ſixth yeere after *Troy*, yet yee telleth vs, that it was in the fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*, which is (as I finde it) two yeeres later.

Euſeb de Præp. Euang.l 10.c.3

Eratoſthenes placeth the firſt *Olympiad* foure hundred and ſeuen yeeres after *Troy*, reckoning the yeeres that paſſed betweene; to whom *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

Eratoſth. apud Clem. Alex. Strom.l.1.

The diſtance betweene the deſtruction of *Troy*, and the firſt *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratoſthenes*. From the taking of *Troy*, to the deſcent of *Hercules* his Poſteritie into *Peloponneſus*, were foureſcore yeeres; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threeſcore yeares; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his gouernement in *Sparta*, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the firſt *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight yeeres. In this account the firſt yeare of the firſt *Olympiad* is not included.

But vaine labour it were, to ſeeke the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbering the yeares from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date farre more vncertaine. Let it ſuffice, that by knowing the inſtauration of theſe games, to haue been in the foure hundreth and eight yeere current after *Troy*, wee may reckon backe to the taking of that Citie, ſetting that, and other accidents, which haue reference thereto, in their proper times. The certaintie of things following the *Olympiads*, muſt needs teach vs how to finde when they beganne.

To this good vſe, we haue the enſuing yeeres, vnto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus diuided by the ſame *Eratoſthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, to the paſſage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundreth foureſcore and ſeuenteene yeeres; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* Warre, eight and fortie yeares; forwards to the victorie of *Lyſander*, ſeuen and twentie; to the battaile of *Leuctra*, thirtie foure; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, fiue and thirtie; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelue. The whole ſumme ariſeth to 453. yeares; which number he otherwiſe alſo collecteth, and it is allowed by the moſt.

Now for placing the inſtitution of the *Olympiads* in the one & fiftieth yeere of *Vzziah*, we haue arguments grounded vpon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reigne, and the death of *Alexander*; as alſo vpon the Aſtronomicall calculation of ſundrie Eclipſes of the Sunne, as of that which happened, when *Xerxes* ſet out of *Sardis* with his Armie to inuade *Greece*; and of diuers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reigne as King, before he was Lord of the great Monarchie, began the firſt yeere of the fiue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that hee reigned thirty yeeres; they who giue him but twentie nine yeeres of reigne (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Iuſtine*, *Euſebius*, and others) begin a yeere later, which comes

Tul.de Diu.l.1
Iuſt.l.1.
Euſeb.de Præp. Euang.l.10.c. 3. & de Dem. Euang.l.8.c.2.

all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* ſet by all good Writers, in the firſt yere of the hundreth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This later note of *Alexanders* death, ſerueth well to leade vs backe to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like obſeruations doe. For if wee reckon vpwards from the time of *Alexander*, wee ſhall finde all to agree with the yeeres of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* began his reigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to ſignifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the firſt yere of the fiue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, vnto the end of the *Perſian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth *Olympiad*, wee finde two hundred and thirty yeeres compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchie, which laſted but ſeuen yeeres, we finde compleat two hundred and ſeuen yeeres, which was the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire.

Now therefore ſeeing that the firſt yeere of *Cyrus* his Monarchie (which was the laſt of the ſixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundreth and fortieth yeere from the inſtitution of thoſe games by *Iphitus*) followed the laſt of the ſeuentie yeres, of the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and deſolation of the Land of *Iſrael*; manifeſt it is, that we muſt reckon backe thoſe ſeuentie yeeres, and one hundred threeſcore and ten yeeres more, the laſt which paſſed vnder the Kings of *Iuda*, to finde the firſt of theſe *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Vzziah*, as we haue already noted.

The Eclipſes whereof wee made mention, ſerue well to the ſame purpoſe. For examples ſake, that which was ſeene when *Xerxes* muſtered his Armie at *Sardis*, in the two hundreth threeſcore, and ſeuenth yeere of *Nabonaſſar*, being the laſt of the threeſcore and fourteenth *Olympiad*; leades vs backe vnto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we haue a faire way through the threeſcore and ten yeeres, vnto the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*; and ſo vpwards through the reignes of the laſt Kings of *Iuda*, to the one and fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*.

Thus much may ſuffice, concerning the time wherein theſe *Olympiads* beganne.

To tell the great ſolemnitie of them, and with what exceeding great concourſe of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a ſuperfluous labour. It is enough to ſay that all bodily exerciſes, or the moſt of them, were therein practiſed; as Running, Wraſtling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they onely contend for the Maſtrie in thoſe feates, whereof there was good vſe, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kindes of exerciſes, that ſerued onely for oſtentation. Thither alſo repaired Orators, Poets, Muſicians, and all that thought themſelues excellent in any laudable qualitie, to make triall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them ſhould get the honour, of hauing plaid the beſt part.

The *Eleans* were Preſidents of thoſe Games; whoſe juſtice, in pronouncing without partialitie, who did beſt, is highly commended. As for the rewards giuen to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Oliue, without any other commoditie following, than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held ſo much, that when *Diagoras* had ſeene his three ſonnes crowned for their ſeuerall victories in thoſe games, one came running to him with this gratulation: ***Morere,*** Diagoras, ***non enim in cœlum aſcenſurus es***; that is; ***Die*** Diagoras, ***For thou ſhalt not clime vp to heauen:*** as if there could be no greater happineſſe on earth, than what alreadie had befallen him. In the like ſenſe *Horace* ſpeakes of theſe Victors, calling them,

Horat. Carm. l. 4. Ode 2.

Quos Elæa domum reducit
Palma cœleſtes.

Such as like heauenly wights doe come
With an Elæan Garland home.

Tull. in Orat. pro Flacco.

Neither was it onely the voice of the People, or ſongs of Poets, that ſo highly extolled them, which had wonne theſe *Olympian* prizes; but euen graue Hiſtorians thought it a matter worthie of their noting. Such was (as *Tullie* counts it) the vanitie of the *Greekes*, that they eſteemed it almoſt as great an honour, to haue wonne the victorie at Running or Wraſtling in thoſe games, as to haue triumphed in *Rome* for ſome famous victorie, or conqueſt of a Prouince.

That theſe *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and vpon the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon*, which doth anſwere to our *Iune*; and what meanes they vſed to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I haue ſhewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne vnto the Kings of *Iuda*, & leaue the merrie *Greekes* at their games, whom I ſhall meet in more ſerious employments, when the *Perſian* quarrells draw the bodie of this Hiſtorie into the coaſts of *Ionia* and *Helleſpont*.

§ VI.

Of Iotham *and his Contemporaries.*

IOtham the ſonne of *Vzziah*, when hee was fiue and twenty yeeres old, and in the ſecond of *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, was anointed King in *Ieruſalem*, his Father *2 King.15.32.* yet liuing. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threeſcore cubits vpright, and therefore called *Ophel*: beſides diuers Cities in the Hills of *Iuda*, and in the Forreſts, Towers, and Palaces: he inforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Siluer an hundreth talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thouſand meaſures: he reigned ſixe and twentie yeeres: of whom *Ioſephus* giues this teſtimonie: *Eiuſmodi verò Princeps hic fuit, vt nullum in eo virtutis genus deſideres: vt qui Deum adeo piè coluerit, hominibus ſuis adeo iuſtè præfuerit, vrbem ipſam tantæ ſibi curæ eſſe paſſus ſit, & tantopere auxerit, vt vniuerſum regnum hoſtibus quidem minimè contemnendum, domeſticis autem eius incolis atque ciuibus fœlix, fauſtum & fortunatum ſua virtute effecerit; This was ſuch a Prince, as a man could finde no kinde of vertue wanting in him: hee worſhipped God ſo religiouſly, he gouerned his men ſo righteouſly, he was ſo prouident for the Citie, and did ſo greatly amplifie it, that by his vertue and proweſſe he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Seruants, Inhabitants and Citizens, proſperous and happie.*

This is all that I finde of *Iotham*: his reigne was not long, but as happie in all things, as he himſelfe was deuout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time ſucceeded *Pheleſteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magiſtrates, which gouerned from yeere to yeere. And yet *Pauſanias* in his ſecond Booke, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was gouerned by Kings of the race of the *Bacidæ*, to the time of *Cypſelus*, who droue them out.

Teglathphalaſſar, or *Tiglathpeleſer*, the ſonne of *Phul*, the ſecond of the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians* that was of this new race, about this time inuaded *Iſrael*, while *Pekah* (who mur- *2 King.15.* thered his Maſter *Pekaiah*) was King thereof. In which Expedition he tooke moſt of the Cities of *Nephtali* and *Galile*, with thoſe of *Gilead*, ouer *Iordan*, and carried the inhabitants captiue. This *Tiglath* reigned fiue and twentie yeeres, according to *Metaſthenes*. But *Krentzhemius* findes, that with his ſonne *Salmanaſſar* he reigned yet two yeeres longer: which yeeres I would not aſcribe to the ſonne, becauſe the *Aera* of *Nabonaſſar* begins with his ſingle reigne, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulaſſar* himſelfe, who therewith reigned 27. yeeres.

Æſchylus, the ſonne of *Agamneſtor*, about the ſame time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled 25. yeers. *Alcamenes* gouerned *Sparta*: after whom, the Eſtate changed, according to *Euſebius*: but therein ſurely *Euſebius* is miſtaken. For *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pauſanias*, and *Pauſ.l.3.* others witneſſe the contrary. *Pauſanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, ſucceeded his father, and reigned 60. yeres, and out-liued the *Meſſeniack* warre: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the ſonne of *Nicander*, his royall companion.

At this time liued *Nahum* the Prophet, who foretold the deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and of the Citie of *Niniue*; which ſucceeded (ſaith *Ioſephus*) a hundred & fifteen yeeres after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Soſarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the ſecond and third Kings of thoſe parts.

§. VII.

Of Achaz *and his Contemporaries.*

AHas, or *Achaz*, ſucceeded vnto *Iotham* in the ſeuenteenth yeere of *Peka*, the ſon of *Remalia*: the ſame being alſo the laſt yeere of his fathers reigne, who began in the ſecond of the ſame *Peka*, and reigned 16, but not compleat yeeres. This

Ahaz was an Idolater, exceeding all his predeceſſors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his ſonne for ſacrifice before the Idoll *Moloch*, or *Saturne*, which was repreſented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calfe, ſet vp not farre from *Ieruſalem*, in a Valley ſhaddowed with Woods, called *Gehinnom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is vſed for Hell. The children offered, were incloſed within the carkaſſe of this Idoll, and as the fire encreaſed, ſo the ſacrificers, with a noyſe of Cymbals and other Inſtruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pittifull cries of the children might not be heard: which vnnaturall, cruell, and diuelliſh Oblation, *Ieremie* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which Saint *Hierome* vpon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leuiticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible ſinne was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomie*, it is called an abhomination which God hateth. That it was alſo practiſed elſewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Iudæa*, diuers Authors witneſſe; as *Virgil* in the ſecond of *Æneids*, —— *Sanguine placaſtis, &c.* and *Silius*, —— *Poſcere cæde Deos.* *Saturne* is ſaid to haue brought this cuſtome into *Italie*, beſides the caſting of many ſoules into the Riuer of *Tyber*, in ſtead of which, *Hercules* commanded, that the waxen Images of men ſhould be throwne in and drowned. The Deuill alſo taught the *Carthaginians* this kinde of butcherie, inſo-much, that when their Citie was beſieged, and in diſtreſſe, the Prieſt made them beleeue, that becauſe they had ſpared their owne children, and had bought and brought vp others to be offered, that therefore *Saturne* had ſtirred vp, and ſtrengthened their Enemies againſt them: whereupon they preſently cauſed two hundred of the nobleſt youths of their Citie to be ſlaine, and offered to *Saturne* or *Satan*, to appeaſe him: who beſides theſe forenamed Nations had inſtructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Meſſena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Maſſagets*, and others, in theſe his ſeruices. Further, as if he were not content to deſtroy the ſoules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acoſta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Deuill vnder this fearefull ſeruitude, in which he alſo holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

2.King.16.1.
2.Chron.28.

C.7.19.32.

Euſeb.de Præp. Euang. l.6.
Dion. l.1.
Diod. l.20.

Acoſt. de Hiſt. nat & mor. Ind.

For the wickedneſſe of this King *Ahaz*, God ſtirred vp *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, and *Pekah* the Sonne of *Remaliah*, King of *Iſrael* againſt him, who inuaded *Iudæa*, and beſieged *Ieruſalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, poſſeſt himſelfe of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and caſt the *Iewes* out of it; and *Pekah* ſlaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thouſand *Iudæans*, of the ableſt of the Kingdome, at which time *Maaſeiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz* was alſo ſlaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Gouernour of his houſe: and *Elcanath* the ſecond perſon vnto the King. Beſides all this, two hundred thouſand priſoners of women and children, the *Iſraelites* led away to *Samaria*: but by the counſell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and deliuered backe againe.

2.Chron.28.6.

As *Iſrael* and *Aram* vexed *Iuda* on the North; ſo the *Edomites* and the *Philiſtims*, who euermore attended the ruine of *Iudæa*, entred vpon them from the South; and took *Beth-ſemes*, *Aialon*, *Gaderoth*, *Socho*, *Timnah*, and *Gemzo*, ſlew many people, and carried away many priſoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* ſaw himſelfe enuironed on all ſides, and that his Idols and dead gods gaue him no comfort, he ſent to the *Aſſyrian Tiglatphileſer*, to deſire ſome aide from him againſt the *Iſraelites* and *Aramites*, preſenting him with the ſiluer and gold both of the Temple, and Kings Houſe.

2.Chron.28.

2.Kings 16.

Tiglatphileſer wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that roſe in *Palæſtina*. His Father hauing lately made himſelfe from a Prouinciall Lieutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Iudæa*, inuited by *Menahem*, King of *Iſrael*. Wherefore now the Sonne willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the aduantage. As for *Belochus* himſelfe, he was content to aſſigne ſome other time for going through with this enterprize: becauſe (as I haue ſaid before) he was not firmely ſetled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet ſtrong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, hauing now, with the treaſures of *Ieruſalem*, prepared his Armie, firſt inuaded the Territorie of *Damaſcus*, wanne the Citie, and killed *Rezin*, the laſt of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *Dauid*, & ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damaſcus Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar, ſent it to *Vriah* the Prieſt, commanding the like to be made at *Ieruſalem*, whereon at his returne hee burnt Sacrifice to the Gods of the *Syrians*. In the meane while *Tiglath* poſſeſt all *Baſan*, and the reſt beyond *Iordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſe*. And then paſſing the Riuer, he maſtered the Cities of *Galilee*, inuaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdome of *Iſrael*, and made them his Vaſſalls. And notwithſtanding that he was inuited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the ſpoile of *Iſrael*, he poſſeſt himſelfe of the greater part of *Iuda*, and as it ſeemeth, inforced *Achaz* to pay him Tribute. For in the ſecond of Kings, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he reuolted from *Aſhur*, or rebelled againſt him, and therefore was inuaded by *Senacherib*. After *Ahaz* had beheld and borne theſe miſeries, in the end of the ſixteenth yeere of his reigne he died: but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Iuda*.

With *Ahaz* liued *Medidus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who gouerned 40. yeeres, ſaith *Euſebius*: *Diodorus* and *Cteſias* finde *Anticarmus* in ſtead of this *Medidus*, to haue beene *Euſeb. in Chro.* *Soſarmus* his Succeſſour, to whom they giue 50. yeeres.

Tiglath Phileſer held the Kingdome of *Aſſyria*, all the reigne of *Ahaz*: yet ſo, that *Salmanaſſar* his Sonne may ſeeme to haue reigned with him ſome part of the time. For wee finde that *Ahaz* did *ſend vnto the Kings of* Aſhur *to helpe him*. *2. King. 28. 16.* The *Geneua* note ſaies, that theſe Kings of *Aſhur*, were *Tiglath Pileſer*, and thoſe Kings that were vnder his Dominion. But that he or his Father had hitherto made ſuch conqueſts, as might giue him the Lordſhip ouer other Kings, I doe neither finde any Hiſtorie, nor circumſtance that proueth. Wherefore I thinke that theſe Kings of *Aſhur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanaſſar* his Sonne, who reigned with his Father, as hath beene ſaid before: though how long hee reigned with his Father, it had beene hard to define.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirty yeeres after *Lycurgus* *Plut. in vita Solo.* according to *Plutarch*. *Euſebius* makes their beginning farre later, namely, in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of theſe *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the firſt; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus*, being then ioynt Kings. Theſe *Ephori*, choſen euery yeere, were controllers, as well of their Senators as of their Kings, nothing being done without their aduice and conſent. For (ſaith *Cicero*) they were oppoſed againſt their Kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes againſt the Conſuls. In the time of *Ahaz* died *Æſchylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* euer ſince the fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*. *Alcamenon* the thirteenth of the *Medontidæ*, or Gouernours of the *Athenians* (ſo called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) ſucceeded his Father *Æſchylus*, and was the laſt of their Gouernors: he ruled onely two yeeres. For the *Athenians* changed firſt from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Gouernors for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a Magiſtrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kinde of *Burghomaſter*, or Gouernor of their City for ten yeeres.

This alteration *Pauſanias* in his fourth Booke begins, in the firſt yeere of the eight *Olympiad*. *Euſebius* and *Halicarnaſſæus* in the firſt of the ſeuenth *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the firſt of theſe, began his ten yeeres rule.

The Kingdome of the *Latines* gouerned about three hundred yeere by the *Syluij*, of the race of *Æneas*, tooke end in the ſame *Ahaz* time: the foundation of *Rome*, being laied by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eight yeere of the ſame King. *Codoman* builds it the eleuenth of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I thinke hee ſhould; others ſomewhat later, and in the reigne of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, and others, ſquare the time of the foundation to the third yeere of the ſixth *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnaſſeus*, *Solinus Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*, to the firſt yeere of the ſeuenth: who ſeeme not onely to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to haue kept herein the beſt accompt.

Chap. XXIIII.

Of the Antiquities of Italie, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahas.

§. I.

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italie.

ANd here to ſpeake of the more ancient times of *Italie*, and what Nations poſſeſt it before the arriuall of *Æneas*, the place may ſeeme to inuite vs: the rather becauſe much fabulous matter hath beene mixed with the truth of thoſe elder plantations. *Italie* before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greekes* by diuers names: as firſt *Heſperia*, then *Auſonia*, the one name ariſing of the ſeate, the other of the *Auſones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was alſo *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: Halicarn. l. 1. whom *Halicarnaſſeus* thinkes to haue beene the firſt, that brought a Colonie of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italie* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* ſpeakes thus:

Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque vbere glebæ:
Oenotrij coluère viri, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greekes Heſperia* name,
Ancient, and ſtrong, of much fertilitie:
Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fame,
That by late ages of Poſteritie,
'Tis from a Captaines name called *Italie*.

Who this Captaine or King may haue beene, it is very vncertaine. For *Virgil* ſpeakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued ſo long vpon the whole Countrie, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the firſt accepted without good cauſe. Therefore to finde out the originall of this name, and the firſt planters of this noble Countrie, *Reineccius* hath made a very painfull ſearch, and not improbable coniecture. And firſt of Halicarn. l. 1. all he grounds vpon that of *Halicarnaſſeus*, who ſpeakes of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did leade into *Italie*, before the name of *Italie* was giuen to it: Secondly, vpon that of Iuſt. l. 12. *Iuſtine*, who ſaith, that *Brunduſium* was a Colonie of the *Ætolians*: Thirdly, vpon that of Strabo. l. 6. *Strabo*, who affirmes the ſame of *Temeſa* or *Tempſa*, a Citie of the *Brutij* in *Italie*: Laſtly, Plin. l. 3. c. 5. vpon the authoritie of *Plinie*, who ſhewes that the *Italians* did inhabite onely one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was deriued ouer all. Concerning that which is ſaid of the *Eleans* and *Ætolians*, who (as hee ſhewes) had one originall; from them he brings the name of *Italie*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, ſaue that the firſt Letter is caſt away, which in the *Greeke* words is common; and the letter, (*o*) is changed into (*a*) which change is found in the name of *Æthalia* an Iſland neere *Italie*, peopled by the *Ætholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almoſt proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent & pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priſcian* the Grammarian teach.

Heereunto appertaines that of *Iulian* the Apoſtata, who called the *Greekes*, couſins of the *Latines*. Alſo the common Originall of the *Greekes* and *Latines* from *Iauan*; and the Fable of *Ianus*, whoſe Image had two faces, looking Eaſt and Weſt, as *Greece* and *Italie* lay, and was ſtamped on Coynes, with a Shippe on the other ſide; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Iauan*, father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who ſayling ouer the *Ionian* Sea, that lies betweene *Ætolia* and the Weſterne parts of *Greece* and *Italie*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reyneccius* thinkes, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applyes that of *Beroſus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may ſeeme ſtrengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whileſt he abode in *Italie* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and ſtronger, eaſily diſproued. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moſes*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the ſonne of *Iauan*, and nephew of *Iapheth*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Noah*: which antiquity farre exceedes the name of *Italie*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of *Troy*.

Likewiſe *Virgil*, who ſpeakes of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italie*; but calleth *Electra* & her ſiſter *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; which he would not haue done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* been one perſon.

As for the authoritie of *Beroſus* in this caſe, we need the leſſe to regard it, for that *Reyneccius* himſelfe, whoſe coniectures are more to be valued than the dreames wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Beroſus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italie* began long after *Atlas*, it appeares by the Verſes of *Virgil* laſt rehearſed, wherein hee would not haue ſaid, ——— *Nunc fama minores Italiam dixiſſe ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name beene heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey. But ſeeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few yeeres before the Warre of *Troy*, had left in *Italie* a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the ſame Nation with the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pauſanias* teach) then the name of *Italie* began: and ſeeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldneſſe to ſay, that *Italus* was Commander of theſe *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I haue read of any ſuch *Greeke* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Ætolus*, written in *Greeke Aitolus*, was very famous among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being ſonne of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdome. Neyther is it more hard to deriue the name of *Italus* from *Ætolus*, then *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgils* authoritie ſtand well with the collections of *Reyneccius*; the name of *Italie* being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which hee and his people were.

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§. II.

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium*, and of the reaſon of the names of* Latini *and* Latium.

IN *Italie* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were moſt famous; the *Hetrurians* hauing held the greateſt part of it vnder their ſubiection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, ſubduing all *Italie*, and in few ages whatſoeuer Nation was knowne in *Europe*: together with all the Weſterne parts of *Aſia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was firſt inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Varro*, and *Reyneccius* (following them) thinke to haue been *Arcadians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other ſignifications that are ſtrained) imports as much as originall, or natiue of the place, which they poſſeſſed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to haue alwaies vſurped, fetching their antiquitie from beyond the Moone; becauſe indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus* inforced to forſake their ſeates ſo oft as other *Greekes* were, who did dwell without that halfe Iſland, neyther had the *Arcadians* ſo vnſure a dwelling as the reſt of the *Peloponneſians*, becauſe their Country was leſſe fruitfull in land, mountainous, and hard of acceſſe, & they themſelues (as in ſuch places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of theſe therefore hauing occupied a great part of *Latium*, & held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, ſtile themſelues *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt ſomwhat far from Sea, & are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, ſhould haue beene Authors of new diſcoueries, were a queſtion not eaſie to be anſwered, were it not ſo, that both fruitfulneſſe of children, in which thoſe ages abounded, inforced the ſuperfluous companie to ſeeke another ſeat, and that ſome expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as eſpecially that of *Euander*, into the ſame parts of *Italie*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelaſgi*, an ancient Nation, who ſometimes gaue name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long ſince dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glorie ſuch in *Italie*, as could long ſuſtaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in ſhort ſpace accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani, Auſones, Arunci, Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following diſturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to ſome ciuilitie; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturne* S. *Auguſtine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others terme him *Stercutius*, and ſay, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* tooke his name of *Saturne*, becauſe he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, where he fled from *Iupiter*, it is queſtionleſſe a fable. For as in Heatheniſh ſuperſtition, it was great vanitie to thinke that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fledde from another; ſo in the truth of Hiſtorie, it is well knowne, that no King reigning in thoſe parts was ſo mighty, that it ſhould bee hard to finde one Countrie or another, wherein a man might be ſafe from his purſuit. And yet, as moſt fables and poeticall fictions were occaſioned by ſome ancient truth, which eyther by ambiguity of ſpeech, or ſome alluſion, they did maimedly and darkely expreſſe (for ſo they fained a paſſage ouer a Riuer in Hell, becauſe death is a paſſage to another life; and becauſe this paſſage is hatefull, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the Riuer *Styx* of Hate, *Cocytus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron* of Paine: ſo alſo becauſe men are ſtonie-hearted, and becauſe the *Greeke* λαοὶ people, and λᾶες ſtones, are neere in ſound, therefore they fained in the time of *Deucalion* ſtones conuerted into men, as at other times men into ſtones:) in like manner it may be, that the originall of *Saturnes* hiding himſelfe, was ſome alluſion to that olde opinion of the wiſeſt of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Acts*; whence alſo *Eſay* of the true God ſaies, ***tu Deus abdens te.*** For it can not be in vaine, that the word *Saturnus* ſhould alſo haue this very ſignification, if it be deriued (as ſome thinke) from the *Hebrew Satar*, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not, but that the originall of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be ſought elſewhere.

See *lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. §. 1. & *ſeq.*

Acts 17. 23.

Eſay 45. 15.

Reyneccius doth coniecture that the *Cateans*, who deſcended of *Cethim*, the Sonne of *Iauan*, were the men who gaue the name to *Latium*. For theſe *Ceteans* are remembred by *Homer* as aiders of the *Troians* in their Warre. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them ſubjects to the Crowne of *Troy*. Heereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Aſia*: viz. *in agro Elaitico*; *in the Elaitian Territorie*, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Æolians* held in *Aſia*, called *Elæa*, or *Elaia*, *Pauſanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidæmis*, or (according to the *Greeke* writing) *Cidamis*, which name laſt rehearſed hath a very neere ſound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greeke* Letter (*D*) hauing (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*TH*) differing onely in the ſtrength or weakeneſſe of vtterance, which is found betweene many Engliſh words written with the ſame letters. Wherefore that theſe *Ceteans* beeing deſcended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the Sonne of *Iauan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greekes*, might very well take a denomination from the Citie, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elæites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, conſidering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Ætolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Æolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine *Elæus*, the Hauen *Elæas*, the people *Elaitæ*, the Cities *Elæus*, *Elaia*, and *Elateia*; of which laſt it were ſomewhat harſh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetæi* and *Arcadians*, had their originall from *Cethim*, it is nothing vnlikely, that agreeing in language and ſimilitude of names, they might neuertheleſſe differ in ſound anh pronunciation of one and the ſame word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom ſome (deriuing the *Sabines* from him) giue the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the Citie *Elateia*) bee named of the *Ceteans Latinus*. *Reyneccius* purſuing this likelihood, thinkes, that when *Eurypilus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Sonne of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat vpon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*) was ſlaine by *Achilles* in the *Troian* Warre: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*; who (fearing what euill might befall themſelues by the *Greekes*, if the affaires of *Troy* ſhould goe ill) paſſed into that part of *Italie*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrus*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinkes, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was firſt *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*. That this name of *Elatus* may haue beene taken or impoſed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more eaſie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcas* King of *Arcadia*, which gaue name to the Countrie: and betweene theſe two Families the ſucceſsion in that Kingdome did paſſe, almoſt enterchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the *Troian* warre it fell into the hand of *Hippotheus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whoſe Poſteritie it continued vntill the laſt. Againe, the name of *Latinus*, hauing a deriuatiue ſound, agrees the better with the ſuppoſition of ſuch an accident. This is the coniecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made ouer-boldly, yet others may follow it with the leſſe reproofe, conſidering that it is not eaſie to finde either an apparent truth, or faire probability among theſe diſagreeing Authors, which haue written the originals of *Latium*.

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§. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines vntill Æneas *his comming.*

THe Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arriuall of *Æneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus* and *Latinus*. Of *Saturne* there is nothing remembred, ſaue what is mentioned already, and many fables of the *Greekes*, which whether they be appliable to this man, it is for him to iudge, who ſhall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturne* of the *Greekes*, called by them Κρόνος, or ſome other, ſtiled *Saturne* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he liued, may very well admit him to haue beene the ſame: but the names of* *Sterces*, and *Stercutius* (for it may be, this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the ſoyle which they laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him ſeeme ſome other man.

* *Ezekiel* often cals the Idols of the heathen *deos ſtercoreos*: and hence it may be that in the Euangeliſt we reade of *Belzebub*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Dominus Stercoreus*: and it may be that after that *Saturne* became the name of an Idol, it pleaſed God that in a like ſenſe this name *Stercutius* ſhould ſticke vnto him.

Of *Picus* it is ſaid, that he was a good Horſe-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well ſeeme (as it is interpreted) to haue growne from the skill which he had in ſooth-ſaying, or diuination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Sonne of *Picus*, reigned after his Father. He gaue to *Euander* the *Arcadian* (who hauing ſlaine by miſchance his Father *Echemus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italie*) the waſte grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the ſiſter of *Faunus*, who was alſo his Wife, as all Hiſtorians agree; ſhe was held a Propheteſſe, and highly commended for her chaſtitie; which praiſe in her muſt needs haue been much blemiſhed by her marriage, it ſelfe being meerly inceſtuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his ſiſter any childe, neither doe we reade of any other Wife which he had, ſaue onely that *Virgil* giues vnto him *Latinus* as his Sonne, by a Nymph, called *Marica*.

Aeneid 7.

But who this *Marica* was it is not found, ſaue onely that her aboad was about the Riuer *Liris* neere *Minturnæ*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted foure: one, the Sonne of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Vlyſſes* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice onely of the ſecond, of whom he ſaith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetij*, were from his ſurname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference conſiſting almoſt in this onely, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the ſonne of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a ſonne of the ſame name. This *Latinus* hauing obtained the ſucceſsion in that Kingdome after *Faunus*, did promiſe his onely Daughter and Heire *Lauinia*, to *Turnus* the ſon of *Venilia*, who was ſiſter to *Amata Latinus* his Wife.

Suidas in the word *Latini*.

But when *Æneas* arriued in thoſe parts with fifteene ſhips, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked according to the rate which *Thucydides* allowes to the Veſſels then vſed, about one thouſand and two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would ſtand beſt with his aſſurance, to make alliance with the *Troian*, and moued with the great reputation of *Æneas*, which himſelfe had heard of in the Warre of *Troy*, gaue his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*; who incenſed herewith, ſought to auenge himſelfe by warre : which was ſoone ended with his owne death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certaine, that were ſhe an *Italian*, ſhe could not haue borne a Daughter mariageable at the arriuall of *Æneas*; vnleſſe we ſhould wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather giue the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italie*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Sonne, who ſerued in the laſt yeere of the *Troian* Warre. But *Reyneccius* holds her an *Aſiatique*, and thinkes withall, that *Lauinia* was borne before *Telephus* came into *Italie*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnaſſæus* call her, was not proper, but rather a ſurname, it may ſeeme by *Varro*; who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be deriued from the *Greeke* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which ſignifieth beloued, or deare, was the name by which the High Prieſt called euery Virgin, whom he tooke to ſerue as a Nunne of *Veſta*; wherefore it is the more eaſie to be thought a ſurname, howſoeuer *Virgil* diſcourſe of her and *Venilia* her ſiſter.

Lauinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being giuen in marriage to *Æneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greateſt part of that Countrie, was eſtabliſhed in that race: wherein it continued vntill it was ouer-growne by the might and greatneſſe of the *Romans*.

§. IIII.

Of Æneas, *and of the Kings and Gouernors of Alba.*

ÆNeas himſelfe being of the royall bloud of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Troians*. By his wife *Creuſa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a ſonne called *Aſcanius*; whoſe ſurname was *Iulus*, hauing before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) beene ſurnamed *Ilus*. But when *Æneas* was dead, his wife *Lauinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Aſcanius*, fled into the Woods, where ſhe was deliuered of a ſonne, called thereupon *Syluius*, and ſurnamed *Poſthumus*, becauſe he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of *Lauinia* was ſo euill taken by the people, that *Aſcanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourably, and vſing her as a Queene, did foſter her yong ſonne, his halfe-brother *Syluius*. Yet afterwards, whether to auoid all occaſions of diſagreement, or delighted with the ſituation of the place; *Aſcanius* leauing to his mother in law the Citie *Lauinium*, which *Æneas* had built and called after his new wiues name, founded the Citie *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reigne was, according to ſome, eight and twenty yeeres: *Virgil* giues him thirtie; others fiue and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his deceaſſe, there aroſe contention betweene *Syluius*, the ſonne of *Æneas*, and *Iulus* the ſonne of *Aſcanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the ſonne of *Lauinia*, *Iulus* was contented to hold the Prieſthood, which he and his race enioyed, leauing the Kingdome to *Syluius Poſthumus*, whoſe poſterity were afterwards called *Syluij*.

The reigne of the *Alba* Kings, with the continuance of each mans reigne, I finde thus ſet downe:

1	*Syluius Poſthumus.*	29	
2	*Syluius Æneas.*	31	
3	*Syluius Latinus.*	50	
4	*Syluius Alba.*	39	
5	*Syluius Atis.*	26	
6	*Syluius Capys.*	28	
7	*Syluius Capetus.*	13	yeares.
8	*Syluius Tiberinus.*	8	
9	*Syluius Agrippa.*	41	
10	*Syluius Alladius.*	19	
11	*Syluius Auentinus.*	37	
12	*Syluius Procas.*	23	
13	*Syluius Amulius.*	44	

Syluius Numitor.

Ilia, called alſo *Rhea* and *Syluia*.

Romulus. Remus.

The moſt of theſe Kings liued in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of *Latium*: who ſtanding much vpon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called *Priſci Latini* Of *Tiberinus* ſome thinke that the Riuer *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* giues it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the comming of *Æneas* into *Italie*. The Mountaine *Auentinus* had name (as many write) from *Auentinus* King of the *Albanes*: who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwiſe. *Iulius*, the brother of *Auentinus*, is named by *Euſebius* as father of another *Iulius*, and grandfather of *Iulius Proculus*; who leauing *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*. *Numitor*, the elder ſonne of *Procas*, was depriued of his Kingdome by his brother *Amulius*; by whom alſo his ſonne *Ægeſthus* was ſlaine, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nunne of *Veſta*, that thereby the iſſue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But ſhe conceiued two ſonnes, either by her Vncle *Amulius*, as ſome thinke, or by *Mars*, as the Poets faine; or perhaps by ſome man of warre. Both the children, their Vncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quicke, according to the Law; which ſo ordained, when the Veſtall Virgins brake their chaſtitie. Whether it was ſo, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Antho*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or puniſhed as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preſerued, who afterward reuenged the cruelty of their Vncle, with the ſlaughter of him and all his, and reſtored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long he reigned, I finde not, neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Eſtates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were preſently eclipſed by the ſwift increaſe of *Rome*; vpon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concernes the things of *Italie*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdome of *Alba* ceaſed; for *Numitor* left no male iſſue. *Romulus* choſe rather to liue in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Syluius* none elſe remained. So the *Albanes* were gouerned by Magiſtrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius*, who in the dayes of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, King of the *Romanes*, making Warre vpon *Rome*, dyed in the Campe; and *Metius Suffetius*, the ſucceſſor of *Cluilius*, who ſurrendred the Eſtate of *Alba* vnto the *Romanes*, hauing committed the hazard of both Signories to the ſucceſſe of three men of each ſide, who decided the quarrell by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatij*, the Champions of the *Romanes*, preuailed againſt the *Curiatij*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hoſtilius* with the *Albane* forces againſt the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leaue the *Romanes* to ſuch an ouerthrow, as might make them weake enough for the *Albanes* to deale with; *Tullus*, who notwithſtanding this falſehood, obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruell death, cauſing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and ſo torne in pieces. Then was *Alba* deſtroyed and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patritians*; among which were the *Iulij*: of whom *C. Iulius Cæſar* being deſcended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedegree, in full aſſembly of the *Romanes*, then gouerned by a free Eſtate of the People: but by his rare induſtrie, valour, and iudgement, obtained the Soueraigntie of the *Romane* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himſelfe and his poſteritie; whereby the name of *Æneas*, and honour of the *Troian* and *Alban* Race, was ſo reuiued, that ſeldome, if euer, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

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§ V.

Of the beginning of Rome, and of Romulus *birth and death.*

OF *Rome*, which deuoured the *Alban* Kingdome, I may here beſt ſhew the beginnings, which (though ſomewhat vncertaine) depend much vpon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-childe of *Numitor*, the laſt that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betweene *Euphrates* and the Ocean where broken in pieces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beaſt, it is not to be deſcribed in one place, hauing beene the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the firſt, as incident vnto the diſcourſe preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Por-*

tius Cato, Calphurnius Piſo, Sempronius, and others, ſeeke to deriue the *Romans* from *Ianus*: but *Herodotus, Marſylus*, and many others of equall credit, giue the *Græcians* for their anceſtors: Stra.l.5 f.159. and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Booke; Cæcilius *rerum Romanarum ſcriptor eo argumento colligit, Romam à Græcis eſſe conditam, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo inſtituto,* Herculi *rem ſacram faciunt, matrem quoque* Euandri *venerantur Romani*; Cæcilius (ſaith he) *a Romane Hiſtoriographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greeks, becauſe the Romanes, after Greekiſh faſhion, by ancient ordinance doe ſacrifice to* Hercules: *the Romanes alſo worſhip the mother of* Euander.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembred many founders of that Citie: as *Romanus* the ſonne of *Vlyſſes* and *Circe*; *Romus* the ſonne of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who draue the *Tuſcans* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* beſtowes the honour of building *Rome* vpon *Euander*, ſaying, That it was beforetimes called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* giues the denomination to a captiue Lady, brought thither by the *Græcians*: others ſay, That it was anciently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*; witneſſe Saint *Auguſtine* in his third Booke *de Ciuitate Dei*. But *Liuie* will haue it to be the worke of *Romulus*, euen from the foundation: of whom and his conſorts, *Iuuenal* to a *Roman* Citizen, vaunting of their originall, anſwered in theſe Verſes:

Attamen vt longe repetas, longeque reuoluas
Maiorum quiſquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree ſo farre;
Thy firſt Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepheard was, or elſe, that Ile forbeare.

meaning either a Shepheard, or a Theefe.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preſeruation, it is ſaid, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* ſuppoſed to be his father, that he was nurſt by a Wolfe, found and taken away by *Fauſtula*, a Shepheards wife. The ſame vnnaturall nurſing had *Cyrus*, the ſame incredible foſtering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* ſaith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came couered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with childe: and therein it ſeemeth to me that he might haue two purpoſes; the one, to deſtroy her, becauſe ſhe was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he iniuriouſly held the Kingdome; the other to ſatisfie his appetite, becauſe ſhe was faire and goodly. For ſhe being made a Nunne of the goddeſſe *Veſta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chaſtitie. I alſo finde Fauchet f.114 in *Fauchet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Merouée*, King of the *Francs*, was begotten by a Monſter of the Sea: but *Fauchet* ſayes, *Let them beleeue it that liſt*; *Il le croira qui voudra*: Alſo of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poeticall inuentions: but to anſwere theſe imaginations in generall, it is true, that in thoſe times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or paſſions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, couer ſuch ſlips as they made, by proteſting to be forced by more than humane power: ſo did *Oenone* confeſſe to *Paris*, that ſhe had beene rauiſhed by *Apollo*. And *Anchyſes* boaſted that he had knowne *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with childe by ſome man of Warre, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battell, according to the ſenſe of the time. *Oenone* was ouercome by a ſtrong wit, and by ſuch a one as had thoſe properties aſcribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Merouée* might fancie a Sea Captaine to be gotten with yong by ſuch a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Æneas* was a baſtard and begotten vpon ſome faire Harlot, called for her beautie *Venus*, and was therefore the childe of luſt, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurſt by a Wolfe, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*, for the Curteſans in thoſe dayes were called Wolfes, *quæ nunc* (ſaith *Halicarnaſſæus*) *honeſtiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur*; *which are now by an honeſter name called friends*. It is alſo written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken vp into heauen, or rather out of the world by his father *Mars*, in a great ſtorme of thunder, and lightning: ſo was it ſaid that *Æneas* vaniſhed away by the Riuer *Numicus*:

but thereof *Liuie* alſo ſpeaketh modeſtly; for hee rehearſeth the other opinion that the ſtorme was the furie of the Senators, but ſeemeth to adhere partially to this taking vp; and many Authors agree, that there was an vnnaturall darkeneſſe, both at his birth and at his death, and that hee might be ſlaine by thunder or lightning, it is not vnlikely. For the Emperour *Anaſtaſius* was ſlaine with lightning, ſo was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* ſlaine with a thunder-bolt: ſo *Carus* the Emperour (who ſucceeded *Probus*) whileſt hee lodged with his Armie vpon the Riuer *Tigris*, was there ſlain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the ſame kinde might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of war, and by violence deſtroyed. And that he died by violence (which deſtinie followed moſt of the *Roman* Emperors) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*: who was the ſeuenth King after him: who when he had murthered his Father-in-law, commanded that he ſhould not be buried, for (ſaid hee) *Romulus* himſelfe died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnaſſeus* end this diſpute; whoſe words are theſe: *They* (ſaith hee) *who drew neereſt to the truth, ſay that he was ſlaine by his owne Citizens; and that his crueltie in puniſhments of offendors, together with his arrogancie, were the cauſe of his ſlaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was rauiſhed, whether by ſome man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sunne was eclipſed, and all the earth couered with darkneſſe like vnto night, and that the ſame did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whoſe life hiſtorified by *Plutarch*, doth containe (beſides what is here alreadie ſpoken of him) the conqueſt of a few miles which had ſoone beene forgotten, if the *Roman* greatneſſe built vpon that foundation, had not giuen it memorie in all ages following, euen vnto this day. A valiant man he was, very ſtrong of bodie, patient of trauell, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the vſe of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which cauſed him to ſlay his brother, and neglect to reuenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdome, that he himſelfe might be Lord alone in thoſe narrow Territories. He reigned 37. yeres: firſt alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, ſingle, till hee was ſlaine, as is alreadie ſhewed: after which time the Soueraigntie fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him vnknowne, & more Prieſt-like then King-like: wherein *Rome* it ſelfe in her later times hath ſomewhat reſembled this King. For hauing long beene ſole Gouerneſſe till *Conſtantinople* ſhared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greeke* Emperour was cruſhed by forraine enemies, and the *Latines* diſpoyled of Imperiall power, ſhee fell into the ſubjection of a Prelate, ſwelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the Sword, and therewith victorious to exceſſiue magnificence, from whence by the ſame degrees it fell, being driuen from luxurie to defenſiue armes, and therein hauing beene vnfortunate, at length betakes herſelfe againe to the Croſier ſtaffe.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place by occaſion of the Storie of the times of King *Ahaz*, during whoſe reigne in *Iurie*, the foundations of this famous Citie were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezekia, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, *and of the agreeing of* Ptolomies, Nabonaſſar, Nabopolaſſar, *and* Mardocempadus, *with the hiſtorie of the Bible.*

AS the firſt yeere of *Ahaz* his Reigne was confounded with the laſt of his father *Iotham*, ſo was the later end of his ſixteene yeres taken vp in the three firſt of *Ezekias* his ſonne. This appeares by the Reigne of *Hoſea*, ouer *Iſrael*, which beganne in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hoſea* was the firſt of *Ezekia*; ſo it followes, that *Ezekia* beganne to reigne in his Fathers fourteenth yeere. Like enough it is, that the third yeere of *Hoſea*, the ſame being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almoſt ſpent when *Ezekia* beganne, and ſo the fifteenth yeere of *Ahaz* may haue beene concurrent, for the moſt part, with the firſt of *Ezekia*.

By ſuppoſing that *Hoſea* began his Kingdome, when the twelfth yeere of *Ahaz* was almoſt compleat, ſome would finde the meanes how to diſioyne the firſt of *Hezekia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one yeere later, of which yeere, *Ahaz* may perhaps haue liued not many dayes. But ſeeing that the foureteenth and fifteenth yeeres of *Ezekia*, may not be remoued out of their places; it is vaine labour to alter the firſt yeere.

2 Kin.19.35. *In the foureteenth yeere of Ezekia*, *Senacherib* inuading *Iuda*, and the Countries adioyning, loſt his Armie by a miraculous ſtroake from Heauen, fled home, and was ſlaine. The yeere following it was that God added fifteene yeeres to the life of *Ezekia*, when he had already reigned foureteene of his nine and twenty: and the ſame yeere was that miracle ſeene of the Sunnes going backe; of which wonder (as I heare) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Aſtronomie, hath by calculation found the very day which anſwered vnto the twenty fifth of *April*, in the *Iulian* yeere, being then Thurſday. I haue not ſeene any workes of *Scultet*; but ſurely to finde a motion ſo irregular and miraculous, it is neceſſary that he produce ſome record of obſeruation made at ſuch a time. Howſoeuer it be, the fifteenth yeere of *Ezekia* agreed vpon; and therefore we may not alter the firſt. As for that ſaying, which is vſuall in like caſes, 2 Chron.28.27 that Ahaz *ſlept with his Fathers, and* Ezekia *his Sonne reigned in his ſtead*, it doth no more proue that *Ezekia* reigned not with his Father, than the like ſaying doth inferre the like at the death of *Iehoſaphat*, and ſucceſſion of *Ieboram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to reigne whileſt his Father liued, wee haue already ſaid enough.

Of this godly King *Ezekias*, we finde, that his very beginning teſtified his deuotion and zeale. For whether it were ſo, that his vnfortunate and vngracious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gaue way to his Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the firſt yeere and firſt moneth of 2 Chro.29.v 3. his reigne, wherein *Ezekias* opened the doores of the Temple, were to be vnderſtood as the beginning of his ſole gouernment; we plainly finde it to haue beene his firſt worke, 2 Chron 30. that he opened the doores of the houſe of the Lord, which *Achaz* had ſhut vp, cleanſed the Citie and Kingdome of the Idols, reſtored the Prieſts to their offices and eſtates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had beene for many yeeres neglected, & brake downe the braſen Serpent of *Moſes*, becauſe the people burnt incenſe before it, and he 2 King 18. called it *Nehuſhtan*, which ſignifieth a lumpe of braſſe. He did alſo celebrate the Paſſe-ouer with great magnificence, inuiting thereunto the *Iſraelites* of the ten Tribes: many there were, euen out of thoſe Tribes, that came vp to *Ieruſalem*, to this feaſt. But the generall multitude of *Iſrael* did laugh the Meſſengers of *Ezekia* to ſcorne.

It was not long ere they that ſcorned to ſolemnize the memoriall of their deliuerance out of the *Ægyptian* ſeruitude, fell into a new ſeruitude, out of which they neuer were deliuered. For in the fourth of *Ezekia* his reigne, *Salmanaſſar* the Sonne of *Tiglath*, the Sonne of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael* had practiſed with *Soe* King of *Ægypt*, againſt him, inuaded *Iſrael*, beſieged *Samaria*, and in the third yeare (after the inhabitants had endured all ſorts of miſeries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Aſſyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his Sonne of the ſame name, with *Anna* his Wife, were ſent to *Niniue*; in whoſe Seates and Places the *Aſſyrians* ſent ſtrangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Iſraelites*, as thoſe of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, beſides *Babylonians*: whoſe Places and Nations I haue formerly deſcribed in the Treatiſe of the Holy Land.

Theſe later *Aſſyrian* Kings, and the *Perſians*, which followed them, are the firſt, of whom we finde mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. Theſe therefore ſerue moſt aptly to ioyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets haue written otherwiſe than fabulouſly) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and deſcribed in courſe of Hiſtory. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and ſome other *Perſians*, we finde in the Bible the ſame names by which other Authors haue recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanaſſar*, with other *Aſſyrian*, *Chaldæan* Kings, diuerſity of name hath bred queſtion of the perſons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe ſpeake of *Salmanaſſar*, King of *Aſſur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezekia*, Kings of *Iuda*, and of *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael*, whom he carried into captiuitie: and whereas *Ptolomie* makes mention of *Nabonaſſar*, ſpeaking preciſely of the time wherein he liued; it is very pertinent to ſhew, that *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* were one and the ſame man. The like reaſon alſo requireth, that it be ſhewed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he was the ſame, whom *Ptolomie* calleth *Nabopolaſſar*.

Of both theſe points ***Bucholerus*** hath well collected ſufficient proofe from the exact calculations of ſundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares, that betweene *Nabonaſſar* and the birth of *Chriſt*, there paſſed ſeauen hundred fortie and ſixe yeeres: at which diſtance of time the reigne of *Salmanaſſar* was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the ſame *Bucholerus* alleadgeth out of *Eraſmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolomie*, ſpeaking of three Eclipſes of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the ſame whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who ſent Embaſſadours to *Hezekia*, King of *Iuda*. So that if we reckon backwards to the difference of time, betweene *Merodach* and *Salmanaſſar*, we ſhall finde it the ſame which is betweene *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonaſſar*. Likewiſe *Functius* doth ſhew, that whereas from the deſtruction of *Samaria*, to the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nabuchadneſſar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the diſtance of one hundred thirty and three yeeres: the ſelfe-ſame diſtance of time is found in *Ptolomie*, betweene *Nabonaſſar* and *Nabopolaſſar*. For, whereas *Ptolomie* ſeemes to differ from this accompt, making *Nebonaſſar* more ancient by an hundred and fortie yeeres, than the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, we are to vnderſtand that he tooke *Samaria* in the eighth yeere of his reigne; ſo that the ſeauen foregoing yeeres added to theſe one hundred thirty and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall euen with that of *Ptolomie*. *Ptolomies* computation is, that from the firſt of *Nabonaſſar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolaßar*, there paſſed one hundred twentie and ſeauen yeeres. Now if we adde to theſe one hundred twentie ſeauen, the thirteene enſuing of *Nabuchadneſſars* yeere, before the Citie and Temple were deſtroyed, we haue the ſumme of one hundred and fortie yeeres. In ſo plaine a caſe more proofes are needeleſſe, though many are brought, of which this may ſerue for all, that *Ptolomie* placeth the firſt of *Nabopolaſſar* one hundred twentie and two yeeres, after the firſt of *Nabonaſſar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To theſe notes are added the conſent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more ſure than the authoritie of any Hiſtory; and therefore I thinke it folly to make doubt, whereas Hiſtorians and Mathematicall obſeruations doe ſo throughly concurre.

Yet foraſmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth reſt vnanſwered, whereby he proued *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to haue beene this *Nabonaſſar*, I will not ſpare to loſe a word or two in giuing the Reader ſatisfaction herein. It is true, that the next obſeruations of the heauenly Bodies, which *Ptolomie* recorded, after the time of *Nabonaſſar*, were in the reigne of *Mardocempadus*; the ſecond yeere of whoſe reigne, is, according to *Ptolomie*, concurrent in part with the twentie ſeauen of *Nabonaſſar*. For the ſecond of three ancient Eclipſes which he calculates, being in the ſecond yeere of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonaſſar* twentie ſeauen yeeres, ſeauenteene dayes, and eleauen houres: the accompt from *Nabonaſſar*, beginning at high-noone the firſt day of the *Ægyptiam* moneth *Thot*, then anſwering to the twenty ſixt of *Februarie*; and this Eclipſe being fiftie minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the firſt day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *Februarie*; ſo that the difference of time betweene the two Kings *Nabonaſſar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomie*, according to the *Ægyptian* yeeres. But how does this proue, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the Sonne of *Nabonaſſar*? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Succeſſour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to ſatisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himſelfe did afterwards beleeue *Mardocempadus* to haue beene rather the Nephew, than the Sonne of *Baladan*, or *Nabonaſſar*. For if hee might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne; hee might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But becauſe our Countrie-man *Lidyate* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who followes *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Caluiſius*, who hath drawne into forme of Chronologie, that learned worke, *De Emendatione Temporum*, doe hold vp the ſame aſſertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonaſſar*: I haue taken the paines to ſearch, as farre as my leiſure and diligence could reach, after any ſentence that might proue the Kindred or ſucceſſion of theſe two. Yet

Ptol Almag. l. 4. c. 8.

cannot I finde in the *Almageſt* (for the Scriptures are either ſilent in this point, or aduerſe to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this buſineſſe) any ſentence more neerely prouing the ſucceſſion of *Merodach* to *Nabonaſſar*, than the place now laſt rehearſed: which makes no more, to ſhew that the one of theſe was Father to the other, than (that I may vſe a like example) the as neere ſucceſſion of *William* the *Conqueror*, declares him, to haue beene Sonne, or Grand-childe to *Edward* the *Confeſſor*. This conſidered, we may ſafely goe on with our accompt from *Nabonaſſar*, taking him for *Salmanaſſar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driuen from our booke, when they finde ſomething in it, agreeing with *Annius*, foraſmuch as theſe Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, in thoſe very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolomie* are aſſigned to *Beloſus*, *Nabonaſſar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the reſt: no good Hiſtory naming any others, that reigned there in thoſe ages; and all Aſtronomicall obſeruations, fitly concurring, with the yeeres that are attributed to theſe, or numbred from them.

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§. II.

Of the danger and deliuerance of Iudæa from Sennacherib.

WHen *Salmanaſſar* was dead, and his ſon *Sennacherib* in poſſeſſion of the Empire, in the foureteenth yeere of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him ſuch Tribute as was agreed on, at ſuch time as *Tiglath*, the Grand-father of *Sennacherib*, and Father of *Salmanaſſar*, inuited by *Ahaz*, inuaded *Rezen* King of *Damaſcus*, and deliuered him from the dangerous Warre which *Iſrael* had vndertaken againſt him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when *Ezechias* denied, *Sennacherib*, hauing (as it ſeemes) a purpoſe to inuade *Ægypt*, ſent one part of his Armie to lye before *Ieruſalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchaſed his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of ſiluer, and thirty talents of gold: wherewith he preſented *Sennacherib*, now ſet downe before *Lachis* in *Iudæa*; yet vnder the colour of better aſſurance, and to force the King of *Iudæa* to deliuer hoſtages, the *Aſſyrian* enuironed *Ieruſalem* with a groſſe Armie, and hauing his Sword in his hand, thought it the fitteſt time to write his owne conditions.

2 Kin.18.21.

Ezechias directed his three great Counſellers, to parlie with *Rabſaces*, ouer the Wall; and to receiue his demands: who vſed three principall arguments to perſwade the people to yeelde themſelues to his Maſter *Sennacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretarie, ſent by *Ezechias*, deſired *Rabſaces* to ſpeake vnto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Iewiſh*, yet he with a louder voice directed his ſpeech to the multitude in their owne language. And for the firſt, he made them know, That if they continued obſtinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a ſhort time, be inforced to eate their owne dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, he altogether diſabled the King of *Ægypt*, from whom the *Iudæans* hoped for ſuccour; and compared him to a broken Staffe, on which whoſoeuer leaneth, pierceth his owne hand: Thirdly, that the gods who ſhould helpe them, *Ezechias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefely (as it is thought by ſome) the braſen Serpent, which had beene preſerued euer ſince *Moſes* time: and withall he bade them remember the gods of other Nations: whom, notwithſtanding any power of theirs, his Maſter had conquered and throwne downe; and for God himſelfe, in whom they truſted, hee perſwaded them by no meanes to relye on him, for hee would deceiue them. But finding the people ſilent (for ſo the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had vnderſtood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerfull Armie, hee himſelfe left the *Aſſyrian* forces in charge to others, and ſought *Sennacherib* at *Libna* in *Iudæa*, either to informe him of their reſolution in *Ieruſalem*, or to conferre with him concerning the Armie of *Tarbaca* the *Arabian*. Soone vpon this there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom hee partly aduiſed, and partly threatned to ſubmit himſelfe: vſing the ſame blaſphemous outrage againſt the all-powerfull God, as before. But *Ezechias* ſending thoſe Counſellers to the Prophet *Eſay*, which had lately beene ſent to *Rabſaces*, receiued from him comfort, and aſſurance, that this Heathen Idolater ſhould not preuaile; againſt whom the King alſo beſought aide from Almightie God, repeating the moſt inſolent and blaſphemous parts of *Semacheribs* letter, before the

2 Kings 18.21.

Altar of God in the Temple, confeſſing this part thereof to be true. *That the King of* Aſhur *had deſtroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had ſet fire on their gods, for they were no Gods, but the worke of mans hands, euen wood and ſtone, &c.*

2 Kings 19.

The reaſon that moued *Sennacherib* to deſire to poſſeſſe himſelfe in haſte of *Ieruſalem*, was, that he might thereinto haue retraited his Armie, which was departed as it ſeemeth from the ſiege of *Peluſium* in *Ægypt*, for feare of *Terhaca*: and though the Scriptures are ſilent of that enterpriſe (which in theſe bookes of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, ſpeake but of the affaires of the *Iewes* in effect) yet the ancient *Beroſus*, and out of him *Ioſephus*, and Saint *Hierome*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Sennacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Aſſyria*: which he might iuſtly doe, becauſe *Tiglath* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wreſted from *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*: as *Gilead* ouer *Iordan*, and the reſt of *Arabia Petræa* adioyning: the ſame *Herodotus* alſo maketh *Sethon* King of *Ægypt*, to be *Vulcans* Prieſt, and reporteth that the reaſon of *Sennacheribs* returne from *Peluſium* in *Ægypt*, which he alſo beſieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in ſunder the Bow-ſtrings of his Archers, and ſpoyled the reſt of their weapons in that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarhaca*, remembred by *Ioſephus* and *Beroſus*, was the more vrgent. Saint *Hierome* vpon the ſeauen and thirty of *Eſay*, out of the ſame *Beroſus*, as alſo in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Ioſephus* citeth ſomewat otherwiſe than his words lye, reports *Senacheribs* retrait in theſe words. *Pugnaſſe autem* Senacherib *Regem Aſſyriorum contra Ægyptios, & obſediſſe Peluſium, iamque extructis aggeribus vrbi capiendæ, veniſſe* Taracham *Regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & vna nocte iuxta Ieruſalem, centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Aſſyrij peſtilentia corruiſſe narrat* Herodotus: *& pleniſſimè* Beroſus *Chaldaicæ ſcriptor Hiſtoriæ, quorum fides de proprijs libris petenda eſt*; *That* Sennacherib *King of the Aſſyrians fought againſt the Ægyptians, and beſieged Peluſium, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the Citie,* Tarhacas *King of the Æthiopians came to helpe them, and that in one night, neere Ieruſalem, one hundred eightie fiue thouſand of the Aſſyrian Armie periſhed by peſtilence; of theſe things* (ſaith Hierome) * Herodotus *reports: and more at large* Beroſus *a writer of Chaldæan Storie, whoſe credit is to be taken from their owne Bookes.* Out of *Eſay* it is gathered, that this deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* Armie was in this manner: *Thou ſhalt be viſited of the Lord of Hoaſts with thunder and ſhaking, and a great noyſe, a whirlewinde and a tempeſt, and a flame of deuouring fire.* But *Ioſephus* hath it more largely out of the ſame *Beroſus*, an authority (becauſe ſo well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; Sennacheribus *autem ab Ægyptiaco bello reuertens, oſtendit ibi exercitum, quem ſub* Rabſacis *imperio reliquerat peſte diuinitus immiſſâ deletum, primâ nocte poſteaquam Vrbem oppugnare cœperat, abſumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copijs ſollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum ſuum contendit, ad regiam quæ Ninus dicitur. Vbi paulo poſt per inſidias Seniorum è filijs ſuis,* Adramelechi, *&* Selennari, *vitam amiſit: occiſus in ipſo Templo quod dicitur* Araſci; *quem præcipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulſis & in Armeniam fugientibus,* Aſaracoldas *minor filius in Regnum ſucceſſit*; Sennacherib (ſaith Ioſephus) *returning from the Ægyptian warre, found there his Armie, which he had left vnder the command of* Rabſaces, *deſtroyed by a peſtilence ſent from God, the firſt night that he had begunne to aſſault the Towne: one hundred foureſcore and fiue thouſand of the Souldiers being conſumed with their Chieftaines and Coronells. With which deſtruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the reſt of his Armie, he made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where ſhortly after by the treaſon of two of the eldeſt of his Sonnes,* Adramelech *and* Selennar *or* Sharezer, *hee loſt his life in the Temple dedicated to* Araſces, *or* Neſroch: *whom hee eſpecially worſhipped. Theſe his Sonnes being for their parricide chaſed away by the people: and flying into* Armenia, Aſaracoldas *his yonger Sonne ſucceeded in the Kingdome.* Who in the beginning of his reigne ſent new troupes out of *Aſſyria* and *Samaria*, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his grand-father *Salmanaſſar*. What this *Neſroch* was, it is vncertaine: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath ſomewhat of him, but nothing poſitiuely. It is certaine, that *Venus Vrania* was worſhipped by the *Aſſyrians*; and ſo was *Iupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Euſebius*, and *Cyrillus* witneſſe. Many fancies there are, what cauſe his ſonnes had to marther him; but the

Herod.l.2.p.69

Ioſ.ant l.10.c.1.

Her.Euterp.l.2

* To wit in part, for *Herodotus* mentioneth nothing, neither of *Tarhaca*, nor of *Ieruſalem*, nor of the Armie there.

Eſay 29.6.

Ioſ.ant.l 10.c.2

Selennar otherwiſe *Sharezer*, who ſlew him, as he was paying to *Neſroe* his god.

2 Kings 19.

2 King: 19.37

Eſdr.1 c 4.v.2.

Lyr.

moſt likely it is, that he had formerly diſ-inherited thoſe two, and conferred the Empire on *Aſſarhaddon*. *Tobit* tels vs, that it was fiftie fiue dayes after *Senacheribs* returne, ere he was murthered by his ſonnes; during which time he ſlew great numbers of the *Iſraelites* in *Nineue*, till the moſt iuſt God turned the Sword againſt his owne breſt.

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§. III.

Of Ezekias *his ſickneſſe and recouerie; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.*

After this maruellous deliuery, *Ezekias* ſickned, and was told by *Iſaiah*, that he muſt dye: but after he had beſought God with teares for his deliuery, *Iſaiah*, as he was going from him, returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promiſe him recouery after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for fifteene yeeres. But *Ezekias* ſomewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth a 2 *King*.20. ſigne to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Iſaiah*, the ſhadow of the Sunne caſt it ſelfe the contrary way, and went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cauſe that moued *Ezekias* to lament (ſaith Saint *Hierome*) was, becauſe he had as yet no ſonne, and then in deſpaire that the *Meſſias* ſhould come out of the houſe of *Dauid*, or at leaſt of his Seede. His diſeaſe ſeemeth to be the Peſtilence, by the medicine giuen him by the Prophet, to wit, a maſſe of Figges, layed to the Botch or Sore.

This wonder when the Wiſe-men of *Chaldæa* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the firſt of that houſe, he ſent to *Ezekias*, to be informed of the cauſe: at which time *Ezekias* ſhewed him all the Treaſure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, who told him; *The dayes* *Eſay* 39. *are at hand, that all that is in thine houſe, and whatſoeuer thy fathers haue layed vp in ſtore to this day, ſhall be carried into Babel*; nothing ſhall be left, ſaith the Lord. It may ſeeme ſtrange, how *Ezekia* ſhould haue got any treaſure worth the ſhewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the yeere before. But the ſpoyle of the ſame *Senacherib* his Campe repayed all with aduantage, and made *Ezekia* richer vpon the ſuddaine than euer he had beene: which vnexpected wealth was a ſtrong temptation to boaſting. After this time *Ezekia* had reſt, and ſpending without noyſe that addition which God had made vnto his life; he dyed, hauing reigned nine and twentie yeeres. One onely offenſiue Warre he made, which was againſt the *Philiſtims* with good ſucceſſe. *Eccleſ*.48. Among his other acts (ſhortly remembred in *Eccleſiaſticus*) he deuiſed to bring water to *Ieruſalem*.

In two reſpects they ſay that he offended God: the one, that he reioyced too much at the deſtruction and lamentable end of his enemie; the other, that he ſo much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbeare to ſhew them to ſtrangers. But the reaſon which moued *Ezekias* (ſpeaking humanely) to entertaine the Embaſſadours of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, becauſe he came to viſit him, and brought him a preſent, congratulating the recouery of his health; as alſo in that *Merodach* had weakned the houſe of *Senacherib*, his fearefull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant vnder *Senacherib* in *Babylon*, vſurped that State himſelfe, in the laſt yeere of that King, and held it by ſtrong hand againſt his ſon *Aſſerhaddon*; who was not onely ſimple, but impaired in ſtrength, by the moleſtation of his brothers. This aduantage *Merodach* eſpied, and remembring, that their anceſtor *Phul Belochus* had ſet his owne maſter *Sardanapalus* beſides the cuſhion, thought it as lawfull for himſelfe to take the opportunity which this Kings weakeneſſe did offer, as it had beene for *Belochus* to make vſe of the others wickedneſſe: and ſo, finding himſelfe beloued of the *Babylonians*, and ſufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazard, and preuailed. The aſſertion of this hiſtory is made by the ſame arguments that were vſed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here againe rehearſe. So of this new Race, which cut a-ſunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were onely fiue Kings.

Phul Belochus.	who reigned	48	yeeres.
Tiglath Philaſſar.		27	
Salmanaſſar.		10	
Senacherib.		7	
Aſſarhaddon.		10	

But foraſmuch as the laſt yeere of *Salmanaſſar* was alſo the firſt of *Senacherib* his ſon, we reckon the time, wherein the houſe of *Phul* held the *Aſſyrian* Kingdome, to haue been an hundred and one yeeres, of which, the laſt fiue and twentie were ſpent with *Ezekia*, vnder *Salmanaſſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſſarhaddon*.

§. IIII.

The Kings that were in Media during the reigne of Ezekia*: Of the difference found betweene ſundry Authors, in rehearſing the Median Kings. Other contemporaries of* Ezekia*: of* Candaules, Gyges, *and the Kings deſcended from* Hercules.

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were ſo, that variety of names, by which theſe Kings were called in ſeuerall Hiſtories, hath cauſed them to ſeeme more than indeede they were; or whether the ſonnes reigning with the fathers, haue cauſed not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they gouerned *Media*, to exceede the due proportion: or whether the Copies themſelues, of *Cteſias* and *Annius* his *Metaſthenes*, haue beene faulty, as neither of theſe two Authors is ouer-highly commended of truſtineſſe: ſo it is, that the names, number, and length of reigne, are all very diuerſly reported of theſe *Median* Kings, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it neede not ſeeme ſtrange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezekia*. For to reconcile ſo great a difference, as is found in thoſe Writers that varie from *Euſebius*, is more then I dare vndertake. I will onely here ſet downe the roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as ſundry Authors haue deliuered it.

Annius his *Metaſthenes* orders them and their reignes thus:

Arbaces.	who reigned	28	yeeres.
Mandanes.		50	
Soſarmon.		30	
Articarmin.		50	
Arbianes.		22	
Artæus.		40	
Attines.		22	
Aſtybarus, with his ſonne *Apanda.*		20	
Apanda alone.		30	
Darius with *Cyrus.*		36	

Diodorus Siculus following *Cteſias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metaſthenes* follow *Diodore*, with ſome little variation, that he might not ſeeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

Arbaces.	who reigned	28	yeeres.
Mandanes.		50	
Soſarmus.		30	
Artycas.		50	
Arbianes.		22	
Arſæus.		40	
Artynes.		22	
Artabanus.		40	

Aſtybara.
Aſtyages. } the continuance of theſe two he doth not mention.

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile theſe Catalogues, and to make them alſo agree with *Euſebius*. But foraſmuch as it ſeemes to me an impoſſible matter, to attaine vnto the truth of theſe forgotten times, by coniectures founded vpon

Cteſias and *Metaſthenes*, I will lay the burthen vpon *Euſebius*, who liued in an age better furniſhed than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore ſuffice, that theſe two Kings (whom I haue reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Euſebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not ſtay to ſearch. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Euſebius*, reigned in this order.

Arbaces.	reigned	28	yeeres.
Soſarmus.		30	
Medidus.		40	
Cardiceas.		15	
Deioces.		54	
Phraortes.		24	
Cyaxares.		32	
Aſtyages.		38	

Theſe names, and this courſe of ſucceſſion I retaine; but adde vnto theſe, *Cyaxares* the ſonne of *Aſtyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and ſomtimes follow *Herodotus*, in ſetting down the length of a Kings reigne, otherwiſe than *Euſebius* hath it: of which variations, I will render my reaſons in due place.

The twentie nine yeeres of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the foure firſt that were choſen Gouernors of *Athens* for ten yeeres, that is, of *Charops*, *Æſimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the firſt of theſe I heare nothing, ſaue that *Rome* was built in his firſt yeere; of which perhaps himſelfe did not heare. Of the ſecond and third I finde onely the names. The fourth made himſelfe knowne by a ſtrange example of iuſtice, or rather of cruelty, that he ſhewed vpon his owne Daughter. For he finding that ſhe had offended in vnchaſtity, cauſed her to be lockt vp with an Horſe, giuing to neither of them any foode: ſo the Horſe, conſtrained by hunger, deuoured the vnhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the firſt King, and founder of that Citie *Romulus*, did reigne both before, and ſomewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the laſt King, ruled in the ſame age.

This Region was firſt called *Mæonia*. *Lydus* the ſonne of *Atys* reigning in it, gaue the name of *Lydia*, if we beleeue ſuch authority as we finde. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred vpon *Argon*, who came of *Alcæus* the ſon of *Hercules*, by *Iardana*, a bond-woman. The race of theſe *Heraclidæ* continued reigning fiftie fiue yeeres (in which two and twentie Generations paſſed) the ſonne continually ſucceeding the father. *Candaules* the ſon of *Myrſus* was the laſt of his race, who doated ſo much vpon the beautie of his owne Wife, that he could not be content to enioy her, but would needes enforce one *Gyges*, the ſonne of *Daſcylus*, to behold her naked body; and placed the vnwilling man ſecretly in her chamber, where he might ſee her preparing to bedward. This was not ſo cloſely carried, but that the Queene perceiued *Gyges* at his going forth, and vnderſtanding the matter, tooke it in ſuch high diſdaine, that ſhe forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treaſon. So *Gyges*, being brought againe into the ſame chamber by the Queene, ſlew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty eight yeeres, beginning in the laſt of *Ezekia*, one yeere before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his ſon *Ardys* reigned nine & forty yeres; then *Sadyattes*, twelue; *Halyattes*, fiftie ſeauen; and finally *Cræſus*, the ſon of *Halyattes*, fourteene yeres: who loſt the Kingdome, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Perſia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* Kings, whom *Cræſus* his Progenitor diſpoſſeſt, are deduced from *Hercules*, ſo of the ſame *Hercules* there ſprang many other Kings, which gouerned ſeuerall Countries very long; as in *Aſia*, the *Myſians*; in *Greece* the *Lacedæmonians*, *Meſſenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argiues*; and from the *Argiues*, the *Macedonians*; as likewiſe from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracuſanes*: beſides many great and famous, though priuate, Families.

But of the *Heraclidæ* that reigned in *Lydia*, I haue not troubled my ſelfe to take notice in the time of their ſeuerall reignes: for little is found of them, beſide the bare names, and the folly of this laſt King *Candaules*.

Chap. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Ægypt, betweene the deliuerance of Iſrael *from thence, and the reigne of* Ezekiah *in Iuda, when Ægypt and Iuda made a league againſt the Aſſyrians.*

§. I.

That many names of Ægyptian Kings, found in Hiſtorie, are like to haue belonged onely to Viceroyes. An example prouing this out of William *of Tyre his Hiſtorie of the holy warre.*

THe emulation and quarrels ariſing in theſe times, between the mighty Kingdomes of *Ægypt* and *Aſſyria*, doe require our paines, in collecting the moſt memorable things in *Ægypt*, and ſetting downe briefly the ſtate of that Countrie, which had continued long a flouriſhing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Aſſyria* for the Maiſtrie. Of *Cham* the ſonne of *Noah*, who firſt planted that Country, and of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, vntill the *Iſraelites* were thence deliuered, more hath beene ſaide alreadie than I can ſtand to; though I hold it no ſhame to faile in ſuch coniectures. That which I haue deliuered, in ſpeaking mine opinion of the *Ægyptian Dynaſties*, muſt heere againe helpe me. For it may truely be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are ſaid to haue reigned in *Ægypt*, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, ſuch as *Ioſeph* was, and ſuch as were the *Soldanes* in later ages. Therefore I will not onely forbeare to ſeeke after thoſe, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* haue reckoned vp, from the mouthes of *Ægyptian* Prieſts, deliuering them by number, without rehearſing their names; but will ſaue the labour of marſhalling them in order, whoſe names onely are found; the yeares of their reignes, and other circumſtances prouing them to haue beene Kings in deed, being not recorded.

But that I may not ſeeme before hand, to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I liſt; it were not amiſſe, to giue vnto the Reader ſuch ſatisfaction in this point, as apparent reaſon, and truth of Hiſtorie doth afford. Firſt therefore, wee ought not to beleeue thoſe numbers of Generations, which the lying Prieſts haue reckoned vp, to magnifie their Antiquities. For wee know, that from *Abraham*, our *Sauiour Chriſt* was remoued onely fortie two deſcents, which makes it euident, that in farre ſhorter time, namely before the *Perſian* Empire, there could not haue paſſed away twice as manie ſucceſſions in *Ægypt*: eſpecially conſidering, that many of theſe, whoſe continuance is expreſſed, hauing reigned longer than fortie yeeres. It followes that we ſhould ſquare the number of the *Ægyptiau* Kings in ſome euen proportion, to thoſe which did beare rule in other Countries. As for the reſt, whoſe names we finde ſcattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the ninteenth booke of the holy Warre, written by *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, may eaſily perſwade himſelfe, that it is not hard to finde names enow, of ſuch as might be thought to haue reigned in *Ægypt*, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here inſert, as briefly as I can, ſome things making to that purpoſe for the pleaſure and information of ſuch, as will not trouble themſelues with turning ouer many Authors.

When *Elahdech* the *Caliph* ruled in *Ægypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a ſubtile man, made himſelfe *Soldan*, by force and cunning, chaſing away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was *Soldan* before & after him. This *Dargan* miniſtred matter of quarrell to *Amalricke* King of *Ieruſalem*; and ſuſtained, with little loſſe, an inuaſion, which *Amalricke* made vpon *Ægypt*. Heereupon he grew ſo inſolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former *Soldan* hoped to make his partie good againſt him, if he could get any forces wherwith to enter *Ægypt*.

Briefly, *Sanar* ſueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damaſco*, for aide, who ſends an Army of his *Turkes*, vnder the command of *Syracon*, againſt the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The Victorie was *Dargans*; but he enioyed it not: for in few daies after, hee was ſlaine by treaſon, whereby *Sanar* did recouer his Dignitie: which to eſtabliſh, he ſlew all the Kindred and Friends of *Dargan*, that he could finde in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all theſe doings, the *Caliph Elhadech* gaue little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them liued, and had the adminiſtration of the Kingdome, whileſt he might haue the profit of it, and enioy his pleaſure. But new troubles preſently ariſe, which (one would thinke) do neerly touch the *Caliph* himſelfe. *Syracon* with his *Turkes*, whom *Sanar* hath gotten to come into *Ægypt*, will not now be intreated there to leaue him, and quietly go their way home. They ſeize vpon the Towne of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arriuall of more company from *Damaſco*, for the conqueſt of all *Ægypt*. The *Soldan* perceiues their intent, and findes himſelfe not ſtrong enough to expell them; much leſſe to repell the *Turkiſh* Armie, that was likely to ſecond them. He therefore ſends Meſſengers to King *Almaricke* of *Ieruſalem*, whom with large promiſes, hee gets to bring him aide, and ſo driues out the *Turkes*. Of all this trouble, the great *Caliph* heares nothing, or not ſo much, as ſhould make him looke to the playing of his owne game.

A greater miſchiefe ariſeth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadech* particularly, in his owne Title. *Syracon*, Captaine of the *Turkes* that had beene in *Ægypt*, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (who was oppoſite to him of *Ægypt*, each of them claiming as heire to *Mahomet* that falſe prophet, the Soueraignetie ouer all that were of the *Saracen* Law) and tells him the weakeneſſe of the *Ægyptian*, with his owne abilitie of doing ſeruice in thoſe parts, offering his beſt meanes for the extirpation of the Schiſmaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Ægypt*, with the Weſterne parts, vnder the ſubiection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and ioyfully entertained; all the Eaſterne Prouinces are vp in Armes; and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, deſcendeth into *Ægypt*. The noyſe of this great expedition ſo affrighteth King *Almaricke*, that with all his forces hee haſteth into *Ægypt*: well knowing how neerely it concerned him and his Kingdome of *Ieruſalem*, to keepe the *Saracens* from ioyning all vnder one head. *Sanar* the *Soldan* perceiuing the faithfull care of the *Chriſtians* his friends, welcomes them, and beſtirs himſelfe in giuing them all manner of content, as it behooued him: for by their admirable valour, hee finally draue the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victorie was not ſo ſoone gotten, as it is quicklie told.

Strange it is (which moſt concernes our preſent purpoſe) that of ſo deſperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, ſeemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to haue beene King in title onely, who medled ſo little in the Gouernment? The *Soldan*, finding that the *Chriſtians* (without whoſe helpe, all was loſt) could not well ſtay, ſo long as his neceſſities required; makes large offers to King *Almaricke*, vpon condition that he ſhould abide by it. He promiſeth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the *Saracens*, perhaps, called it a Penſion) which the Kings of *Ieruſalem* ſhould receiue out of *Ægypt*, for this behoouefull aſſiſtance. But the *Chriſtians* vnderſtanding that the *Soldan* (how much ſoeuer he tooke vpon him) was ſubiect to an higher Lord, would make no bargain of ſuch importance, with any other than the *Caliph* himſelfe. Hereupon *Hugh* Earle of *Cæſarea*, and a Knight of the Templars, are ſent vnto *Elhadech* to ratifie the couenants. Now ſhall we ſee the greatneſſe of the *Caliph* and his eſtate.

Theſe Embaſſadors were conueighed by the *Soldan* to *Cairo*; where arriuing at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The firſt entrance was through darke Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Æthiopians*, which with all diligence, did reuerence to the *Soldan* as he paſſed along. Through theſe ſtreights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of ſuch beautie and riches, that they could not retaine the grauitie of Embaſſadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they ſaw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all wrought ouer with emboſſed workes, curious pauements, fiſh-ponds of marble with cleare waters, and many ſorts of ſtrange birds, vnknowne in thoſe parts of the world, as comming perhaps from the Eaſt *Indies*, which then was vndiſcouered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conueyed them into other Courts within theſe; as farre excelling the former, as the former did ſurpaſſe ordinarie houſes. It were tedious perhaps to rehearſe, how, the further they entred, the more high ſtate they found, and cauſe of maruaile; ſuffice it, that the good Archbiſhop, who wrote theſe things, was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally they were brought into the *Caliphs* owne lodgings, which were yet more ſtately, and better guarded; where entring the Preſence, the *Soldan* hauing twice proſtrated himſelfe, did the third time caſt off his Sword, that he wore about his necke, and threw himſelfe on the ground, before the curtaine, behinde which the *Caliph* ſate. Preſently the trauerſe, wrought with Gold and pearles was opened, and the *Caliph* himſelfe diſcouered, ſitting with great Maieſtie on a throne of gold, hauing few of his moſt inward ſeruants and *Eunuches* about him. When the *Soldan* had humbly kiſſed his Maſters feet, he briefly told the cauſe of his comming, the danger wherein the land ſtood, and the offers that he had made vnto King *Almericke*, deſiring the *Caliph* himſelfe to ratifie them, in preſence of the *Embaſſadors*. The *Caliph* anſwered, That he would throughly performe all which was promiſed. But this contented not the Embaſſadors: They would haue him to giue his hand vpon the bargaine; which the *Ægyptians*, that ſtood by, thought an impudent requeſt. Yet his greatneſſe condeſcended at length, after much deliberation, at the earneſt requeſt of the *Soldan*, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of *Cæſarea* ſaw that the *Caliph* gaue his hand, neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, *Truth* ſeekes no holes to hide it ſelfe; Princes, that will hold couenant, muſt deale openly, nakedly, and ſincerely; Giue vs therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we ſhall truſt you, for wee we will make no bargaine with your Gloue. Much adoe there was about this: for it ſeemed againſt the Maieſtie of ſuch a Prince to yeeld ſo farre. But, when it would none otherwiſe be, with a ſmiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his Seruants) he vouchſafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and ſo rehearſing the couenants word by word, as the Earle ſpake them, he ratified all; diſmiſſing finally the Embaſſadors, with ſuch rewards as teſtified his Greatneſſe.

In this *Caliph* and his *Sultan*, wee may diſcerne the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his *Viceroy*: we ſee a Prince of great eſtate, ſitting in his Palace, and not vexing himſelfe with the great preparations made againſt him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we ſee his Viceroy, in the meane ſeaſon, vſing all Royall power; making warre & peace; entertaining, & repelling Armies of ſtrangers; yea making the Land of *Ægypt* tributarie to a forren Prince. What greater authoritie was giuen to *Ioſeph*, when *Pharaoh* ſaid vnto him, *Thou ſhalt be ouer mine houſe, and at thy word ſhall all my people be armed, onely in the Kings Throne will I be aboue thee, Behold, I haue ſet thee ouer all the Land of Ægypt.*

I doe not commend this forme of Gouernment; neither can I approue the coniecture of mine Author, where he thinkes, that the *Ægyptians*, euer ſince *Ioſephs* time, haue felt the burden of that ſeruitude which he brought vpon them, when he bought them, and their Lands, for *Pharaoh*. Herein I finde his iudgement good; that he affirmes this manner of the *Ægyptian* Kings, in taking their eaſe, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient cuſtomes, practiſed by the *Pharaohs*. For we finde, that euen the *Ptolomies* (excepting *Ptolomæus Lagi*, and his ſonne *Philadelphus*, founder and eſtabliſher of that race) were giuen, all of them, wholly to pleaſe their owne appetites, leauing the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuches, and other miniſters of their deſires. The pleaſures which that Countrie afforded, were indeed ſufficient to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the *Ægyptians* held their Princes, gaue them ſecuritie, whereby they might the better truſt their Officers, with ſo ample commiſſion. But of this matter, I will not ſtand longer to diſpute. It is enough to haue ſhewed, that the great and almoſt abſolute power of the Viceroyes gouerning *Ægypt*, is ſet downe by *Moſes*, and that a liuely example of the ſame is found in *William* of *Tyre*; who liued in the ſame age; was, in few yeeres after, Chancellour of the Kingdome of *Ieruſalem*; and had full diſcourſe with *Hugh* Earle of *Cæſarea*, touching all theſe matters. Wherefore it remaines, that we be not carried away with a vaine opinion, to beleeue that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Ægyptians* haue honoured with that ſtile; but reſt contented with a Catalogue of ſuch, as we finde by circumſtance, likely to haue reigned in that Country; after whom it followes that we ſhould make enquiry.

§. II.

Of Acherres; *whether he were* Vchoreus *that was the eighth from* Oſymandyas. *Of* Oſymandyas *and his Tombe.*

IN this buſineſſe I hold it vaine to be too curious. For who can hope to attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Euſebius*, from both of them; and late Writers, that haue ſought to gather the truth out of theſe and others, finde no one with whom they can agree? In this caſe *Annius* would doe good ſeruice, if a man could truſt him. But it is enough to be beholding to him, when others doe either ſay nothing, or that which may iuſtly bee ſuſpected. I will therefore hold my ſelfe contented, with the pleaſure that he hath done me, in ſaying ſomewhat of *Oſiris, Iſis, Orus*, and thoſe antiquities remoued ſo farre out of ſight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*, it ſhall ſuffice, that *Herodotus, Diodorus*, and *Euſebius*, haue not beene ſilent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken paines, to range into ſome good order the names that are extant in theſe, or elſe found ſcattering in others.

From the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*, vnto the reigne of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to bee the ſame that the *Greekes* call *Proteus*) there is little or no diſagreement about the *Ægyptian* Kings. Wherefore I ſet downe the ſame which are found in *Euſebius*, and giue to euery one the ſame length of reigne.

Acherres was the firſt of theſe, who ſucceeded vnto *Chenchers*, that periſhed in the Red Sea. This King ſeemes to *Reineccius* to be the ſame whom *Diodorus* calls *Vchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King, named *Oſymandyas*, from whom *Vchoreus* is ſaid to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* coniectures) was the great *Oſymandias*; or elſe that this *Acherres* was *Vchoreus*: for the diſtance betweene them was more then eight generations. *Mercator* iudgeth *Oſymandyas* to haue been the husband of *Ancheres, Orus* the ſeconds daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Ioſephus*) doth omit his name, and inſert his wiues, into the Catalogue of Kings, becauſe he was King in his wiues right. As for *Vchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to finde him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to ſignifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that *Greeke* word elſe doth) the eighth, but to be an *Ægyptian* name, belonging alſo to *Vchoreus*, who might haue had two names, as many of the reſt had. I will not vexe my braines in the vnprofitable ſearch of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Oſymandias*, was wrought vpon his monument; the moſt thereof in figures, which I thinke the *Ægyptians* did fabulouſly expound. For whereas there was pourtraied a great Armie with the ſiege of a Towne, the captiuitie of the People, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the *Ægyptians* ſaid to denote the conqueſt of *Baſtria* made by that King: which how likelie it was, let others iudge. I hold this goodly peece of worke, which *Diodore* ſo particularly deſcribes, to haue been erected for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of *Ægypt*, and to their Viceroyes; whileſt yet they were not ſo ambitious, as euery one to haue his own particular monument, ſtriuing therein to exceed all others. This appeares by the many ſtatuaes, therein placed, by the Warres, the iudgement ſeat, the receiuing of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the account of Reuennues, and plentie of all Cattell and Foode; all which were there curiouſly wrought, ſhewing the ſeuerall Offices of a Gouernour. On the Tombe of *Oſymandyas* was this inſcription. *I am* Oſymandyas *King of Kings; If any deſire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed ſome of my workes.* Let them, that hope to exceed his workes, labour to know what he was. But ſince by thoſe words, *Or where I lie*, it ſhould ſeeme that hee lay not there interred, wee may lawfully ſuſpect that it was *Ioſeph*, whoſe body was preſerued among the *Hebrewes*, to be buried in the land of *Canaan*, and this empty Monument might King *Orus*, who out-liued him, erect in honor of his high deſerts, among the royal Sepulchers. To which purpoſe, the plentie of Cattell, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name *Oſymandias* doth not hinder this coniecture; ſeeing *Ioſeph* had one new name giuen to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dreame, and might, vpon further occaſions, haue another, to his increaſe of honor. As for that ſtile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkiſh Baſſaes* are called, that is, Great aboue the Great.

Now although it be ſo, that the reckoning falls out right, betweene the times of *Ioſeph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eight in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whoſe Viceroy *Ioſeph* was) yet will I heereby ſeeke, neither to fortifie mine owne coniecture, as touching *Ioſeph*, nor to inferre any likelihood of *Acherres* his beeing *Vchoreus*. For it might well be, that *Memphis* was built by ſome ſuch King as was *Gehoar*, Lieutenant vnto the *Caliph Elcain*; who hauing to his Maſters vſe conquered *Ægypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not farre from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly ſo pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Miſtreſſe, though he himſelfe were a *Dalmatian* ſlaue.

Iohn Leo Hiſt. Afric. l.1.& l.8.

§. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Rameſſes, *and* Amenophis. *Of* Myris, *and the Lake that beares his name.*

WHen *Acherres* had reigned eight yeeres, *Cherres* ſucceeded, and held the Kingdome fifteene yeeres: then reigned *Armeus* fiue yeeres, and after him *Rameſſes*, threeſcore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameſſes* is that Hiſtorie vnderſtood by *Euſebius*, which is common among the *Greekes*, vnder the names of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*. For it is ſaid that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Ægypt* by his brother, fledde into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdome of *Argos*: that he had fiftie Daughters, whom vpon ſeeming reconciliation, he gaue in marriage to his brothers fiftie ſonnes, but commanded euery one of them to kill her husband the firſt night; that onely *Hypermneſtra*, one of his Daughters, did ſaue her husband *Lynceus*, and ſuffered him to eſcape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudie ſiſters, when they died, were enioyned this fooliſh puniſhment in Hell, to fill a leaking Veſſell with water.

The reigne of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus*, was *Danaus*; and *Rameſſes*, *Ægyptus*; is more then *Reineccius* beleeues: he rather takes *Armeus* to haue beene *Myris*, or *Meris*, who cauſed the great lake to be made which beares his name. For my owne part, as I can eaſily beleeue, that he which fled out of *Ægypt* into *Greece*, was a man of ſuch qualitie as the *Soldan Sanar*, of whom we ſpake before; ſo doe I not finde how in ſo ſhort a reigne, as fiue yeeres, a worke of that labour could bee finiſhed, which was required vnto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his owne Sepulcher and his wiues being ſome part, it is manifeſt that hee was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whoſe age is vncertaine, and of whoſe reignes we haue no aſſurance, I may truely ſay, that their great workes are not enough to proue them of the houſe of *Pharaoh*, ſeeing that greater deeds or more abſolute, than were thoſe of *Ioſeph*, who bought all the people of *Ægypt* as bond-men, and all their Land for bread; of *Gehoar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Countrie Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It ſhall therefore be enough to ſet downe the length of their reignes, whom we finde to haue followed one another in order of ſucceſſion: but in rehearſing the great acts which were performed, I will not ſtand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris* is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thouſand ſixe hundred furlongs in compaſſe, and fiftie fadomes deepe. It ſerued to receiue the waters of *Nilus*, when the ouer-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Countrie; and to ſupply the defect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Riuer did not riſe high enough. In opening the ſluces of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were ſpent fiftie talents; but the Lake it ſelfe defraied that coſt; ſeeing the tribute impoſed vpon Fiſh taken therein, was euery day one talent, which *Myris* gaue to his Wife to buy ſweet oyntments, and other ornaments for her bodie. In the middeſt of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchers of *Myris* and his Wife, and ouer each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fiftie paces high; hauing on the tops their ſtatues, ſitting in Thrones. I finde not the deſcription of this Lake in Maps, anſwerable to the report of Hiſtorians: yet is it very great. The yeeres of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* diuided, by inſerting one *Armeſis* (whom *Euſebius* omits) that ſhould haue reigned one yeere and odde moneths of the time; but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Rameſſes*, his ſonne *Amenophis* held the Kingdome fortie yeares. Some giue him onely nineteene yeeres; and *Mercator* thinkes him to haue been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I haue already ſpoken in the firſt Booke.

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§. IIII.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynaſtie of the Larthes.

SEthoſis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fiftie fiue yeeres. To him are aſcribed the famous acts of that ancient *Seſoſtris*. But the ſtate of the world was not ſuch at theſe times, that ſo great an expedition as the old *Seſoſtris* made, could haue beene eyther eaſily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paſſed, had it now beene performed; as any man will perceiue, if hee looke vpon my Chronologicall Table, and conſider who liued with this *Zethus*. With this King began the *Dynaſtie* of the *Larthes*; which *Reineccius* coniectures to haue had the ſame ſignification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria*, were called *Lartes*, (the *Hetrurians* being iſſued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Ægypt*) and to haue ſignified as much as *Imperator* or *Generall*. The Warres in which theſe Kings were Generalls, I take to haue beene againſt the *Æthiopians*: for ſure I am, that they troubled not the Countrie of *Paleſtina*, that lay next vnto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they trauelled ouer the deſart ſands, on the other hand; to ſeeke matter of conqueſt, in the poore Countries of *Africa*. But theſe Generalls (if the *Larthes* were ſuch) were not many. Fiue onely had that title; and the laſt of theſe tooke it, perhaps, as hereditarie from the firſt; in ſuch ſort as the *Roman* Emperours were proud for a while, to bee called *Antonini*, till the moſt vnſuteable conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his ſucceſſors forbeare the name.

Here it may be obiected, that the *Dynaſties* (as appeares by this particular) tooke name from the Kings, that the Kings alſo did adminiſter the gouernment themſelues; and that therefore I am deceiued in aſcribing ſo much vnto the Viceroyes. But it is to be conſidered, that what is ſaid of theſe *Larthes*, depends onely vpon coniecture, and that the authoritie of the Regents, or Viceroyes, might be great enough, though ſome few Kings tooke the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For ſo wee finde in *Iohn Leo*, that the *Soldan* of *Ægypt* (after ſuch time as the *Soldane Saladine*, murdering the *Caliph*, got the Soueraigntie to himſelfe) had vnder him a Viceroy, ſtiled *Eddaguadare*, who had authoritie to place, or diſplace, any Magiſtrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almoſt as great, as the *Soldans* owne. Yet was there alſo the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord Generall of the *Soldans* forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good, ſpend of the *Soldans* Treaſure. So might the office of the Viceroyes continue, though the Kings themſelues, taking the charge, or title of Generalls vpon them, did ſomwhat abridge the greatneſſe of that ſecond place. As for the names of the *Dynaſties*, it skills not whence they were drawne; whether from their Countrie, as thoſe of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*, or from ſome eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many thinke, that the ſeuenteenth *Dynaſtie* was called of the Sheep-heards, becauſe *Ioſeph* gouerned in part thereof; or from the Kings themſelues that reigned; as this was ſaid to be of the *Larthes* or *Generalls*. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or *Generals*, yet was it not without Kings, foraſmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Seſac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let vs now returne to the buſineſſe which we left.

Iohn Leo.l.8.

Ramſes was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethoſis*, threeſcore and ſixe yeeres. He is miſtaken for that ſecond *Seſoſtris*, of whom I haue ſpoken in the firſt bookes. I find nothing worth rehearſall of this *Ramſes*, or of *Amenophis* and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned fortie, the later ſixe and twenty yeeres. Wherefore it may very well bee, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by theſe as hereditarie.

Thuoris, the laſt of the *Larthes*, reigned onely ſeuen yeeres; yet is hee thought to haue beene that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, ſaying, That he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the ſacke of *Troy*, reſtored her to *Menelaus*. I neede ſay no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris* his reigne, laſted not ſo long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her reſtitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by ſome) together with *Thon*, and others, mentioned by *Greeke* Writers in this buſineſſe, or in other ſuch matters, may ſeeme to be vnder-Officers: for ſuch only are like to haue had their reſidencie about *Pharos*, and the Sea-coaſt, where *Menelaus* arriued.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is ſaid, That he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himſelfe into all ſhapes: whereby is ſignified his craftie head, for which he is growne into a Prouerbe. The Poets fained him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptunes* Seale-fiſhes, for belike hee was ſome vnder-Officer to the Admirall, hauing charge of the Fiſhing about the Iſle of *Pharos*, as was ſaid before.

Remphes, the Sonne of *Proteus*, is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as alſo by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramſinitus*, and tells a long tale, fit to pleaſe children, of his couetouſneſſe, and how his treaſure-houſe was robbed by a cunning Theefe, that at laſt married his Daughter. But of this a man may beleeue what hee liſt. How long this King reigned I know not, nor thinke that either he, or his Father, did reigne at all.

§. V.

Of the Ægyptian Kings whoſe names are found ſcattering in ſundrie Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of Ægypt, according to Cedrenus. *Of* Vaphres *and* Seſac.

MAny other names of *Ægyptian* Kings, are found ſcattered heere and there; as *Tonepherſobis*, of whom *Suidas* deliuers onely the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the ſame that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occaſion of a great Phyſicion that liued vnder him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the ſame *Suidas*, for his great juſtice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gaue name to the Iſle of *Thule*, which ſome take to be Iſeland; and that he conſulted with the Deuill, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, deſiring to know, who before him had beene, or after him ſhould be ſo mighty as himſelfe. The anſwere or confeſſion of the Deuill was remarkeable; which I finde Engliſhed in the tranſlation of *Pleſſis* his worke, *Of the trueneſſe of Chriſtian religion*. The *Greeke* Verſes are ſomewhat otherwiſe, and much more imperfect in thoſe Copies that I haue of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the ſenſe is all one; which is this:

> Firſt *God*, and next *The word*, and then *The Sprit*,
> Which three be *One*, and joyne in *One* all three:
> Whoſe force is endleſſe. Get thee hence fraile wight,
> The Man of Life vnknowne excelleth thee.

I ſhould haue thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found ſomewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the forme of inuocation which *Thulis* vſed, and that clauſe, of his giuing name to the Iland: though in this laſt point I hold *Suidas* to be deceiued; as alſo *Cedrenus* is, or (at leaſt) ſeems to me, in giuing to this King ſuch profound antiquitie of reigne. Indeed the very name of that booke, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Geneſis*, is alone enough to breed ſuſpition of ſome impoſture: but the Frierly ſtuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is ſuch as would ſerue to diſcredit himſelfe, were it not otherwiſe apparant, that hee was a man both deuout, and of good iudgement, in matters that fell within his compaſſe. I will here ſet downe the Liſt of olde *Ægyptian* Kings deliuered by him, and leaue the cenſure to others.

The firſt King of *Ægypt* that he ſets downe, is *Mizraim*, the ſonne of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriuing their pedigree thus: *Nimrod*, the ſon of *Chus*, was alſo called *Orion*, aud further, tooke vpon him the name of the Planet *Saturne*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Linage, and by her three ſonnes; *Picus*, ſurnamed *Iupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chaſing his father out of *Aſſyria* into *Italie*, reigned in his ſtead thirtie yeeres, and then gaue vp that Kingdome to *Iuno*, his ſiſter and wife, and to *Belus* his ſonne: after which *Belus*, who reigned onely two yeeres, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italie*, to viſit his olde father *Saturne*; *Saturne* forth-with reſigned the Kingdome vnto him. *Picus Iupiter* reigned in *Italie* threeſcore and two yeeres, had threeſcore and tenne Wiues or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the *Iſle* of *Crete*.

The Principall of *Iupiters* ſonnes were *Faunus*, *Perſeus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurie*: he reigned in *Italie*, after his father, fiue and thirtie yeeres: and then (finding that all his brethren conſpired againſt him) he went into *Ægypt*, with abundance of Treaſure; where, after the death of *Mizraim*, he got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirty yeres. After *Mercurie*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Ægypt*, foure yeeres and a halfe. Then *Sol*, the ſonne of *Vulcan*, reigned twentie yeeres and a halfe. There followed in order *Soſis*, *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and *Thules*, of whom wee ſpake before: the length of their ſeuerall reignes is not ſet downe. After *Thules*, was the great *Seſoſtris* King twenty yeeres. His ſucceſſor was *Pharao*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crowne fiftie yeeres, with which there paſſed from him the ſurname of *Pharao*, to a very long poſteritie.

Theſe reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to ſet downe as I finde them: let their credit reſt vpon the Author.

Others yet we finde, that are ſaid to haue reigned in *Ægypt*, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curioſitie, in the ſearch made after theſe already rehearſed, than of negligence, in omitting ſuch as might haue beene added.

Vaphres, the father in law to *Salomon*; and *Seſac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, leade vs againe into faire way, but not farre. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures;
Clem.Strom.l.1 but wee are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Euſebius* for it. Theſe giue vs not
Euſeb.de Præp. Euang.l.9.c.4. the length of his reigne; but we know, that he liued in the times of *Dauid* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Paleſtina* with an Armie, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gaue it
1.King.9.16. & 11.v.18, 19,&c. to his daughter, *Salomons* wife: though for her ſake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Seſac* his ſonne did fauour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept ſo many Wiues and Concubines, beſides this *Ægyptian* Princeſſe. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath beene written that I finde of *Seſac*, excepting the length of his reigne, which muſt haue beene ſixe and twentie yeeres, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Euſebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynaſtie*.

Now foraſmuch as it would ſerue to no great purpoſe, that wee knew the length of *Seſac* his reigne, and of theirs that followed him, vnleſſe therewithall wee knew the beginning of *Seſac*, vpon which the reſt haue dependance; this courſe I take. From the fourth yeere of *Iehoiakim*, King of *Iuda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was ſlaine, I reckon vpwards the yeeres of the ſame *Neco*, and of his predeceſſors, vnto the beginning of *Seſac*: by which accompt, the firſt yeere of *Seſac* is found, concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomons* reigne, and the twentie ſixe of *Seſac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*: wherein *Seſac* ſpoyled the Temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, than *Ioas* the *Iſraelite*, & *Craſſus* the *Romane* did; who, after him, ſpoyled the Temple of *Ieruſalem*.

To fill vp the time betweene *Seſac* and *Neco*, I haue rather taken thoſe Kings that I finde in the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, than them which are in *Euſebius* his Catalogue. For of theſe that are deliuered by *Euſebius*, we finde no Name nor Act recorded elſwhere, ſaue onely of *Bocchoris*, who is remembred by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being ſpoken of him, that makes him appeare to haue beene a King. Hereunto I may adde, that the ſucceſſion is often interrupted in *Euſebius* by *Æthiopians*, which got the Kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwiſe it appeares by the Prophet *Eſay*, that the Counſellors of *Pharao* did vaunt of the long and flouriſhing continuance of that houſe,
Eſai.19.11. inſomuch, that they ſaid of *Pharaoh*, *I am the Sonne of the wiſe, I am the Sonne of the ancient King*. But that which ouerthrowes the reckoning of *Euſebius*, is, the good agreement of it with his miſtaken times of the Kings of *Iuda*. For though it pleaſe him well to ſee how the reignes of *Ioſias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed marres all; the reigne of *Ioſias* being miſplaced. This error growes from his omitting, to compare the reignes of the Kings of *Iuda* with theirs of *Iſrael*: by which occaſion, *Ioram*, King of *Iſrael*, is made to reigne three yeeres after *Ahazia* of *Iuda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanaſſar* before *Hezekia* was King: and in a word, all, or moſt of the Kings, haue their beginnings placed in ſome other yeere of their collateralls than the Scriptures haue determined.

§. VI. Of

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Of Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, *and other Kings recited by* Herodotus *and* Diodorus Siculus, *which reigned betweene the times of* Rehoboam *and* Ezekia.

FOllowing therefore the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chembis*, firſt in the ranke of thoſe that were Kings after *Seſac*. Hee reigned fiftie yeeres, and built the greateſt of the three *Pyramides*, which was accounted one of this worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the ſhape, in that it reſembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottome vpwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemmis* being foure-ſquare, had a Baſe of ſeuen akers euerie way, and was aboue ſixe akers high. It was of a very hard and dureable Stone, which had laſted, when *Diodore* ſaw it, about a thouſand yeeres, without complaining of any iniurie that it had ſuffered by weather in ſo long ſpace. From the reigne of *Chemmis*, vnto the age of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, wherein *Diodore* liued, are indeede a thouſand yeeres; which doth giue the better likelyhood vnto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramides*, late Writers doe teſtifie, that they haue ſeene them yet ſtanding.

After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his ſonne *Chabreus* ſucceeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreus*) and *Cephrenes* after him. Theſe are ſaid to haue beene brethren; but the length of their reignes may argue the later to haue beene ſonne to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fiftie yeeres; *Cephrenes* fiftie ſixe. Theſe were, as *Chemmis* had beene, builders of Pyramides, whereby they purchaſed great hatred of their people, who already had ouer-labored themſelues in erecting the firſt. Theſe Pyramides were ordained to be Tombes for thoſe that raiſed them; but the malice of the *Ægyptians* is ſaid to haue caſt out their bodies; and to haue called their Monuments by the name of an Heardſman, that kept his Beaſts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honor, and entituling a poore fellow to their workes, was held to be the caſting out of their bodies: otherwiſe, it is hard to conceiue, how it might be, that they, who had not power to auoid the like ſlauerie, laid vpon them by the younger brother or ſonne, ſhould haue power or leiſure to take ſuch reuenge vpon his Predeceſſor. To the like malice may bee aſcribed the tale deuiſed againſt *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father, wanting money, did proſtitute her, and that ſhe, getting of euery man that accompanied her, one ſtone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that ſtood in the middeſt of the other three. Belike ſhe was an inſolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her ſake, longer a while than they thought to haue done, in raiſing a Monument, with the ſuperfluitie of her Fathers prouiſions.

Diodor. l. 1.
Herod. l. 2.

Mycerinus, the ſonne of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his Father ſixe yeeres. He would haue built as his fore-goers did, but preuented by death, finiſhed not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did ſet open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept ſhut. But an Oracle threatned him with a ſhort life of ſixe yeres onely, becauſe of this his deuotion; *For* (ſaid the Oracle) *Ægypt ſhould haue beene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeeres, which thy Prædeceſſors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou haſt releaſed it, therefore ſhalt thou liue but ſixe yeeres.* It is very ſtrange, that the gods ſhould be offended with a King for his pietie; or that they ſhould decree to make a Countrie impious, when the people were deſirous to ſerue them; or that they hauing ſo decreed, it ſhould lie in the power of a King, to alter deſtinie, and make the ordinance of the gods to faile in taking full effect. But theſe were *Ægyptian* gods. The true God was, doubtleſſe, more offended with the reſtitution of ſuch Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knowes, whether *Chemmis* did not learne ſomewhat at *Ieruſalem*, in the laſt yeere of his Father *Seſac*, that made him perceiue, and deliuer to thoſe that followed him, the vanity of his *Ægyptian* ſuperſtition? Moſt ſure it is that his reigne, and the reignes of *Cheops*, and *Cephrenes*, were more long and more happie, than that of *Mycerinus*, who, to delude the Oracle, reuelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, hee had changed his nights into dayes, and ſo doubled the time appointed: a ſeruice more pleaſing to the Diuell, than the reſtitution of Idolatrie durſt then ſeeme, when it could ſpeede no better. I finde in *Reineccius* fiftie yeeres aſſigned to this King; which I verily beleeue to haue been ſome error of the print, though I finde it not corrected among other ſuch ouerſights: for I know no Author that giues him ſo many yeeres, and *Reineccius* himſelfe takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned *Mycerinus* with a ſhort life, as is before ſhewed.

Bocchorus is placed next vnto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who ſpeakes no more of him than this, that he was a ſtrong man of body, and excelling his predeceſſors in wit. He is ſpoken of by diuers Authors, as one that loued iuſtice; and may bee taken for that *Banchyris*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kinde: *Euſebius* reckons 44. yeeres of his reigne.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Æthiopian* followes, in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certaine ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Aſychis*; who made a ſharpe law (as it was then held) againſt bad debtors, that their dead bodies ſhould be in the creditors diſpoſition, till the debt were paied. This *Aſychis* made a Pyramis of bricke, more coſtly and faire, in his owne iudgement, than any of thoſe that the former Kings had raiſed. Beſides this *Aſychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anyſis*, a blinde man, before the *Æthiopian*. The reignes of theſe two are perhaps thoſe many ages, which the *Ægyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted betweene *Bocchorus*, and him that followed them. But all this could make but ſixe yeeres; and ſo long doth *Functius*, ſo long doth *Reineccius* hold, that theſe two Kings, between them both did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it vnprobable that the reignes of two Kings ſhould haue been ſo ſoone ſpent; hee may doe it by taking ſome yeeres from *Sethon* or *Pſammeticus*, and adding them to either of theſe. To adde vnto theſe, without ſubtracting from ſome other, would breede a manifeſt inconuenience: foraſmuch as part of *Seſac* his reigne, muſt haue beene in *the fifth of Rehoboam*, as alſo the laſt of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, and the firſt of *Nabuchadnezzar*. For mine owne part I like it better to allow ſixe yeeres only to theſe two Kings, than to loſe the witneſſe of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth ſpeake of *Sennacheribs* warre: at which time *Sethon* was King of *Ægypt*. I will not therefore adde yeeres vnto theſe obſcure names; for by adding vnto theſe men three yeres, we ſhall thruſt the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Ægyptian* Kings. Otherwiſe it were a matter of no great enuie, to leaue both *Aſychis* and *Anyſis* out of the roll; which were eaſily done, by placing *Seſac* lower, and extending his life yet ſixe yeeres further, or more, (if the like abridgement ſhall bee required of *Pſammeticus* his reigne) into the yeeres of *Rehoboam*.

1 King.14.25.
2.Chro 12.v.2.

Of *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian*, who tooke the Kingdome from *Anyſis*, it is agreed by the moſt, that he reigned fiftie yeeeres. He was a mercifull Prince, not puniſhing all capitall offences with death, but impoſing bondage and bodily labour vpon malefactors; by whoſe toyle he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out their ſeruice to hire, and performed many workes, of more vſe than pompe, to the ſingular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonoras* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hoſea*, the laſt King of *Iſrael*, made a league with him againſt *Salmanaſſar*, little to his good: for the *Ægyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendſhip could not preſerue the *Iſraelite* from deſtruction.

It ſeemes, that the encroching power of the *Aſſyrian*, grew terrible to *Ægypt* about theſe times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulaſſar*, and *Salmanaſſar*, hauing eaten ſo farre into *Syria*, in the reigne of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his dayes (for his reigne began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himſelfe did make the firſt entrance into *Palæſtina*. This cauſed *So* to animate the halfe ſubdued people, againſt their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Succeſſor gaue them was ſo faint, that *Senacheribs* Embaſſador compared the *Ægyptian* ſuccour to a broken ſtaffe of Reede. Such indeed had *Hoſea* found it, and ſuch *Ezekia* might haue found it, had hee not beene ſupported by the ſtrong ſtaffe of Him, that ruleth all Nations with a rodde of yron. It appeareth by the words of *Rabſake*, that the opinion was great in *Iuda*, of the *Ægyptian* forces, *for Charrets and Horſe-men*; but this power, whatſoeuer it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of *Ægypt* it ſelfe which *So* left vnto *Sethon* his ſucceſſor, hauing now fulfilled the fiftie yeeres of his reigne. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* haue both one tale, from the relation of *Ægyptian* Prieſts, concerning the departure of this King; ſaying, that he left the Countrie, & willingly retired into *Æthiopia*,

2.King.18.24.

becauſe it was often ſignified vnto him in his dreames, by the god which was worſhipped at *Thebes*, that his reigne ſhould be neither long nor proſperous, vnleſſe hee ſlew all the Prieſts in *Ægypt*; which rather than to do, he reſigned his Kingdome. Surely, theſe *Ægyptian* gods were of a ſtrange qualitie, that ſo ill rewarded their ſeruants, and inuited Kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Ægyptians* (as they likewiſe did) worſhip Dogs as gods, when their chiefe gods had the propertie of Dogs, which loue their Maſters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Prieſts ſhould haue feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be ſome deuice of the fearefull olde man, who ſeeing his Realme in danger of an inuaſion, ſought an honeſt excuſe for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himſelfe into *Æthiopia*, where hee had beene bred in his youth. What if one ſhould ſay, that the *Æthiopia* into which hee went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the inſtigation of this man) raiſed an *Armie* againſt *Sennacherib*, when he meant to inuade *Ægypt*, within two or three yeeres after? But I will not trouble my ſelfe with ſuch enquirie. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sebacus*, was not indeed an *Æthiopian* (for in his time liued the Prophet *Eſay*, who mentioneth the antiquitie of *Pharaohs* houſe) but onely ſo ſurnamed for his education, and becauſe iſſuing from thence, he got the Kingdom from *Anyſis*, who was his oppoſite. The quiet and milde forme of his gouernment; his holding the Kingdome ſo long without an Armie; and many other circumſtances argue no leſſe. But whether finally hee betooke a priuate life, or whether hee fore-went his Life and Kingdome at once, being now very olde, it is time that we leaue him, and ſpeake of *Sethon* his next Succeſſor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembred by *Herodotus*, by a ſure token of his hauing beene King.

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§. VII.

Of Sethon *who reigned with* Ezekia, *and ſided with him againſt* Sennacherib.

THe firſt yeere of *Sethons* reigne falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troubleſome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of *Aſſyria* and *Ægypt*, beeing then ingaged in a Warre, the iſſue whereof was to determine, whether of them ſhould rule or ſerue. The *Aſſyrian* had the better men of Warre; the *Ægyptian* better prouiſion of neceſſaries: the *Aſſyrian*, more Subjects; the *Ægyptian*, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of *Aſſur*, many that were *Ægyptian* in heart, though *Aſſyrian* in outward ſhew.

Of this laſt ſort were *Ezekia*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them againſt his owne great Enemie, preferred the friendſhip of ſo neere and mighty a Neighbour, before the ſeruice of a terrible, yet farre remoued King. But herein was great difference, betweene *Ezekia* and his Subjects: For the good King, fixing his eſpeciall confidence in God, held that courſe of policie, which hee thought moſt likely to turne to the benefit of his Countrie: the multitude of *Iudæa*, looking into the faire hopes which this *Ægyptian* league promiſed, were puffed vp with vaine conceits, thinking that all was ſafe, and that now they ſhould not need to feare any more of thoſe iniuries, which they had ſuffered by the *Aſſyrians*, and ſo became forgetfull of God, *taking counſaile but not of him*. The Prophet *Eſay* complained much of this preſumption; giuing the people of *Iuda* to vnderſtand, That *the Ægyptians were men, and not God, and their Horſes fleſh, and not ſpirit*; that God himſelfe ſhould defend *Iſrael* vpon repentance, and that *Aſſur ſhould fall by the ſword, but not of man*. As for the *Ægyptians* (ſaid the Prophet) *they are vanitie, and they ſhall helpe in vaine, their ſtrength is to ſit ſtill.*

Eſay 30. 1.

Eſay 31. v. 3. & 8.

According to the Prophets words it came to paſſe. For in the treatie of Confederacie that was *held at Zoan*, all manner of contentment and aſſurance was giuen to the *Iewes*, by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with ſuch reports, of Horſes and Charets, that they did *not looke* (as *Eſay* ſaith) *vnto the Holy one of Iſrael, nor ſeeke vnto the Lord. But he yet is wiſeſt.*

Eſay 30. 7.

Eſay 3. 4.

Eſay 31. 1, 2.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Armie, & wakened them out of theſe dreams; for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as neere as he was, did ſeeme farre off, being vnreadie, when his helpe was moſt needfull. It may ſeeme that hee purpoſed, rather to make *Paleſtina* than *Ægypt* the ſtage, whereon this great Warre ſhould be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Aſſyrians* and *Iewes*, weakening one another, ſhould yeeld vnto him a faire aduantage ouer both. Yet he fought with monie; for hee ſent Horſes and Camels laden with treaſure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Eſay* calleth *a people that cannot profit.* *Eſay* 30.6. Theſe *Arabians* did not profit indeede; for (beſides that it ſeemes by the ſame place of *Eſay*, that the rich treaſures miſcarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from *Tirhaca*,) all the ſtrong Cities of *Iuda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Ieruſalem* it ſelfe, which were in ſore diſtreſſe, till the ſword of God, *Eſay* 31.9. and not of Man, defeated the *Aſſyrian*, who did goe, *for feare, to his Tower*, that is, hee fled to *Nineue*, where he was ſlaine.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purpoſed againſt *Ægypt*, where the men of warre, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refuſed to beare armes in defence of him and their Country; that *Sethon* being *Vulcans* Prieſt, bemoaned himſelfe to his god, who by dreame promiſed to ſend him helpers; that hereupon *Sethon*, with ſuch as would follow him, (which were crafts-men, ſhop-keepers, & the like) marched towards *Peluſium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Campe of *Sennacherib* by night, did ſo gnaw the bowes, quiuers, and ſtraps of his mens armour, that they were faine the next day to flie away in all haſte, finding themſelues diſarmed. In memorie hereof (ſaith *Herodotus*) the ſtatue of this King is ſet vp in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouſe in his hand, with this inſcription: *Let him, that holds me, ſerue God.* Such was the relation of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts, wherein how farre they ſwarued from the truth, being deſirous to magnifie their owne King, it may eaſily be perceiued. It ſeemes that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen downe, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or elſe perhaps, the Prieſts did forbeare to tell it him (which cauſed him to omit it) for that the Nation of the *Iewes* was then well knowne to the world, whereof euery childe could haue told, how much falſehood had beene mingled with the truth.

Wee finde this hiſtorie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That *Sennacherib* King of the *Aſſyrians* and *Arabians*, (ſo *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peraduenture ſome borderers vpon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) liued in this age, made Warre vpon *Ægypt*, and was miraculouſly driuen home. As for that exployt of the Mice, and the great pleaſure that *Vulcan* did vnto his Prieſt; happy it was (if *Sethon* were a Prieſt) that he tooke his god now in ſo good a moode. For within three or foure yeeres before this, all the Prieſts in *Ægypt* ſhould haue beene ſlaine, if a mercifull King had not ſpared their liues, as it were halfe againſt the gods will. Therefore this laſt good turne was not enough to ſerue as an example, that might ſtir vp the *Ægyptians* to piety, ſeeing that their deuotion, which had laſted ſo long before, did bring all the Prieſts into danger of ſuch a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did repreſent *Sennacherib* himſelfe, and that the Mouſe in his hand, ſignified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Ægyptian* manner of expreſſing things) the ſhamefull iſſue of his terrible expedition, or the deſtruction of his Armie, by meanes which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, ſhewed vpon this vngodly King, was indeed a very good motiue to pietie. But the Embleme, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might giue occaſion to ſuch a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might bee robbed of his honour. Yet that wee may not belie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon* finding himſelfe in danger, did call vpon his gods, that is, vpon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had moſt deuotion. But ſo had other of his predeceſſors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained ſuccour by the like miracle? Surely the *Iewes* (euen ſuch of them as moſt were giuen to Idolatrie) would haue beene aſhamed of the *Eſay* 31.1. confidence which they repoſed *in the Charets of Ægypt, becauſe they were many, and in the Horſemen, becauſe they were very ſtrong*; had it beene told them, that *Sethon*, in ſtead of ſending thoſe Horſe-men and Charets, was beſeeching *Vulcan* to ſend him and them good lucke, or elſe (for theſe alſo were *Ægyptian* gods) addreſſing his prayers to ſome Onyon or Cat. Howſoeuer it was, doubtleſſe the prophecie of *Eſay* tooke effect, which ſaid, *They ſhall be all aſhamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor helpe, nor do them good, but ſhall be a ſhame and alſo a reproch.* Such is commonly the iſſue of humane wiſedome, when reſting ſecure vpon prouiſion that it ſelfe hath made, it will no longer ſeem to ſtand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to haue been ſet downe by *Euſebius*, vnder the name of

Tarachus the *Æthiopian*; and therefore the twenty yeeres which are giuen to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reigne of *Sethon*. Theſe haue well obſerued, that *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Ægypt*, but as a friend to that Countrie, or at leaſt an enemy to *Senacherib*, in the war laſt ſpoken of; the *Æthiopians* (as they are engliſhed) ouer which he reigned, being indeede *Chuſites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they ſuppoſe aright, that *Euſebius* hath miſtaken one King for another. But wheras they think, that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka*, is placed in the roome of *Sethon*, & therefore giue to *Sethon* the twentie yeeres of *Tarachus*, I hold them to haue erred on the other hand. For this *Æthiopian* (as he is called) began his Reigne ouer *Ægypt*, by *Euſebius* his accompt, after the death of *Senacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the firſt yeere of *Manaſſes* King of *Iuda*: Therefore he, or his yeeres, haue no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Functius* peremptorily, citing no author, nor alleadging reaſon for it, ſets him downe thirty three yeeres; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this caſe, I follow that rule which I propounded vnto my ſelfe at the firſt, for meaſuring the reignes of theſe *Ægyptian* Kings. The yeeres which paſſed from the fift of *Rehoboam*, vnto the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, I ſo diuide among the *Ægyptians*, that giuing to euery one the proportion allowed vnto him by the Author in whom he is found, the reſt is to be conferred vpon him whoſe length of reigne is vncertaine; that is, vpon this *Sethon*. By this accompt I finde the thirty three yeeres, that are ſet downe by *Functius*, to agree very neerely, if not preciſely, with the time of *Sethons* reigne; therefore I conforme my owne reckoning to his, though I could be content to haue it one yeere leſſe. The reaſon of this computation I ſhall render more at large, when I arriue at the time of *Pſammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the courſe of this Hiſtory will ſhortly bring me, the *Ægyptian* affaires growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Iuda*, to which is meete that I returne.

Chap. XXVII.

Of Manaſſe *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

The wickedneſſe of Manaſſes. *His impriſonment, Repentance, and Death.*

MAnaſſe, the Sonne of *Ezekias*, forgetting the pietie of his Father, and the proſperity which followed him, ſet vp, repaired, adorned, and furniſhed, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Diuell was by the *Heathen* worſhipped. Beſides, he himſelfe eſteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the Hoſte of Heauen, as gods, and worſhipped them: and of all his acts the moſt abominable was, that he burnt his Sonnes for a Sacrifice to the Diuell *Moloch*, or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhennon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Diuels.

He alſo gaue himſelfe to all kinde of Witchcraft and Sorcerie, accompanied and maintained thoſe that had familiar Spirits, and all ſorts of Enchanters: beſides, hee ſhed ſo much innocent bloud, as *Ieruſalem* was repleniſhed therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reuerent Prophet *Eſay* (who was alſo of the Kings race, and as the *Iewes* affirme, the Father-in-law of the King) he cauſed the Prophet neere vnto the Fountaine of *Siloe* to be ſawne in ſunder, with a woodden ſaw, in the eightieth yeere of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monſtrous than hath beene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are ſilent hereof; yet the ſame is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Iſidore*, *Euſebius*, and others, too many to rehearſe, and too good to be ſuſpected. *Therefore the Lord brought vpon them the Captaines of the Hoaſt of the Kings of* Aſhur, *which tooke* Manaſſe, *and put him in fetters, and bound him in chaines, and carried him to* Babel: Where after he had lien twenty yeeres as a captiue, and diſpoyled of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continuall

Iuſt Martyr.
Cedrenus c 91.
Glycas pa 275
Tertull. de Pat.

2 Chron. 33. 11.

tinuall prayer, the God of infinite mercy had reſpect, and moued the *Aſſyrians* heart to deliuer him.

It is alſo likely that *Merodach*, becauſe he loued his father *Ezechias*, was the eaſilier perſwaded to reſtore *Manaſſe* to his liberty and eſtate. After which, and when he was againe eſtabliſhed, remembring the miſeries which followed his wickedneſſe, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, deteſted his former fooliſh and deuilliſh Idolatry, and caſt downe the Idols of his owne erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and ſacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Ieruſalem*: and dyed after the long reigne of fiftie fiue yeeres. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manaſſe* was held in a cage of yron by the *Aſſyrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may beleeue as it ſhall pleaſe their fancies.

§. II.

Of troubles in Ægypt following the death of Sethon. *The reigne of* Pſammiticus.

THat the wickedneſſe of King *Manaſſes* was the cauſe of the euill, which fell vpon his Kingdome and Perſon, any Chriſtian muſt needes beleeue: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the ſtate of things, in thoſe parts of the World, ſuch, at that time, as would haue inuited any Prince (and did perhaps inuite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleaſure, vpon reſpect borne to his owne ends) deſirous to enlarge his Empire, to make attempt vpon *Iuda*. For the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, which was become the pillar, whereon the ſtate of *Iuda* leaned, about theſe times was miſerably diſtracted with ciuill diſſention, and after two yeeres, ill amended by a diuiſion of the gouernment betweene twelue Princes. After ſome good agreement betweene theſe, eleauen of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally ſubdued by him, who made himſelfe abſolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meere *Anarchie*, that was in *Ægypt*, with the diuiſion of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, betweene the reigne of *Sabacus*, and *Pſammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth ſet the *Ariſtocratie*, or twelue Gouernours, immediately before *Pſammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occaſion of this diſſenſion ſeemes to haue beene the vncertainty of title to that Kingdome (for that the crown of *Ægypt* paſſed by ſucceſſion of bloud, I haue often ſhewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelue, though things were not ſetled, vntill one had obtained the Soueraigntie.

Theſe twelue Rulers gouerned fifteene yeeres, in good ſeeming agreement, which to preſerue, they made ſtrait couenant and alliances one with another, being iealous of their eſtate, becauſe an Oracle had foretold, that one of them ſhould depoſe all the reſt, noting him by this token, that hee ſhould make a drinke-offering, in *Vulcans* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whileſt this vnitie laſted, they ioyned together in raiſing a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built neere vnto the Lake of *Meris*; a worke ſo admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirmes) no words could giue it commendation, anſwerable to the ſtatelineſſe of the worke it ſelfe. I will not here ſet downe that vnperfect deſcription, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but thinke enough to ſay, that he preferres it farre before the Pyramides, one of which (as he ſaith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, or any of the faireſt workes in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to haue beene the worke of *Marus*, or *Menides*, a King which liued fiue generations before *Proteus*, that is, before the Warre of *Troy*; and from this Labyrinth (ſaith he) *Dædalus* tooke the patterne of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to haue beene *Annemenes*, which reigned immediately before *Thuoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dædalus* & *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reineccius*, deſiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Chæremon*, & others, that are found in *Ioſephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the ſtorie of *Amaſis*, and *Actiſanes* the *Æthiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it conſequent, after he had coniectured *Manethons Amenophis*, to be *Diodorus* his *Amaſis*; that *Sethon* ſhould be *Actiſanes*, and that *Annemenes* ſhould be *Marus*. If in this caſe I might intrude a coniecture; the times which we now handle are thoſe, about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making ſearch; *Amaſis* was *Anyſis*, *Actiſanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of theſe twelue Princes, to whom *Herodotus* giues the

Ioſ.cont.App.l.1

the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Actiſanes* the *Æthiopian* depoſed *Amaſis*; *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian* depoſed *Anyſis*; *Actiſanes* gouerned well, and was milde in puniſhing offenders; ſo likewiſe was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Actiſanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (ſauing *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as hauing not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the ſame worke, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to heare the truth, as liuing neerer to the Age wherein it was performed. The varietie of names, and difference of times, wherein *Diodore* beleeued the Prieſts, might be a part of the *Ægyptian* vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their Kings, and boaſting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelue great Hals, Parlours, and other circumſtances remembred by *Herodotus*, in ſpeaking of this building, doe helpe to proue, that it was the worke of theſe twelue Princes. But I haſten to their end.

At a ſolemne feaſt in *Vulcans* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings, the Prieſt, forgetting himſelfe, brought forth no more than eleuen Cuppes. Hereupon *Pſammiticus*, who ſtanding laſt, had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet, and therewith ſupplyed the want. This cauſed all the reſt to remember the Oracle, and to ſuſpect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him vpon ſet purpoſe, or ill intent, they forbare to kill him, but, being iealous of their eſtate, they baniſhed him into the mariſh Countries by the Sea ſide. This Oracle, and the euent, is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I beleeue to haue beene none other: In the reſt *Herodotus* & *Diodore* agree, ſaying, that *Pſammiticus* hyred Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whoſe aide hee vanquiſh his Companions, and made himſelfe ſole King.

The yeeres of his reigne, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie foure; according to *Euſebius*, fortie foure; *Mercator*, to reconcile theſe two, giues fortie foure yeeres to his ſingle reigne, and ten to his ruling, ioyntly with the Princes before ſpoken of. Indeede, hee that was admitted, being a man growne (for he cannot in reaſon be ſuppoſed to haue beene then a yong fellow) into the number of the twelue Gouernors, muſt be thought to haue liued vnto extreame age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threeſcore and nine yeeres. I therefore yeelde rather to *Euſebius*; but will not aduenture to cut fiue yeers from the *Ariſtocratie*: though peraduenture *Pſammiticus* was not at firſt one of the twelue, but ſucceeded (either by election, or as next of bloud) into the place of ſome Prince that dyed, and was ten yeeres companion in that gouernment.

Another ſcruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeeres of theſe *Ægyptians*, as we finde them ſet downe, are more by one, than ſerue to fill vp the time, betweene the fift of *Rehoboam*, and the fourth of *Iehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we muſt abate one yeere from *Sethons* reigne; that was of vncertaine length; or elſe (which I had rather doe; becauſe *Functius* may haue followed better authority than I know, or than himſelfe alleadgeth, in giuing to *Sethon* a time ſo neerely agreeing with the truth) we muſt confound the laſt yeere of one reigne, with the firſt of another. Such a ſuppoſition were not inſolent. For no man can ſuppoſe, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are ſet downe in Chronologicall tables, reigned preciſely ſo many yeeres as are preſcribed vnto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke, that the ſurpluſage of one mans time, ſupplyed the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the laſt yeere of thoſe fifteene, wherein the twelue Princes ruled, with the firſt of *Pſammiticus*; who ſurely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himſelfe Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the firſt in *Ægypt*, who entertained any ſtrait amitie with the *Greekes*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gaue large rewards and poſſeſſions; and that he greatly offended his *Ægyptian* Souldiers, by beſtowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whileſt his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honorable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Vpon this diſgrace it is ſaid, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thouſand, forſooke their naturall Countrey of *Ægypt*, and went into *Æthiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be reuoked by kinde Meſſages, nor by the King himſelfe, who ouer-tooke them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wiues, and Children, they anſwered, that their weapons ſhould get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other wiues and children.

It is alſo reported of him, That he cauſed two Infants to be brought vp in ſuch ſort, as they might not heare any word ſpoken; by which meanes, he hoped to finde out, what Nation or Language was moſt ancient; foraſmuch as it ſeemed likely, that nature would teach the children to ſpeake that language, which men ſpake at the firſt. The iſſue hereof was, that the children cried, *Beccus, Beccus*, which word being found to ſignifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongne, ſerued greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquitie. *Goropius Becanus* makes no ſmall matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Becker*, ſignifies (as Baker in Eugliſh) a maker of bread. He that will turne ouer any part of *Goropius* his workes, may finde enough of this kinde, to perſwade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarks vſed none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confuſion of languages at *Babel*; the name it ſelfe of *Babel*, being alſo *Dutch*, and giuen by occaſion of this confuſion; for that there they began to babble, and talke, one knew not what.

But I will not inſiſt vpon all that is written of *Pſammiticus*. The moſt regardable of his acts was the ſiege of *Azotus* in *Palæſtina*, about which he ſpent nine and twenty yeeres. Neuer haue we heard (ſaith *Herodotus*) that any Citie endured ſo long a ſiege as this; yet *Pſammiticus* carried it at the laſt. This Towne of *Azotus* had beene won by *Tartan*, a Captaine of *Senacherib*, and was now, as it ſeemeth, relieued, but in vaine, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out ſo well.

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§. III.

What reference theſe Ægyptian matters might haue to the impriſonment and enlargement of Manaſſes. *In what part of his reigne* Manaſſes *was taken priſoner.*

Were it certainely knowne, in what yeere of his reigne *Manaſſes* was taken priſoner, and how long it was before he obtained libertie; I thinke we ſhould finde theſe *Ægyptian* troubles to haue beene no ſmall occaſion, both of his captiuitie and enlargement: God ſo diſpoſing of humane actions, that euen they, who intended onely their owne buſineſſe, fulfilled onely his high pleaſure. For either the ciuill warres in *Ægypt* that followed vpon the death of *Sethon*; or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were, into twelue peeces; or the warre betweene *Pſammiticus* and his Colleagues; or the expedition of *Pſammiticus* into *Syria*, and the ſiege of *Azotus*, might miniſter vnto the *Babylonian*, either ſuch cauſe of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or ſuch neceſſity of ſending an Armie into thoſe parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make ſure worke with the King of *Iuda*. The ſame occaſions ſufficed alſo, to procure the deliuerie of *Manaſſes*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Ioſephus* hath it) by ſubtiltie, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrey, but onely waſte it. So that the *Iewes*, hauing learned wit, by the ill ſucceſſe of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, were like to be more circumſpect, in making their bargaine vpon ſuch another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Ægyptian* matters preſented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of *Iuda* could afford) had no reaſon, to ſpend his forces, in purſuing a ſmall conqueſt, but as full of difficultie as a greater, whereby he ſhould compell his mightieſt enemies to come to ſome good agreement; when by quitting his preſent aduantage ouer the *Iewes*, he might make his way the fairer into *Ægypt*.

Now concerning the yeere of *Manaſſes* his reigne, wherein he was taken priſoner; or concerning his captiuitie it ſelfe, how long it laſted; the Scriptures are ſilent, and *Ioſephus* giues no information. Yet I finde cited by *Torniellus* three opinions, the one of *Bellarmine*, who thinkes that *Manaſſes* was taken in the fifteenth yeere of his reigne; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronologie*, who affirmes, that it was in his twentie ſeauenth yeere; the third, of *Rabbi Kimhi* vpon *Ezekiel*, who ſaith, that he was fortie yeeres an Idolater, and liued fifteene yeeres after his repentance. The firſt of theſe coniectures is vpheld by *Torniellus*, who reiects the ſecond, as more vnprobable, and condemnes the third as moſt falſe. Yet the reaſons alleadged by *Torniellus* in defence of the firſt, and refutation of the laſt opinion, are ſuch as may rather proue him to fauour the *Cardinall*, as farre as he may, (for where neede requires, hee doth freely diſſent from him) than to haue vſed his accuſtomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gaue his iudgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of *Bellarmine*: the one, that *Ammon* the Sonne of *Manaſſes*, is ſaid by *Ioſephus*, to haue followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had *Manaſſes* growne old in his ſinnes, *it is not like that he ſhould haue continued, as he did,* in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of theſe arguments, I ſee no reaſon, why the ſinnes of *Manaſſes* might not be diſtinguiſhed from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *workes of his youth,* which appeared when he was twelue yeeres old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimhi*) vntill hee was but fifteene yeeres from death. Touching the ſecond; howſoeuer it be a fearefull thing, to caſt off vnto the laſt thoſe good motions vnto repentance, which we know not whether euer God will offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the ſinnes, which are not forſaken before the age of two and fiftie yeeres, ſhall be puniſhed with finall impenitency. But againſt theſe two collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlikely, That *Manaſſes* continued longer in his wickedneſſe, than *Ballarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimki* hath affirmed. In the ſecond Booke of Kings, the euill which *Manaſſes* did, is remembred at large, and his repentance vtterly omitted; ſo that his amendment may ſeeme to haue taken vp no great part of his life; the ſtory of him being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter: *Concerning the reſt of the acts of* Manaſſes, *and all that he did, and his ſinne that he ſinned, are they not written in the booke of the Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda?* The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the ſame Booke, where in rehearſing the calamities with which that Nation was puniſhed in the time of *Iehoiakim*, the great Grand-childe of this *Manaſſes*, it is ſaid; *Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this vpon Iuda, that he might put them out of his ſight, for the ſinnes of* Manaſſes, *according to all that he did, and for the innocent bloud that he ſhed (for he filled Ieruſalem with innocent bloud) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Who ſo conſiders well theſe places, may finde ſmall cauſe to pronounce it moſt falſe, That the repentance and amendment of *Manaſſes* was no earlier then fifteene yeeres before his death; or moſt probable, That when he was twenty ſeauen yeeres old, he repented, and becomming a new man, liued in the feare of God fortie yeeres after. I will no longer diſpute about this matter, ſeeing that the truth cannot be diſcouered. It ſufficeth to ſay, that two yeeres of ciuill diſſenſion in *Ægypt*; foureteene or fifteene yeeres following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened, by partition of the Soueraignty: the warre of *Pſammiticus* againſt his Aſſociates: and foure and twenty yeeres, of the nine and twenty, wherein the ſiege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manaſſes*, did leaue no one part of his reigne (after the firſt fifteene yeeres) free from the danger of being oppreſſed by the *Babylonian*, whoſe men of warre had continuall occaſions of viſiting his Countrey. All which I will adde hereto is this; that the fifteenth of *Manaſſes*, was the laſt yeere of *Sethon* in *Ægypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reigne, or (accounting from the death of *Aſarhaddon*) the twentieth: The ſeauen and twentieth of *Manaſſes* was the tenth of the twelue Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Pſammiticus*, and the fift of *Nabulaſſar*, the ſonne of *Merodach*, in *Babylon*: but which of theſe was the yeere of his impriſonment, or whether any other, I forbeare to ſhew mine opinion, leſt I ſhould thereby ſeeme to draw all matters ouer-violently to mine owne computation.

2 Kings 21.17.

2 King.24.3.4

This was the firſt great maſtrie that the *Babylonians* had of the Kingdome of *Iuda*. For though *Achaz* promiſed Tribute to *Salmanaſſar*, yet *Ezechias* neuer payed it. True it is, that he hoped to ſtay *Sennacheribs* enterpriſe againſt him, by preſenting him with three hundred talents of ſiluer, and thirty of gold, beſides the plate which couered the doores and pillars of the Temple.

2 Kings 18.

But *Manaſſes* being preſſed with greater neceſſity, could refuſe no tollerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impoſe vpon him; among which it ſeemes, that this was one; (which was indeede a point of ſeruitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Ægyptians*, whileſt they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appeares not onely by his fortifying with men of warre all the ſtrong Cities of *Iuda* after his returne (which was rather againſt *Pſammiticus*, whoſe party he had forſaken, than againſt the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controuerſie) but likewiſe by that oppoſition, which *Ioſias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in fauour of *Nabulaſſar*, which had beene againſt all reaſon and policie, if it had not beene his duty by couenant. Of this I will ſpeake more in conuenient place.

†. IIII.

Of the firſt and ſecond Meſſenian warres, which were in the reignes of Ezekia, *and* Manaſſes, *Kings of Iuda.*

NOw concerning ſuch actions as were performed abroad in the world, about theſe times of *Manaſſes*, the moſt remarkeable were the *Meſſenian* Warres; which happened in this age, and being the greateſt action performed in *Greece*, betweene the *Troian* and *Perſian* Wars, deſerue not to be paſſed ouer with ſilence.

The firſt *Meſſenian* Warre began and ended in the dayes of *Ezekia*; the ſecond in the reigne of *Manaſſes*: but to auoide the trouble of interrupting our Hiſtorie, I haue thought it beſt, to rehearſe them both in this place. Other introduction is needeleſſe, than to ſay, that the poſteritie of *Hercules*, driuing the iſſue of *Pelops* and the *Achæans* out of their ſeates, diuided their lands betweene themſelues, and erected the Kingdomes of *Lacedæmon, Argos, Meſſene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of Kindred, and ſought one anothers ruine with bloudy Wars; whereof theſe *Meſſenian* were the greateſt.

The pretended grounds of the *Meſſenian* Warre, are ſcarce worth remembrance; they were ſo ſleight. Ambition was the true cauſe of it: wherewith the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo tranſported, that any thing ſerued them as a colour, to accompliſh their greedy deſires. Yet other matter was alleaged; namely, that one *Polychares* a *Meſſenian* had ſlaine many *Lacedæmonians*, for which the Magiſtrates of *Sparta* deſiring to haue him yeelded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The *Meſſenians* on the other ſide, excuſed *Polychares*, for that he was growne franticke, through iniuries receiued from *Euæphnes* a *Lacedæmonian*. This *Euæphnes* had bargained to giue paſture to the Cattell of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receiue part of the increaſe: but not contented with the gaine appointed, he ſold the Cattaile, and ſlaues that kept them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, ſaying, that they were ſtollen. Whileſt the lye was yet ſcarce out of his mouth, one of the ſlaues that had eſcaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedæmonian* being thus deprehended, confeſſed all, and promiſed large amends; which to receiue, he carried the Sonne of *Polychares* home with him; but hauing him at home, he villanouſly ſlew him. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* hauing refuſed, after long ſuite made by the wretched Father, to doe him right againſt this Theefe and Murderer, ought not to picke matter of quarrell, out of thoſe things, which he did in that madneſſe, whereinto they themſelues had caſt him. So ſaid the *Meſſenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromiſe, or to ſtand vnto the iudgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the generall Counſaile of *Greece*, or to any other faire courſe. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who had a great deſire to occupie the faire Countrie of *Meſſene*, that lay cloſe by them, were not content with ſuch allegations. They thought it enough, to haue ſome ſhew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned vp many old iniuries, and ſo without ſending any defiance, ſecretly tooke an oath to hold warre with *Meſſene*, till they had maſtered it: which done, they ſeized vpon *Amphia*, a frontier Towne of that Prouince, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very few eſcaped.

Hereupon the *Meſſenians* tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemie. A furious battaile was fought betweene them, which ended not vntill darke night, with vncertaine victory. The *Meſſenians* did ſtrongly encampe themſelues; The *Lacedæmonians*, vnable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre began in the ſecond yeere of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the firſt of the foureteenth *Olympiad*, hauing laſted twentie yeeres. The two enemie Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the *Lacedæmonians* waſting the inland parts of *Meſſene*; and the *Meſſenians*, the Sea-coaſt of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both ſides, were called in to helpe. The *Arcadians, Argiues*, and *Sicyonians*, tooke part with *Meſſene*; the *Spartans* had, beſides many Subiects of their owne, aide from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a ſecond, third, and fourth battaile, were fought, with as great obſtinacie as the firſt; ſauing that, in the fourth battaile; the *Lacedæmonians* were enforced to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victory was ſtill vncertaine, though in one of them the *Meſſenians* loſt *Euphaes* their King, in whoſe ſtead they choſe *Ariſtodemus*.

Many yeeres were ſpent ere all this bloud was ſhed; for peſtilent diſeaſes, and want of money to entertaine Souldiers, cauſed the Warre to linger. And for the ſame reaſons, did the *Meſſenians* forſake all their inland Townes, excepting *Ithome*, which was a mountaine with a Towne vpon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as ſome Authors tell vs, the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo obſtinate in this Warre, becauſe of their vow, that hauing abſented themſelues ten yeeres from *Sparta*, their wiues ſent them word, that their Citie would grow vnpeopled, by reaſon that no children had beene borne them in all that time: Whereupon they ſent backe all their ableſt young men, promiſcuouſly to accompany the young women, who got ſo many of them with childe, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* referres the begetting of theſe *Parthenians* to a former time. But in proceſſe of this *Meſſenian* Warre, when the Diuell in an Oracle had aduiſed the *Meſſenians* to ſacrifice a Virgin of the ſtocke of * *Ægyptus*, that ſo they might be victorious againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; the lot falling vpon the Daughter of one *Lyciſcus*; *Epibolus* the Prieſt, willing to ſaue her, ſaid, ſhe was onely a foſtered childe, and not borne of the wife of *Lyciſcus*: which anſwere giuing delay to the execution of the Maide, *Lyciſcus* ſecretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Ariſtodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his owne Daughter: but a young Noble man, being in loue with the Maide, when otherwiſe he could not preuaile, ſaid openly that ſhe was no Virgin, but that he had defloured her, and got her with childe: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped vp his innocent Daughters belly, to diſproue the Louers ſlander: at the graue of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other ſuperſtitions, into deſpaire of preuailing againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, he ſlew himſelfe, to the great hurt of his Countrey, which he loued moſt dearely. For after his death the *Meſſenians* loſt their courage, and finding themſelues diſtreſſed by many wants, eſpecially of victuals, they craued peace; which they obtained in moſt rigorous conditions. Halfe the yeerely fruites of their Land they were bound to ſend vnto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wiues, to make ſolemne lamentations, at the death of euery *Spartan* King; they were alſo ſworne to liue in true ſubiection to the *Lacedæmonians*; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was giuen to the *Aſmæi*, and ſuch as had followed the *Spartans* in this Warre.

Strabo.l.6.
Oroſ.l.1.c.21.

Diod.l.15.

* This *Aegyptus* was the yongeſt Sonne of *Creſphon* by *Merope*, the daughter of *Cypſelus* King of *Arcadia*: of which *Creſphon* the chiefe nobilitie of the *Meſſeniās* was propagated.

This peace being made vpon ſo vneuen tearmes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirtie yeeres it continued (the *Meſſenians* not finding how to helpe themſelues) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able young men, that were growne vp in the roome of thoſe *Meſſenians* whom the former Warre had conſumed, began to conſider their owne ſtrength and multitude, thinking themſelues equall to the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore ſcorned to ſerue ſuch Maſters, as had againſt all right, oppreſſed their Fathers. The chiefe of theſe was *Ariſtomenes*, a noble Gentleman, of the houſe of *Æpytus*; who perceiued the vniforme deſires of his Countrie-men, aduentured to become their Leader. He therefore ſounding the affections of the *Argiues* and *Arcadians*, which he found throughly anſwerable to his purpoſe, began open warre vpon the State of *Lacedæmon*. This was in the fourth yeere of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedæmonians*, haſted to quench the fire before it ſhould grow too hot, with ſuch forces as they could raiſe of their owne, without troubling their friends, meaning to deale with their Enemies, ere any ſuccour were lent them. So a ſtrong battaile was fought betweene them, and a doubtfull; ſaue that the *Meſſenians* were pleaſed with the iſſue, foraſmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to thinke them their equals. Particularly, the valour of *Ariſtomenes* appeared ſuch in this fight, that his people would haue made him their King; but hee, refuſing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeere another battaile was fought, whereunto each part came better prouided. The *Lacedæmonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and ſome other friends to helpe: the *Meſſenians* had the *Argiues*, *Arcadians* and *Sicyonians*. This alſo was a long and bloudie fight; but *Ariſtomenes* did ſo behaue himſelfe, that finally hee made the Enemies runne for their liues. Of ſuch importance was this victory, that the *Lacedæmonians* beganne to bethinke themſelues, of making ſome good agreement.

But one *Tyrtæus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-enforced their ſpirits with his Verſes. After this, *Ariſtomenes* tooke by ſurpriſe a Towne in *Laconia*, and vanquiſhed in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did ſet vpon him in hope to haue recouered the bootie.

But all theſe victories of *Ariſtomenes* periſhed, in the loſſe of one battaile, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or ſurely the profit, fell vpon the *Lacedæmonians*, through the treaſon of *Ariſtocrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Meſſenians* expoſed to a cruell butcherie. The loſſe was ſo great, that together with *Andania* their princall Citie, all the townes in *Meſſene*, ſtanding too farre from the Sea, were abandoned, for lacke of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be ſafe abroad, was conueyed into a place of ſafetie. Here the *Lacedæmonians* found a tedious worke, that held them eleauen yeeres. For beſides that *Era* it ſelfe was a ſtrong peece, *Ariſtomenes* with three hundred ſtout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the ſiege. He waſted all the fields of *Meſſene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Corne, Wine, Cattaile, aud all prouiſions, neceſſarie for his owne people; the Slaues and houſhold ſtuffe hee changed into money, ſuffering the owners to redeeme them. To remedy this miſchiefe the *Lacedæmonians* made an Edict, that neither *Meſſene*, nor the adioyning parts of their owne Countrie, ſhould be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among priuate men, that were almoſt vndone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtæus* appeaſed this vproare with pleaſing Songs. But *Ariſtomenes* grew ſo bold, that he not onely ranged ouer all the fields, but aduentured vpon the Townes, ſurpriſed, and ſackt *Amyclæ*, and finally cauſed the enemies to encreaſe and ſtrengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no liklihood of taking *Era*.

In performing theſe and other ſeruices, thrice *Ariſtomenes* was taken priſoner; yet ſtill he eſcaped. One eſcape of his deſerues to be remembred, as a thing very ſtrange and maruailous. He had with too much courage aduentured to ſet vpon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken vp ſenſeleſſe, and carried away priſoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deepe naturall Caue into which the *Spartans* vſed to caſt head-long, ſuch as were condemned to dye for the greateſt offences. To this puniſhment were *Ariſtomenes* and his companions adiudged. All the reſt of theſe poore men dyed with their fals; *Ariſtomenes* (howſoeuer it came to paſſe) tooke no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be impriſoned in a deepe Dungeon, among dead carcaſſes, where he was like to periſh through hunger and ſtench. But after a while he perceiued by ſome ſmall glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himſelfe, that this beaſt muſt needes know ſome way, to enter the place and get out. For which cauſe he made ſhift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, ſaued himſelfe from biting with the other hand, by thruſting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too ſtrait for him; and then diſmiſſed it. The Foxe being looſe, ran through an hole, at which came in a little light; and there did *Ariſtomenes* delue ſo long with his nailes, that at laſt he clawed out his paſſage. When ſome fugitiues of *Meſſene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Ariſtomenes* was returned home, their tale ſounded alike, as if they had ſaid, that a dead man was reuiued. But when the *Corinthian* forces, that came to helpe the *Lacedæmonians* in the ſiege of *Era*, were cut in peeces, their Captaines ſlaine, and their Campe taken; then was it eaſily beleeued, that *Ariſtomenes* was aliue indeede.

Thus eleauen yeeres paſſed whileſt the enemies houering about *Era*, ſaw no liklihood of getting it; and *Ariſtomenes* with ſmall forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the laſt, a ſlaue, that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdneſſe the wife of a *Meſſenian*, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainie-winter-night, that the husband came home vnlooked for, whileſt the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asked him, by what good fortune he was returned ſo ſoone. He told her, that the ſtorme of foule weather was ſuch, as had made all his fellowes leeue their Stations, and that himſelfe had done as the reſt did; as for *Ariſtomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not looke abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would ſtirre, in ſuch a darke rainie night as this was. The ſlaue that heard theſe tidings, roſe vp ſecretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedæmonian* Campe with the newes. There he found *Emperamus* his Maſter, commanding in the Kings abſence. To him he vttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Armie into the Towne. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was preſently taken; and the extreame darkeneſſe, together with the noiſe of winde and raine, hindered all directions. All the next day was ſpent in moſt cruell fight; one part being incited, by meere hope of ending a long worke; the other enraged by meere deſperation. The great aduantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the aſſiſtance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of ſeruitude had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowneſſe of the ſtreetes and other paſſages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Meſſenians* were in continuall toyle; their enemies fought in courſe, refreſhing themſelues with meate and ſleepe, and then returning ſupplyed the place of their wearie fellowes, with freſh Companions. *Ariſtomenes* therefore, perceiuing that his men for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as hauing beene three dayes, and three nights vexed with all miſeries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger and thirſt, beſides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker ſort, whom hee compaſſed round with armed men, and ſo attempted to breake out through the midſt of the enemies. *Emperamus* Generall of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this: and to further their departure, cauſed his Souldiers to giue an open way, leauing a faire paſſage to theſe deſperate madmen. So they iſſued forth, and arriued ſafe in *Arcadia*, where they were moſt louingly entertained.

Vpon the firſt bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themſelues to the reſcue: but *Ariſtocrates* their falſe-hearted King, ſaid it was too late, for that all was already loſt. When *Ariſtomenes* had placed his followers in ſafety, he choſe out fiue hundred the luſtieſt of his men, with whom he reſolued to march in all ſecret haſte vnto *Sparta*, hoping to finde the Towne ſecure, and ill manned, the people being runne forth to the ſpoyle of *Meſſene*. In this enterpriſe, if he ſped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recouer their owne, by reſtitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worſt that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to ioyne with him; but *Ariſtocrates* marred all, by ſending ſpeedy aduertiſement thereof, to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epiſtle which *Anaxander* ſent backe to *Ariſtocrates*, was intercepted by ſome that miſtruſted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falſehood, which being publiſhed in open aſſembly, the *Arcadians* ſtoned him to death, and caſting forth his body vnburied, erected a monument of his trecherie, with a note: That the Periurer cannot deceiue God.

Of *Ariſtomenes* no more is remaining to be ſaid, than that committing his people to the charge of his Son *Gorgus* and other ſufficient Gouernors, who ſhould plant them in ſome new ſeate abroad, he reſolued himſelfe to make aboade in thoſe parts, hoping to finde the *Lacedæmonians* worke at home. His daughters he beſtowed honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus*, who reigned in the Ile of *Rhodes*, tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the beſt man in *Greece*. Finally, *Ariſtomenes* went with his daughters to *Rhodes*, whence he purpoſed to haue trauailed vnto *Ardys* the Sonne of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death preuented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Meſſenians* were inuited by *Anaxilas* (whoſe great Grandfather was a *Meſſenian*, and went into *Italie* after the former warre) being Lord of the *Rhegians* in *Italie*, to take his part againſt the *Zanclæans* in *Sicilie*, on the other ſide of the Streights. They did ſo; and winning the Towne of *Zancle*, called it *Meſſene*, which name it keepes to this day.

This ſecond *Meſſenian* warre ended in the firſt yeere of the twentie eight Olympiade. Long after which time, the reſt of that Nation, who ſtaying at home ſerued the *Lacedæmonians*, found meanes to rebell; but were ſoone vanquiſhed, and being driuen to forſake *Peloponneſus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewiſe, after few ages they were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*, and then followed their ancient Countriemen into *Italie* and *Sicilie*; ſome of them went into *Africa*, where they choſe vnto themſelues a ſeate.

It is very ſtrange, that during two hundred and foure ſcore yeeres, this baniſhed Nation retained their name, their ancient cuſtomes, language, hatred of *Sparta*, & loue of their forſaken Countrie, with a deſire to returne vnto it. In the third yeere of the hundred and ſecond Olympiad, that great *Epaminondas*, hauing tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, reuoked the *Meſſenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponneſus*. There did *Epanimondas* reſtore vnto them their old poſſeſſion, and helpe them in building a faire Citie; which, by the name of the Prouince, was called *Meſſene*, and was held by them euer after, in deſpight of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they neuer from thenceforth ſtood in feare.

§ V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media, while Manaſſes *reigned. Whether* Deioces *the Mede were that* Arphaxad *which is mentioned in the Booke of* Iudith. *Of the hiſtorie of* Iudith.

Ardys King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are ſpoken of by *Pauſanias*, as reigning ſhortly after the *Meſſenian* war. *Ardys* ſucceeding vnto his father *Gyges*, began his reigne of nine and fortie yeeres, in the ſecond of the fiue and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the ſteps of his father, who encroaching vpon the *Ionians* in *Aſia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardys* wan *Priene*, and aſſailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reigne, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their owne Countrie by the *Scythians*, ouerran a great part of *Aſia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grandchilde, by whom they were driuen out. They had not onely broken into *Lydia*, but wan the Citie of *Sardes*; though the Caſtle or Citadell thereof was defended againſt them, and held ſtill for King *Ardys*; whoſe long reigne was vnable, by reaſon of this great ſtorme, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King vntill the third yeere of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was ſix yeeres after the *Meſſenian* war ended; the ſame being the laſt yeere of *Manaſſes* his reigne ouer *Iuda*.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fiftie of theſe fiue and fiftie yeers in which *Manaſſes* reigned. This *Deioces* was the firſt that ruled the *Medes* in a ſtrict forme, commanding more abſolutely than his Predeceſſours had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had giuen to the people ſo much licence, as cauſed euery one to deſire the wholeſome ſeuerity of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* anſwered their deſires to the full. For he cauſed them to build for him a ſtately Palace; he tooke vnto him a Guard, for defence of his perſon; he ſeldome gaue preſence, which alſo when he did, it was with ſuch auſterity, that no man durſt preſume to ſpit or cough in his ſight. By theſe and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maieſtie, which his Predeceſſours had almoſt letten fall, through neglect of due comportiments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did vprightly and ſeuerely adminiſter iuſtice, keeping ſecret ſpies to informe him of all that was done in the Kingdome. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching vpon others; but ſtudied how to gouerne well his owne. The difference found betweene this King, and ſuch as were before him, ſeemes to haue bred that opinion which *Herodotus* deliuers, that *Deioces* was the firſt who reigned in *Media*.

Herod. lib. 1.

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he ſhould be that King *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the ſtorie of *Iudith*, as alſo *Ben Merodach*, by the ſame accompt, ſhould be *Nabuchodonoſor* the *Aſſyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was ſlaine, and *Holophernes* ſent to worke wonders vpon *Phud* and *Lud*, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the laſt yeere of *Deioces* to haue beene the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwiſe, ſome earlier in the time of *Merodach Baladach*, ſome later, in the reigne of *Nabulaſſar*, who is alſo called *Nabuchodonoſor*.

In fitting this booke of *Iudith* to a certaine time, there hath much labour beene ſpent with ill ſucceſſe. The reignes of *Cambyſes*, *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, haue beene ſought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times, foregoing the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, haue beene thought vpon, and this age that we haue in hand, choſen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing beſt with the ſtorie; though others herein cannot (I ſpeake of ſuch as faine would) agree with him. Whileſt *Cambyſes* reigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the ſtorie of *Iudith*, is found ſtanding and dedicated. The other two *Perſian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes* are acknowledged to haue beene very fauourable to the Iewes; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonoſor*, whoſe part they refuſed to take, and who ſent to deſtroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath ſome conueniences, aptly fitting this Hiſtory; and aboue all, the opinion of a few Ancient writers (without whoſe iudgement the authority of this Booke were of no value) hauing placed this argument in the *Perſian* Monarchie, inclines the matter to the Reigne of this vaine-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the buſineſſe. Manifeſt it is, and granted, that in the time of this Hiſtorie, there muſt be a returne from captiuitie lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Ioacim* High Prieſt; and a long peace, of threeſcore and ten yeeres or thereabout, enſuing. All theſe were to be among the *Iewes*. Likewiſe on the other ſide, we muſt finde a King that reigned in *Niniuie*, eighteene yeeres at the leaſt; that vanquiſhed and ſlew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Iewes* refuſed to aſſiſt; one that ſought to be generally adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of ſuch as were accounted gods, to be deſtroyed; one whoſe Viceroy or Captaine Generall knew not the Iewiſh Nation, but was faine to learne what they were of the bordering people.

Of all theſe circumſtances; the Prieſthood of *Ioacim*, with a returne from Captiuitie, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manaſſes* before the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reigne of *Xerxes*; the reſt of circumſtances requiſite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captiuitie of the *Iewes*, and deſolation of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe deciſion of this controuerſie is, *That the Booke of Iudith is not Canonicall.* Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was poſſible in ſo deſperate a caſe. For he ſuppoſeth, that vnder *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps reſtored and reedified the Citie of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly beene built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonoſor* might be another. This granted; he addes, that from the twelfth yeere to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that is fiue or ſixe yeeres, the abſence and ill fortune of *Xerxes*, in his *Græcian* expedition (which he ſuppoſeth to haue beene ſo long) might giue occaſion vnto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonoſor* hauing vanquiſhed and ſlaine *Arphaxad*, might then ſeeke to make himſelfe Lord of all, by the Armie which he ſent forth vnder *Holofernes*. So ſhould the *Iewes* haue done their dutie, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Soueraigne Lord, and reſiſting one that rebelled againſt him; as alſo the other circumſtances rehearſed before, be well applied to the argument. For in theſe times, the affaires of *Inrie* were agreeable to the Hiſtorie of *Iudith*, and ſuch a King as this ſuppoſed *Nabuchodonoſor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Iewes*, and as proud as we ſhall neede to thinke him. But the ſilence of all Hiſtories, takes away beliefe from this coniecture: and the ſuppoſition it ſelfe is very hard, that a rebell, whoſe King was abroad, with an Armie conſiſting of ſeauenteene hundred thouſand men, ſhould preſume ſo farre, vpon the ſtrength of twelue hundred thouſand foot, and twelue thouſand Archers on horſebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he liſt, yea that there was none other God then himſelfe. It is indeede eaſie to finde enough that might be ſaid againſt this deuice of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any neceſſity, of holding the booke of *Iudith*, to be Canonicall, I would rather chooſe to lay aſide all regard of prophane Hiſtories, and build ſome defence vpon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it ſelfe. That *Iudith* liued vnder none of the *Perſian* Kings, *Bellarmine* (whoſe workes I haue not read, but finde him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proued by many arguments. That ſhe liued not in the Reigne of *Manaſſes*, *Torniellus* hath proued very ſubſtantially, ſhewing how the Cardinall is driuen, as it were to breake through a wall, in ſaying that the text was corrupted, where it ſpake of the deſtruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonoſor*,

chodonoſor, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of meere fantaſie, it is ſo plaine that it needes no proofe at all. Wherefore we may truely ſay, that they, which haue contended about the time of this Hiſtorie, being well furniſhed of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themſelues (like naked men in a ſtonie field) haue chaſed *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni ſoliſque vias*, in an age that neuer was, and in places that were neuer knowne.

Iudith c.2. ver. 23. & 25.

Surely, to finde out *the borders of* Iapheth, *which were towards the South, and ouer againſt Arabia*; or the Countries of *Phud* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I thinke it would as much trouble Coſmographers, as the former queſtion hath done Chronologers. But I will not buſie my ſelfe herewith; hauing already ſo farre digreſſed, in ſhewing who liued not with *Manaſſes*, that I thinke it high time, to returne vnto mine owne worke, and rehearſe what others I finde, to haue had their part, in the long time of his Reigne.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in theſe times.

THE firſt yeere of *Manaſſes* was the laſt of *Romulus*; after whoſe death, one yeere the *Romanes* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabyne* choſen, a peaceable man and ſeeming very religious in his kinde. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed onely in warres, to ſome good ciuilitie, and a more orderly faſhion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with ſuperſtition; as perſwading them, that he had familiaritie with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which he deliuered vnto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all theſe deuices of *Numa* were, in his owne iudgement, no better then meere deluſions that ſerued onely as rudiments to bring the ſauage multitude of theeues and out-lawes, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to ſome forme of milder diſcipline, then their boyſterous and wilde natures was otherwiſe apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Bookes that were found in his graue, almoſt ſixe hundred yeeres after his death, wherein the Superſtition taught by himſelfe was condemned as vaine. His graue was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffines or Cheſts of ſtone were in it, with an inſcription in Greeke and Latine letters, which ſaid, That *Numa Pompilius* the ſonne of *Pompo*, King of the *Romanes* lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his body being vtterly conſumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped vp in two bundels of waxe; of his owne conſtitutions ſeauen, and other ſeauen of Philoſophie. They were not onely vncorrupted, but in a manner freſh and new. The Pretour of the Citie deſiring to haue a ſight of theſe Books, when he perceiued whereunto they tended, refuſed to deliuer them backe to the owner, and offered to take a ſolemne oath that they were againſt the Religion then in vſe. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to be openly burnt. It ſeemes that *Numa* did meane to acquite himſelfe vnto wiſer ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not beene ſo fooliſh as to beleeue the Doctrine wherein he inſtructed his owne barbarous times. But the poyſon wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when hee ſate in his Throne, had not left working, when he miniſtred the Antidote out of his graue. Had theſe Bookes not come to light, vntill the dayes of *Tully* and *Cæſar*, when the miſte of ignorance was ſomewhat better diſcuſſed; likely it is that they had not onely eſcaped the fire, but wrought ſome good (and peraduenture generall) effect. Being as it was, they ſerued as a confutation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inueterate.

Numa reigned three and fortie yeeres in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third King was choſen, in the ſixe and fortieth of *Manaſſes*, and reigned two and thirtie yeeres, buſied, for the moſt part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the fielde; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cauſe to feare, that might grow vnto them from the *Thuſcanes*, cauſed them to bethinke themſelues of a courſe, whereby without effuſion of ſo much bloud, as might make them too weake for a common enemie, it might be decided, who ſhould command, and who obey.

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twins borne at one birth (*Dionyſius* ſayes that they were Coſen Germans) of equall yeeres and ſtrength, who were appointed to fight for their ſeuerall Countries. The end was, that the *Horatij*, Champions for the *Romanes*, got the victory, though two of them firſt loſt their liues. The three *Curatij* that fought for *Alba* (as *Liuie* tels it) were all aliue, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their oppoſites were ſlaine; but the third *Horatius*, pretending feare, did runne away, and thereby drew the others, who by reaſon of their hurts, could not follow him with equall ſpeed, to follow him at ſuch diſtance one from another, that returning vpon them, he ſlue them, as it had beene in ſingle fight, man after man, ere they could ioyne together and ſet vpon him all at once. *Dionyſius* reports it ſomewhat otherwiſe, telling very particularly, what wounds were giuen and taken, and ſaying, that firſt one of the *Horatij* was ſlaine, then one of the *Curatij*, then a ſecond *Horatius*, and laſtly the two *Curatij*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly ſeuer the one from the other, as is ſhewed before.

This is one of the moſt memorable things in the old *Roman* Hiſtorie, both in regard of the action it ſelfe, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in a wager, againſt *Alba*, and in reſpect of the great increaſe which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the Citie of *Alba* did immediately become ſubiect vnto her owne Colonie, and was ſhortly after, vpon ſome treacherous dealing of their Gouernour, vtterly razed, the people being remoued vnto *Rome*, where they were made Citizens. The ſtrong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother Citie, had beene chiefe, became ere long dependant vpon *Rome*, though not ſubiect vnto it, and diuers pettie States adiacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were ſmall, yet many, I will forbeare to rehearſe (as being the works of ſundrie ages, and few of them remarkeable conſidered apart by themſelues) vntill ſuch time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, ſhall grow to be the maine ſubiect of this Hiſtorie.

The ſeuenth yeere of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the firſt of *Manaſſes*. Alſo the three laſt Gouernours for ten yeeres, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the ſame Kings time. Of theſe I finde only names, *Leocrates*, *Abſander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yeerely Rulers were elected.

Theſe Gouernours for ten yeeres, were alſo of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was ſhortned, & from tearme of life reduced vnto ten yeres; it being thought likely that they would gouerne the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to liue priuate men vnder the command of others. I follow *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, in applying their times vnto thoſe yeeres of the Olympiads, wherein the Chronologicall table, following this worke, doth ſet them. For he not onely profeſſeth himſelfe to haue taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwaies the yeeres of the *Greeks*, how they did anſwere vnto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this Hiſtorie. Whereas therefore hee placeth the building of *Rome*, in the firſt yeere of the ſeuenth Olympiad, and affirmes, that the ſame was the firſt yeere of *Charops* gouernement in *Athens*; I hope I ſhall not need excuſe, for varying from *Pauſanias*, who ſets the beginning of theſe *Athenians* ſomewhat ſooner.

Dion.Halic.l.1 fol. 43.& 45.

In the Reigne of *Manaſſes* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets fained to haue had Aſſes eares, held the Kingdome of *Phrygia*. Many fables were deuiſed of him; eſpecially that hee obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which hee ſhould touch, might immediately be changed into Gold: by which meanes he had like to haue beene ſtarued (his meat and drinke being ſubiect to the ſame transformation) had not *Bacchus* deliuered him from this miſerable facultie, by cauſing him to waſh himſelfe in the Riuer *Pactolus*, the ſtreame whereof hath euer ſince, forſooth, abounded in that precious Metall. Finally, it is ſaid hee died by drinking Buls bloud; being inuaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flouriſhed that *Antimachus*, who (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) obſerued the Moones Eclipſe at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Mileſians*, or, (as *Euſebius* hath it) the *Athenians* hauing obtained ſome power by Sea, founded *Macicratis* a City on the Eaſt of *Ægypt*. *Pſammiticus* herein ſeemes to haue aſſiſted them, who vſed all meanes of drawing the *Greekes* into *Ægypt*, accounting them his ſureſt ſtrength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athens* were now of power ſufficient to plant a Colonie in *Ægypt* by force.

About

Plut. & Euſeb.

About this time *Archias* with his companion *Miſcellus*, and other *Corinthians* founded *Syracuſæ* in *Sicily*, a Citie in after-times exceeding famous.

* Whence in *Strabo* there is *ſinus Aſtacenus* a part of Propontis where this Citie ſtandeth. *Pauſ. l. 5. Hal. l. 3. Strabo l. 6.*

The Citie of *Nicomedia* ſometime * *Aſtacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* natiue of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samus*, according to *Pauſanias*, liued much about this time.

About theſe times alſo was *Croton* founded vpon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miſcellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuſæ*. *Strabo* makes it ſomewhat more ancient: and ſo doth *Pauſanias*.

Iuſtin. l. 3. Pauſ. l. 10.

About the ſame time the *Parthenians* being of age, and baniſhed *Lacedæmon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italie*: where it is ſaid they founded *Tarentum*: but *Iuſtine* and *Pauſanias* finde it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the ſame time *Manaſſe* yet liuing, the Citie *Phaſelis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Vmbri*, now *Vrbin* in *Italie*. About which time alſo *Chalcedon* in *Aſia*, ouer againſt *Byzantium* (now *Conſtantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenſes*: who therefore were vpbraided as blinde, becauſe they choſe not the other ſide of *Boſphorus*. It were a long worke to rehearſe all that is ſaid to haue beene done in the fiue and fiftie yeeres of *Manaſſes*: that which hath alreadie beene told is enough: the reſt being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reſeruing only *Ben Merodach* and *Nabulaſſar*, to the buſineſſe that will ſhortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manaſſes *to the deſtruction of Ieruſalem.*

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§. I.

Of Ammon *and* Ioſias.

2. King 21. 2. Chron 33.

AMmon the ſonne of *Manaſſe*, a man no leſſe wicked than was his Father before his conuerſion, reſtored the exerciſe of all ſorts of Idolatrie: for which God hardened the hearts of his owne ſeruants againſt him: who ſlew him after hee had reigned two yeeres. *Philo*, *Euſebius*, and *Nicephorus* giue him ten yeeres, following the Septuagint.

2 King. 22. 2. Chron 34.

Ioſias ſucceeded vnto *Ammon*, being but a child of 8. yeres olde, he began to ſeek after the God of *Dauid* his Father; and in his twelfth yere he purged *Iuda* and *Ieruſalem from the high places, and the groues, & the carued and molten Images: and they brake downe in his ſight the Altars of Baalim*: He cauſed all the Images as well thoſe which were grauen, as molten, to be ſtampt to powder, and ſtrewed on their graues that had erected them, and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He alſo ſlew thoſe that ſacrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and cauſed the Chariots and Horſes of the Sunne to be burnt. Of *Ioſias* it was prophecied in the time of *Ieroboam* the firſt, when he erected the Golden Calfe at *Bethel*, that a childe ſhould be borne vnto the houſe of *Dauid*, *Ioſias* by name, and vpon thee (ſaid the Prophet ſpeaking to the Altar) ſhall he ſacrifice the Prieſts of the high places, that burne incenſe vpon thee: a prophecy verie remarkeable.

1. King. 13.

In the eighteenth yeere of his reigne, hee rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Prieſt found the Booke of *Moſes*, called *Deuteronomy*, or, of the Law, which he ſent to the King: which when he had cauſed to be read before him, and conſidered of the ſeuere commandements therein written, the proſperitie promiſed to thoſe that obſerue them, and the ſorrow and extirpation to the reſt, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to aske counſell of the Propheteſſe *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Book, who anſwered the meſſengers in theſe words: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold, I will bring euill vpon this place, and vpon the inhabitants thereof, euen all the curſes that are written in the Booke, which they haue read before the King of Iuda, becauſe they haue*

2. Chrō. 34. 24.

forſaken mee, and burnt incenſe to other gods. Onely for the King himſelfe, becauſe he was a louer of God and his Lawes, it was promiſed that this euill ſhould not fall on *Iuda* and *Ieruſalem* in his dayes, but that he himſelfe ſhould inherit his graue in peace. 2.King.22.15. 2.Chron.34.

Ioſias aſſembled the Elders, cauſed the Booke to be read vnto them, made a couenant with the Lord, and cauſed all that were found in *Ieruſalem* and *Beniamin* to doe the like, promiſing thereby to obſerue the Lawes and commandements in the Booke contained.

The execution done by *Ioſias* vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the falſe Prophets, at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to haue extended vnto thoſe Countries, that had beene part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victorie of *Ioſias* in warre got poſſeſſion of theſe places; but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight and death of *Senacherib*, when *Merodach* oppoſed himſelfe againſt *Aſarhaddon*, did vſe the aduantage which the faction in the North preſented vnto him, and laid hold vpon ſo much of the Kingdome of *Iſrael*, as he was able to people. Otherwiſe alſo it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himſelfe vnable to deale with *Pſammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raiſe the ſiege of *Azotus*, though the Towne held out nine and twenty yeeres) did giue vnto *Manaſſes*, together with his libertie, as much in *Iſrael* as himſelfe could not eaſily defend. This was a good way to breake the amitie that the Kings of *Iuda* had ſo long held with thoſe of *Ægypt*, by caſting a bone betweeene them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territoris with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeeme the friendſhip of the *Iewes*, which had beene loſt by iniuries done, in ſeeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is ſaid, that *Manaſſes* did after his deliuerance from impriſonment, *put Captaines of warre in all the ſtrong Cities of Iuda*; 2.Chrō.33.14. it may be that ſome ſuch buſineſſe is intimated, as the taking poſſeſſion, and fortifying of places deliuered into his hands. For though it be manifeſt that he tooke much paines, in making *Ieruſalem* it ſelfe more defenſible; yet I ſhould rather beleeue, that hee, hauing already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himſelfe againſt the *Ægyptians*, whoſe ſide he had forſaken, than that he trauelled in making ſuch prouiſions, only for his mindes ſake. The earneſtneſſe of *Ioſias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrell, doth argue, that the compoſition which *Manaſſes* had made, with that King or his Anceſtor, was vpon ſuch friendly tearmes, as required not onely a faithfull obſeruation, but a thankefull requitall. For no perſwaſions could ſuffice to make *Ioſias* ſit ſtill, and hold himſelfe quiet in good neutralitie, when *Pharao Neco* King of *Ægypt* paſſed along by him, to warre vpon the Countries about the Riuer of *Euphrates*.

The laſt yeere of *Ioſias* his reigne it was, when as *Neco* the ſonne of *Pſammiticus*, came with a powerfull Armie towards the border of *Iudæa*, determining to paſſe that way, being the neereſt toward *Euphrates*, eyther to ſtrengthen the paſſages of that Riuer, about 2.Chrō.35.20. *Carchemiſh*, or *Cercuſium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Diocleſian* is ſaid by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to haue done,) or perhaps to inuade *Syria* it ſelfe. For it ſeemeth that the trauaile of *Pſammiticus* had not beene idlely conſumed about that one Towne of *Azotus*, but had put the *Ægyptians* in poſſeſſion of no ſmall part of *Syria*, eſpecially in thoſe quarters, that had formerly belonged vnto the *Adades* Kings of *Damaſco*.

Neither was the induſtrie of *Neco* leſſe than his Fathers had beene, in purſuing the warre againſt *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly haue auailed the *Ægyptians*, and aduanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinarie valor of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better Souldiers than *Ægypt* of it ſelfe could afford; and the danger wherein *Aſſyria* ſtood, by the force of the *Medes*, which vnder the command of more abſolute Princes, began to feele it ſelfe better; and to ſhew what it could doe. Theſe were great helpes, but of ſhorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more conuenient ſhall be noted. At the preſent it ſeemes, that either ſome preparation of the *Chaldæans* to reconquer, did enforce, or ſome diſabilitie of theirs to make reſiſtance, did inuite the King of *Ægypt*, into the Countries bordering vpon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Neco* aſcended with a mighty Armie.

Theſe two great Monarchs, hauing their ſwords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Ioſias* aduiſed with himſelfe to which of theſe hee might adhere, hauing his Territorie ſet in the mid-way betweene both, ſo as the one could not inuade the other; but that they muſt of neceſſitie tread vpon the very face and bodie of his Countrie; Now though it were ſo that *Neco* himſelfe deſired by his Embaſſadors,

leaue

2. Chron. 35.

leaue to paſſe along by *Iudæa*, proteſting that hee directed himſelfe againſt the *Aſſyrians* onely, without all harmefull purpoſe againſt *Ioſias*; yet all ſufficed not, but the King of *Iſrael* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendſhip of *Ægypt* could bring to thoſe that had affiance therein: as that of *Hoſea* the laſt King of *Iſrael*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Aſſyrian*, and wholly truſted to *Sabacus*, or *Sous* King of *Ægypt*, was vtterly diſappointed of his hopes, and in concluſion loſt both his life and eſtate, which the *Aſſyrian*, ſo rooted vp and tare in pieces, as it could neuer after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities alſo that fell vpon *Iuda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth yeeres of *Ezekia*, whileſt that good King and his people relied vpon *Sethon*; and more lately, the impriſonment of *Manaſſes*, were documents of ſufficient proofe, to ſhew the ill aſſurance, that was in the help of the *Ægyptians*, who (neere neighbors though they were) were alwaies vnready, when the neceſſities of their friends required their aſſiſtance. The remembrance hereof might bee the reaſon why *Neco* did not ſeeke, to haue the *Iewes* renew their ancient league with him, but onely craued that they would be contented to ſit ſtill, and behold the paſtime betweene him and the *Aſſyrians*. This was an eaſie thing to grant; ſeeing that the countenance of ſuch an Armie, as did, ſoone after this, out-face *Nabulaſſar* vpon his owne borders, left vnto the *Iewes*, a lawfull excuſe of feare, had they forborne to giue it any checke vpon the way. Wherefore I beleeue, that this religious and vertuous Prince *Ioſias*, was not ſtirred vp onely by politike reſpects, to ſtop the way of *Neco*; but thought himſelfe bound in faith & honor, to doe his beſt in defence of the *Babylonian* Crowne; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by couenant made at the enlargement of *Manaſſes*, or by the gift of ſuch part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Iuda*, they had now a good occaſion to ſhew, both vnto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendſhip was, and to the *Ægyptians* what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemie.

Some thinke, that this action of *Ioſias*, was contrarie to the aduice of *Ieremie* the Prophet; which I doe not finde in the Prophecie of *Ieremie*, nor can finde reaſon to beleeue. Others hold opinion, that he forgat to aske the counſell of God: and this is very likelie; ſeeing hee might beleeue that an enterprize grounded vpon fidelitie and thankefulneſſe due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be diſpleaſing vnto the Lord. But the wickednes of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken ſuch roote, as all the care of *Ioſias* in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp) was queſtionleſſe farre from harkening how the matter would ſtand with Gods pleaſure, and much farther from enquiring into his ſecret will, wherein it was determined, that their good King, whoſe life ſtood between them and their puniſhment, ſhould now be taken from among them, and that in ſuch ſort, as his death ſhould giue an enterance to the miſeries enſuing. So *Ioſias* leauying all the ſtrength he could make, neere vnto *Megiddo*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſes*, encountered *Necho*: and there hee receiued the ſtroake of death, which lingring about him till hee came to *Ieruſalem*, brought him to the Sepulchers of his Anceſtors. His loſſe was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Iuda*, eſpecially of *Ieremie* the Prophet: who inſerted a ſorrowfull remembrance thereof in his booke of Lamentations.

Lam. 4. v. 20.

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§. II.

Of Pharao Neco *that fought with* Ioſias: *Of* Iehoahaz *and* Iehoiakim *Kings of Iſrael.*

OF theſe warres, and particularly of this victorie, ***Herodotus*** hath mention, among the acts of *Neco*. He tels vs of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might paſſe, out of *Nilus* into the Red ſea. It ſhould haue reached aboue an hundred miles in length, and beene wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middeſt of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians ſhould haue the benefit of it, which cauſed *Neco* to deſiſt when halfe was done. There were conſumed in this toyleſome buſineſſe twelue hundred thouſand *Ægyptians*; a loſſe great enough to make the King forſake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howſoeuer it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore hee built a Fleet, and leauied a great Armie, wherewith he marched againſt the King of *Babel*. In this expedition he vſed the ſeruice, as well of his Nauie, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, ſaue onely this victorie againſt *Ioſias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdolus*, and the *Iewes Syrians*; which is a ſmall error, ſeeing that *Iudæa* was a Prouince of *Syria*, and *Magdolus* or *Magdala* is taken to haue beene the ſame place (though diuerſly named) in which this battell was fought. After this, *Necus* tooke the Citie of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemiſh*, by *Euphrates*, and made himſelfe Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Ioſephus* witneſſeth.

Ioſ. Ant. Iud. l. 10. cap 7.

Particularly we finde, that the *Phœnicians*, one of the moſt powerfull Nations in *Syria*, were his Subiects, and that by his command they ſurrounded all *Africa*, ſetting ſaile from the gulfe of *Arabia*, and ſo paſſing along all the Coaſt, whereon they both landed, as need required, and ſowed corne for their ſuſtenance; in that long voyage which laſted three yeeres. This was the firſt Nauigation about *Africa*, wherein that great *Cape*, now called *Of good hope*, was diſcouered; which after was forgotten, vntill *Vaſco de Gama* the Portingall found it out, following a contrarie courſe to that which the *Phœnicians* held; for they, beginning in the Eaſt, ranne the way of the Sunne, South and then Weſtward, after which they returned home by the pillars & ſtreights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the ſtreights of *Gybraltar*, hauing *Africke* ſtill on the right hand: but the *Portingals*, beginning their voyage not farre from the ſame ſtreights, leaue *Africke* on the Larboord, and bend their courſe vnto the Eaſt. That report of the *Phœnicians*, which *Herodotus* durſt not beleeue, how the Sun in this iournie was on their right hand, that is, on the North ſide of them, is a matter of neceſſarie truth; and the obſeruation then made hereof, makes me the better to beleeue, that ſuch a Voyage was indeed performed.

Herod l.4.

But leauing theſe diſcourſes of *Neco* his magnificence, let vs tell what he did, in matters more importing his Eſtate. The people of *Iuda*, while the *Ægyptians* were buſie at *Carchemiſh*, had made *Iehoahaz* their King, in the roome of his father *Ioſias*. The Prophet *Ieremie* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the ſhort Reigne of *Shallum* King of the tenne Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Iſrael* reigned but one moneth; *Iehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldeſt ſon of *Ioſias*: Wherefore it may ſeeme that he was ſet vp as the beſt affected vnto the King of *Babel*; the reſt of his houſe being more inclined to the *Ægyptian*, as appeares by the ſequele. An Idolater he was, and thriued accordingly. For when as *Neco* had diſpatched his buſineſſe in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affaires of *Iudæa*. This Countrie was now ſo farre from making any reſiſtance, that the King himſelfe came from *Riblah* in the Land of *Hamath*, where the matter wen ſo ill on his ſide, that *Neco* did caſt him into bonds, and carry him priſoner into *Ægypt*, giuing away his Kingdome to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The Citie of *Riblath*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place vnhappie to the Kings and Princes of *Iuda*, as may bee obſerued in diuers examples. Yet heere *Iehoiakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gaine, ſince hee could no better vſe it. But how-euer *Iehoiakim* thriued by the bargaine, *Pharao* ſped well, making that Kingdome Tributarie, without any ſtroke ſtricken, which three moneths before was too ſtout to giue him peace, when hee deſired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater taske lying vpon his hands, than would permit him to waſte his forces vpon *Iudæa*: but now the reputation of his good ſucceſſe at *Megiddo*, and *Carchemiſh*, together with the diſſention of the Princes *Ioſias* his ſonnes (of whom the eldeſt is probably thought to haue ſtormed at the preferment of his yonger brother) gaue him power to doe, euen what ſhould pleaſe himſelfe. Yet he did forbeare to make a conqueſt of the Land; perhaps vpon the ſame reaſon, which had made him ſo earneſt, in ſeeking to hold peace with it. For the *Iewes* had ſuffered much, in the *Ægyptians* quarrell, and being left by theſe their friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driuen of neceſſitie to forſake that partie, and to ioyne with the enemies; to whom if they ſhewed themſelues faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaime them; ſeeing they were ſuch a people as would not vpon euery occaſion ſhift ſide, but endure more, than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth ſhould lay vpon them: ſo good a Patron did he meane to be vnto them. Neuertheleſſe hee laid vpon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of ſiluer, and one Talent of gold; that ſo hee might both reape at the preſent, ſome fruit of his paines taken, and leaue vnto them ſome document in the future, of

Ier.c.22.v.32.

2.Kin c.34.v.32.

greater puniſhment than verball anger, due to them, if they ſhould rebell. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Ægypt* the vnfortunate King *Iehoahaz*; who died in his Captiuitie.

The reigne of *Iehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers laſt yeere; otherwiſe it would hardly be found, that *Iehoiakim*, his ſucceſſour, did reigne tenne whole yeeres, whereas the Scriptures giue him eleuen, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather caſt the three moneths of this ſhort reigne, into the firſt yeere of the brother, than into the fathers laſt; the ſame arguments that ſhall maintaine his opinion, will alſo proue the matter to be vnworthy of diſputation; and ſo I leaue it.

Iehoiakim in impietie was like his brother, in faction hee was altogether *Ægyptian*, as hauing receiued his Crowne at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickedneſſe of theſe laſt Kings, being expreſſed in Scriptures none otherwiſe, than by generall words, with reference to all the euill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poyſon wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manaſſes* had infected the Land, was not ſo expelled by the zealous goodneſſe of *Ioſias*, but that it ſtill cleaued vnto the chiefe of the people, ***Yea vnto the Prieſts alſo***; and therefore it was not ſtrange, that the Kings had their part therein. The Royall authoritie was much abaſed by the dangers wherein the Countrie ſtood, in this troubleſome age: the Princes did in a manner what they liſted; neither would the Kings forbeare to profeſſe, that they could denie them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Iehoiakim* had the countenance of the *Ægyptian* to grace it, which made him inſolent and cruell; as wee finde by that example of his dealing with *Vria* the Prophet: though heerein alſo the Princes doe appeare to haue beene inſtigators. This Holy man denounced Gods iudgements againſt the Citie and Temple, in like ſort as other Prophets had formerlie done, and did in the ſame age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Heereupon the poore man fled into *Ægypt*: but ſuch regard was had vnto *Iehoiakim*, that *Vria* was deliuered vnto his Embaſſadour, and ſent backe to the death; contrarie to the cuſtome vſed, both in thoſe dayes, and ſince among all ciuill Nations, of giuing refuge vnto ſtrangers, that are not held guiltie of ſuch inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankinde ſhould be exempted from all priuiledge.

2.Chron.cap.36 verſe 14.

It concerned *Pharao* to giue all contentment poſſible to *Iehoiakim*: for the *Aſſyrian* Lyon, that had not ſtirred in many yeeres, began about theſe times, to roare ſo lowd vpon the bankes of *Euphrates*, that his voyce was heard vnto *Nilus*, threatning to make himſelfe Lord of all the Forreſt. The cauſes that hitherto had withdrawne the houſe of *Merodach*, from oppoſing the *Ægyptian* in his conqueſt of *Syria*, require our conſideration in this place; before wee proceed to commit them together at ***Charchemiſh***, where ſhortly after this, the glory of *Ægypt* is to fall.

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§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon *and* Media. *How it came to paſſe that the Kings of* Babel *could not giue attendance on their buſineſſe in* Syria; *which cauſed them to loſe that Prouince.*

M*erodach* the ſonne of *Baladan*, who taking the aduantage that ***Sennacheribs*** miſaduenture and death, together with the diſſenſion betweene his children preſented, made himſelfe King of *Babylon*, was eleuen yeeres troubled with a powerfull Enemie *Aſarhaddon* the ſonne of *Sennacherib*, reigning ouer the *Aſſyrians* in *Niniue*; from whom whileſt hee could not any other way diuert his cares, hee was faine to omit all buſineſſe in *Syria*, and (as hath beene formerly ſhewed) to make ouer vnto *Ezekia*, ſome part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. From this moleſtation, the death of *Aſarhaddon* did not onely ſet him free, but gaue vnto him ſome part of *Aſſyria*, if not (as is commonly, but leſſe probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Aſſyrians*, I will not heere ſtand to enquire: his long reigne following, and his little intermedling in matters of *Syria*, make it plaine, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or in eſtabliſhing that which hee had gotten. *Ioſephus* giues him the honour of hauing wonne *Niniue* it ſelfe; which wee may beleeue; but ſurely hee did not hold it long. For in the times ſoone following, that great Citie was free, and vanquiſhed *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yeelded vpon ſome capitulation:

and refuſed afterwards to continue ſubiect, when the Kings being of the *Chaldæan* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some thinke that this was the *Aſſyrian* King, whoſe Captaines tooke *Manaſſes* priſoner; but I rather beleeue thoſe that hold the contrarie; for which I haue giuen my reaſons in due place. To ſay truth, I finde little cauſe why *Merodach* ſhould haue looked into thoſe parts, as long as the *Iewes* were his friends, and the *Ægyptians*, that maligned the Northerne Empire, held themſelues quiet at home, which was vntill the time of *Pſammiticus*, about the end of this Kings Reigne, or the beginning of his ſonne.

Ben Merodach the ſon and ſucceſſour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good conſent of Authors, and that ſpeake little of his doings. The length of his Reigne is gathered by inference to haue beene one and twentie yeeres, for ſo much remaineth of the time that paſſed betweene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Reignes (which is a knowne ſumme) deducting the yeeres of his Father, and of his ſonne *Nabulaſſar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manaſſes* Priſoner and releaſed him. Hee ſpedde ill in *Syria*; where *Pſammiticus*, by the vertue of his Mercenarie *Greekes*, did much preuaile. This may haue beene ſome cauſe that he releaſed *Manaſſes*, and did put into his hands ſome part more of the Kingdome of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumſtances alleaged before.

Nabulaſſar that reigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater buſineſſe in his owne Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: inſomuch as it may be thought to haue beene a great negligence or ouer-ſight of *Pſammiticus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupie ſome good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* inuaded *Aſſyria*, and beſieged *Niniue*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulaſſar*, but conſtrained to remooue by the comming of *Scythians*, who in theſe ages did ouer-flow thoſe parts of the World, laying hold vpon all, that they could maſter by ſtrong hand. Of theſe *Scythians*, and the Lordſhip that they held in *Aſia*, it is conuenient that I ſpeake in this place; ſhewing brieflie afore-hand, how the *Medes*, vpon whom they firſt fell, were buſied in the ſame times with hopes of conquering *Aſſyria*.

Pharaortes, the ſonne of *Deioces*, King of the *Medes*, hauing by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceiued at length a faire poſſibilitie of making himſelfe Lord of *Niniue*.

That Citie (as *Herodotus* reports it) hauing been a Soueraigne Ladie, was not forſaken *Herod. lib. 1.* of all her dependants; yet remained in ſuch caſe, that of her ſelfe ſhe was well enough.

This makes it plaine, that howſoeuer *Merodach* had gotten poſſeſſion of this imperiall ſeat, and made it ſubiect as was the reſt of the Countrie; yet it found the meanes to ſet it ſelfe at libertie: as after this againe he did, when it had beene regained by *Nabulaſſar* his Grand-childe.

Sharpe warre, and the very noueltie of ſuddaine violence, vſe to diſmay any State or Countrie, not inured to the like: but cuſtome of danger hardeneth euen thoſe that are vnwarlike. *Niniue* had beene the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had ſuffered, and reſiſted, all the furie, wherewith either Domeſticall tumults betweene the ſonnes of *Senacherib*, or forreign warre of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leſſe wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did ſpeed ſo ill in his iourney againſt it. Hee and the moſt of his Armie periſhed in that expedition: whereof I finde no particular circumſtances (perhaps he vnderualued their forces, and brought a leſſe power than was needfull.) It is enough, that herein we may beleeue *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the ſonne of *Phraortes*, a brauer man of warre than his Father, wan as much of *Aſia* the leſſe, as lay Eaſtward, from the Riuer of *Halys*; he ſought reuenge vpon the *Aſſyrians* for the death of his Father, and beſieged *Niniue* it ſelfe, hauing a purpoſe to deſtroy it. I rather beleeue *Euſebius*, *That hee tooke the Citie, and fulfilled his diſpleaſure vpon it*, than *Herodotus*, *That the Scythian Armie came vpon him whileſt hee lay before it.* For where equall authorities are contradictorie (as *Euſebius*, though far later then *Herodotus*, yet hauing ſeen other Authors that are now loſt, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there doe I hold it beſt, to yeeld vnto the beſt likelihoods.

To thinke that the *Scythians* came vpon *Cyaxares*, whileſt he lay before *Niniue*, were to accuſe him of greater improuidence, than ought to bee ſuſpected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to ſuppoſe that he was faine to leaue the Towne, when a Warre ſo dangerous fell vpon his owne Countrie, doth well agree both with the condition of ſuch buſineſſe as that *Scythian* expedition brought into thoſe parts, and with the State of the *Chaldæan* and *Aſſyrian* affaires enſuing.

The deſtruction of this great Citie is both foretold in the Booke of *Tobit*, and there ſet downe as happening about theſe times; of which Booke whoſoeuer was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the Storie of thoſe ages, and hath committed no ſuch errour in reckoning of times, as ſhould cauſe vs to diſtruſt him in this. As for the Propheſie of *Nahum*, though it be not limited vnto any certaine tearme, yet it appeares to haue taken effect, in the finall deſtruction of *Niniue* by *Nabuchodonoſor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conqueſt of *Ægypt*, foregoing this calamitie, whereof we will ſpeake in due place. Some that aſcribe more authoritie then the reformed Churches yeeld, to the Booke of *Tobit*, are carefull, as in a matter of neceſſitie, to affirme, that about theſe times, *Niniue* was taken; but they attribute (coniecturally) the victorie ouer it, to *Ben Merodach*: a needleſſe coniecture, if the place of *Euſebius* be well conſidered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulaſſar* the ſon of *Ben Merodach*, did ſeize vpon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about ſuch time as the Countrie of *Aſſyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* Warre ouer-whelmed *Media*. For then was the Conqueſt wrought out readie to his hand; the ſwelling ſpirits of the *Niniuites* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* ſo much aſſwaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if *Nabulaſſar*, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, tooke him and them into protection: though afterwards to their confuſion, this vnthankfull people and their King, rebelled againe, as ſhall be ſhewed in the Reigne of *Nabuchodonoſor*.

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§. IIII.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Aſia eight and twentie yeeres.

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†. I.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I haue ſhewed what impediment was giuen by the *Aſſyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much diſabled to performe any action of worth vpon the *Ægyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I ſpeake of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grieuouſly afflicted not onely the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countries adiacent, in ſuch wiſe, that part of the trouble redounded euen to the *Ægyptians* themſelues. Of the *Scythian* people in generall, *Herodotus* makes very large diſcourſe, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing, with conſent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needleſſe to recite them, for they are farre enough diſtant from the buſineſſe in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may ſeeme very ſtrange, needeth ſome anſwer in this place: leſt otherwiſe I ſhould eyther ſeeme to make my ſelfe too bold with an Authour, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or elſe to be too forgetfull of my ſelfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, thoſe perſons, which I had already buried. Eight and twentie yeeres, he ſaith, that the *Scythians* reigned in *Aſia*, before *Cyaxares* deliuered the Countrie from them. Yet hee reports a warre betweene *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the ſiege of *Niniue*; the ſiege of *Niniue* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tels, how the *Scythians*, hauing vanquiſhed the *Medes*, did paſſe into *Syria*, and were encountred in *Paleſtina* by *Pſammiticus* King of *Ægypt*, who by gifts and entreatie procured them to depatt from him. Theſe narrations of *Herodotus* may, euery one of them, be true; though not in ſuch order of time, as hee hath marſhalled them. For *Pſammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reigne: and *Cyaxares* had ſpent halfe of his fortie yeeres, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*; ſo that hee could not, after thoſe *Lydian* Warres, reigne eight and twenty yeeres together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Euſebius* doth alſo call *Pſammis* the ſonne of *Pharao Neco*, by the name of *Pſammiticus*; and this King *Pſammis* may, by ſome ſtrained coniecture, be thought to haue beene he that met with the *Scythians*: for hee liued with both *Cyaxares* and **Halyattes**. But *Euſebius* himſelfe referres all that buſineſſe of the *Scythian* irruption into ***Palæſtina***, to *Pſammiticus* the Father of *Necho*, whom hee leaues dead before the Reigne of ***Halyattes***. Therefore I dare not relye vpon ***Herodotus***, in this matter, otherwiſe than to beleeue him, that ſuch things were in theſe ages, though not in ſuch order as he ſets them downe.

It remaines, that I collect as well as I can, thoſe memorials which I finde of this expedition ſcattered in diuers places: a worke neceſſarie, for that the greatneſſe of this action was ſuch, as ought not to be omitted in a generall Hiſtorie; yet not eaſie, the conſent of thoſe that haue written thereof, being nothing neere to vniformitie.

I haue noted before, that in the Reigne of *Ardis* King of *Lydia*, the ***Cimmerians*** ouer-ranne that Kingdome, and were not expelled, vntill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the vpper hand of them. In theſe times therefore of *Ardis*, *Sadiattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to finde the eight and twentie yeeres, wherein the *Scythians* reigned ouer *Aſia*. Now foraſmuch as *Pſammiticus* the *Ægyptian* had ſome dealings with the *Scythians*, euen in the height of their proſperitie, wee muſt needs allow more than one or two of his laſt yeeres vnto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reigne in *Lydia*, being three and twentie yeeres compleat after the death of *Pſammiticus*, leaues the ſpace very ſcant, eyther for the great victories of the *Scythians*, neceſſarily ſuppoſed before they could meete the *Ægyptian* in *Syria*, or for thoſe many loſſes, which they muſt haue receiued ere they could be driuen quite away. To increaſe this difficultie, the victorious Reigne of *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Babylon*, is of no ſmall moment. For how may we thinke it poſſible, that hee ſhould haue aduentured the ſtrength of his Kingdome againſt the *Ægyptians* and ***Iewes***, had he ſtood in daily feare of loſing his owne; to a more mighty Nation, that lay vpon his necke? To ſpeake ſimply as it appeares to me; the victories aſcribed to ***Cyaxares*** and ***Halyattes*** ouer theſe warlike people, were not obtained againſt the whole body of their Armie, but were the defeatures of ſome troopes, that infeſted their ſeuerall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among theſe, *Nabulaſſar* hauing the like ſucceſſe, when the pleaſures of *Aſia* had mollified the courages of theſe hardie Northerne Laddes. Wherefore we may probably annexe the eight and twentie yeres of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almoſt the laſt of *Nabulaſſars* Reigne, in compaſſe whereof their power was at the greateſt. This is all that I can ſay of the time, wherein *Aſia* ſuffered the violence of their oppreſſors.

†. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Aſia; with the cauſe of their Iournie.

TOuching the expedition it ſelfe, ***Herodotus*** tells vs, that the ***Cimmerians*** being driuen out of their Countrie by the *Scythians*, inuaded and waſted ſome part of *Aſia*; and that the ***Scythians*** not contented with hauing wonne the land of the ***Cimmerians***, did follow them, I know not why, into farre remoued quarters of the world, ſo (as it were by chance) falling vpon *Media* and *Ægypt*, in this purſuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Heereby wee may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and baſe people; the ***Scythians***, as miſchieuous and fooliſh; or elſe ***Herodotus***, and ſome other of his Countrimen, great ſlanderers of thoſe, by whom their Nation had beene beaten, and *Ionia*, more than once, grieuouſly ranſackt. The great valour of the ***Cimmerians*** or ***Cimbrians*** is ſo well knowne, and their many Conqueſts ſo well teſtified in Hiſtories of diuers Nations, that the malice of the ***Greekes*** is inſufficient to ſtaine them with the note of Cowards. Theſe were the poſteritie of ***Gomer***, who peopled the greateſt part of our Weſterne World, and whoſe re-flow did ouerwhelm no ſmall portion of ***Greece*** and *Aſia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we doe now entreat. Hee that would more largely informe himſelfe of their originall and actions, may peruſe ***Goropius Becanus*** his *Amazonica*; of many things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned ***Ortelius*** is ſaid to haue ſpoken, of all ***Goropius*** his workes, ***that it is eaſie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them***: There wee finde it prooued, by ſuch arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the ***Cimmerians***, *Scythians* and ***Sarmatians***, were all of one Linage and Nation; howſoeuer diſtinguiſhed in name, by reaſon of their diuers Tribes, profeſſions, or perhaps dialect of ſpeech. ***Homer*** indeed hath mention of the ***Cimmerians***; whoſe Countrie whether he placeth in the Weſt, as neere vnto the

Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and couered with eternall darkneſſe; certaine it is that he would haue them neere neighbours to Hell: for he had the ſame quarrell to them, which **Herodotus** had, and therefore belike would haue made them ſeeme a kinde of *Goblins*. It was the manner of this great Poet (as **Herodotus** writing his life affirmes) to inſert into his workes the names of ſuch as liued in his owne time, making ſuch mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himſelfe deſerued. And for this reaſon it is proued by *Euſtathius*, that the *Cimmerians* were ſo diſgraced by him, becauſe they had waſted his Countrie. Perhaps that inuaſion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his diſcourſe with *Helen*, was the very ſame, which *Euſebius* noteth to haue happened ſomewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together inuaded *Aſia*.

This is certaine, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerij* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often breake into *Greece* and *Aſia*; which though it bee not in expreſſe tearmes written, that they did with ioynt-forces, yet ſeeing they inuaded the ſelfe-ſame places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One iourney of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned alſo by *Euſebius*, was by the ſtreights of the *Cimmerians*, as we finde in *Diodore*, who further telleth vs, that the *Scythians* therein gaue them aſſiſtance. The ſame Authour, before his entrie into thoſe diſcourſes of the *Amazons*, which himſelfe acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to haue beene wiues of the *Scythians*, and no leſſe Warre-like than their Husbands; alleadging the example of that Queene who is ſaid to haue ſlaine the great *Perſian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their wiues along with them to the Warres; and how deſperate the courage was of thoſe Women; the terrible deſcent of them into *Italie*, when *Marius* the *Roman* ouerthrew them, giues proofe ſufficient. I will not heere enter into a diſcourſt of the *Amazons*; another place will giue mee better leiſure to ſpeake of them: but ſeeing that they are noted by diuers Hiſtorians to haue belonged vnto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approue *Goropius* his concluſion, That theſe three Nations were one, at leaſt that they were neere allies.

Diod.lib.4.c.2.

Diod.lib.2.c.11

Now as concerning the expulſion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appeares to haue beene none other than the ſending a Colonie of them foorth into *Aſia*, with an Armie of *Scythians* to helpe them, in purchaſing a new ſeate, and eſtabliſhing the plantation.

The *Sarmatians* alſo were companions in this iournie. For the Citie of *Nouograd* in *Ruſſia* (which Countrie is the ſame that was called *Sarmatia*) ſtood in their way homewards, as ſhall anon be further ſhewed. So that all the North was vp in Armes: and therefore it is no maruell though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the ſame people made fiue hundred yeres and more after this, when they were encountred by the *Romans*. For they iſſued from the parts about the Lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted (ſaith *Plutarch* in the moſt likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their Armie aboue three hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandered ouer many Countries, beating all downe before them; and finally, thinking to haue ſetled themſelues in *Italie*, they diuided their Companie, for the more eaſie paſſage thither, and were conſumed in three terrible battailes by the *Roman* Conſuls. Meere neceſſitie enforced theſe poore Nations, to trouble the World, in following ſuch hard aduentures. For their Countrie, beeing more fruitfull of men than of ſuſtenance, and ſhut vp on the North ſide with intollerable cold, which denied iſſue that way to their ouer-ſwelling multitudes; they were compelled to diſcharge vpon the South, and by right or wrong to driue others out of poſſeſſion, as hauing title to all that they had power to get, becauſe they wanted all, that weaker, but more ciuill, people had. Their ſturdie bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardneſſe, gaue them great aduantage ouer ſuch as were accuſtomed vnto a more delicate life, and could not bee without a thouſand ſuperfluities. Wherefore moſt commonly they preuailed verie farre; their next neighbours giuing them free paſſage, that they might the ſooner be ridde of them; others giuing them, beſides paſſage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthie places; others hiring them to depart with great preſents; ſo as

Plutarch in the life of *Marius*.

the farther they went on, the more pleaſant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

†. III.

Of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.

THe firſt Companie of theſe, conſiſting for the moſt part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* Seas, which they had ſtill on the right hand; leauing on the other ſide, and behinde them, the great Mountaines of *Caucaſus*. Theſe hauing paſſed through the Land of *Cholchis*, that is now called *Mengrelli*, entered the Countrie of *Pontus*, and being arriued in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the Promontorie whereon *Sinope*, a famous Hauen Towne of the *Greekes*, was after built. Here it ſeemes that they beſtowed the weakeſt and moſt vnſeruiceable of their traine, together with the heauieſt part of their carriages, vnder ſome good gard: as drawing neere to thoſe Regions, in conqueſt whereof they were to trie the vtmoſt hazard. For in like ſort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I ſpake euen now) diſpoſe of their impediments, leauing them in a place of ſtrength, where *Antwerpe* now ſtands, when they drew neere vnto *Gaule*, vpon which they determined to aduenture themſelues in the purchaſe. From *Synope*, the way vnto *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was faire and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ledge of Mountaines, or any deepe Riuers at all to ſtay their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* they had alreadie paſſed.

Herod. lib. 4.

What battells were fought betweene theſe inuaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable ſucceſſe the one or other part wanne and loſt, I finde not written, nor am able to coniecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got poſſeſſion of *Sardes* the capitall Citie of *Lydia*; only the Caſtle holding out againſt them. Further I obſerue, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* Kings of *Lydia*, before this inuaſion, and by *Halyattes* and *Crœſus* in the times following; all that *Ardis* did againſt the *Cimmerians*, and all, ſaue burning the *Mileſians* Corne fields, that was done in twelue yeres by *Sadiattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands ſo full of this buſineſſe, that hee could turne them to nothing elſe) is quite omitted: whereby it may ſeeme, that neither of the two did any thing worthie of remembrance in thoſe wars, but were glad enough that they did loſe all.

Certainly the miſeries of warre are neuer ſo bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forſaking their owne ſeates, labour to root out the eſtabliſhed poſſeſſours of another Land, making roome for themſelues, their wiues and children. They that fight for the maſterie, are pacified with tribute, or with ſome other ſeruices and acknowledgements, which had they beene yeelded at the firſt, all had beene quiet, and no ſword bloudied. But in theſe migrations, the aſſailants bring ſo little with them, that they need all which the defendants haue, their Lands and Cattell, their houſes and their goods, euen to the cradles of the ſucking infants. The mercileſſe tearmes of this controuerſie arme both ſides with deſperate reſolution: ſeeing the one part muſt either winne, or periſh by famine; the other defend their goods, or loſe their liues without redemption. Moſt of the Countries in *Europe* haue felt examples thereof; and the mightie Empire of *Rome* was ouerthrowne by ſuch inuaſions. But our Iſle of *Britaine* can beſt witneſſe the diuerſitie of Conqueſts; hauing by the happy victorie of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all Ciuill Arts, in exchange of libertie, that was but ſlenderly inſtructed therein before; whereas the iſſue of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Warres; was, as were the cauſes, quite contrarie. For theſe did not ſeeke after the Dominion onely, but the entire poſſeſſion of the Countrie, which the *Saxons* obtained, but with horrible crueltie, eradicating all of the *Britiſh* Race, and defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are alſo of the *Cimmerian* bloud) found ſuch end of their enterprize, as it may ſeeme that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Aſia*, did arriue vnto. So that by conſidering the proceſſe of the one, we ſhall the better conceiue the fortune of the other. Many battailes the *Danes* wonne, yet none of ſuch importance, as ſufficed to make them abſolute Conquerours: Many the *Saxons* wonne vpon the *Danes*, yet not ſo great, as could driue them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in courſe of time, the long continuance euen of vtter enmitie, had bred ſuch acquaintance betweene them, as bowing the natures of both theſe people, made the one more plyant vnto the other. So their diſagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no ſmall number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons*, in *England*, where great ſlaughter had made large roome; others returning home, found their owne Country wide enough to receiue them, as hauing diſburthened it ſelfe of many thouſands, that were ſent to ſeeke their graues abroad. And ſuch (as I thinke) was the end of the *Cimmerian* warre in *Lydia*; whereunto though ſome victorie of *Halyattes* may haue haſtened the concluſion, yet the weariſome length of time ſeemes to haue done moſt, in compelling them to deſire of reſt. I know not why I ſhould feare to adde heereunto my further coniecture; which is, that the matter was ſo compounded betweene the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the Riuer of *Halys* ſhould diuide their Territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eaſterne ſide of the Riuer was the Countrie of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Cimmerians* and other *Scythian* people; whoſe wiues and daughters theſe warlike women are ſuppoſed to haue beene.

And hereunto the quarrell enſuing, betweene *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is ſaid) fought in defence of certaine *Scythians*, vpon whom the *Median* ſought reuenge. And it ſtands with reaſon, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weakened with mutuall ſlaughters, ſhould haue ioyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common ſafetie: though otherwiſe it had beene dangerous to *Halyattes*, if hee had permitted the *Median* to extend his Kingdome ſo farre Weſtward, whatſoeuer the pretences might be, of taking reuenge vpon ſuch as had ſpoiled each of their Countries. As for that occaſion of the Warre betweene theſe two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I finde it of little waight, and leſſe probabilitie. Hee tells of *Scythians*, that being chaſed out of their Countrie by faction, came vnto *Cyaxares*; who committed vnto them certayne Boyes, to bee inſtructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feate of Archerie. Now it ſo fell out (ſaith he) that theſe *Scythians* vſing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home ſomewhat with them, did neuertheleſſe other-whiles miſſe of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholericke, bitterly reuiled them; and they, as impatient as hee, killed one of the Boyes that was vnder their charge, whom dreſſing like Veniſon, they preſented vnto him; which done, they fledde vnto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* deliuers, as the ground of a Warre that laſted ſixe yeeres betweene the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one King demanding theſe Fugitiues to be deliuered into his hand, the other refuſing to betray ſuch men as were become his ſuppliants. To this I will ſay no more, than that I ſee no cauſe that might induce the *Scythians*, to betake themſelues to either of theſe Kings, vnto whom their Nation had wrought ſo much diſpleaſure. Particularlie they had reaſon to diſtruſt *Cyaxares*, for the treacherie that he ſhewed in the maſſacring of their Countrie men, that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that wee ſhould ſpeake.

Herodot. lib. 1.

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†. IIII.

The Warre of the Scythians in the higher Aſia.

As the *Cimmerians* held their courſe Weſterly, along the ſhores of the *Euxine* Sea: ſo the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* tooke the other way, and hauing the *Caſpian* Sea on their left hand, paſſed betweene it and *Caucaſus* through *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obſcure Nations, where now are the Countries of *Seruan* and *Georgia*, and ſo they entered into *Media*. The *Medes* encountred them in Armes; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whileſt *Pſammiticus* reigned in *Ægypt*. If it were in the ſixth yeere of *Nabulaſſars* Reigne ouer *Babylon* (ſuppoſing him to haue reigned fiue and thirtie; otherwiſe we muſt allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then doe the eight and twenty yeeres of their Dominion end, one yere before the great *Nabuchodonoſor* was King; ſo giuing him good leaue to prouide ſecurely, for the inuaſion of *Syria*, which expedition hee began while his Father yet liued, as *Ioſephus* out of *Beroſus* relates the Hiſtorie.

Now the *Medes*, deſirous to ſaue themſelues as well as they might, from this terrible Nation, which when they had no luſt to a ſecond triall of the ſword, refuſed not to vndergoe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing diſhonourable, that would ſerue to remoue theſe troubleſome gueſts into ſome other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding ſtill the Countries pleaſanter and better, the further that they marched into the South, did ſuffer themſelues to be perſwaded, that a little more trauaile, would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relyed ſo much vpon their owne valour, that they feared no reſiſtance; and being the braueſt men, they thought it reaſon that they ſhould dwell in the beſt Region. That *Phraortes* perſwaded them into *Ægypt*, I doe not thinke: *Babylon* was neere enough; whither if he could ſend theſe Locuſts to graze, then ſhould not his vnfriendly Neighbours haue cauſe to laugh at his misfortune. What ſhift *Nabulaſſar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I doe not reade. But it is well known, that his Dominions lay in the middeſt betweene *Media* and *Ægypt*; as alſo, that they made all thoſe parts of *Aſia* Tributarie; wherefore we may very well beleeue, that they watered their horſes in his Riuers, and that he alſo was content to giue them prouender.

Pſammiticus hearing of their progreſſe (like the iealous Husband of a faire Wife) tooke care that they might not looke vpon *Ægypt*; leſt the ſight thereof ſhould more eaſily detaine them there, than any force or perſwaſion, that he could vſe, would ſend them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, preſuming more on the great gifts which he meant to beſtow vpon them, than on his Armie that ſhould keepe them backe. *Ægypt* was rich; and halfe the riches had not beene ill ſpent in ſauing all. Yet *Pſammiticus* tooke the moſt likely courſe, whereby to make his part good againſt them by ſtrong hand, in caſe they had beene ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all indifferent compoſition. For he lay cloſe vpon the edge of the Wilderneſſe in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southermoſt border of *Paleſtina*: whence he neuer aduanced to meete with the *Scythians*; but gaue them leaue to feele as much of the ſcalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat vpon them. When they were come as farre as *Aſcalon*, the next Citie to *Gaza*, then did he aſſay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to worke ſo much the better, by how much the worſe they were pleaſed with the heate of a Climate ſo farre different from their owne. *Pſammiticus* had at his backe a vaſt wilderneſſe, ouer the ſcorching ſands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary diſtempers, could ill haue endured to purſue him, through vnknowne wayes, had they fought with him and preuailed: eſpecially the Kingdome of *Ægypt* being ready to entertaine him with reliefe, and them with new trouble at the end of their wearie iourney. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to viſiite their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Ægyptian* King (beſides that he preſerued his owne Eſtate from a dangerous aduenture, by hyring this great Armie to depart from him) found all his Coſt well repayed in the proceſſe of his warres in *Syria*, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to moleſt him, being more than euer troubled themſelues with the returne of their oppreſſors. For the *Scythians*, reſoluing now to ſeeke no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly impoſed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grieuous exactions, they preſumed to liue at diſcretion vpon the Countrie, taking what they liſted from the Owners; and many times (as it were to ſaue the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long vſed ouer the higher *Aſia*, that is, ouer the Countrie lying betweene the *Caſpian* and *Red* Seas; and betweene *India* and *Aſia* the leſſe. Happy it was for the poore people, that in ſo large a ſpace of ground, there was roome enough for theſe new comers; otherwiſe the calamitie that fell, as it were by chance, vpon thoſe priuate men, to whoſe wealth any *Scythian* did beare a fancie, would haue lighted in generall vpon all at one clap, leauing few aliue, and none able to reliue their fellowes. Yet it ſeemes that the heauieſt burthen lay vpon *Media*; for it was a fruitfull, Countrie not farre from their owne home, and lay vnder a Climate well agreeing with the conſtitution of their bodies; there alſo it was that they had the fatall blow, by which their inſolent Rule was taken from them.

Herod. lib. 1.

Cyaxares King of the *Medes*, who in this extremity was no better then a Rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiuing that his Land lay vnmanured and waſte, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppreſſions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, reſolued to proue what might be done by ſtratagem. The managing of the buſineſſe is thus deliuered in briefe; That he, and his *Medes*, feaſted the better part of the *Scythians*; made them drunke, and ſlew them; recouering hereby the poſſeſſion of all that they had loſt.

Such another ſlaughter was committed vpon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was reuenged by their Countrimen, with greater cruelty than euer they had practiſed before. That the *Scythians*, which eſcaped this bloudy feaſt, made any ſtirre in *Media*, I doe not finde; neither doe I reade that either in reuenge hereof, or vpon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by inuaſion from *Scythia* in time following.

Herod. lib. 4.

Ier. 25. 9.

This is the more ſtrange, for that the Armie returning home out of *Media*, was very ſtrong, and encountred with oppoſition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no leſſe than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the deuice of *Cyaxares* to free his Countrey, tooke good effect, with leſſe bloud-ſhed than hath beene ſuppoſed. For if he ſurpriſed all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good compoſition. Many of them doubtleſſe in eight and twenty yeeres had ſo well ſetled themſelues, that they were deſirous of reſt, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Countrie; many (of whom I ſhall ſpeake anon) hauing done what they could in the buſineſſe, for which they came forth, were willing to returne home, with what they had gotten; ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of theſe two courſes, might goe ioyne with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or ſeeke their fortunes in other Prouinces, among their owne Companions. Whereas *all the Families of the North* are ſaid to haue beene with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may be vnderſtood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, vpon hope of gaine, or deſire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become ſubiect vnto *Nabulaſſar*: mens loue of their wealth being moſt effectuall, in taming the more vnquiet loue of inordinate liberty. This is certaine, that *Nabuchadnezzar*, as euer after, ſo in his firſt beginning of warre, did beate the *Ægyptians*, who in ages foregoing had beene accuſtomed to deale with the *Babylonians* after another faſhion: and this new ſucceſſe of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to ſuch addition as this of new forces.

Ruſ. Commonw Cap 4.

Of the *Scythian* Armie returning out of *Media*, diuers Authors report a Storie, which confirmes me in the opinion, that this Companie went forth to aſſiſt their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new ſeate, and eſtabliſhing their plantation. For theſe had left their wiues behinde them; a good argument to proue that they meant to come againe. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themſelues in their husbands abſence, became bed-fellowes to their ſlaues. Theſe got a luſty brood of youths, that were loath to be troubled with Fathers in Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were onely the children of ſlaues, which compounded an Armie (as *Herodotus* would haue it, who tels vs, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it muſt needes be that they were very Boyes, or elſe that the Women did very little while continue chaſte. Wherefore I rather beleeue that tale as it is told by the *Ruſſes* themſelues, who agreeing in the reſt with the conſent of Hiſtories, make that report of their Anceſtors returning homewards, which I will ſet downe, as I finde it in Maſter *Doctor Fletcher* his exact diſcourſe of the *Ruſſe Common-wealth. They vnderſtood by the way, that their Cholopey, or Bond-ſlaues whom they left at home, had in their abſence poſſeſſed their Townes, Lands, Houſes, Wiues, and all. At which newes being ſomewhat amazed, and yet diſdaining the Villanie of their ſeruants, they made the more ſpeede home: and ſo not farre from Nouograd met them in warlike manner marching againſt them. Whereupon aduiſing what was beſt to be done, they agreed alſo to ſet vpon them with no other ſhew of weapon but with their horſe-whips (which as their manner is, euery man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their ſeruile condition, thereby to terriſie them, and abate their courage. And ſo marching on, and laſhing all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the onſet: which ſeemed ſo terrible in the eares of their Villaines, and ſtrooke ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like Sheepe before the Driuers. In memorie of this victorie, the Nouogradians euer ſince haue ſtamped their Coine (which they call a Dingoe Nouogradskoy, currant through all Ruſsia) with the figure of a Horſeman ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand.* It may ſeeme, that all the women of that Countrie, haue fared the worſe euer ſince, in regard of their vniuerſall fault: for ſuch a Pudkey or whip, as terrified thoſe ſlaues, curiouſly wrought by her ſelfe, is the firſt preſent that the *Moſcouian* Wife, euen in time of wooing, ſends to him that ſhall be her husband, in token of ſubiection; being well aſſured to feele it often on her owne loines. But this was a Document vnto the *Scythians*, or rather *Sarmatians* (for *Nouograd* ſtands in the Countrie that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of abſenting themſelues any more ſo long from their Wiues; which after this, I finde not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to ſet downe of the *Scythian* expedition, not onely becauſe it is the moſt memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Hiſtories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appeares to haue beene a great cauſe, of the *Ægyptians* preuailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Iudæa*, which continues yet a while the centre of our diſcourſe.

§ V.

Of Princes liuing in diuers Countries, in theſe ages.

Hauing thus farre digreſſed from the matters of *Iuda*, to auoide all further occaſion of doing the like, I will here inſert a note of ſuch Kings and men of marke, as were betweene the death of *Manaſſes*, and the ruine of *Ieruſalem*. Of the *Ægyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I haue ſpoken as much as I thought needefull. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hoſtilius* held the Kingdome, vntill the one and twentieth yeere of *Ioſias*; at which time *Ancus Martius* ſucceeding, reigned foure and twenty yeeres. After him *L. Tarquinius Priſcus*, a new-come ſtranger, but very rich, preuailed ſo farre by his graciouſneſſe among the people, that he got the kingdome to himſelfe, diſappointing the ſonnes of *Ancus*, ouer whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth yeere of *Zedekia*, and reigned eight and thirtie yeeres. In this time it was, namely, in the ſecond yeere of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedæmonians*, bethinking them how to be auenged of the *Arcadians*, who gaue ſuccour to the *Meſſenians* againſt them in the former warre; entred their Territorie, tooke the Citie of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their Garriſons were ſoone after beaten out. *Cypſelus* expelling the race of the *Bacidæ*, made himſelfe Lord of *Corinth* about theſe times, and gouerned it in peace thirtie yeeres; leauing for ſucceſſour his ſonne *Periander*, one of the ſeauen Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, ſlew his owne wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, ſtripped all the *Corinthian* women ſtarke naked, burning their apparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghoſt. Hereby we may perceiue, that the wiſedome of the *Greekes* was not excellent in thoſe dayes; when ſuch a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Countrie.

In theſe times alſo were *Zaleucus* and *Draco*, famous Lawgiuers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italie*, the other in the Citie of *Athens*. The Lawes of *Draco* were ſo rigorous, that he was ſaid to haue written them with blould: for he rewarded euery ſmall offence with death. Wherefore his Conſtitutions were ſoone abrogated, and power giuen to *Solon*, by the *Athenians*, to make new in their ſtead. But the Lawes of *Zaleucus* were very milde. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walke abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *vnleſſe it were when ſhe was drunke*; or to goe forth of the Towne by night, vnleſſe it were to ſome ſweet-hearts bed; or to dreſſe her ſelfe vp in immodeſt brauery, vnleſſe it were to inueigle a louer. By which pleaſant Ordinances, he effected his deſire: for none would ſeeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in ſuch caſe as challenged the diſpenſation. It is noted in this man as a ſingular example of iuſtice, that when his owne ſon had committed adulterie, and was therefore to loſe both his eyes, he did not cauſe him to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to ſaue the yong man (who alſo loſt one) from vtter blindeneſſe.

I ſhall not henceforth neede, ſo farre to wander, as hitherto I often haue done, in purſuing of actions collaterall to the Hiſtorie, for inſerting them in their order of time. The *Chaldæans* will ſoone fall vnder the *Perſians*; ere long, encounter with the *Greekes*; the *Greekes*, with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all theſe, as they ſhall ſucceſſiuely preſent themſelues, in their flouriſhing Eſtate; it will be enough to recapitulate the moſt memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minoritie. But in the long ſpace of more than thirteene hundred yeeres, which paſſed betweene *the calling of Abraham*, and the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, wee finde little matter, wherein the Hiſtory of *Iſrael* had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neereſt borderers. Yet reade we of many Kingdomes, that in theſe many ages were erected, and throwne downe; as likewiſe, many memorable acts were performed in *Greece* and elſewhere, though not following one another at any neere diſtance; all which muſt haue beene quite omitted, or elſe reſerued vnto a very vnſeaſonable rehearſall, had they not beene diſpoſed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conueniency, may pardon the neceſſity.

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§. VI.

The oppreſſion of Iudæa, and deſtruction of Ieruſalem by the Chaldæans.

NOw to returne to the *Iewiſh* Storie, from whence we haue ſo farre digreſſed. In the third yeere of *Iehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonoſor* the ſecond, his Father yet liuing, entred *Iudæa* with a great Armie, who beſieging and forcing *Ieruſalem*, made *Iehoiakim* his Vaſſall in deſpight of *Necho*, that had eſtabliſhed him King, and tooke with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a childe, with ***Ananias***, ***Miſael***, and ***Azarias***. Alſo hee tooke a part of the Church treaſures; but ſtayed not to ſearch them throughly; for *Necho* haſted to the ſuccour of *Iehoiakim*, hoping to finde *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Iudæa*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no diſpoſition to hazard himſelfe and his Armie, it being a Countrie of an euill affection towards him, as alſo farre off from any ſuccour or ſure place of retrait. If he had, as may be ſuppoſed, any great ſtrength of *Scythian* horſe-men in his Armie; it was the more wiſely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and ouer-hot Countrie, into places that were more euen and temperate. But beſides all theſe reaſons, the death of his father, happening at the ſame time, gaue him iuſt occaſion to returne home, and take poſſeſſion of his owne Kingdome; before he proceeded further in the ſecond care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at reaſonable good leiſure: for the *Ægyptian* was not ready to follow him ſo farre and to bid him battaile, vntill the new yeere came in; which was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, the firſt of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the laſt of *Necho*. In this yeere the *Babylonian* lying vpon the Banke *Euphrates* (his owne Territorie bounding it on the North-ſide) attended the arriuall of *Necho*. There, after a reſolued contention for victory. *Necho* was ſlaine, and his Armie remaining forced to ſaue it ſelfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victorie *Nabuchodonoſor* ſo well purſued, as he recouered all *Syria*, and whatſoeuer the *Ægyptians* held out of their proper Territorie towards the North. The *Ægyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the preſent diſcouraged, *Iehoiakim* held himſelfe quiet, as being friend in heart vnto the *Ægyptian*, yet hauing made his peace with the *Chaldæan* the yeere before; who contented with ſuch profit as he could then readily make, had forborne to lay any Tribute vpon *Iuda*. But this coole reſeruedneſſe of *Iehoiakim*, was, on both ſides, taken in ill part. The *Ægyptian* King *Pſammis*, who ſucceeded vnto *Necho*, began to thinke vpon reſtoring *Iehoahaz*, taken Priſoner by his Father, and ſetting him vp, as a Domeſticall Enemie, againſt his vngratefull brother. Againſt all ſuch accidents, the *Iudæan* had prepared the vſuall remedy, practiſed by his fore-fathers: for hee had made his owne ſonne *Iechonia* King with him long before, in the ſecond yeere of his owne Reigne, when the Boy was but *Eight yeeres old*. As for this rumour of *Iehoahaz* his returne; the Prophet *Ieremie* foretold, that it ſhould proue idle, ſaying: *he ſhall not returne thither, but he ſhall dye in the place whither they haue led him captiue, and ſhall ſee this Land no more*. The *Ægyptians* indeede, hauing ſpent all their Mercenarie forces, and receiued that heauie blow at *Carchemiſh*, had not remaining ſuch proportion of ſharpe ſteele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Pſammis Apries* who reigning after *Pſammis*, did once aduenture to ſhew his face in *Syria*; but after a bigge looke, he was glad to retire, without aduenturing the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought onely with braue words, telling ſuch friuolous tales, as men that meane to doe nothing, vſe, of their glorious acts fore-paſſed, againſt *Ioſias* and *Iehoahaz*. In this caſe it was eaſie for *Iehoakim* to giue them ſatisfaction, by letting them vnderſtand the ſincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonoſor* went to worke more roundly. He ſent a peremptory meſſage to *Iehoakim*, willing him not to ſtand vpon any nice points, but acknowledge himſelfe a Subiect, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto ſuch fearefull threats, as made the poore *Iudæan* lay aſide all thought of *Pharaoh*, and yeelde to doe, as the more mighty would haue him. So hee continued in the

2 Chron. 36.9.

Ier.22.11. & 12.

Ioſeph Antiq. lib.10.cap.7.

the obedience of *Nabuchodonoſor* three yeeres. At this time *Ieremie* the Prophet cried out againſt the *Iewes*, putting them in minde that he had now three and twenty yeeres exhorted them to repentance, but becauſe they had ſtopt their eares againſt him, and the reſt of the Prophets, he now pronounced their captiuitie at hand, and that they ſhould endure the yoke of bondage full ſeauenty yeeres. The ſame calamitie he threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Ægyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, and the reſt; foretelling that they ſhould all drinke out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of his furie, whom they had forſaken and after the ſeauenty yeeres expired, that the *Babylonians* themſelues ſhould taſte of the ſame cup, and be vtterly ſubuerted by the *Medes*, and the *Iudæans* permitted to returne againe into their owne fields and Cities. The firſt impriſonment of the Prophet *Ieremie* ſeemes to haue beene in the fourth yeere of this *Iehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he ſent to reade them vnto the people, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings furie, they had firſt ſet *Ieremie* at liberty, and aduiſed him and *Baruch* to hide themſelues.

Ier. 25.

Iehoiakim, after he heard a part of it and perceiued the ill newes therein deliuered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Booke in pieces and caſt it into the fire. All which *Ieremie* cauſed to be new written, with this addition; that the dead body of *Iehoiakim*, ſhould be caſt out, expoſed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the froſt, and there ſhould be none of his ſeede to ſit on the Throne of *Dauid*.

Time thus running on, while *Iehoiakim* reſted ſecure of all danger, as Tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Ægyptian*; the mightie Citie of *Tyre* oppoſed it ſelfe againſt the *Chaldæan* forces; and vpon iuſt confidence of her owne ſtrength, deſpiſed all preparation that could be made againſt her. Now foraſmuch as the tearme of ſeauentie yeers was preſcribed vnto the deſolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Ieruſalem*, & other Townes and Countries; it is apparent, that they which refer the expugnation of this Citie vnto the nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonoſor*, haue ſure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewiſe it followes of neceſſity, that the ſiege thereof began in the ſeauenth of his Reigne; as hauing laſted thirteene yeeres.

Here I will take leaue to intrude a briefe note, concerning the ſeuerall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath riſen much diſputation. The third yeere of *Iehoiakim*, was the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*, who being deliuered from other cares, tooke notice of ſuch as had reuolted from him vnto *Pharaoh Necho*, and ſent this Noble Prince, his ſonne, with an Armie into *Syria*, to reclaime them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the ſame yeere. The yeere next following, being the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, was the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Ieremie* affirmeth in expreſſe words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeere he conquered *Ægypt*; and then began to reigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durſt offend him. The ſecond from this yeere it was, wherein he ſaw that viſion, of the Image conſiſting of ſundry Metals; which did prefigurate the ſucceſſion of great Kingdomes, that ſhould rule the Earth, before the comming of Chriſt. I will not ſtand to diſpute about this, which is the beſt concluſion that I finde, of long diſputations: but returne vnto the ſiege of *Tyre*, which began in the ſeauenth of his Reigne.

Dan. c. 1. v. 1.
Ierem. 25. 1.

The Citie of *Tyre* couered all the ground of an Iſland, that was diuided from the maine, by a deepe and broad channell of the Sea. The *Chaldæans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrians*, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to vſe them, excelled all other Nations; and euery winde, from one part or other, brought needefull prouiſions into the Citie. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof neuertheleſſe the iudgements of God (denounced againſt it by *Eſay*, *Ieremie*, *Ezechiel*.) had threatned the deſtruction; and the obſtinate reſolution of *Nabuchodonoſor*, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of reſiſtance, vndertooke a vaſt piece of worke, euen to fill vp the Sea, that parted the Iſland from the Continent. The Citie of old *Tyrus*, that ſtood oppoſite to the new, vpon the firme Land, and the mountaine of *Libanus* neere adioyning that was loaden with *Cedars*, and aboundance of other trees, might furniſh him with materials. Thirteene yeeres were ſpent in this laborious, and almoſt hopeleſſe buſineſſe. Which needeth not ſeeme ſtrange: for *Alexander* working vpon that foundation which was remayning of *Nabuchodonoſors* Peere; and

Eſay 23.
Ierem. 25.
Ezek. 26.

being withall aſſiſted by a ſtrong Fleet, was yet ſeauen moneths ere he could make way into the Citie. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to couer a ſhelue; with much more violence could it ouerturne, and as it were conſume, the worke of *Nabuchodonoſor*, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deepe; ſtriuing as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant; whereas the *Macedonian* did onely ſtop the throat of it. Euery man knowes, God could haue furthered the accompliſhment of his owne threats, againſt this place (though it had not pleaſed him to vſe, either miracle, or ſuch of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at leaſt the Seas calme, and adding the fauourable concurrence of al ſecond helpes. But ſo it pleaſeth him oftentimes, in chaſtiſing the pride of man, to vſe the hand of man; euen the hand of man ſtriuing, as may ſeeme, againſt all reſiſtance of nature and fortune. So in this exceſſiue labour of the *Chaldæans*, *Euery head was made bald, and euery ſhoulder was made bare.* Yet *Nabuchodonoſor* would not giue ouer till he was maſter of the Towne.

Ezek. 29.

Ioſeph. Antiq. Iud. l. 10. c. 7.

When he was entred vpon this deſperate ſeruice; whether it were ſo, that ſome loſſes receiued, ſome mutinie in his Armie, or (which is moſt likely; and ſo *Ioſephus* reports it) ſome glorious rumours of the *Ægyptians*, gaue courage to his euill willers; *Iehoiakim* renounced his ſubiection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonoſor* gaue him no leiſure to doe much hurt: but with part of his Armie marched directly into *Iudæa*; where the amazed King made ſo little reſiſtance (the *Ægyptians* hauing left him, as it were in a dreame) that he entred *Ieruſalem*, and layed hands on *Iehoiakim*: whom he firſt bound and determined to ſend to *Babylon*, but changing counſell, he cauſed him to be ſlaine in the place, and gaue him the Sepulcher of an Aſſe, to be deuoured by beaſts and rauenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leauing in his place, *Iehoiakin* or *Iechonias* his ſonne; whom after three moneths and ten dayes, *Nabuchodonoſor* remoued, and ſent priſoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardochæus*, and *Ioſedech*, the high Prieſt. The mother of *Iechonias*, together with his ſeruants, *Eunuchs*, and all the ableſt men, and beſt Artificers of the Land, were alſo then carryed away Captiues. This *Iechonias*, following the counſell of *Ieremie* the Prophet, made no reſiſtance, but ſubmitted himſelfe to the Kings will: wherein he both pleaſed God, and did that which was beſt for himſelfe; though at the preſent it might ſeeme otherwiſe, to ſuch as conſidered the euill that befell him, rather then the greater euill that he thereby auoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it ſeemes that he was partaker, at leaſt, of his Fathers faults, if not an inſtigator: which was the cauſe, that his ſubmitting himſelfe to Gods pleaſure did not preſerue his Eſtate: for ſo we reade in generall words, that *he did euill in the ſight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done.* In his ſtead *Nabuchodonoſor* eſtabliſhed *Mathania* his Vncle in the Kingdome of *Iuda*, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to ſay, as *the Iuſtice of God.* For like as *Neco*, King of *Ægypt*, had formerly diſplaced *Iehoahaz*, after his Father *Ioſias* was ſlaine, and ſet vp *Iehoiakim*, the ſonne of another mother; ſo *Nabuchodonoſor* ſlue *Iehoiakim*, who depended on the *Ægyptians*, and carrying his ſonne *Iechonias* Priſoner to *Babel*, gaue the Kingdome to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Iehoahaz*, whom *Neco* tooke with him into *Ægypt*. From *Zedechias* he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gaue him, and called the liuing God to witneſſe in the ſame, that he would remaine aſſured to the Kings of *Chaldea*.

In the firſt yeere of *Zedechias*, *Ieremie* ſaw and expounded the Viſion of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one ſignifying thoſe *Iudæans* that were carried away captiue, the other thoſe that ſtayed, and were deſtroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedekias*, *Ieremie* wrote in a Booke all the euill that ſhould fall vpon *Babylon*, which Booke or ſcrole he gaue to *Sheraia*, when he went with the King *Zedechias* to *Babylon*, to viſit *Nabuchodonoſor*; willing him firſt to reade it to the Captiue *Iewes*, and then to binde it to a ſtone, and caſt it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing theſe words: *Thus ſhall Babel be drowned, and ſhall not riſe from the euill that I will bring vpon her.* This iournie of *Zedekias* to *Babel* is probably thought to haue beene in way of viſitation, carrying ſome preſents. But I further thinke, that hee had ſome ſuite there to make, which his Lordly Maſter refuſed to grant, and ſent him away diſcontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes ſent Meſſengers to him, inciting him (as it ſeemes) to thoſe vnquiet courſes, from which *Ieremie* dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appoint-

Ier. 27.

appointment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he wore about his owne necke, others he ſent vnto the fiue Kings, of *Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre*, and *Zidon*, by thoſe Meſſengers which came to viſit *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they & the Kings of *Iuda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they ſhould then poſſeſſe and enioy their owne Countries; if not, they ſhould aſſuredly periſh by the ſword, by fire, and by peſtilence.

He alſo fore-told them, that thoſe Veſſels, which as yet remained in *Ieruſalem*, ſhould alſo trauaile after the reſt, and at length they ſhould be reſtored againe.

The ſame yeere *Ananias*, the falſe Prophet, tooke off the woodden Chaine which *Ieremie* wore, in ſigne of the Captiuitie of the *Iewes*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeeres, God would breake the ſtrength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; reſtore *Iechonias*, and all the *Iewes*, with the Veſſels and riches of the Temple, and giue an end to all theſe troubles. But *Ieremie* in ſtead of his woodden Yoke wore a Coller of yron: and in ſigne that *Ananias* had giuen a deceitfull and falſe hope to the people, he fore-told the death of this cold Prophet, which ſeized vpon him in the ſecond moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wauered long enough betweene Faith and Paſſion, in the eight yeere of his Reigne he practiſed more ſeriouſly againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, with his Neighbours, the *Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, Tyrians*, and others that were promiſed great aides of the *Ægyptians*: in confidence of whoſe reſiſtance, he determined to ſhake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonoſor* had knowledge, he marched with his Armie in the dead of Winter, toward *Ieruſalem*, and beſieged it. *Ieremie* perſwaded *Zedechias* to render the Citie and himſelfe: but being confident of the helpe from *Ægypt*, and being perſwaded by his Counſellors, and falſe Prophets, that it was vnpoſſible that the Kingdome of *Iuda* ſhould be extirpate, vntill the comming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecie of *Iacob*) he deſpiſed the words of *Ieremie*, and impriſoned him. For *Ieremie* had told the King that the Citie ſhould be taken and burnt; that the King ſhould not eſcape, but be taken Priſoner, and brought to the preſence of *Nabuchodonoſor*; that he ſhould not periſh by the ſword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his naturall death.

Gen. 49. 10.

Ier. 32. & 34.

Ieruſalem, being the following yeere, ſurrounded by *Nabuchodonoſors* Armie; the King of *Ægypt*, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Ieremie* (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of *Iuda*, with his Armie, to ſuccour *Zedechias*, of whoſe reuolt he had beene the principall Author. But *Ieremie* gaue the *Iewes* faithfull counſell, willing them not to haue any truſt in the ſuccours of *Ægypt*: for he aſſured them, that they ſhould returne againe, and in no ſort relieue them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldæans* remoued from *Ieruſalem* to encounter the *Ægyptians*, theſe vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterpiſe, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into *Ægypt*, as if they had already done enough; leauing the poore people of *Ieruſalem* to their deſtined miſeries.

Ier. 44.
Herod. lib. 2.

In the meane while the *Iewes*, who, in their firſt extremity, had manumiſed their *Hebrew* Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the yeere of *Iubile*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of the *Chaldæan* Armie, repent them of their Charitie: and thinking all had beene at an end, held them perforce to their former ſlauerie. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the ſiege, the Prophet *Ieremie*, when the State of *Ieruſalem* began now to grow to extremitie, counſelled *Zedechias* to render himſelfe vnto them; aſſuring him of his owne life, and the ſafetie of the Citie, if he would ſo doe. But his obſtinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and periurie, had prouided for him.

Leuit. 25. 39. 40. &c.

Ier. 34.

Ier. 39.

Three and twenty Moneths (as ſome doe reckon it) or according to *Ioſephus* eighteene, the *Babylonian* Armie lay before *Ieruſalem*, and held it exceeding ſtraightly beſieged. For *they built Forts againſt it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum: They ſurrounded the Citie with woodden Towers*, ſo as the beſieged could neither ſally out, nor receiue into the Citie any ſupply of men or victuals. *Ioſephus* reports, that they ouer-topped the Wals, with high Towers raiſed vpon mounts; from which they did ſo beat vpon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forſake their ſtations. Now although it were ſo that the beſieged alſo raiſed Counter-buildings, like vnto theſe, yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Riuers

Ier. 39.

2 Kings 25. 1.

Ioſeph. Ant. Iud. lib. 10. cap. 11.

to obey him, found meanes to ouer-throw all the Citizens endeuours; and to beat down as faſt from without, as they raiſed from within; the body and foundation of his owne workes being guarded, by the Walls of *Ieruſalem* interpoſed; and theirs within, layed open to their enemies diſturbance. Beſides, both famine and peſtilence (which commonly accompany men ſtreightly beſieged) grew on faſt vpon them, whereby, when the number, ſtrength, and courage of the *Iewes* failed, the *Chaldæans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did ſeat themſelues, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this vncomfortable ſight, and finding no remedy of the danger preſent, loſt both his courage and his hope at once; and ſhifted himſelfe together with his Wiues, Children, Princes, and principall Seruants, out of the Citie, by a way vnder ground; leauing his amazed and guideleſſe people, to the mercileſſe ſwords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Ieremie* the Prophet perſwaded him to render himſelfe, deſpiſed both the counſell of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonoſor*; vſed now that remedy, which *Wolphius* truely tearmeth: *triſte, turpe, & infœlix*: *Wofull, ſhamefull*, and *vnfortunate*.

Ioſeph. Antiq. l.10.c.11.

By this ſecret ſubterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his ſtealth, recouered (by the helpe of the darke night) the Plaines or Deſarts of *Iericho*: but by reaſon of the traine, that followed him and his, (euery one leading with him thoſe whom they held moſt deare vnto them) he was eaſily traced and purſued. How great ſoeuer the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Ioſephus* reports it, they on whoſe fidelity he moſt repoſed himſelfe, no ſooner beheld the *Chaldæans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and ſhifted themſelues into the Deſarts as they could. For whom God had forſaken, no man followed, but the Miniſters of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made Priſoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conueighed to *Rebla* or *Reblath* a Citie (as ſome thinke) of *Nephtalim*, where *Nabuchodonoſor* then lay, as a place indifferent betweene *Ieruſalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at one he had to doe.

Ezek.12.

Now after *Nabuchodonoſor* had layed before *Zedekias* the many graces and benefits conferred vpon him, together with the notable falſehood and periurie, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends, to be ſlaine before his face. This being done, to the end that ſo lamentable a ſpectacle ſhould be the laſt, that euer he ſhould behold in the World, he cauſed his eyes to be torne out of his head, and ſo carried him in a ſlauiſh manner to *Babel*, where he conſumed the reſt of his wretched life in perpetuall impriſonment. Herein this moſt maruailous Prophecie of *Ezechiel* was performed; *Adducam eum in Babylonem & ipſam non videbit. I will bring him into Babylon, and he ſhall not ſee it.*

Thus in the Eleauenth and laſt yeere of *Zedekias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, the *Chaldæans* entred the Citie by force, where ſparing no ſexe nor age, they committed all to the ſword that they therein found,

3534.

In the yeere next following, *Nabuzaradan*, Generall of the Armie, burnt the Kings Palace, and the reſt of *Ieruſalem*: and after this fire had laſted from the ſeauenth to the tenth day, he alſo burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had ſtood foure hundred thirtie and one yeeres.

2 Kings laſt.

After this, vpon a ſecond ſearch, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet ſatiated with bloud) commanded ſeauenty and two others to be ſlaughtered, which had hidden themſelues from the firſt furie, to wit, the chiefe and the ſecond Prieſt, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, fiue of his Houſe-hold ſeruants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ableſt of the people throughout all *Iudæa*; and leauing the pooreſt labouring ſoules, with ſome that followed the partie of *Nabuchodonoſor*, to till the ground: ouer whom he left Gouernour, *Godolia* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Ioſias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his iuſtice and equitie, by *Ioſephus* highly commended. This man, a *Iewe* by Nation, left *Zedechias* as it ſeemeth, in the beginning of the warre: and by *Ieremies* deſire to liue with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the ſame aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto *Zedechias*; which was, to ſubmit himſelfe altogether to the *Babylonian*, who being ordained by God to exerciſe his iuſtice, was therefore reſiſtleſſe. The Prophet *Ieremie* being left to his owne choice, either to liue in *Chaldæa*, or elſewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not onely embraced *Ieremie*, but gaue comfort to all the other *Iewes*, that were left vnder his charge, promiſing them fauour & liberty, ſo long as they remained obedient Subiects to *Nabuchodonoſor*, by whom he was eſtabliſhed Prouinciall Gouernour of his owne Nation.

But ere that yeere was expired, a Prince of the late Kings houſe (who during the ſiege of *Ieruſalem*, had kept himſelfe out of the ſtorme, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other choſen men, while *Godoliah* feaſted them in *Maſpha* or *Mitſpa*, the Citie of his reſidence, trayterouſly ſlue him, together with diuers *Chaldæans* and *Iewes* that accompanied him. This done, he made an eſcape, and in his way encountring with eightie perſons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with preſents, he ſlue the moſt of them, and ſpared the reſt, becauſe they promiſed to diſcouer vnto him ſome Treaſures, hidden in the fields during the warre. He alſo tooke with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonoſor*. This practice and intent of *Iſmael* had beene formerly diſcouered vnto *Godolia* by *Iohanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Iewes*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Iudæa being now left without a Gouernour (for *Iſmael* durſt not take it vpon him, but retired himſelfe, or rather fled as faſt as he could to the *Ammonites*) the reſidue of the *Iewes*, fearing the reuenge of the *Chaldæans*, reſolued to flye away into *Ægypt*, and beſought *Ieremie* to aske counſell of God for them: who readily made them anſwere, that if they remained in *Iudæa*, God would prouide for them, and ſhew them mercy; but if they ſought to ſaue themſelues in *Ægypt*, that they ſhould then vndoubtedly periſh. Notwithſtanding this aduice, the *Iewes* held their determination; and deſpiſing the Oracle of God, and conſtrayning *Ieremie* and *Baruch* to accompanie them, they trauailed into *Ægypt*, and inhabited by the permiſſion of *Pharao*, neere vnto *Taphnes*: where, when *Ieremie* often reprehended them for their Idolatrie, foretelling both the deſtruction of themſelues, and the *Ægyptians* alſo, he was by theſe his owne hardhearted and vngratefull Countrimen, ſtoned to death; and by the *Ægyptians*, who greatly reuerenced him, buried neere the Sepulchre of their owne Kings.

Finis Libris ſecundi.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Times from the deſtruction *of Ieruſalem, to the time of* PHILIP *of* MACEDON.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time paſsing betweene the deſtruction of Ieruſalem, and the fall of the Aſſyrian Empire.

§. I.

Of the connexion of Sacred and prophane Hiſtorie.

THE courſe of Time; which in prophane Hiſtories might rather be diſcerned through the greateſt part of his way, hitherto paſſed in ſome out-worne foot-ſteps, than in any beaten path, hauing once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, and in the Eaſterne Countries by the accompt from *Nabonaſſar*, left ſurer markes, and more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the warre of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of *Ieruſalem* to diſcouer the connexion of antiquitie fore-ſpent, with the ſtorie of ſucceeding ages. Manifeſt it is, that the originall and progreſſe of things could ill be ſought in thoſe that were ignorant of the firſt creation: as likewiſe that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne vp, are not to be found among thoſe, that haue now no ſtate nor policie remaining of their owne. Hauing thererefore purſued the ſtorie of the world vnto that age, from whence the memorie of ſucceeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous diſcourſe deriued vnto vs, I hold it now conuenient briefly to ſhew, by what means and circumſtances the Hiſtorie of the *Hebrewes*, which of all other is the moſt ancient, may be conioyned with the following times, wherein that Image of ſundry mettals, diſcouered by God vnto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did reigne ouer the earth, when *Iſrael* was either none, or an vnregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needefull, to inſiſt vpon thoſe authorities, which giue, as it were by heare-ſay, a certaine yeere of ſome old *Aſſyrian* King vnto ſome action or euent, whereof the time is found expreſſed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all ſuch computations were blotted out; the ſucceſſion of *Belochus* and his iſſue that occupied the kingdome afterwards, depending vpon the vncertaine relations of ſuch, as were neither conſtant in aſſigning the yeeres of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye vpon. Let it therefore ſuffice, that the conſent and harmonie, which ſome haue found in the yeeres of thoſe ouer-worne Monarchs, doth preſerue their names, which otherwiſe might haue beene forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howſoeuer it be true that we finde the names of all or moſt of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Hiſtorians, yet hereby could we onely learne in what age each of them liued, but not in what yeere his reigne began or ended, were it not that the reigne of *Nabuchadnezzar* is more preciſely applyed to the times of *Iehoiakim* and *Zedekia*. Hence haue we the firſt light whereby to diſcouer the meanes of connecting the ſacred and prophane Hiſtories. For vnder *Nebuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the captiuitie of *Iuda*, which ended when 70. yeeres were expired; and theſe 70. yeeres tooke end at the firſt of *Cyrus*, whoſe time being well knowne, affords vs meanes of looking backe into the ages paſt, and forwards into the race of men ſucceeding. The firſt yeere of *Cyrus* his reigne in *Perſia*, by generall conſent, is ioyned with the firſt yeere of the 55. *Olympiad*, where, that he reigned three and twentie yeeres before his Monarchie, and ſeauen yeeres afterwards, it is apparent, and almoſt out of controuerſie. Giuing therefore foure hundred and eight yeeres vnto the diſtance betweene the fall of *Troy*, and the inſtauration of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*; we may eaſily arriue vnto thoſe antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whileſt in ſundry parts of the world, S. *Auguſtine* and others may be truſted in ſetting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from authors of wel-approued faith and induſtrie.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto *Alexander*, and from him to the battaile of *Actium*, it were (peraduenture) in this place impertinent to ſet downe. But ſeeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* captiuitie are markes whereby we are chiefly directed, in paſſing from the firſt vnto the lateſt yeeres of the world, through any ſtorie, with leaſt interruption; it is very expedient that we take ſome paines to informe our ſelues truely of the 70. yeeres, during which it continued, euen from *Nebuchadnezzar* vnto *Cyrus*.

§. II.

A briefe rehearſall of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captiuitie: with an anſwere to the cauils of Porphyrie, *inueighing againſt* S. Matthew, *and* Daniel, *vpon whom the later of theſe opinions is founded.*

MAny Commentators, and other Hiſtorians, & Chronologers finde, that the captiuity then began, when *Iechonias* was carried priſoner into *Babylon*, eleauen yeres before the finall deſtruction of *Ieruſalem* vnder *Zedekias*. This they proue out of diuers places in *Ezekiel*, eſpecially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine diſtinction betweene the beginning of the *Captiuitie*, and vtter deſtruction of *Ieruſalem* by *Nabuzaradan*, in theſe words: *In the fiue and twentieth yeere of our being in captiuitie, in the beginning of the yeere, in the tenth day of the moneth, in the foureteenth yeere after that the Citie was ſmitten.* In which words he beginneth the captiuitie in plaine termes, eleauen yeeres before the Citie was deſtroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion that it began in the firſt of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the fourth of *Ioakim*, which he endeuours to proue out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, but more eſpecially out of Saint *Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whoſe words afford matter of diſputation, but ſerue not to make good ſo much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of S. *Matthew*, and the whole booke of *Daniel*, haue miniſtred occaſion of ſcoffing and railing at the Chriſtian religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who, not vnderſtanding how the ſonnes of King *Ioſias* were called by diuers names, as *Epiphanius* hath ſhewed at large, thought that the Apoſtle had ſpoken hee knew not what in reckoning the ſonnes, or, according to ſome tranſlations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the captiuitie. Vpon *Daniel* alſo the ſame *Porphyrie* doth ſpend the twelfth of his malicious bookes written againſt the Chriſtians, affirming that theſe prophecies and viſions remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or neere the time

Ezek. c.1.v.2. c.3.v.11.&15.

of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond ſuppoſition of his, *Euſebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, haue ſufficiently anſwered. For the ſeauenty Interpreters, who conuerted the old Teſtament about an hundred yeeres before *Epiphanes*, did alſo turne this booke of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, as a part of Scripture receiued. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were ſufficient, who liued diuers yeeres before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Iaddus* the high Prieſt ſhewed that great Conqueror, when he came towards *Ieruſalem* to haue deſtroyed it, this booke of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his owne glory foretold, as the ſame was plainely expounded vnto him; which not onely ſtayed his hand from the harme of that Citie and people, but his aſſurance and reſolution was ſo confirmed and ſtrengthened thereby, as deſpiſing all future perill and reſiſtance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eaſterne Empire in a ſhorter time than *Nabuchodonoſor* had done one Citie, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*.

Mac.1.11.

Ioſeph.Ant 11.

It is true indeede that the *Iewes* themſelues giue leſſe authoritie to *Daniel*, than to *Moſes*, and the *Prophets*, accompting his booke among thoſe which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they ſay *Eſdras* and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from *Babylon*. But firſt, that the booke of *Daniel* (I meane ſo much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonicall: ſecondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himſelfe, and not by *Eſdras* and the Seniors; we may aſſure our ſelues by teſtimonie of Councels, and Fathers. For in the Counſell of *Laodicæa* held about the yeere of our Lord 368. after the death of *Iouinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and forty yeeres, this booke of *Daniel* was receiued, verified and confirmed among the other Canonicall Scriptures, as in the *Epitomie* of the ſame Counſell it may be ſeene; and ſo doth *Meliton* the moſt ancient Biſhop of *Sardis* number it, witneſſe *Euſebius* in his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, the fourth booke, and fiue and twentieth chapter: ſo doth the ſame Author in the Catalogue of Canonicall bookes vpon *Origen*, ſo doth *Hilarius* in his Preface vpon the Pſalmes, and *Epiphanius* in his booke of Waights and Meaſures, &c. To theſe I may adde Saint *Hierome*, *Gregorie Nazianzene*, and others. For the *Hagiographæ* bookes or holy Writings, the *Iewes* and *Rabbines* reckon to be theſe, *Daniel*, *Pſalmes*, *Prouerbs*, *Iob*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Heſter*, *Eſra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Eſdras*, that wrote this booke, Gods commandement vnto him by his Angell, to ſeale vp the ſame to the time appointed, is an vnanſwerable teſtimonie. Yea that which exceedeth all ſtrength of other proofe, our Sauiour Chriſt who citeth no Apocryphall Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Marke* alleageth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the laſt verſe of his ninth chapter. Further, in the fift of *Iohn*, Chriſt diſtributeth the riſen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verſe the ſecond. Saint *Paul* deſcribeth *Antichriſt* out of *Daniel*, and the Reuelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniels* viſions.

Math.24.15.
Marke 13.14.

Dan.12.

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§. III

That the 70. yeeres of captiuitie are to be numbered from the deſtruction of Ieruſalem; not from the migration of Iechonia.

Hauing thus farre digreſſed, in maintaining that authority, which muſt often be cited in the preſent argument, it is now conuenient, that we returne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of theſe 70. yeeres. Neither will I ſtand to trouble my ſelfe and others with laying open the grounds or weakeneſſe of that which *Euſebius* and ſome few nameleſſe Authors, haue ſometimes held in this point, which is lately reuiued by *Beroaldus*; but will forth-with enter into conſideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers haue ſo earneſtly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Foure Kings of *Iuda* were carried away captiues to *Babylon*: Firſt, *Manaſſes*; then *Iehoiakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Iechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: laſtly, *Zedekias*, at which time the Citie and Temple were deſtroyed. To the firſt of theſe captiuities the beginning of the 70. yeeres is referred by none that I haue read; to the ſecond, by few and with weake proofe; to the third, by very many and with much confidence. For beſides thoſe places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a ſtrong argument gathered out of *Ieremie*, which may ſeeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Iechonias*, vſeth theſe words: *Thus ſaith the Lord, After* 70. *yeeres be accompliſhed at Babel, I will viſit you, and perform my good promiſe towards you, and cauſe you to returne to this place.*

Ierem. 29.10.

But it ſtands indeed with little reaſon that we ſhould ſeeke the interpretation of a prophecie out of circumſtances, when the prophecie is ſuch as doth ſufficiently expound it ſelfe. *Ieremie* had alreadie, in the fourth yeere of *Iehoiakim*, denounced the iudgement of God againſt the Land, for the ſinnes and impœnitencie of that obſtinate people, in theſe words: *Behold, I will ſend and take to me all the families of the North, ſaith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babel, my ſeruant; and will bring them againſt this Land, and againſt the Inhabitants thereof, and againſt all theſe Nations round about, and I will deſtroy them, and make them an aſtoniſhment, and an hiſſing, and a continuall deſolation. Moreouer, I will take from them the voyce of mirth, and the voyce of gladneſſe, the voyce of the Bridegroome, and the voyce of the Bride, the noyſe of the mill-ſtones, and the light of the candle, and this whole Land ſhall be deſolate, and an aſtoniſhment, and theſe Nations ſhall ſerue the King of Babel* 70. *yeeres. And when* 70. *yeeres are expired, I will viſit the King of Babel.* Heere we ſee preſcribed vnto the captiuitie the terme of 70. yeeres, which were to commence, neither when the prophecie was vttered; nor when *Iehoiakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Iechonia*; but with the vtter deſolation of the Citie, whereof *Ieremie* did againe giue notice to thoſe that were alreadie in *Babylon*, at ſuch time as he ſent them the comfort of deliuerance before rehearſed. And ſo did the people vnderſtand this prophecie, in thoſe times when they ſaw it accompliſhed, beginning the 70. yeeres at the time of the deſolation, as manifeſtly appeares in the end of the Hiſtorie of *Iuda*, where it is ſaid thus: *They burnt the houſe of God, and brake downe the wall of Ieruſalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious veſſels thereof to deſtroy all: And they that were left by the ſword, carried he away to Babel, and they were ſeruants to him and to his ſonnes, vntill the Kingdome of the Perſians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of* Ieremia; *vntill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the daies that ſhe lay deſolate, ſhee kept Sabbath, to fulfill* 70. *yeeres. But in the firſt yeere of* Cyrus *King of Perſia (when the word of the Lord, ſpoken by the mouth of* Ieremia, *was finiſhed) the Lord ſtirred vp the ſpirit of Cyrus.* Wee ſeldome find one piece of Scripture ſo preciſely and plainely expounded by another, as in this prophecie, to haue afterwards beene the ſubiect of altercation. For one can hardly deuiſe, how eyther the deſolation could haue beene expreſſed more ſenſibly, than it was by the Prophet, or the euent of the prophecie haue beene more exactly ſet downe, than it was in the place now laſt of all cited. If it be requiſite that we bring more proofe in ſo euident a caſe, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yeelds teſtimonie ſufficient, vnto this expedition of *Ieremia* his prophecie, that *Ieruſalem* was to lie waſte 70. yeeres. For in the firſt yeere of *Darius* the *Mede*, which was the laſt of the 70. *Daniel* obtained of God the deliuerance that had beene promiſed by prayer, which hee made vpon conſideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in theſe words: *In the firſt yeere of his reigne, I* Daniel *vnderſtood by bookes the number of the yeeres, whereof the Lord hath ſpoken vnto* Ieremiah *the Prophet, that he would accompliſh* 70. *yeeres in the deſolation of Ieruſalem.* So that howſoeuer the time of *Daniel* his owne captiuitie be reckoned from the taking of *Iehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Iechonia*, did accompt, as well they might, the yeeres of their owne captiuitie; yet with the generall deſolation of the Countrie, wherein were few or none of the *Iſraelites* left remaining to inhabite, beganne in the ninteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonoſor* the great captiuitie, which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of ſeuentie yeeres.

Ierem. 25.9. 16.17. & 18.

2.*Chro.* 36.19.

Dan 9.2.

This I will not further ſeeke to prooue, by the authoritie of *Ioſephus* and others affirming the ſame; for as much as that which already hath beene produced, is enough to ſatisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrarie.

§. IIII.

Sundrie opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70. yeeres.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 1.

WHat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during theſe ſeuentie yeeres of the captiuity, and how long each of them did weare the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they liued, nor the length of their reignes, any way helpfull to the concordance of times, fore-going or ſucceeding. The conqueſts recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia*, (or rather ſome part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of ſome other Countries, may ſeeme fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by ſome of his Anceſtors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himſelfe to eaſe, and to the ſumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the houſe of his Kingdome, and for the honour of his Maieſtie, where it may ſeeme that hee and his Heires kept a great ſtate, and did very little. The idle behauiour of the *Aſſyrian* Souldiers, in ſuch skirmiſhes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no leſſe. For whereas vnder *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were ſo ſtout and induſtrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finiſhed, that hardie piece of worke, of winning the ſtrong Citie of *Tyre*, by ioyning vnto it the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channell of the Sea, diuiding it from the maine with a mole, or peere of earth, and other matter, the reparation whereof, when the Sea had waſhed it away, was the very greateſt of *Alexanders* workes; in the times following, they became timorous, that they durſt not approach neerer to the enemie than their bowes would carrie, but were readie to turn their backs, as ſoone as anie, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing within the diſtance offered to charge them.

Xenophō. Cyropæd. l. 1. & l. 3.

Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthy to bee recorded; ſo was the diſtinction of their times, and reigne of their ſeuerall Kings, vnworthy of the great labour that hath in vaine beene taken in that buſineſſe. For when it is granted, that the captiuity of *Iuda*, ending with that Empire, laſted 70. yeeres, wee may as reaſonably forbeare to ſearch into the particular continuance of two or three ſlothful Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children liuing in the *Ægyptian* ſeruitude; reſting ſatisfied in both with the generall aſſured ſumme.

Yet for as much as many haue trauelled in this buſineſſe, vpon deſire (as I take it) to approue the beginning and end of the 70. yeres, not onely by the reignes of other Princes, ruling elſe-where, but by the times of the *Aſſyrians* themſelues: I will not refuſe to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and ſhewing what I thinke, may beſt bee held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

Ierem. 27. v. 7.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themſelues, and in ſetting downe the yeeres of their ſeuerall reignes. The firſt (as I take it) the ſureſt, is theirs, who meerely follow the authoritie of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. Theſe name onely three Kings, *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Euilmerodach*, and *Balthaſar*. Neither haue they onely the ſilence of *Daniel*, who names none other to be their warrant, but the prophecie of *Ieremie* preciſely, and in a manner purpoſely teaching the very ſame. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, ſhewing that he being abſolute Lord of all, would diſpoſe of all according to his owne will, and making it known that he had put ſome Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, ſaith thus: *And all Nations ſhall ſerue him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonne, vntill the very time of his Land come alſo; then many Nations and great King ſhall ſerue themſelues of him.* Theſe words expreſſing the continuance of the *Chaldæan* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any diſtinction. But indeed I finde no other neceſſitie of qualification to be vſed heerein, than ſuch as may grow out of mens deſire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this deſire were not vniuſt, if the conſent of all hiſtories were on the one ſide, and the letter of the holy Text were ſingle on the other ſide.

But contrariwiſe, the Authors which are cited in this caſe, are ſo repugnant one to the other, and the proofes of their different reports are ſo ſlender and vnſufficient, that the ſucceſſion of theſe *Princes*, had it not bin thus deliuered in ſcriptures, but only ſet down by ſome Author of equall credit with the reſt, might very well haue found and deſerued as good beliefe, as any of thoſe things which they haue deliuered in this point. For ſome there are, who following *Ioſephus*, deriue that Empire, as by deſcent from father to ſon, through fiue generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonoſor* the great, and giuing to him 43. yeeres; to *Euilmerodach* 18. to *Nigliſar* the ſonne of *Euilmerodach* 40, to *Laboſardach* the ſonne of *Nigliſar* 9. moneths, and laſtly to *Balthaſar* (whom *Ioſephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonoſor*, without naming his father) 17. yeeres. And this opinion (ſaue that he forbeares to reckon the yeeres, and plainely calls *Balthaſar* the ſonne of *Laboſardach*) Saint *Hierome* doth follow, alledging *Beroſus* and *Ioſephus* as a ſectator of *Beroſus*, for his Authors; though *Beroſus* as he is cited by *Ioſephus*, report the matter farre otherwiſe. For hee tells vs that *Euilmerodach* the ſonne of *Nabuchodonoſor* did reigne but two yeres, being for his wickedneſſe and luſt, ſlaine by his ſiſters husband *Nizigliſſoroor*, who occupied the kingdome after him foure yeeres, and left it to his owne ſonne *Laboſardach*; who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of nine moneths ſlaine by ſuch as were about him, and the kingdome giuen to one *Nobonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conſpirators, and left it vnto *Cyrus* after 17. yeeres. This relation ill agrees with that of *Ioſephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number eyther of yeeres, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, haue procured vnto them ſome authority, ſo that the names which they haue inſerted, are taken as it were vpon truſt. There is a third opinion which makes the three laſt kings brethren, and ſonnes of *Euilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleeue *Xenophon*, who ſaith that the laſt King of *Babylon* was immediate ſucceſſour to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholaſticall Hiſtorie, who is founder of this opinion, placeth betweene him that tooke *Ieruſalem*, and *Euilmerodach*; another *Nabuchodonoſor*: plaine enough it is that he hath, out of any Hiſtorie ſacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we haue reaſon to follow him. *Euſebius*, *Sulpitius Seuerus*, and *Theodoret*, vpon better ground, haue ſuppoſed, that *Euilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* were brethren and ſonnes of the great *Nabuchodonoſor*. This is built on the fifth chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthaſar* (for of *Euilmerodach* there is none that euer doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonoſor* his ſonne. And ſo common grew this explication, that S. *Hierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Ieremie* before cited, proues that *Balthaſar* was not the ſonne indeed, but the grand-childe of that great conquerour, though by the phraſe very common in Scriptures, and familiar in thoſe *Eaſterne* languages, he was called the ſonne.

Ioſephus antiq. lib. 10. cap. 12.

Ioſ. contr. Appian. lib. 1.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 4.

Annius his *Metaſthenes* hits very rightly the ſeuentie yeres of captiuity, giuing to *Nabuchodonoſor* 45. yeeres, to *Euilmerodach* 30. yeeres, and to the three ſonnes of *Euilmerodach*, nephews of *Nabuchodonoſor* fourteene yeres; that is, to *Reg-Aſſar* the eldeſt ſon three yeeres, to *Lab-Aſſar Dach* the ſecond ſonne ſixe yeeres, and to *Balthaſar* the third ſonne fiue.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole ſumme of yeeres, and in the number of generations, I haue ſometime ſubſcribed, as not daring to reiect an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reaſon than becauſe the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not ſatisfie my ſelfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few ſuch of the moderne Writers as deſerue to bee regarded, haue conſented with this *Metaſthenes*; and for that in making *Balthaſar* ſucceed vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly againſt *Xenophon*, whoſe Hiſtorie of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Aſſyrian* warre I can not ſlightly value in many reſpects, and eſpecially becauſe it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feaſt.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumſtances that might giue any light in this obſcuritie, I found manifeſt proofe, that the time allotted vnto *Balthaſar*, by *Annius* his *Metaſthenes*, was farre ſhort of the truth, which is enough to render all ſuſpected that he hath ſaid in diſtributing what part of the 70. yeeres he pleaſed amongſt the reſt. For in the third yeere of *Balthaſar*, *Daniel* ſaw a viſion, after which he was ſicke certaine dayes, but when he roſe vp, he did the Kings buſineſſe: from which buſineſſe, that he did afterwards withdraw himſelfe, and liue retired, ſo long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appeares plainely, both by the many words which the old Queene vſed to ſet out his ſufficiencie, and by the *Kings* asking of him, when hee came into his preſence, whether hee were

Dan. ch. 8. ver. 1. and 27.

Dan.c.5 v.11 & 13.
Dan.2.49.

were *Daniel*. Now to thinke that a man of ſuch account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two yeeres haue beene worne out of remembrance, were in my iudgement a very ſtrange conceit, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented; to thinke the whole ſtorie (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impoſtures.

Out of theſe reports of *Ioſephus*, *Beroſus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by coniectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captiuitie being 70. yeeres, and theſe yeeres extending vnto the firſt of *Cyrus*, in which courſe of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his ſonne and grand-child, muſt haue reigned; it hath ſeemed needfull to ſupply the yeeres of theſe three deſcents, by inſerting ſome, whoſe reignes might fill vp the whole continuance of the captiuitie; with which the time allotted by *Beroſus* and others, to *Euilmerodach* and *Balthaſar*, ioyned vnto the yeeres following the ninteen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Ieruſalem* was laid deſolate) are nothing euen.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, faſhion the yeeres of *Euilmerodach* in this ſort. They ſay, that the 18. yeeres giuen to him by *Ioſephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, ſhould be read and numbred 28. yeeres, and the two yeeres that *Beroſus* hath allowed to *Euilmerodach* ſhould be written 23. in the firſt number the figure of (1) is miſtaken for the figure of (2) and in the later there ſhould haue been added the figure of (3) to that of (2:) this granted (to wit) that *Euilmerodach* reigned 28. yeeres, whereof fiue together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the ſame number of 23. added to the 25. which *Nabuchodonoſor* liued after the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, make 49; then 4. yeeres of *Niglisar* according to *Beroſus*, 9. moneths of *Labaſſardach* his ſonne, and 17. yeeres of *Labonidus* or *Balthaſar*, make vp the number of 70. yeeres to the firſt of *Cyrus*. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be vtterly miſtaken in all copies extant; vpon how weake a foundation doe they build, who hauing nothing to helpe them, ſaue onely the bare names of two vnknowne Kings, found in Authors manifeſtlie corrupted, and ſuch as if they had beene entirely extant, were not worthy, to haue that place of *Ieremie* called into diſpute, in regard of their authoritie?

§ V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, perſons, and reignes of the Babylonian Kings.

Other ſuppoſitions, little different in ſubſtance from this of *Mercator*, I purpoſelie forbeare to rehearſe, as falling vnder the ſame anſwere. That of *Ioſeph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deſeruing to be conſidered apart from the reſt. Hee giues to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44. yeeres, to *Euilmerodach* two, to *Belſazer*, fiue: and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Ieruſalem* was deſtroyed, vnto the time of *Cyrus* hee accounteth onely 59. yeeres; beginning (as many doe) the captiuitie 11. yeres ſooner, from the tranſportation of *Iechonia*. But hereof enough hath beene ſaid alreadie. That which wee are now to conſider, is his diſtribution of the time running between the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Caldæan* Empire: wherein if he haue erred, then is all further inquiſition friuolous.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzars* reigne, I ſhall hereafter vpon better occaſion deliuer my opinion. The time which he giues to *Euilmerodach*, is very ſhort, and more preciſely agreeing with *Beroſus* than with the Scriptures. For we finde in *Ieremie*, that this *Euilmerodach* in the firſt of his reigne, ſhewing all fauour to *Iechonia*, did among other things take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion giuen him of the King of *Babel*, euery day a certaine, all the dayes of his life vntill he died. The very ſound of theſe words (which is more to be eſteemed, than the authority of *Beroſus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a farre longer time than two yeeres, wherein *Iechonia*, vnder this gentle Prince, enioyed the comfort ſent by God, whoſe commandement he had obeyed in yeelding himſelfe to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeede how long *Iechonia* did liue, it cannot be proued; but plaine it is hereby, that all his remaining dayes he did eate bread before this *King*. Now that he liued not ſo ſhort a while after this as 2. yeeres, it is more than likely, for he was but 55. yeeres old when he was ſet at liberty, hauing bin 37. yeeres in the priſon, whereinto he was caſt at the age of 18. yeeres; after which time it ſeemes plaine that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zorobabel*, who is ſaid to haue beene but

Ierem.52.verſ. 33 & 34.

but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages threeſcore yeeres after this, as by other circumſtances of his impriſonment it ſelfe.

Of *Belſazer*, to whom *Scaliger* giues the next fiue yeeres, naming him alſo *Laboroſoardoch*, I ſhould wonder why hee calls him *Nebuchadnezzars* daughters ſonne, were it not that herein I finde him very carefull to helpe out *Beroſus*, by ſhifting in his *Niriglissoroor*, as husband to *Nabuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his ſonne foure of theſe yeeres; by which meanes there remaines about one yeere to *Belſazer* alone, agreeing neerely with the nine moneths aſſigned by *Beroſus* to the ſonne of *Nigliſar*. But *Ieremie* hath told vs that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his ſon, and to his ſons ſon (not to his daughters ſonne) that the Empire was promiſed: which difficultie if *Scaliger* could not helpe, it was well done of him, to paſſe it ouer with ſilence.

Nabonidus the laſt of theſe (whom others, deſirous to reconcile *Beroſus* to the Scriptures) haue iudged to be all one with *Balthaſar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firme *Beroſian*: for *Beroſus* makes him of the ſame ſtocke or race a *Babylonian*. I ſpeake not this to diſgrace the trauaile of that moſt learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and iudgement, that he was not ſo wedded to any author, as affected with the loue of truth) but to ſhew that hee himſelfe hauing in ſome points diſliked thoſe Writers, whom in generall he approueth, might with greater reaſon haue wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Beroſus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the ſame whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: Firſt, the phraſe of Scripture, which ſignifies vnto vs, that *Darius* tooke the kingdome, not ſaying that he wanne it by force of armes: Secondly, a fragment of *Megaſthenes* found in *Euſebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Originall, or of the Greeke tranſlation, which expreſſing no force of armes, doth only ſignifie, that *Darius* tooke or receiued the kingdome; I ſee no reaſon why wee ſhould thereupon inferre, that the next King entred by Election: ſeeing *Daniel* relateth not the meanes and circumſtances of *Balthaſars* death, but onely the ſwift accompliſhment of his owne prophecie. Neither could it indeed haue properly beene ſaid (if *Daniel* had cared to vſe the moſt expreſſiue termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the Citie, did winne the kingdome; ſeeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the abſence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his vſe. Now concerning the fragment of *Megaſthenes*, true it is, that in *Euſebius* his workes printed at *Baſile*, in the yeere 1559. I finde onely thus much of *Megaſthenes*, cited out of *Alpheeus*; That *Nabuchodonoſor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he ſubdued all *Lybia*, and the reſt of *Aſia* as farre as to the *Armenians*; and that as the *Chaldæans* report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a diuine furie, he cried with a loud voyce: O Babylonians, *I foretell ye of a great calamitie, that ſhall come vpon you, which neyther* Bel, *nor any of the gods ſhall auert: There will come a* Perſian, *halfe an Aſſe, that ſhall bring ſlauery vpon yee:* and that, this and the like when he had ſpoken, hee vaniſhed. Of all this I beleeue little or nothing, ſauing that *Nabuchodonoſor* knew beforehand, that his Empire ſhould be tranſlated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the ſiluer breſt. But that hee wanne all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I doe hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* copy of *Euſebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megaſthenes* tells vs that *Nabuchodonoſor* wanne both *Africke* and *Spaine*, I beleeue the fragment ſo much the leſſe: and am as little mooued with the authoritie of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Aſſyrians*; as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his owne vaniſhing away. Indeede that ſame title of halfe an Aſſe, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to ſuſpect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein hee termeth him a *Mule*, becauſe his parentage was more noble on the mothers ſide, than on the fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Aſſes* vpon *Mares*. And thus much in anſwer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnitie and coherence which it had within it ſelfe, I eaſily allow it. But this proues nothing, for meere fictions haue not wanted theſe commendations: neither can any man beleeue that one ſo iudicious, induſtrious and deepely learned as *Ioſeph Scaliger*, would ouer-ſhoot himſelfe in ſetting downe repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeale. And herein it ſeemes that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own ſufficiency, hath beene little carefull to ſatisfie men that would frame Arguments againſt him. For if the prophecie of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdome of *Balthaſar* was diuided, and giuen to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, either we muſt thinke that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or elſe wee muſt bethinke our ſelues what *Perſian* it might be that ſhared the kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine, that *Balthaſar* loſt his life and Kingdome, than that his Kingdome was diuided and giuen to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Perſians* fall out and fight for it, as by ſuppoſing *Nabonidus* to haue beene *Darius*, they ſhould be thought to haue done; but theſe two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords ouer all the ſubiect Prouinces, inſomuch that the Greeke Hiſtorians did commonly call thoſe warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made vpon *Greece*, The warres of the *Medes*. Yea to cleare this point, euen *Daniel* himſelfe reſembles that *King*, with whom *Alexander* fought, vnto a Ramme with two hornes, calling him the *King* of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to haue beene condemned by *Ioſeph Scaliger*, for maintaining vpon ſuch good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes*, was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldean King* by him ſubdued. Neither was *Ioſephus* to be the leſſe regarded, for affirming that *Balthaſar* was deſtroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his nephew *Cyrus*, though heerein he varied from *Beroſus*, and others, whoſe authority elſewhere he gladly citeth. For *Ioſephus* had no reaſon to beleeue any mans faith or knowledge of thoſe times, halfe ſo well as *Daniels* whom I beleeue that he vnderſtood as farre as was needfull in this caſe. Lawfull it was for him to alleage all Authors that had any mention, though vnperfect, of the ſame things that were contained in the writings of the *Iewes*, to whoſe hiſtories thereby hee procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were ſtrangers, and might ſeeme fabulous. Euen ſo doe *Euſebius*, and other Writers, willingly embrace the teſtimonies of heathen bookes making for the truth in ſome particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in generall by the ſelfe ſame *Ethnicke* Philoſophers, but leaue them where they are againſt the truth; as *Ioſephus* in this caſe hath left *Beroſus*. And thus much I thought it meet to ſay of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding neuertheleſſe in due regard his learning and iudgement, which if in ſome things it had not failed, the miracle had then beene very great.

Dan.8.20.

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§. VI.

What may bee held as probable of the Perſons and Times of Nabuchodonoſor *his ſucceſſors.*

IT now remaines that I freely acknowledge mine owne weakeneſſe, who cannot finde how the 70. yeeres of captiuitie are to bee diuided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I finde that the diſtribution made of them, in ſuch wiſe as already is rehearſed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truely ſay with *Pererius*, that wee ought liberally to pardon thoſe whoſe feet haue failed them in the ſlipperie wayes of *Chronologie*, wherein both learning and diligence are ſubiect to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulneſſe, or heedleſſe reckoning. Yet will I aduenture to deliuer my opinion, wherein the iudgement of *Lyra* and others (holding thoſe onely to haue reigned ouer *Chaldæans*, whoſe Names are found in the Scriptures) appeares more conformable to reaſon and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniectures before rehearſed. Not that I will take vpon mee to defend *Lyra* his Coniectures, when hee ſuppoſeth by *Nigliſar* and *Laboſardach* to bee meant the ſame perſons which are called in Scriptures *Euilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained,) but onely to ſhew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to haue occupied the whole time of ſeuenty yeeres. Firſt therefore let vs conſider the reigne of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in whoſe eighteenth yeere *Ieruſalem* was taken and ſackt, but in his ninteenth layd vtterly deſolate.

Moſt of Writers haue giuen to him 43. yeeres of reigne, following therein *Beroſus*. There are who haue added one yeere more; and ſome haue made it vp 45. To diſpute about the certainety were needleſſe: for in ſhewing by what length of time the Scriptures meaſure him, we ſhall ſhew the certaine truth.

Manifeſt it is, that the 19. yeere of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is ioyned with the 11. of *Zedekia*; as alſo that his eight yeere, was the firſt yeere of *Iechonia* his captiuitie; the reigne of *Zedekia* occupied all the meane ſpace being of 11. yeeres. This is generally agreed vpon, ſo that it needes no further proofes: As for the beginning of his ſucceſſor *Euilmerodach*, it was in the ſeuen and thirtieth yeere of *Iechonia* his captiuitie; ſo that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his 8. yeere (which was the firſt of *Iechonia* his bondage) reigned 35. whole yeres, and peraduenture a good part of the ſixe and thirtieth, foraſmuch as *Iechonia* was inlarged with ſo great fauour, not vntill the end of the yeere. Subſtracting therefore out of theſe foure and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzars* reigne did well-neere occupie, thoſe eighteene yeeres of his which paſſed away before the captiuitie of *Iuda*, and ruine of the city, we haue remaining ſixe and twenty yeeres of the ſeuentie, that were almoſt wholly ſpent when his ſonne began to reigne.

2.King. 2.5.8. & Iere. 51.12.
2.King.24.12.
2.Kings 25.27 & Ier.52.31.

It is now to be conſidered how the remainder of the ſeuentie yeeres were diuided betweene the Kings ruling in *Babylon* vntill the firſt of *Cyrus*. A queſtion more difficult (as I ſaid before) than greatly needfull: the whole ſumme being certaine, and the diſtinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were ſlothfull Princes. Neither can any man the more iuſtly ſuſpect the beginning or end of the whole 70 yeres, for that the diſtribution of ſome part of them is only coniecturall; ſeeing that none who giues any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refuſed to follow both vnlikely and deſperate coniectures in diuiding them. I will therefore bee bold to doe as others haue done; knowing well before-hand, that whoſoeuer ſhall diſcouer my error, muſt do me the pleaſure (which I could rather wiſh in a caſe more materiall) of making me to vnderſtand the truth.

Of the foure and forty yeeres remaining in accompt of *Nebuchadnezzars* death, wee are to take away the laſt, which was the firſt of *Darius* the *Mede*, and then hauing authoritie good enough to warrant vs from blame of preſumption, in giuing vs ſeuenteene yeeres to *Balthaſar*, we finde left in our hands to beſtow vpon *Euilmerodach* ſixe & twentie yeeres. Of the yeere belonging vnto *Darius* the *Mede*, I haue already ſpoken what I thought ſufficient, in deliuering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captiuity. That *Balthaſar* did reigne ſeuenteen yeeres, we haue the authority of *Ioſephus*, before cited in expreſſe words; Wee haue alſo the generall conſent of all, or the moſt late Writers, interpreting *Beroſus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned ſo long, and *Balthaſar* to haue beene one. But nothing moueth mee ſo much to beleeue this Tradition, as firſt thoſe euident places in *Daniel*, ſhewing that in the third yeere of *Balthaſar* hee followed the Kings buſineſſe, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reigne, (a proofe ſufficient of no few yeeres, paſſing vnder this man, eſpecially ſeeing it is no where found that *Daniels* emploiments tooke end either that yeere or the next.) Secondly, the conſideration of *Cyrus* his warres againſt the *Aſſyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans father, and being alwaies proſperous, could hardly haue occupied any longer time, though wee make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Aſia*, which fell out in the midde-way: I haue already ſhewed, that there appeares in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reigne of *Euilmerodach* was not ſhort: and that men of great iudgement haue found it moſt probable, that he was a King three & twenty yeeres. More, I thinke, they would haue allowed him, had not the deſire of ſatisfying *Beroſus* cauſed them to reſt content with this. And ſurely it were greatly to bee wiſhed, that bookes of ſuch antiquitie, as thoſe of *Beroſus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke paſſages of Antiquitie. I will yet confeſſe, that were his workes neuer ſo excellent, and in all things elſe vnqueſtionably true, I would not therefore condeſcend vnto him in ſome one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemie. How much leſſe ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing onely ſeuen or eight lines, and part euen of the title corrupted, as they beleeue that follow him in the reſt? The Scriptures haue told vs that God gaue the Empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his ſonne, and to his ſonnes ſonne: How long each of them held it, wee finde not expreſſed; yet would we gladly know it of *Beroſus*, or of any other that would teach vs; prouided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, hee deſtroyed not thereby the generall truth. More words are needleſſe. It is enough to ſay with others, that *Beroſus* or *Ioſephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the careleſneſſe of Scribes; and that it was as eaſie for thoſe Scribes to erre in writing two

Dan.c.8.v.1. & 27. & c.5. v.11,12.& 13
Ierem. 27.7.

for ſixe and twentie, as for three and twentie, or perhaps more eaſie. For the omiſſion of the ſecond figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. ſignifying 6. hath a neerer reſemblance of β that ſtands for 2. than hath γ which is vſed for 3. So that the numerall notes β5. expreſſing 26. were not ſafe enough from being miſtaken in the true copie, and might be altered, as ill written, if ſome crooked hand, or other miſchance not vnuſuall, had omitted the firſt ſtroke of the former letter, or added a daſh to the latter, which might cauſe them to ſeeme not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be ſuppoſed in βγ ſtanding for 23. I doe not well perceiue. As for the Arithmeticall figures now in vſe, they were long after the time of *Ioſephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore doe not appertaine vnto this buſineſſe; vnleſſe wee ſhould gheſſe that his workes were corrupted in that vnlearned age, which following the *Saracen* conqueſt, was little occupied in the ſtudies of humanitie, but in a ſort wholly giuen ouer to the doctrine of *Ariſtotle*. If this will ſerue to make *Beroſus* our friend, ſo let it be; if not, I will not purchaſe the fauour of his authoritie, by forſaking *Ieremie* and *Daniel*, when they ſeeme to bee his oppoſites.

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§. VII.

Of the victories which Nabuchodonoſor *obtained betweene the deſtruction of Ieruſalem, and conqueſt of Ægypt.*

WIth what actions this time of 70. yeres was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few haue written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peraduenture haue been ſome cauſe that the time it ſelfe was, and is yet ſought to be abridged, as not hauing left ſufficient matter to witneſſe the length of it. But by ſuch an argument we might as well deny to many people euen their being. For euery Nation (I know not whom I ſhould except) betweene the beginning and laſt end of it, hath in ſome ſlothfull age rather dreamt away the time, than ſpent it. It is therefore no maruell, if the poſteritie of *Nabuchodonoſor*, finding all things readie to their hand, which their hearts could haue deſired, betooke themſelues to their eaſe and pleaſures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall ſonnes of greedie fathers, their owne wiſedome greater, which knew how to enioy, than that of their Anceſtors, which wearied away their daies in the reſtleſſe trauell of purchaſing: Though indeed the reigne of *Nabuchodonoſor* was ſo diuided, that his youthfull and ſtrongers yeeres hauing beene exerciſed in victorious armes, no ſmall part of his life was remaining to be ſpent in eſtabliſhing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthie labours paſt. The ninteenth yeere of his reigne it was, when deſtroying vtterly the great and mightie Citie of *Ieruſalem*, hee enriched himſelfe with abundance of ſpoyle, and terrified all that would offer to reſiſt him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, hee, vntill his three and twentieth yeere, laboured in the conqueſt of thoſe adioyning Regions, which God had expoſed vnto his ſword, and commanded to weare his yoke; namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Ægyptians*, though ſome of theſe were already become his followers, and ſerued vnder him, when *Ieruſalem* was beaten downe and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whoſe Citie was founded on an Iland, ſafe enough from any danger of a Land-armie, and whoſe fleet was ſo ſtrong, that they needed not to feare any enemie at ſea, were neither danted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obſtinate reſolution of this mighty Prince, imploying all his power to their ſubuerſion.

That the Citie of *Tyre* was rather well pleaſed, than any way diſcouraged with the fall of *Ieruſalem* (which had held the ſame courſe that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might bee in the ſame quarrell againſt the common enemie) it appeares by the words *Ezech.26.2.* which *Ezechiel* condemneth as the common voyce of *Tyrus*; Aha, *the gate of the people is broken, it is turned vnto me; for ſeeing ſhee is deſolate, I ſhall be repleniſhed.* Yet at length, euen in the ninteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that great worke of his, whereof we haue alreadie ſpoken, began to appeare aboue the waters, and threaten them with ineuitable miſchiefe.

Ierem.25. *Eſai.23.15.* But thoſe prophecies of *Ieremie* and of *Eſay*, which appoint vnto this deſolation of *Tyre* the ſame terme of 70. yeeres, that was preſcribed vnto the reigne of the *Chaldæans*, doe plainely ſhew, that ſhee followed *Ieruſalem*, the ſame nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonoſor*, in the ſame, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubtleſſe were memorable in the iſſue of ſo great and laborious a ſiege, are in a manner vtterly loſt. Thus much we finde, That the Citizens perceiuing the Towne vnable to hold out, embarked themſelues, and fledde into the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Neuertheleſſe it ſeemes that this euaſion ſerued onely the principall men, who eſcaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer ſort vnto the enemies furie. For not onely ſuch people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the ſword; but the like execution was done in the ſtreets, into which, with exceſſiue labour, the *Aſſyrian* made way for his Horſes and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonoſor cauſed his Armie to ſerue a great ſeruice againſt* Tyrus, *wherein euery head was made bald, and euery ſhoulder was made bare, yet had hee no wages, nor his Armie*; but was faine to reſt contented with the Honour of hauing deſtroyed that Citie, which in all mens iudgements had beene held inuincible.

Ezech.29.18.

The deſtruction of theſe two great and powerfull Cities, hauing made the name of the *Chaldæans* dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonoſor* vſed the aduantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with leſſe paine. The Kingdome of *Ægypt* was the marke at which he aimed; a Country ſo abounding in all riches and pleaſures, that it might well haue tempted any Prince, finding himſelfe ſtrong enough to ſeeke occaſion of quarrell againſt it; and ſo farre an enemie to the Crowne of *Babylon*, that had it beene poorer, yet either it muſt haue beene ſubdued, or the conqueſt of *Syria* could ill haue beene eſtabliſhed. Neuertheleſſe it was needfull, that before hee entred into this buſineſſe, the Countries adiacent ſhould bee reduced into ſuch termes, that either they ſhould wholly ſtand at his deuotion, or at leaſt be vnable to worke him any diſpleaſure. And heerein the decree of God concurred, as in all proſperous enterpriſes, with reaſon of ſtate. For the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damaſcus*, *Kedar*, *Hazar*, and other adioyning Regions, whom God for their ſinnes had condemned to fall vnder the *Babylonian* ſwords, were ſuch, as regarding onely their owne gaine, had ſome of them, like Rauens, followed the *Chaldæan* Armie, to feed vpon the carcaſſes that fell by the crueltie thereof; others taking aduantage of their neighbours miſeries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonoſor*; all of them thinking, that when the *Aſſyrian* had ſatisfied his furie, he ſhould be faine to forſake thoſe deſolate parts, and leaue the poſſeſſion to thoſe that could lay hand vpon it. Particularlie the *Edomites* and *Philiſtims* had ſhewed much malice to the *Iewes* when their Citie was taken. What good ſeruice they had done to the *Chaldæans*, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to haue beene with reference to their owne purpoſes, wherein they were diſappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to reioyce at the fal of *Ieruſalem*, but preſently they entered vpon the Country of *Gad*, and tooke poſſeſſion, as if not the *Aſſyrians*, but they, had ſubdued *Iſrael*. Neither can I perceiue what other ground that practiſe had of *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*, when he ſent *Iſmael*, a Prince of the bloud of *Iuda*, to murther *Gedalia*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Gouernour ouer thoſe that remained in *Iſrael*, and to carry captiue into the *Ammonites* Countrie the people that abode in *Mizpah*, than a deſire of embroiling *Nabuchodonoſor* with ſo many labours at once, as ſhould make him retire into his owne Country, and abandon thoſe waſted Lands to himſelfe and others, for whom they lay conueniently. Such or the like policie the *Moabites* did exerciſe; whoſe pride and wrath were made fruſtrate by God, and their diſſimulation condemned, as not doing right.

Ezech. 25.12. & 15.

Ezech.25.3.
Ierem.49.1.

Iere.40.14.& 41.2. & 10.
Ier.28.27.&c

All theſe Nations had the art of rauening, which is familiar to ſuch as liue or border vpon deſarts; and now the time afforded them occaſion to ſhew the vttermoſt cunning of their theeuiſh wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut aſunder all their deuices by ſharpe and ſuddaine warre, ouer-whelming them with vnexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of *Eſay*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezekiel*, who fore-told, with little difference of words, the greatneſſe and ſwiftneſſe of the miſerie that ſhould come vpon them. With which of them hee firſt began, I finde not; it ſeemes that *Moab* was the laſt which felt his hand: for ſo doe many good Authors interpret the propheſie of *Eſay*, threatning *Moab* with deſtruction after three yeeres, as hauing reference to the third yere following the ruine of *Ieruſalem*; the next yere after it being ſpent in the *Ægyptian*

Eſay 16.14.

expedition. This is manifeſt, that all the principall Townes in theſe Regions were burnt, and the people ſlaine, or made ſlaues, few excepted, who being preſerued by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-haſtily, much leſſe to attempt any thing againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, but liued as miſerable out-lawes, or at leaſt oppreſſed wretches, vntill the end of the ſeuentie yeeres, which God had preſcribed vnto the deſolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Iuda*.

§. VIII.

That Ægypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning ſlaine by Nabuchodonoſor, *contrarie to the opinion of moſt Authors: who following* Herodotus *and* Diodorus, *relate it otherwiſe.*

WHen by a long courſe of victorie *Nabuchodonoſor* had brought into ſubiection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in ſuch wiſe, that no enemie to himſelfe, nor friend of the *Ægyptian*, was left at his backe, that might giue impediment vnto his proceeding, or take aduantage of any misfortune; then did he forth-with take in hand the conqueſt of *Ægypt* himſelfe, vpon which thoſe other Nations had formerly beene depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious iſſue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Eſay*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezechiel*, haue written ſo plainely, that I hold it altogether needleſſe to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halfe of that which may be alleaged out of theſe. Neuertheleſſe, wee finde many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to ſtraine theſe Prophecies with vnreaſonable diligence vnto ſuch a ſenſe, as giues to *Nabuchodonoſor* little more than the honour of hauing done ſome ſpoyle in *Ægypt*, omitting the conqueſt of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with theſe times or affaires. So prepoſterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and ſecond helpes conducing to their purpoſe, that oftentimes they doe preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to vphold a ſentence, giuing teſtimonie to one clauſe, doe careleſlie ouerthrow the hiſtorie it ſelfe, which thereby they ſought to haue maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Ægypt*, which reigned about theſe times, are already rehearſed in the former booke: but that which they haue ſpoken of *Apries*, was purpoſely reſerued vnto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirme that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (vnleſſe we ſhould vnderſtand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is ſaid to haue made vpon *Tyrus* and *Sidon*) that he reigned fiue and twenty yeeres, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne Subiects; who did ſet vp *Amaſis*, as King, which preuailed againſt him. The rebellion of the *Ægyptians* he imputeth to a great loſſe which they receiued in an expedition againſt the *Cyrenians*, by whom almoſt their whole Armie was deſtroyed. This calamitie the people of *Ægypt* thought to be well pleaſing to their King, who had ſent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpoſe to haue them conſumed, that ſo he might with greater ſecuritie reigne ouer ſuch as ſtaied at home. So they who eſcaped, and the friends of ſuch as were ſlaine, rebelled againſt *Apries*, who ſent *Amaſis* to appeaſe the tumult; but *Amaſis* became Captaine of the rebels, and was by them choſen King. Finally, the whole Land conſented vnto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driuen to truſt vnto his forraine Mercenaries, the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept continually in readineſſe thirty thouſand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquiſhed by the great number of the *Ægyptian* forces, amounting vnto two hundred and fiftie thouſand, which were all by birth and education men of Warre. *Apries* himſelfe being taken priſoner, was gently intreated by *Amaſis* for a while, vntill the *Ægyptians*, exclaiming vpon him, as an extreame enemie to the Land, got him deliuered into their hands, and ſtrangled him, yet they gaue him honourable buriall. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth neerely agree, telling vs that *Apries* did vanquiſh the *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demoliſhed *Sidon*, wanne the other townes of *Phœnicia*, and the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and finally, periſhed as is before rehearſed, when hee had

Herod lib.2.& l.4.

Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. Ca. 2.

had reigned two and twentie yeeres. This authoritie were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe vs of *Apries* his hiſtorie, if greater authoritie did not contradict it: But the deſtruction of *Ægypt* by the *Babylonian*, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with theſe relations, hath greater force to compell our beliefe, than haue the traditions of *Ægyptian Prieſts* (which the *Greeke Hiſtorians* followed) and greater probabilities to perſwade thoſe that looke onely into humane reaſons. For *Eſay* prophecied long before of the ſhamefull captiuitie of the *Ægyptians*, whom the King of *Aſhur* ſhould carry away naked, yong and old, in ſuch wiſe, that the *Iewes*, who fled vnto them for deliuerance from the *Aſſyrian*, ſhould be aſhamed of their owne vaine confidence in men ſo vnable to defend themſelues.

Eſa.20.ver.4. 5.& 6.

But *Ezekiel* & *Ieremie*, as their prophecies were neerer to the time of execution, ſo they handled this Argument more preciſely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainely, that *Ægypt* ſhould be giuen to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as wages for the ſeruice which he had done at *Tyre*: Alſo he recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in *Ægypt*, ſaying, That theſe by name ſhould be deſtroyed, and goe into captiuitie, yea, that *Pharaoh and all his armie ſhould be ſlaine by the ſword*. Wherefore it muſt needs be a violent expoſition of theſe Prophecies, which by applying the iſſue of ſuch threatnings to an inſurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Ægypt*, than change of the Kings perſon, wherein *Amaſis* did ſucceed vnto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the vniforme conſent of all the people. Certainely, if that notable place of *Ieremie*, wherein hee foretelleth how the Iewes in *Ægypt* ſhould ſee *Pharao Hophra* deliuered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had beene, were to be referred vnto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath ſpoken, as the generall opinion hath ouer-ruled it; then was it vainely done of the ſame Prophet (which God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhould thinke, ſeeing hee did it by the appointment of God himſelfe) to hide in the clay of a Bricke-hill, thoſe very ſtones, vpon which the throne of *Nabuchodonoſor* ſhould bee ſet, and his pauilion ſpredde. Yea then was that prophecie no other than falſe, which expreſſed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: *Behold, I will viſite the common people of No, and* Pharaoh, *and Ægypt, with their gods and their kings, euen* Pharaoh, *and all that truſt in him: and I will deliuer them into the hands of thoſe that ſeeke their liues, and into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar, *King of Babel, and into the hands of his ſeruants.* The cleareneſſe of this prophecy beeing ſuch as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amaſis*, it cauſed me to wonder what thoſe *Commentators* would ſay to it, who are elſewhere ſo diligent in fitting all to the *Greeke hiſtorians*. Wherefore looking vpon *Iunius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amaſis*, and his followers, I found him heere acknowledging that the *Ægyptian* Prieſts had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lies, coyned vpon a vaine-glorious purpoſe of hiding their owne diſgrace and bondage. And ſurely it may well bee thought, that the hiſtorie of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was better knowne to the *Iewes*, whom it concerned, than to the *Greekes*, that ſcarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I ſee no cauſe why we ſhould not rather beleeue *Ioſephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonoſor* in the three and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and the fift yeere of the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, did conquer *Ægypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his ſtead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meere ſtrangers to this buſineſſe, had no great reaſon to labour in ſearching out the truth, but might reſt contented with any thing that the Prieſts would tell them. Now if ſetting aſide all aduantage of authoritie, we ſhould onelie conſider the relations of *Ioſephus*, and of the *Greeke Hiſtorians*, as either of them might be verified of it ſelfe by apparant circumſtances, without reflecting vpon the *Hebrew* Prophets, or *Ægyptian* Prieſts; me thinkes the death of *Apries* can no way be approued as hauing beene wrought by conſent of the people, but affords great matter of ſuſpition; yea, though no man had oppoſed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great loue and honor which the *Ægyptians* did beare vnto their *Kings*, is notorious by the vniforme teſtimonie of all others that haue handled the matters of that Countrey, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himſelfe. How then can wee thinke it probable, that *Apries* hauing wonne great victories, did for one onely loſſe fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may ſerue to perſwade vs, that a *King* of *Ægypt* would ſeeke, or ſo demeane himſelfe, that he might be thought to ſeeke the deſtruction of his naturall ſubiects? As for that armie of thirtie thouſand ſouldiers, *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the *King*

Ezech.29 ver. 20 & c.30.

Ezec.32.v.31

Irem 44.30.

Ierem.43.10.

Ierem.46.ver. 25.& 26.

Iun.in Ierem. c.44. verſ.30.

Ioſephus de Antiq.Iud.lib.10. c.11.

of *Ægypt*, whom *Amaſis* tooke priſoner, is ſaid to haue kept for his defence: doth it not argue that he was a forrainer, and one that armed himſelfe againſt the *Ægyptian*, wiſhing them few and weake; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as aſſuredly their owne, as the ſtrength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious then any way needfull, to vſe all Arguments that might be alledged in this caſe. The very death of this ſuppoſed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amaſis*, who ſought to haue kept him aliue, doth intimate that hee was ſome forren Gouernour, not a naturall Prince; otherwiſe the people would haue deſired to ſaue his life, and *Amaſis* to take it quickely from him. I will not labour any further to diſproue that opinion, whereunto I ſhould not haue yeelded, though it had ſtood vpon great apparance of truth, conſidering that the voice of Truth it ſelfe cries out againſt it; but leaue the circumſtances, prouing the Conqueſt of *Ægypt* by *Nabuchodonoſor*, to be obſerued, where due occaſion in courſe of the ſtorie following ſhall preſent them.

§ IX.

How Ægypt *was ſubdued and held by* Nabuchadnezzar.

IT is a great loſſe, that the generall Hiſtorie of the World hath ſuffered, by the ſpoile and waſte which Time hath made of thoſe Monuments, that ſhould haue preſerued the memorie of ſuch famous actions as were accompliſhed by this mightie Prince *Nabuchodonoſor*; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now vncertaine. That his Victories following the Conqueſt of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Prouinces, were ſuch as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Warres had done, it may eaſily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth vp in his thirtieth chapter (beſides the whole Countrey of *Ægypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations that may ſeeme to haue reached out into *Mauritania*, as people ſubdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumſtances of theſe Warres are either in a manner vtterly loſt; but that the victorie was eaſie and ſwift, any man ſhall finde, who will take the paines to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular obſeruation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is alreadie noted in the former Booke) thought himſelfe moſt ſafe in *Ægypt* by the well defenced ſituation of his Countrey, did very vnwiſely in ſuffering his enemies to ſweepe the way cleane vnto his owne doores, by conſuming all his friends and adhærents in *Syria*. For as the labour of this buſineſſe did more harden than wearie the *Chaldæan* Army, ſo the confidence and vaine ſecuritie of the *Ægyptians*, relying vpon the difficult paſſages which the enemie was to make thorow the *Arabian* deſarts, and the much aduantage which the great riuer of *Nilus* would afford vnto themſelues, did little auaile them in prouiſion for the war, and much aſtoniſh them (as may iuſtly be thought) in the time of execution: it being vſually ſeene, that the hearts of men faile, when thoſe helpes faile, in which they had repoſed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the Kingdome of *Ægypt* had flouriſhed vnder the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thouſand fiue hundred and foure ſcore yeeres; but from this time forward it remained forty yeeres without a King, vnder the ſubiection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recouer by little and little the former greatneſſe, yet ſo, that it was neuer dreadfull vnto others, God hauing ſaid of that people, *I will diminiſh them, that they ſhal no more rule the Nations.* For whereas it hath beene ſaid of *Pharaoh*: *I am the ſonne of the wiſe, I am the ſonne of the ancient Kings*: and whereas he had vanted, *The Riuer is mine, and I haue made it*; the Princes of *Ægypt* now became fooles, the riuer failed them, the *King* himſelfe was taken and ſlaine, and that ancient linage quite extinguiſhed. This came to paſſe in the firſt yeere after the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, at which time (ſaith *Ioſephus*) *Hee ſlew the King then reigning, placed another in his roome, and carried captiues thence to* Babylon, *the* Iewes *whom hee found in that Countrie.* Now concerning the time which *Ioſephus* giues vnto this buſines, and the buſineſſe it ſelfe, I haue already ſhewed, that it is warranted by all the Prophecies which inſinuate the ſame. As likewiſe the laſt deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, and carrying away thoſe vnto *Babel*, who inhabited the miſerable ruines of that great city, which was in the ſame *three & twentieth yeere of Nebuchadnezzar*, is not vnprobably thought by

good

Ezek. 29. 13. 14. & 15.
Eſay 19. 11.
Ezek. 29. 9.

Ioſep. Ant. Iud. libr. 10. c. 11.

Ierem. 52. 30.

good authors to haue beene at the returne from this *Ægyptian* expedition. But whereas *Ioſephus* tels vs, that there was another *King* put in the roome of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we muſt vnderſtand, that he was onely a *Viceroy*, and not (as ſome haue miſtaken it) thinke that this was *Amaſis*. For to place the beginning of *Amaſis* his reigne in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant vnto the prophecies before alleadged, as to all *Chronologie* and hiſtorie. Some there are, which to helpe this inconuenience, imagine that there were two ſucceſſiuely bearing the name of *Amaſis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one ſlaine by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amaſis*: a queſtion of ſmall importance, becauſe the difference is onely about a name, it being once granted that the perſon mentioned in Scriptures, was depriued of life and kingdome by the *Aſſyrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceiue, that *Apries*, of whom the *Greeke* Hiſtorians wrote, could not be the Deputie of *Nebuchadnezzar*, ſeeing that he was the *Grand-childe* of *Pharao Necho*, and made warre (as they report) vpon the *Phœnicians*, who were before the *Ægyptians*, become ſubiect vnto the Crowne of *Babylon*. I might adde, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Gouernour of *Ægypt*, was more likely to haue had ſome *Chaldæan* or *Aſſyrian*, than *Ægyptian* name; vnleſſe we ſhould thinke that he had beene a traytor to his naturall Prince, and ſo rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantſhip of the Countrey: about which it were but friuolous to diſpute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleeue, that *Nabuchodoſor* made an abſolute Conqueſt of *Ægypt*; that he was not ſo fooliſh as to giue it away, any man may gueſſe; that he appointed one to rule the Countrey, it is conſequent vnto the former, and hath authority of *Ioſephus*; that this Gouernour (or ſome ſucceſſour of his) was afterwards taken and ſlaine by *Amaſis*, I ſee probabilitie enough to perſwade my ſelfe, and yet can well be content, that others vſe their liberty, and beleeue what they liſt. As for the armie which this *Ægyptian* King *Apries* is ſuppoſed to haue kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*; I hold them to be none other than the gariſons of mercenary ſouldiers which were left by the *Aſſyrian* for the guard of his *Viceroy*, & cuſtody of the new ſubdued Prouince: as likewiſe the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who together with the friends of ſuch as were ſlaine in that expedition, remembred before out of the *Greeke Hiſtorians*, depoſed and ſlew *Apries*, I take them to haue beene the *Ægyptian* fugitiues, which then recouered their owne Countrey. Sure it is that this Prophecie of *Ezekiel* was verified, *At the end of fortie yeeres will I gather the* Ægyptians *from the people where they were ſcattered, and I will bring againe the captiuitie of* Ægypt, *and will cauſe them to returne into the land of* Pathros, *into the land of their habitation, and they ſhall be there a ſmall kingdome.* If the *Ægyptian* Prieſts alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amaſis* his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deuiſed matter that had no ſhadow of truth, onely to keepe the *Greekes* from knowledge of their Countries diſgrace; then are they little to be regarded, ſince we know the truth with them.

Ezek. 30. v. 13. & 14.

§. X.

Of the ſundry accompts drawne from ſundry acts of Nebuchadnezzar, *and of the deſtruction of* Niniue, *by him; the time of which action is vncertaine.*

THeſe victories brought the greatneſſe of the *Aſſyrian* Empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzars* reigne in ſundry places of Scripture. To ſpeake any more of the queſtions ariſing about the ſupputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might ſeeme to be the ouer-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captiue in the third yeere of *Iehoiakims* reigne (which ran along with ſome part of *Nebuchadnezzars* firſt yeere) and was kept in diet three yeers more, before he was brought into the Kings preſence; it could not be the ſecond of *Nebuchadnezzars* Kingdome, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dreame of the great Image, foreſhewing the ſucceſſe of *Monarchies*, but the ſecond of his Empire. The ſame or the like may be ſaid of diuers places which referre ſundry matters vnto their ſet yeers; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tels, that *Ægypt* ſhould be giuen in reward for the ſeruice done before *Tyrus*, dating his prophecy in the ſeauen and twentieth yeere; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeere: for theſe yeeres held no dependance vpon either the beginning of

Dan. c. 1. & 2.

Nebuchadnezzars kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet vpon any of the captiuities, but had reference to ſome memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not eaſie to be found, nor worth the labour of vncertaine ſearch.

Nahum. 3. 8.

Of any warre made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after ſuch time as he returned from the Conqueſt of *Ægypt*, I doe not reade: excepting that againſt *Niniuie*, the deſtruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet **Naum**. *Niniuie* had long before beene taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath beene ſhewed) and together with the reſt of *Aſſyria* made ſubiect to *Babylon*. Yet was it left vnder a peculiar *King*, who rebelling againſt the *Chaldæan*, as *Iehoiakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary *Kings* of *Iuda*, had done, taſted likewiſe of the ſame fortune. That the deſtruction of *Niniuie* followed the Conqueſt of *Ægypt*, it appeareth by the compariſon which *Nahum* the Prophet made betweene this Citie, that was to fall, and the Citie of *No* in *Ægypt*, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to paſſe, it is (me thinkes) vnpoſſible to finde out. For whereas it is found in an *Hebrew Chronologie*, that it was in the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzars* reigne; the place of *Nahum* laſt cited is enough to diſproue it. Whereas it is referred by ſome vnto the firſt of his *Monarchie*, which began at the end of the *Ægyptian* warres; the whole Prophecie of *Nahum* which went betweene the one and the other, argueth ſtrongly, that there was a longer ſpace of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very yeere of this deſtruction, or other circumſtances of the Warre, whether managed by *Nabuchodonoſor* in perſon, or by his Lieutenants, were ſomewhat like vnto the vaine curioſitie of *Tyberius Cæſar*, enquiring who was the Mother of ***Hecuba***; or to the like idle paines which he ſhould take, who would ſeeke to learne what woman that *Huzzab* Queen of *Niniuie* was, whoſe wofull captiuitie the ſame Prophet *Nahum* likewiſe did fore-tell.

§. XI.

Of the later time of Nebuchadnezzar; *his buildings, madneſſe, and death.*

Dan. 4. 27.

OF the time which this great *Monarch* ſpent in quiet, I thinke there are no Monuments extant; ſaue thoſe which we finde among the prophecies of *Daniel*. Among theſe we may reckon his great workes at *Babylon*, wherewith he pleaſed himſelfe ſo well, that he brake out into theſe glorious words: *Is not this great* Babel *that I haue built for the houſe of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Maieſtie?* Surely if thoſe things be true that are by *Ioſephus* rehearſed of him out of *Beroſus* and *Magaſthenes*, he might well delight himſelfe with the contemplation of ſuch goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is ſaid, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that beſides other ſtately workes, he raiſed thoſe huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the ayre, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which moſt ſumptuous frame, that out-laſted all the remainder of the *Aſſyrian*, and all the *Perſian* Empire, is ſaid to haue beene reared, and finiſhed in fifteene dayes.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we finde little elſe recorded, than that (which indeede is moſt profitable for vs to conſider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatneſſe abaſed him vnto a condition, inferiour to the pooreſt of men. And not vndeſeruedly fell theſe iudgements of God vpon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not onely with many victories, and much happineſſe in his owne life, but with a diſcouery of things to come after him, yea and had approued the certainty of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet: he neuertheleſſe became ſo forgetfull of God, whoſe wonderfull power he had ſeene and acknowledged, that he cauſed a golden Image to be ſet vp and worſhipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that ſhould dare to diſobey his Kingly will and pleaſure, which was vtterly repugnant to the law of him that is *the King of Kings*. Hereof S. *Hierome* hath well noted; *Velox obliuio veritatis, vt qui dudum ſeruum Dei quaſi Deum adorauerat, nunc ſtatuam ſibi fieri iubeat, vt ipſe quaſi Deus in ſtatuâ adoraretur: A haſtie forgetfulneſſe of the truth, that he who ſo lately had worſhipped* (Daniel) *the ſeruant of God, as if he had beene God himſelfe, ſhould now command a Statua to be erected vnto himſelfe, wherein himſelfe might be worſhipped as God.* From this impietie it pleaſed God to reclaime him, by the ſtrange and wonderfull deliuery of thoſe bleſſed Saints out of the fierie fornace; who being throwne into it bound, for refuſing to commit Idolatry, were aſſiſted by an Angell; preſerued from all harme of the fire; looſened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and reſtored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this deuotion of *Nebuchadnezzar* was not ſo rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit anſwerable to his haſtie zeale. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible iudgement hanging ouer his head, which *Daniel* expounding, aduiſed him to *breake off his ſinne by righteouſneſſe, and his iniquitie by mercy towards the poore, that there might be an healing of his error.* Hereby it ſeemes that iniuſtice and cruelty were the faults, for which he was threatned, but this threatning ſufficed not vnto his reformation. For that ſo great a *Monarch* ſhould be driuen from among men; (according to the tenor of the dreame & interpretation) yea, compelled to dwell with the beaſts of the field, and made to eate graſſe as the Oxen, was a thing ſo incredible in mans iudgement, that eaſily it might be thought an idle dreame, and much more eaſily be forgotten at the yeeres end. One whole yeeres leaſure to repent was giuen to this haughtie Prince: which reſpite of the execution may ſeeme to haue bred in him a forgetfulneſſe of Gods ſentence. For at the end of twelue moneths, walking in the royall Palace of *Babel*, he was ſo ouer-ioyed and tranſported with a vaine contemplation of his owne ſeeming happineſſe, that without all feare of Gods heauie iudgement pronounced againſt him, he vttered thoſe loftie words before rehearſed, in vaunting of the Maieſticall workes which he had reared, as well beſeeming his maieſticall perſon. But his high ſpeeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heauen, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearſed ouer vnto him the ſentence againe, was fulfilled vpon him the very ſame houre.

That *Salomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, haue taken delight in their owne buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that euer I haue read of any, that were puniſhed for reioycing in workes of this kinde (though it is hard in ioy, or any paſſion of the minde, to keepe a iuſt meaſure) excepting onely this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be ſaid of *Dauid*: for other (and ſome very godly) Kings haue muſtred all their forces to the very laſt man; but few or none haue beene knowne to haue beene puniſhed as *Dauid* was. Surely I not onely hold it lawfull to reioyce in thoſe good things, wherewith God hath bleſſed vs; but a note of much vnthankfulneſſe to entertaine them with a ſullen and vnfeeling diſpoſition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obſcure clouds, hindring the influence of that bleſſed light, which clarifies the ſoule of man, and prediſpoſeth it vnto the brightneſſe of eternall felicitie; ſo that inſolent ioy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiueth of his owne worth, doth aboue all other paſſions blaſt our mindes, as it were with lightning, and make vs to reflect our thoughts vpon our ſeeming inherent greatneſſe, forgetting the whileſt him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore theſe *mala mentis gaudia*; *The euill ioyes of the minde*, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, beſtowed in the entrance of *Hell*, and placed further inward than ſorrowes, cares, and feares: not farre from the yron Cabbins of the *Furies*. And certainely it is no vnlikely token of vengeance neere at hand, when theſe vnreaſonable fluſhes of proud and vaine ioy, doe rage in a minde, that ſhould haue beene humbled with a iuſt repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deſeruing.

This was verified vpon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whoſe puniſhment was ſingular and vnexampled. For he ran among beaſts in the fields and woods, where for ſeauen yeeres he liued, not onely as a ſaluage man, but as a ſaluage beaſt, for a beaſt he thought himſelfe, *ſecundum ſuam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himſelfe in the ſame manner, and with the ſame foode that beaſts doe; Not that he was changed in figure externall, according to *Mediana*, in ſo much as he appeared a beaſt to other mens eyes, as S. *Hierome* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knowes) ſpeakes of a woman that appeared to all other mens ſight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* onely a woman; neither was he changed as *Iphigenia* the Daughter of *Agamemnon* was ſaid to be, into a Hinde, nor made a Monſter, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to S. *Ieromes* expoſition of theſe words: *At the ſame time was my vnderſtanding reſtored vnto me, &c. Quando dicit* (ſaith S. *Ierome*) *ſenſum ſibi redditum, oſtendit non formam ſe amiſiſſe, ſed mentem; When he ſaith that his ſenſe was reſtored vnto him, he ſhewed that he had not loſt his humane ſhape,* but

L. 2. de Reg. pri.

Med. l. 2. de recta in Deum fide. cap. 7.

Dor. in Synopſi.
Ep in vit. Dan.

but his vnderſtanding. Seauen yeeres expired, it pleaſed God to reſtore *Nabuchodonoſor*, both to his vnderſtanding, and his eſtate, for which he acknowledged and praiſed God all the reſt of his life, confeſſing his power, and euerlaſting being; that he was the Lord of heauen and earth, and wrought without reſiſtance what he pleaſed in both; that his works were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gaue argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his ſaluation; namely, S. *Auguſtine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthuſianus*, and others. And for that place of *Eſay* the foureteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the ſame to *Balthaſar*, becauſe *Iſay*, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapter, ſpeaketh of the King, and the deſtruction of *Babylon* ioyntly.

Dan.4.v.32. 34.

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§. XII.
Of Euilmerodach.

Hauing already ſpoken what I could of the ſucceſſion and yeeres of *Nebuchadnezzars* poſteritie; the moſt that may be ſaid of him, is ſaid of *Euilmerodach*, which I will not here againe rehearſe.

He loſt ſome part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdome burning in a warre that conſumed it to aſhes. He loſt *Ægypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeere of his reigne, which was fortie yeeres after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the accompt of *Herodotus*, who allowes to *Amaſis* foure and fortie yeeres of reigne; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who giues him fiue and fiftie, ſaying that he died in the third yeere of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyſes* did conquer *Ægypt*. There were indeede but ſeauen and thirtie yeeres, which paſſed betweene the ſecond yeere of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach*, and the firſt of *Amaſis*) and the fift of *Cambyſes* his reigne, wherein he wan *Ægypt*; of which ſeauen and thirtie yeeres it is credibly held, that *Pſamennitus*, the ſonne of *Amaſis*, reigned three: ſo that *Amaſis* could be no longer King than foure and thirtie yeeres. But ſeeing that theſe two *Greeke* Hiſtorians haue beene abuſed by *Ægyptian* Prieſts, in the ſubſtance of that which was ſpoken of *Amaſis*, it is no maruell though they were alſo deceiued in the length of his reigne. This is the plaine anſwere to this obiection. For to ſay either that the numbers were miſwritten, and foure and fortie ſet down in ſtead of foure and thirtie, or that *Amaſis* did temporiſe a while with the *Aſſyrians*, and not beare himſelfe as abſolute King of *Ægypt*, vntill the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath beene proued out of *Ezechiel*, that *Ægypt* became againe a Kingdome) I hold it a ſuperfluous excuſe.

Whether theſe *Ægyptian* troubles did animate the King of the *Medes* to deale with *Euilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in preſent forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) ſome foyle receiued by the *Aſſyrian* inuading *Media*, emboldned the *Ægyptians* to rebell againſt him: I will neither vndertake, nor ſeeke to define. *Xenophon* tels, that the firſt ſeruice of yong *Cyrus* in warre, was vnder *Aſtyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a proſperous fight againſt the *Aſſyrian* Prince, who did ſet vpon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fifteene or ſixteene yeeres old. If therefore *Cyrus* liued threeſcore and three yeeres (as he is ſaid to haue died well ſtricken in yeeres) which is held to be the ordinary tearme of no ſhort life, then was this encounter in the third yeere of *Euilmerodach* his reigne. Yet by the ſame reckoning it ſhould follow, that the warre began more early betweene theſe Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumſtances inſinuating as much, are found in the ſame place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or deſtruction of *Nabuchodonoſor* gaue courage vnto thoſe that had felt him a troubleſome neighbour, to ſtand vpon prouder tearmes with the *Aſſyrians*, than in his flouriſhing eſtate they durſt haue vſed. Howſoeuer the quarrell began, we finde that it ended not before the laſt ruine of the *Aſſyrian Monarchie*. For the *Babylonian*, being too proud to digeſt the loſſes which he receiued by the *Medes* and their Allies the *Perſians*, drew vnto his partie the *Lydians*, and all the people of the leſſer *Aſia*, with gifts and ſtrong perſwaſions, hoping ſo to ouer-whelme his enemies with a ſtrong inuaſion, whom in vaine hee had ſought to wearie out with a lingring Warre.

Xenoph.Cyropæd.l.1.

Xenoph. Cyropæd.l.8.

This happened after the death of *Aſtyages*, who left the World in the nineteenth yeere of *Euilmerodach*, at which time *Amaſis* tooke poſſeſſion of *Ægypt*. So that the *Aſſyrian* hauing his hands, already full of buſineſſe, which more earneſtly did affect him, ſeems thereby to haue giuen the better meanes vnto the *Ægyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long diſtance of place did ſundry times finde occaſion to rebell in after-ages, and ſet vp a King within it ſelfe, againſt the far more mightie *Perſian*.

The iſſue of theſe great preparations made by *Euilmerodach* againſt the *Medes*, was ſuch as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of thoſe prophecies, which were many yeeres before vttered againſt *Babel*, by *Eſay* and *Ieremie*.

For the *Aſſyrians*, and their Confederates, who, truſting in their numbers, thought to haue buried the *Medes* and *Perſians* vnder their thicke ſhowres of arrowes and darts, were encountred with an armie of ſtout and well-trained men, weightily armed for cloſe fight, by whom they were beaten in open battell, wherein *Euilmerodach* was ſlaine. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonoſor* had raiſed and vp-held, being ſhaken and grieuouſly crackt vnder his vnfortunate Sonne, was left to be ſuſtained by his vnworthy Nephew: a man more likely to haue ouerthrowne it, when it was greateſt and ſtrongeſt, than to repaire it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A priuate coniecture of the Author; ſeruing to make good thoſe things, which are cited out of Beroſus, *concerning the Succeſſors of* Euilmerodach, *without wrong to the truth. The qualitie, and death of* Balthaſar.

THough I haue already (as it ſeemes to me) ſufficiently proued that *Balthaſar* was the Sonne, and immediate Succeſſour to *Euilmerodach*, yet conſidering earneſtly the coniectures of thoſe Writers, which following *Beroſus*, inſert *Nigliſar*, or *Niriguſſoroor*, and his ſonne *Labaſſardach* betweene them: as alſo that which I finde in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queene of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that Citie; I haue thought it not ſuperfluous here in this place to ſhew, by what meanes it was poſſible that ſome errour might haue crept into the Hiſtorie of thoſe times, and thereby haue brought vs to a needeleſſe trouble of ſearching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the vncertaine fragments of loſt Authors, which we might haue found by day-light, had we adhered onely to the Scriptures. Firſt, therefore I obſerue, that the time which *Beroſus* diuides betwixt *Euilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the yeeres in which *Nebuchadnezzar* liued wilde among brute beaſts in the open field: Secondly, that the ſuddaineneſſe of this accident, which came in one houre, could not but worke much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtleſſe the honour of ſo noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitie pittied, and his reſtitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clauſe which promiſed his recouerie, as being verified in that which had bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reaſon iudge, what courſe was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for ſetling the gouernement, whileſt the King was thus diſtracted, we ſhall finde it moſt likely, that his Sonne and Heire did occupie the royall Throne, with condition to reſtore it vnto his Father, when God ſhould enable him to repoſſeſſe it. In this his rule *Euilmerodach* being to ſupply the vtter want of vnderſtanding in his Father, as *Protectors* doe the vnripeneſſe of it in young, but reaſonable Kings, might eaſily either commit the inſolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to ſuch an office. That he had in him very ſmall ability of gouernment, it appeares by his ill maintaining the Empire, when he held it in his owne right. That his Siſter *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his ſiſter) was a woman of an high ſpirit, it appeares by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, ſaying that ſhe was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and vſefull workes about the Riuer of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* againſt the *Medes*, who had gotten many Townes from the *Aſſyrians*, and amongſt them *Niniuie*. Wherefore it were not vnreaſonable to thinke, that ſuch a woman, ſeeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers miſgouernment, vſed practices to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leaue it vnto her vngracious ſonne. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could haue reigned, we doe not finde; but we finde in *Beroſus* (as *Ioſephus* hath cited him) that *Nigliſſar*, who got the Kingdome from *Euilmerodach*, was his ſiſters husband;

Herod. l. 1.

husband; which argues this to haue beene the ſame woman. As for *Labaſſardach* the ſon of *Nigliſſar*, if at the end of nine Moneths reigne he were for his lewd conditions ſlaine by the Nobilitie, as the ſame *Beroſus* reporteth, it ſeemes that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzars* reſtitution (whoſe tearme of puniſhment was then expired) by raiſing ſuch trouble, as ſhould make him the more deſired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here vſe many words to confute that which *Beroſus* hath further ſet downe of *Euilmerodach*, telling vs that he was ſlaine by his ſiſters husband: for the plaine words of the Scripture, named the yeere wherein he gaue liberty to *Iechonia*, doe plainly teſtifie that he out-liued the three or foure and fortieth yeere of his Fathers reigne, which was the laſt of his life.

This may ſuffice to ſhew, that they who are ſaid to haue ſucceeded *Euilmerodach* in the Kingdome, might indeede haue ſo done, though not when he held it in his owne right. Of *Balthaſar*, who was his Sonne & Heire, we finde, that he had ſuch conditions, as God permitted to be in a King for the ruine of the people. He was from his young yeeres of a miſchieuous nature; hauing in his Fathers time ſlaine a Noble yong man that ſhould haue married his ſiſter, onely for ſpight and enuie to ſee him kill two wilde beaſts in hunting, at which himſelfe hauing throwne his Iaueline had miſſed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, becauſe a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, ſaid it were a happy woman that ſhould be his wife. Such barbarous vilanies cauſed many which had loued his Father (as a good and gracious, though vnfortunate Prince) to reuolt from him vnto the enemie as ſoone as he was King. Neither doe I finde that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a Coward and a Foole he loſt all; ſitting ſtill, and not once daring to giue battell to them that daily tooke ſomewhat from him: Yet careleſly feaſting when danger had hemmed him in on euery ſide, and when death arreſted him by the hands of thoſe whom he had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was baſe and miſerable; for he died as a foole taken in vnexcuſable ſecurity, yet had not that happineſſe, ſuch as it is, of a death free from apprehenſion of feare, but was terrified with a dreadfull viſion; which had ſhewed his ruine not in many houres before, euen whileſt he was drinking in that wine, which the ſwords of his inſulting enemies drew out of him, together with his lateſt bloud. It is therefore in this place enough to ſay of him, That after a diſhonourable reigne of ſeauenteene yeeres, he periſhed like a beaſt, and was ſlaine as he deſerued. The reſt that concerneth him in queſtion of his time, hath beene ſpoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, ſhall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whoſe ſtorie that of *Balthaſar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the originall and firſt greatneſſe of the Perſians.

§. I.

That the Medes were chiefe actors in the ſubuerſion of the Babylonian Empire.

THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguiſhed in *Balthaſar*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Aſſyria*, was ioyned firſt to that of *Media*, which then was gouerned by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Aſſyria* and of *Media* it ſelfe.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings beſides himſelfe, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metaſthenes*. Theſe two Prouinciall Gouernours hauing cut downe the laſt branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, diuided betweene them the Eaſterne Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the laſt of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two yeeres after that the line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthaſar*; the Dominions aſwell of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Familie, namely, to *Cyrus* of the houſe of *Achæmenes*, the Princes of which bloud reigning in *Perſia*, had formerly beene dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Family of the *Achæmenes*, and Line of the *Perſian* Kings, we ſhall hereafter find occaſion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* deſcended from *Madai* the third ſonne of *Iaphet*; that they had Kings ſoone after the floud, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* haue found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaſpes*, and *Diodore* ſpeaketh of *Pharnus* with his ſeauen ſonnes, ſlaine by the *Aſſyrian* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of theſe who ſucceeded *Arbaces* the firſt, that freed his Nation from the *Aſſyrians*, I take the liſt and number from *Euſebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I haue ſpoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are theſe.

	Who reigned
Arbaces.	28. yeeres.
Soſarmus.	30. yeeres.
Medidus.	40. yeeres.
Cardiceas.	13. yeeres.
Diocles.	53. yeeres.
Phraortes.	24. yeeres.
Cyaxares.	32. yeeres.
Aſtyages.	38. yeeres.
Darius Medus.	

And though the *Greekes* aſcribe the conqueſt of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach vs, that *Darius* was not onely King of *Media*, and had the *Perſians* his followers, but that the Armie victorious ouer *Balthazar* was his; as the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire alſo was during his owne life. For we finde in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the *Medes* tooke the Kingdome being threeſcore and two yeeres old: And further, what Officers it pleaſed him to ſet ouer the Kingdome. And ſo was it prophecied by *Iſay* long before: *Behold, I will ſtirre vp the Medes againſt them, &c.* Ca.13.v.17. 51 v.11.& 28. And by Ieremie; *The Lord hath raiſed vp the Spirit of the King of the Medes: for his purpoſe is againſt Babel to deſtroy it*; and in the eight and twentieth Verſe, *Prepare againſt her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.* Theſe Scriptures *Iulius Affricanus* doth well open, who taking authority from *Diodore*, *Caſtor*, *Thallus*, and others, deliuereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to reigne, which alſo agreeth with *Strabo*, where he ſaith, That as the *Medes* were ſubiugated by the *Perſians*, ſo before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians* were maſtered by the *Medes*. Lib.16. And therefore the reports of *Iuſtine*, and *Herodotus*, are not to be receiued, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

§. II.

By what meanes the Empire was tranſlated from the Medes to the Perſians.

HOw the Kingdome of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not ſufficiently cleared by Hiſtorians, but rather their different relations of his beginnings haue bred the former opinion of thoſe who giue the conqueſt of *Babel* to the *Perſian* onely. For ſome there are who denie that *Aſtyages* had any other Succeſſour than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Cteſias* on the contrary ſide affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way deſcended from *Aſtyages* (whom he calleth *Aſtigas* or *Apania*) but onely that hauing vanquiſhed him in battaile, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amytis*. But I finde the relations of *Cteſias* often cited and ſeldome followed, and himſelfe ſometimes very iuſtly reproued of wilfull vntruth.

Viginier a diligent and learned Hiſtorian of this age, produceth many probable reaſons that *Aſtyages* had no ſuch ſonne as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirme his opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore*, *Iuſtine*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Iſocrates*, and before them *Caſtor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*, who doe not finde any ſuch Succeſſor. Neither doe *Tatianus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Iulius Affricanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Iuſtine Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, S. *Hierome*, or S. *Auguſtine*, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath giuen other Son or Succeſſour to *Aſtyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet ſeeing that this manner of argument *ab authoritate negatiuè*, doth neuer inforce conſent; we may be the bolder (all this great liſt of noble Writers by him alleaged notwithſtanding) to affirme that either *Aſtyages* himſelfe muſt haue beene *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the courſe of time; Or elſe to giue him ſome other Succeſſour, according to *Ioſephus* and *Xenophon*, the ſame whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifeſt, and without diſpute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chiefe, and was abſolute Lord of that Conqueſt, *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lieutenant of his Armie, and ſubiect to his authoritie; The ſtrength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, with other the Vaſſals of *Darius*, being ioyned together to compound it.

Zon l.1.c.19.
Ioſ.an.l.10 c.13
Xen.l.8.Pæd.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victorie ouer *Babylon* was wholly giuen to *Cyrus*, who was the inſtrument preordained and forenamed by God himſelfe, for this action, but for the deliuery of his Church; a greater worke not onely in the eyes of God, than the ſubuerſion of any State or Monarchie, how powerfull ſoeuer.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers imployed in that ſeruice did rather aſcribe the glory to him that was the beſt man of Warre, than to the *Median*, who was greateſt in riches and power. All which alſo falling vpon *Cyrus* by ſucceſſion, and continuing in his poſteritie, did much augment the fame of his vertue, which among prophane Hiſtorians ouergrew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both becauſe he was old, and did nothing in perſon; as alſo becauſe he ſoone after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was poſſeſt of whatſoeuer belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any ſuch King or Conqueror was carried farre off.

And for the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, they tooke all things from the relation of the *Perſians*, who gaue to *Cyrus* all the praiſe of a moſt excellent Prince, making none his equall. Onely *Daniel* in the firſt, fiſt, and ſixt Chapters of his prophecies, makes it plaine, that himſelfe not onely liued a great Officer vnder King *Darius*, but that he continued in that eſtate to the firſt of *Cyrus*; which being the yere of *Daniels* death, could not haue beene diſtinguiſhed from the reigne of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned ioyntly; Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdome by *Cyrus* permiſſion, conſidering that *Cyrus* began after him.

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§ III.

Xenophons *relation of the Warre with the Medes and Perſians, made with ioynt forces vpon the Aſſyrians, and others.*

THeſe Teſtimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, yet made more open to our vnderſtanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of theſe wars: The cauſe whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Aſſyrian* had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries, he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought vnder his ſubiection, there ſhould not then bee left any Nation adioyning able to make head againſt him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threeſcore thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, to which the forces of *Perſia* being ioyned, made an exceeding ſtrong Armie.

The *Aſſyrian* conſidering the ſtrength of ſuch a Neighbour, inuited *Crœſus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in men and treaſure, and with him other Lords of *Aſia* the leſſe to his aſſiſtance, alleaging that thoſe Eaſterne Nations were very powerfull, and ſo firmely conioyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be eaſie, no not poſſible, for any one Nation to reſiſt them. With theſe incitements, and ſtrengthened with great preſents, he drew to himſelfe ſo many adherents, as he compounded an Armie of two hundred thouſand foot, and threeſcore thouſand horſe; of which, tenne thouſand horſe, and fortie thouſand foot were ledde by *Crœſus*, who had great cauſe of enmitie with the *Medes*, in regard of the Warre made by them againſt his Father *Alyattes*; But this great Armie was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* Generall of the *Perſian* forces, vtterly broken; Vpon which defeat the *Aſſyrian* King being alſo ſlaine, ſo many of the *Aſſyrians* reuolted, as *Babylon* it ſelfe could not longer bee aſſured without the ſuccours of Mercenaries, waged with great ſummes of money out of *Aſia* the leſſe, *Ægypt*, and elſewhere. Which new gathered forces were alſo ſcattered by *Cyrus*, who following his aduantage, poſſeſt himſelfe of a great part of the leſſer *Aſia*; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Crœſus* himſelfe was alſo made priſoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following ſoone after, the Armie lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his ſiſters ſon, preuailed againſt *Balthaſar*, as in due time ſhall be ſet downe.

Thoſe *Perſians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him leuied, are numbred thirtie thouſand foot-men, of which a thouſand were armed Gentlemen, the reſt of the common ſort were Archers, or ſuch as vſed the Dart or Sling. So farre *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he deſcribed in *Cyrus* the patterne of a moſt Heroicall Prince, with much poeticall addition: So it cannot be denyed, but that the bulke and groſſe of his Narration was founded vpon meere Hiſtoricall truth.

Neither can it indeede be affirmed of any the like Writers, that in euery ſpeech and circumſtance he hath preciſely tyed himſelfe to the phraſe of the ſpeaker, or nature of the occaſion, but borrowed in each out of his owne inuention, appropriating the ſame to the times and perſons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politique diſcourſe, and examining but the Hiſtorie of things done, it will eaſily appeare, that *Xenophon* hath handled his vnder-taken ſubiect in ſuch ſort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any ſort corrupted the body.

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§. IIII.

The eſtate of the Medes and Perſians in times fore-going this great warre.

FOr it is commonly agreed vpon, that *Achæmenes* the ſonne of *Perſes* being Gouernour of *Perſia*, did aſſociate himſelfe with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media* in that rebellion againſt *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victorie obtained, held for himſelfe the Dominion of thoſe Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the *Aſſyrians*; as alſo that they conueyed ouer the ſame honour and power to their poſteritie; which in *Media* was not abſolutely Regall, but with ſome reſtraint limited, vntill ſuch time as *Deioces* tooke vpon him the full authoritie and maieſtie of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reigne of *Deioces*, are vſually accounted about an hundred and forty yeeres, in the laſt ſixtie whereof there reigned in *Aſſyria* mighty Princes, namely, *Salmanaſſar* and his Succeſſours, whoſe great atchieuements in *Syria* and elſewhere, witneſſe, that the *Medes* and *Perſians* found it not for their aduantage to vndertake any offenſiue warre againſt thoſe victorious Kings, it being alſo probable that the league continued as yet betweene theſe the ſucceſſours of *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly ſhared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the firſt of *Aſtyages*, there paſt aboue ninetie yeeres, in which if *Herodotus* haue written truely, that *Phraortes* conquered *Perſia*, and how he and other Kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their dominions, and commanded many parts of *Aſia*, it had beene but an vnaduiſed enterpriſe of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, to haue waſted themſelues againſt the *Syrians* and *Ægyptians*, leauing ſo able and victorious a Nation on their backes. But that the *Medes* had done nothing vpon the South parts of *Perſia*; and that the *Perſians* themſelues were not maſters of *Suſiana* in *Nabuchodonoſors* time, it is manifeſt in *Daniel*, who was then Gouernour for the *Babylonian* in *Suſa* or *Suſan*, the chiefe Citie thereof. It is true indeede, that the *Medians*, either vnder *Cyaxares* or *Aſtyages*, or both, had quarrell with *Halyattes* the father of *Crœſus*, which after ſome ſixe yeeres diſpute was compounded.

How the affaires of *Perſia* ſtood in ſo many ages, I doe not finde any memory. It ſeemeth that the roughneſſe of the mountainous Countrey which they then poſſeſt, with the confederacie which they continued with the *Medes*, gaue them more ſecurity than fame: For if their Kings, being the poſteritie of *Achæmenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatneſſe which they afterward obtained would not haue ſuffered any forgetfulneſſe thereof. But as we finde all *Xenophons* reports, both of theſe Warres and the ſtate of thoſe Countries to be very conſonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, ſo it appeares, that the race of *Achæmenes* held the Principalitie of *Perſia* from Father to Sonne for many deſcents. And therefore we may better giue credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyſes* the father of *Cyrus* was King of *Perſia*: than to thoſe that make him a meane man, and ſay, that *Aſtiages* gaue him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her ſon (whoſe natiuity he feared) might be diſabled from any great vndertaking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cauſe of griefe could it be to *Aſtiages*, that the ſonne of his daughter ſhould become Lord of the beſt part of *Aſia*? No; it was more likely, that vpon ſuch a Prophecie his loue to his grand-childe ſhould haue encreaſed, and his care beene the greater to haue married her to ſome Prince of ſtrength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the ſame *Herodotus*, who is the firſt Author, and as I thinke the deuiſer of the miſchiefe intended againſt *Cyrus* by his Grandfather, doth confeſſe, That the line of the *Achæmenidæ* was ſo renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his proſperitie did thence deriue himſelfe, and vaunt of it: which hee would neuer haue done, had they beene ignoble, nor had they beene the vaſſals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this ſort *Xerxes* in the ſeauenth of *Herodotus* deriueth himſelfe.

Achæmenes.
Cambyſes.
Cyrus.

Teiſpeus.
Ariaramnes.
Arſamnes.

Hyſtaſpes.
Darius.
Xerxes.

Of the *Achæmenidæ* there were two races: of the firſt was *Cyrus* the great, whoſe iſſue male failed in his two ſonnes, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. This royall family is thus ſet downe by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achæmenes, the ſonne of *Perſes*, firſt King of *Perſia*.
Darius.
Cyrus, the firſt of that name, had *Cambyſes* and *Atoſſa*; who married to
Pharnaces, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artyſtona* and other daughters.
Cambyſes had
Cyrus the Great, *Cyrus* had
Cambyſes, who ſucceeded him, and *Smerdis* ſlaine by his brother *Cambyſes*.

Of the ſecond were thoſe ſeauen great Princes of *Perſia*, who hauing ouerthrowne the vſurped royalty of the *Magi*, choſe from among themſelues *Darius* the ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes* King.

This Kingdome of *Perſia* was firſt knowne by the name of *Elam*, ſo called after *Elam* the ſonne of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamitæ*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Ioſephus*, *Elymi*.

Euſe.l 6 c.8.de Præp. Euang.

Suidas deriues this Nation ſometimes from *Aſſur*, ſometime from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Maguſæi*; which *Maguſæi*, according to *Euſebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for thoſe who were afterward called the *Magi* or Wiſe men. So doe the *Greekes*, among many other their ſayings of them, affirme, That the *Perſians* were anciently written *Artæi*, & that they called themſelues *Cephenes*. But that they were *Elamitæ*, *Moſes* and the Prophets, *Eſay*, *Ieremie*, *Ezechiel*, *Daniel* and *Eſdras* in many places confirme: Which alſo S. *Hierome* vpon *Ieremie* the fiue and twentieth, vpon *Daniel* the eight, and alſo in his Hebrew queſtions approoueth, ſaying: *Elam à quo Elamitæ Principes Perſidis*; Elam, *of whom were the Elamites Princes of Perſia*.

Gen.10.
Eſay 11.21.22.
Ier.25.& 29.
Ezech.32.
Dan.8.
Eſd.4.

2 Mac.9.
1 Mac.6.

And that Citie which the Author of the ſecond booke of the *Maccabees* calleth *Perſepolis*, is by the Author of the firſt called *Elimais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the ſame which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vaine, and to his great diſhonour. And yet this Citie, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Perſepolis*; for *Alexander*, at the requeſt of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The firſt King of *Perſia* to vs knowne, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the foureteenth chapter of *Geneſis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who liued with *Amraphel* or *Ninias*, and ioyned with him in the warre againſt thoſe *Arabians*; who was afterward extinguiſhed by the forces of *Abraham*.

CHAP.

Chap. III.

Of Cyrus.

§. I.

Of Cyrus *his name, and firſt actions.*

AS touching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* ſaith, That the ſame was taken from a Riuer which watereth *Perſia*; this great Prince hauing *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the firſt of that name. *Herodotus* otherwiſe; and that *Cyrus* ſignifieth a father in the *Perſian* Tongue, and therefore ſo intituled by the people. *Strab.l.15.*

It is true that for his Iuſtice and other excellent vertues he was indeede called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any ſuch ſignification, I thinke it be miſtaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to ſay as the Sunne, in the ſame Language. Howſoeuer it be, yet the Prophet *Eſay*, almoſt two hundred yeeres before *Cyrus* was borne, giues him that name, *Thus ſaith the Lord vnto* Cyrus, *his Annointed, &c.* *Plut.in vit. Artax.*

Before the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conqueſt of *Lydia*, and other Prouinces thereto ſubiect, together with the taking of *Crœſus* himſelfe, are not recounted by *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, and others, but placed among his latter atchiuements: whoſe opinion for this difference of time is founded vpon two reaſons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in that laſt warre againſt *Crœſus*: and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad, and the glorious victory which *Cyrus* had ouer *Babylon*, to the fiue and fiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might haue beene vſed (and was by the *Greekes*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honor of hauing won *Babylon* it ſelfe, which in due place I haue anſwered. The latter ſeemes to haue reference to the ſecond Warre which *Cyrus* made vpon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he ſo eſtabliſhed his former Conqueſt, as after that time theſe Nations neuer offered to reuolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleeue with *Herodotus*, whom the moſt of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterpriſe of *Sardis* to præcede that of *Babylon*.

§ II.

Of Crœſus *the King of Lydia, who made warre vpon* Cyrus.

I Haue in the laſt Booke ſpoken ſomewhat of *Crœſus*, of his race and predeceſſors, as alſo of thoſe Kings which gouerned *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the firſt (to prophane Authors knowne) was *Lydus* the ſonne of *Atys*: Which familie extinguiſhed, the Kingdome was by an Oracle conferred vpon *Argon*, deſcended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twentie generations, *Candaules* being the laſt, who by ſhewing his faire Wife naked to *Gyges* his fauorite, he was by the ſame *Gyges* (thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day ſlaine. Which done, *Gyges* enioyed both the Queene and the Kingdome of *Lydia*, and left the ſame to *Atys* his ſonne, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thruſt the *Cimerians* out of *Aſia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Crœſus*: Which fiue Kings, of a third race, enioyed that Kingdome an hundred and ſeauenty yeeres. *Halyattes* the father of *Crœſus* was an vndertaking Prince, and after he had continued a warre againſt *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it ſixe yeeres: a peace was concluded vpon equall conditions betweene them. *Herod. l.1.p.8. 4 & 5.*

Aſtyages, the ſonne of *Cyaxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himſelfe greatly honoured by obtaining *Aryenes*, *Crœſus* ſiſter, whom he married.

But *Crœſus* ſo farre enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territorie to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall ſtrength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Ægyptian* and the *Lydian*: onely *Nabuchodonoſor*, after he had ioyned *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtina*, and *Ægypt* to his *Empire*, had thence-forward no competitor during his owne life.

But *Crœſus*, notwithſtanding the men and treaſure ſpent in the quarrell of the *Babylonians*, he yet maſtred *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Prouinces poſſeſt by the *Greekes* in *Aſia* the leſſe, adioyning to *Lydia*; gaue law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Myſians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he alſo inforſt the *Epheſians* to acknowledge him, notwithſtanding they compaſſed their citie with *Dianaes* girdle, *Herodotus* witneſſeth. Moreouer, *Athenæus* out of *Beroſus* (which alſo *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victory which *Crœſus* obtained againſt the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*; in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yeerely celebrate a Feaſt, which they called *Sacæa*: All which he performed in foureteene yeeres.

Her. l. 5.
Athe. l. 14. c. 17

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and enuious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting alſo, that his proſperous vndertakings might in the end grow perillous to himſelfe, he conſulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom he preſented with maruellous rich gifts, what ſucceſſe he might hope for againſt *Cyrus*, if he vndertooke him: from whom he receiued this riddle; Crœſus *paſſing ouer the Riuer Halys, ſhall diſſolue a great dominion.* For the diuell being doubtfull of the ſucceſſe, payed him with merchandize of both ſides like, and might be inuerted either way to the ruine of *Perſia*, or of his owne *Lydia*.

§. III.

Crœſus *his Expedition againſt* Cyrus.

HEreupon *Crœſus* being reſolued to ſtop the courſe of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, deſpiſed all the arguments vſed by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who deſired him to fore-thinke, That he vrged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a people not couered with the ſoft ſilke of wormes, but with the hard skins of beaſts; not fed with ſuch meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and proſperous; ouer whom if he became victorious, hee could thereby enrich himſelfe in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and ſubiected, ſo great would his loſſe appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the ſame could neither haſtily be told, nor readily conceiued.

Notwithſtanding this ſolide Counſaile, *Crœſus* hauing prepared a powerfull armie, he led the ſame towards *Media*, but in his paſſage, he was arreſted at *Pterium*, a Citie of great ſtrength in *Cappadocia*; which while he ſought by all meanes to ſurpriſe or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in ſtrength or opinion, I doe not finde: for out of doubt, *Crœſus* as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability; ſo was he not vnder any in territorie and fame that then liued.

But as *Cratippus* of Mitylene anſwered *Pompey* when he complained againſt the gods, becauſe they fauoured a diſturber and vſurper of the Common-weale againſt him who fought for the Romane liberty, That Kingdomes and Commonweales had their encreaſe and period from diuine Ordinance: ſo at this time was the Winter of *Crœſus* proſperity at hand, the leaues of his flouriſhing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and firſt ſpring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis Herdman*, *Apollo*, had giuen date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When theſe two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainement of diuers skirmiſhes, the *Perſians* and *Lydians* began to ioyne in groſſe troupes: ſupplies from both *Kings* thruſt on vpon the falling off, and aduancement of eitheir Nations: and as the *Perſians* had ſomewhat the better of the day, ſo when the darke vaile of night had hidden each armie from the others view, *Crœſus* doubting what ſucceſſe the riſing Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all ſpeede poſſible retyred, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recouered *Sardis* his firſt Citie and Regall Seat, without any purſuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arriued, and nothing ſuſpecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other warre for that Winter, hee diſmiſſed the ſouldiors, and ſent the troupes of his ſundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to re-aſſemble at the end of fiue moneths, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

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§. IIII.

The Conqueſt of Lydia by Cyrus.

CYrus in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his armie in order to purſue them, yet not ſo haſtily, and at their heeles, as to be diſcouered. But hauing good intelligence of *Crœſus* his proceeding, he ſo meaſured his marches, as he preſented not himſelfe before *Sardis*, till ſuch time as *Crœſus* had diſpoſed his armie to their Wintring garriſons: which being altogether vnlooked for, and vnfeared, hee ſurrounded *Sardis* with his Armie: Wherein *Crœſus* hauing no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Gards, after fourteene dayes ſiege the ſame was entred by aſſault, and all executed that reſiſted. *Crœſus* hauing now neither armes to fight, nor wings to flye, *Sardis* being on all parts ſtrongly encompaſſed, thruſt himſelfe into the heape and miſerable multitude of his vaſſals, and had vndergone the common fortune of common perſons vanquiſhed, had not a ſonne of his, who had beene dumbe all his life (by extremitie of paſſion and feare enabled) cried out to the ſouldiers to ſpare *Crœſus*. Who thereupon being taken and impriſoned, deſpoyled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and ſet on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be conſumed to aſhes thereon. To which when the fire was ſet and kindled, remembring the diſcourſe which hee had with the Athenian Law-giuer, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon:* and being demanded what he meant by that inuocation, he firſt vſed ſilence: but vrged againe, he told them, That hee had now found it true which *Solon* had long ſince told him, That many men in the race and courſes of their liues might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could diſcerne himſelfe for happy indeed, till his end.

In communi calamitate ſuam quiſque habet fortunam, Curt.

Memoriã metus perimit: timor vocis eſt incitamentum, &c. Solin.c.7.

Homo qui in homine calamitoſo miſericors eſt, meminit ſui, Caſſ.

Of which anſwere *Cyrus* being ſpeedily informed, remembring the changes of fortune and his owne mortalitie, hee commanded his miniſters of Iuſtice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to ſaue *Crœſus*, and to conduct him to his preſence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perſwaded him? Or what ſelfe reaſon had conducted him to inuade his territory, and to make him of a friend an enemie? To whom he thus anſwered; It was thy proſperous, and my vnproſperous deſtinie (the *Græcian* god flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inuenters and conductors of *Crœſus* warre againſt *Cyrus*.

Cyrus being pierſt with *Crœſus* anſwer, & bewailing his eſtate, though victorious ouer it, did not only ſpare his life, but entertained him euer after as a King and his companion, ſhewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Quæ non cauſam ſed fortunam ſpectat.*

And herein is the reall difference diſcerned between that behauiour which we call *Beneficium latronis, & gratiam Principis*: A theefe ſometime ſparing the life of him which is in his power, but vniuſtly: A King that giueth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cauſe and author of his owne euill.

The report made by *Xenophon* is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertaine *Crœſus* at the firſt ſight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* deliuers, and is here already ſet downe, that hee ſhould haue beene burnt aliue. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroycall Prince, thought an intent ſo cruell, fitter to bee forgotten than rehearſed, as too much miſ-beſeeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neereneſſe of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had hee beene otherwiſe vicious) from ſo cruell a purpoſe againſt his grandmothers brother. Howſoeuer it was, the Morall part of the Storie hath giuen much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it paſſe for currant, though the truſt repoſed in *Crœſus* afterwards may ſeeme to argue, that *Cyrus* did not vſe him inhumanely at the firſt.

For as *Herodotus* himſelfe telleth vs, when *Cyrus* paſt with his Armie ouer *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Crœſus* to accompanie and aduiſe his ſonne *Cambyſes*, Gouernour of the Empire in his abſence, with whom he liued all the time of *Cyrus*, & did afterward follow

Cambyſes into *Ægypt*, where he hardly eſcaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greateſt Kings in that part of the world tooke end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians* and *Lydians*; in *Balthaſar*, *Cyaxares*, *and Crœſus*.

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§. V.

How Cyrus *wonne Babylon.*

AFter this *Lydian* warre enſued the great Conqueſt of *Babylon*, which gaue vnto *Cyrus* an Empire ſo large and mighty, that he was iuſtly reputed the greateſt Monarch then liuing vpon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action tooke vp, it is vncertaine; onely it ſeemes, that tenne whole yeeres did paſſe betweene his taking thoſe two Cities of *Sardes* and *Babylon*, which neuertheleſſe I doe not thinke to haue beene wholly occupied in prouiſion for the *Aſſyrian* warre, but rather to haue beene ſpent in ſetling the Eſtate which hee had already purchaſed. And heereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Cteſias* hath in his fragments of a warre made by *Cyrus* vpon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victorie obtained againſt *Crœſus*. He telleth vs, That *Cyrus* inuaded *Scythia*, and being victorious ouer that Nation, took *Amorges* their King priſoner: but being in a ſecond battel ouerthrowne by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, & therein taken, the one King was deliuered for the other.

Likewiſe it may be thought, that no ſmall part of thoſe troubles which aroſe in the lower *Aſia*, grew ſoone after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conqueſt was fully eſtabliſhed.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Aſia* the leſſe, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Crœſus*, and now by *Cyrus*, reuolted from him; againſt whom he imployed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who firſt reduced the *Phocians* vnder their former obedience: and then the reſt of the *Greekes* inhabiting *Aſia* the leſſe, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who reſoluedly (according to the ſtrength they had) defended themſelues. But in the attempt vpon *Babylon* it ſelf, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed al his forces, hauing taken order before-hand, that nothing ſhould be able to diuert him, or to raiſe that ſiege, and make fruſtrate the worke vpon which he did ſet all his reſt. And great reaſon there was, that he ſhould bend all his care and ſtrength vnto the taking of that Citie, which beſide the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was ſo ſtrongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, & ſurrounded with waters vnfoordable, ſo plentifully victualled for many yeeres, that the inhabitants were not onely free from all doubt and feare of their eſtate, but deſpiſed and derided all purpoſes and power of their beſiegers.

The onely hope of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, who deſpaired of carrying by aſſault a Citie ſo well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all ſupplies of victuals and other neceſſaries; whereof though the Towne was ſaid to bee ſtored ſufficiently for more than twenty yeres, yet might it well be deemed, that in ſuch a world of people as dwelt within thoſe gates, one great want or other would ſoone appeare, and vanquiſh the reſolution of that vnwarlike multitude. In expecting the ſucceſſe of this courſe, the beſiegers were likely to endure much trauell, and all in vaine, if they did not keepe ſtreight watch and ſtrong guards vpon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vaſt circuit of thoſe walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men ſufficiently aſſured vnto their Commander: The conſideration whereof miniſtred vnto the *Babylonians* matter of good paſtime, when they ſaw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Towne to keepe them in, who hauing beene their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to ioyne with them, if occaſion were offered, than to vſe much diligence on the behalfe of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yeſterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoake of ſeruitude. Whileſt the beſieged were pleaſing themſelues in this deceitfull and vaine gladneſſe, that is the ordinarie fore-runner of ſuddaine calamitie; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made ſtrong, conſtant, and inuentiue, deuiſed by ſo many channels and trenches as were ſufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, and ſo to draw the ſame from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and aſſured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed,

Xenoph. Cyroped. lib. 7.

he ſtayed the time of his aduantage for the execution: for he had left certaine bankes or heads vncut, betweene the maine riuer which ſurrounded the Citie, and his owne Trenches.

Now *Balthaſar*, finding neither any want or weakeneſſe within, nor any poſſibilitie of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding ſumptuous feaſt, publike Plaies and other Paſtimes, and thereto inuited a thouſand of his Princes or Nobilitie, beſides his wiues, curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the beſiegers know, that his prouiſions were either ſufficient, not onely for all needefull vſes, but euen for iolitie and exceſſe: Or becauſe he hoped that his enemies, vnder the burthen of many diſtreſſes were well neere broken, or in honour of *Bel* his moſt reuerenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all theſe reſpects. And he was not contented with ſuch magnificence as no Prince elſe could equal, but (vſing *Daniels* words) *he lifted himſelfe vp againſt the Lord of Heauen*: For he and his Princes, wiues and concubines, made carowſing cups of the Veſſels of God, in contempt of whom he praiſed his owne puppets, made of Siluer and Gold, of Braſſe, Iron, Wood, and Stone, *Quanta fuit ſtultitia in vaſibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos Deos laudare; How great a fooliſhneſſe was it* (ſaith S. *Hierome,*) *drinking in golden Cups, to praiſe gods of wood and Stone.* While *Balthaſar* was in this ſort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, hee beheld a hand, which by diuine power wrote on the wall oppoſite vnto him certaine words which he vnderſtood not: wherewith ſo great a feare and amazement ſeized him, as the ioynts of his loynes were looſed, and his knees ſmote one againſt the other. Which paſſion when he had in ſome part recouered, he cried out for his *Caldeans*, *Aſtrologians*, and *Southſayers*, promiſing them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdome to him that could reade and expound the writing; but it exceeded their Art. In this diſturbance and aſtoniſhment the Queene hearing what had paſt, and of the Kings amazement, after reuerence done, vſed this ſpeech: *There is a man in thy Kingdome, in whom is the ſpirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and vnderſtanding and wiſedome, like the wiſedome of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King Nabuchodonoſor thy father, the King (I ſay) thy father made chiefe of the Inchanters, Aſtrologians, Chaldeans, and Southſayers, becauſe a more excellent ſpirit, and knowledge, and vnderſtanding, &c. were found in him, euen in* Daniel, *&c. Now let* Daniel *be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

Dan. v. v. 6.

This Queene, *Ioſephus* takes for the grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret* for the mother of *Balthaſar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that ſhe was not any of the Kings wiues, becauſe abſent from the feaſt; and being paſt the age of dancing and banqueting, ſhe came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his diſtraction: and whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger yeeres and times, this old Queene remembred well what hee had done in the daies of *Nabuchodonoſor*, grandfather to this *Balthaſar*, and kept in minde both his religion and diuine gifts.

Orig. & Theo. in Dan. Ioſeph. Ant. 10.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings preſence, who acknowledged thoſe excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promiſes of reward and honour, to reade and interprete thoſe words miraculouſly written; to whom *Daniel* made anſwere in a farre different ſtyle from that he vſed towards his Grandfather: for the euill which he foretold *Nabuchodonoſor*, he wiſhed that the ſame might befall his enemies, but to this King (whoſe neglect of God and vice he hated) he anſwered in theſe words, *Keepe thy rewards to thy ſelfe, and giue thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing vnto the King, and ſhew him the interpretation*: Which before he had performed, he gaue him firſt the cauſe of Gods iuſt iudgement againſt him, and the reaſon of this terrible ſentence; whereof the King and all his Wiſe men were vtterly ignorant: Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodneſſe to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of thoſe benefits, as he depriued him of his eſtate and vnderſtanding; ſo vpon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power he reſtored him to both. This King notwithſtanding lifted himſelfe vp againſt the ſame God, and preſuming both to abuſe thoſe veſſels dedicated to holy vſes, and neglecting the Lord of all power; praiſed and worſhipped the dead Idols of Gold, Siluer, Braſſe, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore thoſe words, from the Oracle of a true God deliuered, (to wit) *Mene Tekel, Vpharſin*,

Dan. 5. v. v. 18, 19. 20.

gaue the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his Kingdom, and finiſhed it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods iuſtice, and found too light; and that his Empire was diuided and giuen to the *Medes* and *Perſians*.

The very euening or night of this day, wherein *Balthaſar* feaſted and periſhed, *Cyrus* either by his eſpiall, according to *Xenophon*, or inſpired by God himſelfe, whoſe enſigne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no leſſe filled with the vapors of wine, than their hearts with the feare of Gods iudgement, he cauſed all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut downe with that diligence, as by them hee drew the great Riuer of *Euphrates* drie for the preſent, by whoſe channell running, his armie made their entrance, finding none to diſturbe them. All the Towne lay buried (as the Poet ſaith) in ſleepe and wine: ſuch as came in the *Perſians* way, were put to the ſword, vnleſſe they ſaued themſelues by flight, as ſome did, who ranne away crying, and filling the ſtreets with an vncertaine tumult.

Such *Aſſyrian* Lords as had reuolted from *Balthazar*, and betakem themſelues to the partie of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a ſelected companie to the King Palaces; which hauing eaſily forced, they ruſhed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banqueting, ſlew both him and them without any mercie, who ſtrugled in vaine to keepe thoſe liues which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the prophecie of *Ieremie* fulfilled, and that of *Eſay*, two hundred yeeres before this ſubuerſion, who in his ſeuen and fortieth Chapter, and elſewhere, writeth this deſtruction ſo feelingly and liuely, as if he had beene preſent both at the terrible ſlaughter there committed, and had ſeene the great and vnfeared change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had alſo heard the ſorrowes and bewailings of euery ſuruiuing ſoule thereunto ſubiect. His propheſie of this place he beginneth in theſe words: *Come downe, and ſit in the duſt, O virgine daughter of Babel: ſit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And againe, *Sit ſtill and get thee into darkeneſſe, O daughter of the Chaldæans, for thou ſhalt no more be called the Ladie of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God vſed *Nabuchodonoſor* and the *Chaldæans*, to puniſh the idolatrie of the *Iudæans*, yet *Eſay* teacheth vs in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his iudgements was mixt with a rigorous extremitie. For (ſaith *Eſay*) in the perſon of God, *I was wroth with my people, I haue polluted mine inheritance, and giuen them into thine hand: thou didſt ſhew them no mercie, but thou didſt lay thy very heauie yoke vpon the ancient. I will riſe vp againſt them, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the ſonne and the nephew.* And in the thirteenth, *Euery one that is found, ſhall be ſtriken thorow: and whoſoeuer ioyneth himſelfe, ſhall fall by the ſword, their children alſo ſhall be broken in peeces before their eyes, their houſes ſpoyled, and their wiues rauiſhed.* So as there is no Hiſtorian who was either preſent at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that receiued the report from others truely as it was, that could better leaue the ſame to poſteritie after it happened, than *Eſay* hath done in many places of his prophecies, which were written two hundred yeeres before any thing attempted.

Ier. c. 27.
Eſa. c. 47.

Cap. 47.

Iſai. 14.
To wit, *Euilmerodach* and *Balthaſar.*

The greatneſſe and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by diuers graue Authors ſet downe, might ſeeme altogether fabulous: for beſides the reports of Saint *Hierome*, *Solinus*, and *Oroſius*, *Ariſtotle* in the third of his *Politikes*, the ſecond Chapter, receiued the report for true, That one part of the Citie knew not that the reſt was taken three daies after. Which is not impoſſible, if the teſtimonie of *Diodorus Siculus* may bee taken; who findes the compaſſe thereof at three hundred and threeſcore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes fiue and fortie miles: the walls whereof had ſo great a breadth, that ſixe chariots might paſſe in front thereon. And of height, according to *Cteſias* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threeſcore and fiue foot, garniſhed with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his ſixteenth Booke of Geographie giues it a greater circuit, adding fiue and twenty furlongs more to the former compaſſe, reckoning the ſame at three hundred foureſcore and fiue furlongs, which makes eight and forty mile and one furlong: but finds the wall farre vnder that which *Diodore* reports: and ſo doth *Curtius* meaſure their thickeneſſe but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hundred cubits; which is alſo very much: euery cubite containing a foot and halfe of the large meaſure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie he giues the ſame with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* findes a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, foure hundred

Diod. l. 3.

dred and foureſcore furlongs circle; the thickeneſſe of the wall he meaſures at fiftie cubits, and the height at two hundred of the ſame regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Braſſe, with poſts and hookes to hang them on of the ſame mettall: and therefore did the Prophet *Eſay* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princeſſe and glory of Kingdomes.

Her. l. 1.

Eſa. 47. & c. 13.

But when *Cyrus* had wonne her, hee ſtript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a ſlaue, diuiding not onely all her goodly houſes, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers: but beſtowing the inhabitants themſelues as bondſlaues vpon thoſe that had taken poſſeſſion of their goods.

Touching the reigne of *Cyrus*, and the time which hee enioyed in reſt and pleaſure, I can ſay no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to haue laſted onely ſeuen yeeres: in which time he made ſuch Conſtitutions, as differ little from the Ordinances of all wiſe Kings that are deſirous to eſtabliſh a Royall power to themſelues and their poſteritie.

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§. VI.

The end of Cyrus.

THe laſt warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diuerſly written. ***Herodotus*** and ***Iuſtine*** deliuer, That after the Conqueſt of *Aſia* the leſſe, *Cyrus* inuaded the *Maſſagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, gouerned by *Tomyris* their Queene: and that in an incounter betweene the *Perſians* and theſe Northerne *Nomades*, *Tomyris* loſt her Armie, and her Son *Spargapiſes*, that commanded it: In reuenge whereof, this Queene making new leuies of men of Warre, and following the Warre againſt *Cyrus*, in a ſecond battaile beat the *Perſian* Armie, and taking *Cyrus* priſoner, cut off his head from his body, and caſt the ſame into a bolle of bloud, vſing theſe words; *Thou that haſt all thy life time thirſted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and ſatiate thy ſelfe.*

It ſhould heereby ſeeme, that *Cyrus* knowing the ſtrength and multitude of thoſe frozen Nations, was perſwaded to abate their furie by ſome forcible inuaſion and depopulation, becauſe in the time of *Cyaxares*, father to *Aſtyages*, thoſe *Scythians* inuaded *Media* and *Aſia* the leſſe, and held the ſame in a ſeruile ſubiection eight and twentie yeeres.

This warre which *Metaſthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, laſted (ſaith hee) ſixe yeeres, and tooke end at the death of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I beleeue with *Viginer*, that this *Scythian* Warre was rather the ſame which *Cyrus* made againſt the *Sacians*, before the Conqueſt of *Lydia*, according to *Cteſias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliuer the ſucceſſe of that warre otherwiſe than ***Herodotus*** doth: The rather (ſaith *Viginer*) becauſe *Strabo* in his eleuenth booke reciteth, that *Cyrus* ſurprized the *Sacians* by the ſame ſtratageme by which *Iuſtine* ſaith, he defeated the ſonne of *Tomyris*. And the ſame *Cteſias* alſo reporteth, That the laſt warre which *Cyrus* made was againſt *Amorrhæus*, King of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the reſt) of *Scythia*; whom though he ouercame, yet he then receiued the wound of his death, which he ſuffered three daies after.

Vig. prim. part. Bib.

Cte. l. 15. hiſt. part.

Strabo alſo affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of *Paſagardes*, which himſelfe had built, & where his *Epitaph* was to be read in his time; which is ſaid to haue been this: *O vir quicunque es, & vndecunque aduenis, neque enim te aduenturum ignoraui: Ego ſum* Cyrus *qui Perſis imperium conſtitui, puſillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne inuideas*; *O thou man, whoſoeuer thou art, or whenceſoeuer thou commeſt; for I was not ignorant that thou ſhouldeſt come: I am* Cyrus *that founded the Perſian Empire, doe not enuie vnto me this little earth, with which my bodie is couered.*

Strab. l. 15.

This Tombe was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either vpon hope of treaſure, ſuppoſed to haue beene buried with him, or vpon deſire to honour his dead bodie with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an olde rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie lay, *Alexander* cauſed to be couered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be ſet vpon it. Theſe things well conſidered, as they giue credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, ſo they derogate much from ***Herodotus***, who leaues his bodie in the hands of *Tomyris*.

Q. Curt. l.

Xen. pæd. 8.
Zon. l. 1. c. 20.

And ſurely, had *Cyrus* loſt the Armie of *Perſia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his ſonne would ſo ſoone haue tranſported all his remaining forces into *Ægypt*, ſo farre off from that quarter: the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*; neither had *Cambyſes* beene able in ſuch haſte to haue vndertaken and performed ſo great a Conqueſt. Wherefore I rather beleeue *Xenophon*, ſaying, That *Cyrus* died aged and in peace: and that finding in himſelfe, that he could not long enioy the world, he called vnto him his Nobilitie, with his two ſonnes, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*: and after a long Oration, wherein he aſſured himſelfe, and taught others, of the immortalitie of the Soule, and of the puniſhments and rewards following the good and ill deſeruing of euery man in this life; hee exhorted his ſonnes by the ſtrongeſt arguments he had, to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things he vttered, which make it probable, that hee receiued the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when hee gouerned *Suſa* in *Perſia*; and that *Cyrus* himſelfe had read the prophecie of *Eſay*, wherein he was expreſſely named, and by God (for the deliuerie of his people) præordained. Which act of deliuering the *Iewes* from their Captiuitie, and of reſtoring the holy Temple and Citie of *Hieruſalem*, was in true conſideration the nobleſt worke that euer *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions hee was an inſtrument of Gods power, vſed for the chaſtiſing of many Nations, and the eſtabliſhing of a Gouernment in thoſe parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an inſtrument of Gods goodneſſe, and a willing aduancer of his Kingdome vpon earth; which muſt laſt for euer, though heauen and earth ſhall periſh.

§. VII.

Of Cyrus *his Decree for building the Temple of God in Ieruſalem.*

HAuing therefore ſpoken of his great victories, mentioned by ſundry Hiſtorians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his ſeruice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodneſſe: I hold it meet at length to ſpeake of the Decree made in the firſt of his Reigne, being perhaps the firſt that euer hee made, after his poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captiue *Iewes* ſhould returne againe into their owne Territorie, and re-build the Houſe of God in *Ieruſalem*, hauing now endured and finiſhed the threeſcore and tenne yeeres captiuitie, by the Prophets foretold. For the accompliſhing whereof, hee gaue order to his Treaſurers to furniſh them with all things neceſſarie and wanting. He alſo reſtored vnto them fiue thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and nine Veſſels of Gold and Siluer, whereof *Nabuchodonoſor*, the grandfather of *Balthaſar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

1 Eſd.2.
2 Eſd.7.
Phil. in bre.

The number of the *Iewes* which returned out of *Chaldæa* vnder their leader *Zorobabel*, the ſonne of *Salathiel*, and nephew to King *Ieconias*, and *Ieſus* or *Ioſua* the ſonne of *Ioſadak*, were about fifty thouſand; where, as ſoone as they arriued, they built an Altar to the liuing God, and ſacrificed thereon, according to their owne Law, and afterward bethought themſelues how to prepare materialls for the re-building of the Temple.

1. Eſd. 3. 3. Eſd. 5. Eſd. c. 4. & 5
Ioſ. l. Ant. 11.

But no ſooner did the *Iewes* begin to lay any one ſtone, than the *Samaritans* and other idolatrous Nations adioyning, gaue all the impediment they could. So did the Gouernours of thoſe Prouinces vnder *Cyrus* altogether countenance the diſturbers, and in no ſort fauoured the *Iewes*, nor the labours nor purpoſes they had in hand. And not onely thoſe which were but Prouinciall Lieutenants and other officers of leſſe place, but *Cambyſes* himſelfe; who hauing the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was buſied otherwiſe, countermanded the building begun. And whereas ſome Authors make doubt, that whatſoeuer *Cambyſes* did when himſelfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no ſuch impediment or prohibition: They may herein reſolue themſelues out of *Eſdras*, That by the conſpiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therefore it is true, that the *Iewes* themſelues affirme as it is written in the ſecond of *Iohn*, That the Temple was 46 yeeres in ſetting vp, hauing receiued ſo many hinderances from the firſt foundation to the ſecond of *Darius*.

Eſd. 1. c. 2. v 16
Eſd. 2. v. 16.
Eſd. 1 c. 5. v 33
Eſd. 1. c. 4. v 5.

And if we ſeeke the naturall and politique cauſes which moued *Cambyſes* to withſtand his fathers decree, as well while hee gouerned vnder him, as when himſelfe became ſole and ſoueraigne Monarch, we ſhall finde them in that Epiſtle remembred by *Eſdras*, written by *Belemus*, *Mithridates*, and the reſt, Preſidents and Counſellors in *Phœnicia*, wherein they complaine, that the *Iewes* were euermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their Citie being once built, they would then refuſe to pay Tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings. *Eſd.1.c 4.*

But that which for that preſent ſeemed the moſt forcible impediment was, that *Cambyſes*, hauing it in his reſolution to inuade *Ægypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Iewes* were deſcended of thoſe Nations, becauſe they iſſued thence vnder *Moſes*, when they conquered *Iudæa*; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne to their old vomit, and giue the ſame diſturbance to *Cambyſes* Conqueſt, which they did to *Senacherib*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in *Ezekiel*, *Ægypt was the confidence of the houſe of* Iſrael. *Ezek.c.29.*

But it is to be vnderſtood, as *Codoman* and others haue obſerued, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counſellors and Gouernors of *Phœnicia* complained againſt the *Iewes*, did not precede, but ſucceede *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, as in the ſixt and ſeuenth chapters of *Eſdras* it is made plaine: and alſo that thoſe Gouernors (whoſe Epiſtle ſheweth as much) did not withſtand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and incloſing of the Citie, as by the reaſons giuen in the ſaid Epiſtle, and by the Kings anſwer, it is euident.

Alſo in the ſixt of *Ezra*, the foureteenth verſe, the Kings are named in order as they gouerned, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: *And they built and finiſhed it* (to wit, the Temple) *by the appointment of the God of Iſrael, and by the commandement of* Cyrus *and* Darius, *and* Artahſhaſte *Kings of Perſia.* Laſtly, in the ſeuenth of *Ezra* it is written; *Now after theſe things, in the reigne of* Artahſhaſte *King of Perſia*: which was as much to ſay, as after the finiſhing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the ſecond of *Eſdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of *Hieruſalem*. Which action though proſpered by the hand of God, was very ſlowly purſued by the men whom it moſt concerned, but firſt ſet on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his forme and manner of gouernment, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldeſt ſonne *Cambyſes*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* his yonger ſonne to be *Satrapa* or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Caduſia*; and then died, after he had reigned (ſaith *Herodotus*) one and thirtie yeeres, or (according to *Iuſtine*) but thirtie.

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§. VIII.

Of Cyrus *his iſſue: and whether* Atoſſa *were his daughter, or (as ſome thinke) were the ſame with Queene* Heſter.

Cyrus had iſſue two ſonnes, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atoſſa*, *Meroe*, and *Artyſtona*: *Cteſias* addeth to theſe, *Amytis*. *Atoſſa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyſes* married; *Artyſtona*, *Darius*, *Hyſtaſpes* obtained; ſo did he *Atoſſa*, *Cambyſes* being dead: who (as ſome Writers haue ſuppoſed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to inuade *Greece*, to be auenged of the whole Nation for the cruell intent that *Aman* (whom the old tranſlation calleth a *Macedonian*) had againſt the *Iewes*, though the opinion of *Ioſephus* be more probable, who findes *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be vnderſtood, how *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, ſhould haue beene *Eſther*; whoſe Hiſtorie ſeemes rather to appertaine to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes*, or of *Xerxes*. The deſire of *Atoſſa* to haue *Greece* brought vnder the yoke of *Perſia*, was partly gounded vpon the honour which thereby ſhe thought her husband might obtaine, partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot giue aſſent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who vpon the neere ſound of the two names, *Atoſſa* and *Hadaſſa*, (by the latter of which *Eſther* was alſo called) makes them to haue beene one perſon. For though it be true, that *Eſther* concerning her parentage a while, might be taken for a great Lady; yet *Codomans* inference is nothing probable, that ſhe ſhould therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare vnto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus.* Certaine it is, that *Eſther* did at length diſcouer her Kindred and Nation; whereby if Hiſtories could be kept free from this errour, yet the people, and eſpecially the Nobility, muſt needes haue vnderſtood the truth: who neuertheleſſe did ſo well know the parentage of *Atoſſa*, that for her ſake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her ſonne *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdome before his elder brother, againſt whom alſo he could haue pretended a very weake clayme. But of theſe things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The eſtate of things from the death of Cyrus *to the reigne of* Darius.

§. I.

Of the number and names of the Perſian Kings.

OF the ſucceſſors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metaſthenes*, who hath numbred the *Perſian* Kings and their times, as followeth.

Darius Medus, and *Cyrus* ioyntly	2	
Cyrus alone.	22	
Priſcus Artaxerxes.	20	
Darius Longimanus.	37	
Darius Nothus.	19	yeeres.
Artaxerxes Mnemon.	55	
Artaxerxes Ochus.	26	
Arſes, or *Arſames.*	4	
Darius the laſt, conquered by *Alexander.*	6	

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of yeeres added, make in all an hundred ninetie and one. But in this Catalogue *Metaſthenes* hath left out *Cambyſes* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Aſſuerus* for the immediate ſucceſſor of *Cyrus*; in place (ſaith *Melancton*) of *Darius* the ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes*: for *Metaſthenes*, as *Melancthon* coniectureth, doth not account *Cambyſes* in the Catalogue, becauſe his reigne was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a ſecond opinion, though ridiculous, of *Seder Olam*, who finds but foure *Perſian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus* haue alſo a differing account from the *Greekes*; whom neuertheleſſe *Euſebius* and moſt of the Latines follow, and ſo doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully anſwered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this ſort doe the *Greekes* marſhall the *Perſian* Kings with the times of their reignes.

Chron Krentz. fol. 135.

Melancton giues *Cyrus* but 29.	*Cyrus* in all.	30	
	Cambyſes, with the *Magi.*	8	
Melanct. but 20	*Darius Hyſtaſpes.*	36	
	Xerxes.	21	
	Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40	
	Darius Nothus.	19	yeeres.
Melanct. but 40	*Artaxerxes Mnemon.*	43	
Melanct. 26.	*Artaxerxes Ochus.*	23	
	Arſames.	3	
Melanct. 4.	*Darius* the laſt.	6	

Which numbers, put together, make in all two hundred and thirtie.

This account (as I haue ſaid) the moſt Chronologers and the beſt learned approue. Theſe *Perſian* Princes being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Peucer* in his hiſtoricall Animaduerſions hath gathered the places; finding firſt *Cyrus* in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *chap.* 36. *verſ.* 22. 23. *Ezra* 1. *chap.* 1. *verſ.* 1. and often elſewhere.

Secondly *Cambyſes* in the eleauenth of *Daniel*, who may indeede be well eſteemed for one of thoſe three Kings in the ſecond verſe named, and ſo the marginall Commentor vpon the *Geneua* vnderſtands that place; but, vnder correction, miſtakes the matter greatly, when he ſaith in the ſame note, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was an enemy to the people of God, and ſtood againſt them: his great fauour and liberality to the *Iewes* being elſewhere proued.

Thirdly, is *Darius Hyſtaſpes* found in *Ezra* the firſt, *c.* 4. *v.* 5. who in the ſixt verſe is alſo named *Ahaſſuerus*.

Fourthly, in the eleauenth of *Daniel* verſe the ſecond, *Xerxes* is plainely foretold and deſcribed, and the great warre which he ſhould make againſt the *Greekes* by *Daniel* remembred.

Fiftly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verſe ſeauen, who is alſo called *Arthaſaſta*, *c.* 4. 1. *lib. Ezra*. *v.* 7. and *cap.* 7. *v.* 7.

Sixtly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra cap.* 4. *verſe* 24. and *cap.* 5. *verſe* 6. *Mehem*, *cap.* 12. *verſe* 22.

Seauenthly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem. c.* 2. *v.* 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arſames*: for *Darius* the laſt, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who deſcended from *Xerxes* the ſonne of *Atoſſa* *Cyrus* his Daughter; and the iſſue male of *Cyrus* failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede. *Euſebius* with the *Latines*, following the *Greekes*, apply the beginnings and ends of euery *Perſian* King with their Acts, to ſome certaine Olympiad; As the war of *Aſtyages* (*Cyrus* his maternall Grand-father) and *Alyattes* (*Crœſus* his father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of *Cyrus* reigne to the beginning of the fiue and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The inuaſion of *Ægypt* by *Cambyſes* to the third yeere of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and ſo of the reſt. Which reference with good agreement betweene ſeuerall formes of computation adde the more credit vnto both.

Againe, this hiſtoricall demonſtration is confirmed by the Aſtronomicall computation of *Ptolomie*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of Nouember, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the foure hundred and foure and twentieth yeere after *Nabonaſſar*. And the *Æra* of *Nabonaſſar* began on the ſixe and twentieth of Februarie: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Moneth of the firſt yeere of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether we follow the accompts of the Olympiads, as doe the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, or that of *Nabonaſſar* with *Ptolomie*, we ſhall finde euery memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

Ptol in Alm. lib. 3. *c.* 8.

For *Ptolomie* reckons the time anſwerable to two hundred and foure and twenty *Iulian* yeeres, and an hundred and forty dayes from *Nabonaſſar*, to the ſixeteenth of *Iulie* in the ſeauenth yeere of *Cambyſes*.

The *Greekes*, and namely *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Ægypt* by *Cambyſes* in the ſecond or third yeere of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of *Cambyſes* ſeauenth yeere in the firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad: which firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonaſſar*. The like agreement is conſequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewiſe the twentieth of *Darius*, who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, is according to *Ptolomie* the two hundred and ſixe and fortieth of *Nabonaſſar*, which (obſeruing the differences of *Nabonaſſars Æra* and the Olympiad, *viz.* eight and twentie yeeres) it agrees with the third of the threeſcore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the *Greekes*. In this *Ioſephus* agrees with the *Greekes* throughout, ſauing that he ioyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus*, in the deſtruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greeke* computation, but may very well ſtand with it.

Laſtly, the diſagreements and confuſed accompts of thoſe that follow the other Catalogue of the *Perſian* King formerly rehearſed, doth giue the greater credit to this of the

Greekes, which being conſtant in it ſelfe, accordeth alſo with the computation of other Hiſtorians, and Aſtronomers, and likewiſe with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of Cambyſes, *and the conquering of Ægypt by him.*

WE will therfore according to the truth giue the Empire of *Perſia* to *Cambyſes*, the ſonne of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, ſauing the deſire to increaſe the greatneſſe of his Empire: whereof he was poſſeſt in his Fathers time while *Cyrus* made warre in the North. *Cteſias* with others giue him a longer reigne than agreeth with the *Græcian* accompt before receiued.

Lib.2.c.2. Her.l.3.pag. 83.84.85.

In the fifth yeere of his ſole reigne, and in the third yeere of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, according to *Diodor* & *Euſebius*, he inuaded *Ægypt*, and hauing ouerthrown the King thereof, *Pſammeniticus*, he not only cauſed him to be ſlaine, but alſo did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the moſt of his children.

Herodotus and *Cteſias* giue for cauſe of this Warre (being no other indeed than the Ambition of *Cambyſes*) that when he ſent to *Amaſis* King of *Ægypt*, to haue his daughter in marriage, *Amaſis* preſented him with *Nitetis* the daughter of *Apries* his predeceſſor, which *Cambyſes* diſdained.

Howſoeuer it were; true it is, that *Cambyſes* gathered an Armie fit for ſuch an enterpriſe, and cauſed the ſame to march. But before they entred *Ægypt*, *Amaſis* died, and left *Pſammeniticus*, whom *Cteſias* called *Amyrteus*, his ſucceſſour; who enioyed *Ægypt* after his father (according to the beſt copies of *Herodotus*) but ſixe Moneths, though other Chronologers giue him ſixe yeeres.

But how long ſoeuer he held the Crowne, in one battell he loſt it, and was himſelfe taken priſoner.

It is ſaid that *Cambyſes* following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only ſpare life to the conquered King, but that he alſo truſted him with the gouernment of *Ægypt*, and that vpon ſome reuolt, or ſuſpition thereof, he cauſed him to be ſlaughtered. But the race of this King was not ſo extirpated, if we may beleeue *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Sonne called *Inarus*, who cauſed the *Ægyptian* to reuolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Pſammeniticus* was at the firſt entreated gently by *Cambyſes*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is alſo written of him, That he ſo much hated *Amaſis* the King of *Ægypt*, who died before his arriuall, that he cauſed his body to be drawne out of the graue, and after diuers indignities vſed, commanded the ſame to be burnt, contrary to the cuſtome both of the *Ægyptians* and *Perſians*. For the *Ægyptians* vſed to powder their dead bodies with ſalt, and other drugs, to the end the wormes might not deuoure them. The * *Perſians* durſt not conſume them with fire, which they eſteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feede it with Carrion.

* Neither did the Romanes euer conſume their dead to aſhes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who cauſed his own to be deuoured by that elemẽt, fearing the Law called *Talionis*, or like for like, becauſe himſelfe had vntombed the carkaſſe of *Caius Marius* after his death.

§. III.

The reſt of Cambyſes *his acts.*

Her.l.3. Plin. l.6.c.54. Strab. & Iuſt. L.1.

AFter this victory obtained in *Ægypt*, *Cambyſes* ſent an Armie into *Cyprus*, and conſtrained *Euelthon* King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Iland of the *Ægyptians*.

While *Cambyſes* yet buſied himſelfe in *Ægypt*, he ſo much deteſted the Idolatry of that Nation, as he cauſed the Images themſelues, with the Temples wherein they were worſhipped, to be torne downe and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Armie into *Lybia*, to ouer-turne the Temple of *Iupiter Ammon*; but the Diuell in defence of his *Oratorie* raiſed ſuch a tempeſt of Sand, wherewith the greateſt part of that Country is couered, as the *Perſians* were there-with choked and ouer-whelmed.

Pag. 87.88. Her.l.3.Sect.7.

Notwithſtanding which miſaduenture, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that diſdaining to be reſiſted, he prepared the reſt of his Army, which himſelfe meant to conduct into thoſe parts, but that finding a beginning of thoſe incommodities, which his firſt-ſent troupe had tried, he changed his purpoſe. For though conquering Kings haue power ouer men, yet the Elements doe not obey them, according to that old *Engliſh* prouerbe, *Goe, ſaith the King, Stay, ſaith the Tide.*

After his returne from the attempt of *Æthiopia*, hee cauſed *Apis* the *Ægyptian Bull*, worſhipped by that Nation as God, to be ſlaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and beene executed as in ſeruice of him that onely is, and liueth. But ſoon afterwards, when in a dreame it ſeemed vnto him that *Smerdis* did ſit in the royall Throne of *Perſia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gaue it in charge to his fauourite *Praxaſpes*, to murther *Smerdis* his brother. And hauing married his owne ſiſters, contrary to the *Perſian* Lawes, he committed a moſt cauſeleſſe and moſt deteſtable murder vpon the one of them, called *Meroe*, then by himſelfe with childe, becauſe ſhe bewailed the death of her brother *Smerdis*. I finde it written of this *Cambiſes*, That becauſe his predeceſſors obſerued religiouſly the ordinances of their Empire, hee aſſembled his Iudges, and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the *Perſians* that did permit the brother to marry his owne ſiſter: it being his owne intent ſo to doe. The Iudges (who had alwaies either lawes or diſtinctions in ſtore to ſatisfie Kings and times) made anſwere, that there was not any thing written allowing any ſuch coniunction, but they notwithſtanding found it in their cuſtomes, that it was alwaies left to the will of the *Perſian* Kings to doe what beſt pleaſed themſelues; and ſo, as *Nauclerus* termes it, *inuenerunt occaſionem*: That is as much to ſay, as the Iudges found a ſhift to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelues. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings priuate ſatisfaction, hee cauſed *Siſamnus* one of his Iudges, and perchance one of thoſe which fauoured his inceſtuous match, to be flayed a-liue, for an vniuſt judgement giuen, and the ſame his hide to be hung vp ouer the iudgement ſeate. After which beſtowing the fathers Office on his ſonne, hee willed him to remember, that the ſame partialitie deſerued the ſame puniſhment.

Her. p. 89. 90.

Among other his cruelties, that which hee exerciſed againſt the ſonne of his beloued *Praxaſpes* was very ſtrange and vngratefull. For when hee deſired to be truly informed by him what the *Perſians* thought of his conditions, *Praxaſpes* anſwered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praiſe from all men, onely it was by many obſerued, that he tooke more than vſuall delight in the taſte of Wine. With which taxation inflamed, he vſed this replication: And are the *Perſians* double-tongued, who alſo tell mee that I haue in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? thou *Praxaſpes* ſhalt then witneſſe, whether in this report they haue done me right: for if at the firſt ſhot I pierce thy ſonnes heart with an arrow, then is it falſe that hath beene ſpoken; but if I miſſe the marke, I am then pleaſed that the ſame be accounted true, and my ſubiects beleeued. This being ſpoken, hee immediately directed an arrow towards the innocent childe, who falling downe dead with the ſtroke, *Cambyſes* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monſtrous Tyrant greatly reioycing, ſhewed it to the Father with this ſaying in ſtead of an Epitaph: *Now Praxaſpes, thou maiſt reſolue thy ſelfe that I haue not loſt my wittes with Wine, but the Perſians theirs, who make ſuch report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties he exerciſed, till at the laſt, according to the phraſe of our Law, he became *felon de ſoy*. For when he was informed that *Patizites*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi*, (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanes* and *Cimerdius*) Miniſters of his domeſticall affaires, taking aduantage of the great reſemblance betweene *Smerdis* the Kings brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, poſſeſt themſelues of the Empire, he made all haſte towards *Perſia*, and in mounting haſtily on horſebacke, his ſword diſ-ſheathing, pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an ouer-late and remedileſs repentance of the ſlaughter which he had executed vpon his owne brother, he ſoone after gaue vp his wicked ghoſt, when he had reigned eight yeeres, accounting therein thoſe ſeuen Moneths in which the *Magi* gouerned, while he was abſent.

In *Cambyſes* the Male line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no iſſue either by *Atoſſa* or *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierome* giues him a Daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a ſon called *Orontes*, who being drowned in the Riuer *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the ſame was afterward in memorie of the Princes death called *Orontes*.

Zonaras Com. 3. p. 117.

He built the Citie of *Babylon* in *Ægypt*, in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly ſeated, and that of *Meroe* in the Iland of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his ſiſter *Meroe*.

§. IIII.

Of the inter-regnum *betweene* Cambyſes *and* Darius.

C*Yrus* and his two ſonnes being now dead, and the Kingdome in the poſſeſſion of one of the *Magi*, the counterfait of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Prouinciall Gouernours of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyſus*, *Aſphatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all deſcended from *Achæmenes* the firſt *Perſian* King,) hauing diſcouered the fraud of this impoſture, ioyned their forces together, ſurpriſed and rooted out the Conſpirator with his Companions, and aſſiſtants. In which action (ſaith *Iuſtine*) *Intaphernes* and *Aſphalines* were ſlaine; but *Herodotus* otherwiſe, that they were onely wounded, for he auoweth, that all the ſeuen Princes were preſent at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Gouernour, theſe Princes grew into conſultation how the ſame might be ordered from thence-forth. *Otanes* one of the ſeuen did not fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities ſhould confederate, and by iuſt lawes defend their liberty in equalitie, giuing diuers reaſons for his opinion, being as it ſeemed greatly terrified, by the cruelties of *Cambyſes*; As firſt, that it was not ſafe to giue all power to any one, ſeeing greatneſſe it ſelfe, euen in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, and the libertie and freedome in all things is moſt apt to inſult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Againe, that tyrants doe commonly vſe the ſeruices of wicked men, and fauour them moſt; they vſurp vpon the lawes of their Countrey; take other mens wiues by force, and deſtroy whom they pleaſe without iudgement.

Megabyſus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannie of a multitude was thrice more intollerable, than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without iudgement, runne into buſineſſe and affaires with precipitation, like raging and ouer-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it ſafeſt to make election of a few, and thoſe of the beſt, wiſeſt, and moſt vertuous; becauſe it is euer found, that excellent Counſailes are euer had from excellent men.

Darius gaue the third iudgement, who perſwaded the creation of a King, becauſe euen among few diuturnitie of concord is ſeldome found, and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the diſcord of many Rulers hath inforſt the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, ſaith *Darius*, farre ſafer to obſerue the lawes of our Countrie, by which Kingly gouernment hath beene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the ſame Imperiall gouernment by God eſtabliſhed, and made proſperous. And to auoid partialitie, it was accorded, that the morning following theſe ſeuen Princes ſhould mount on Horſ-backe, and on him the Kingdome ſhould be conferred, whoſe horſe after the Sun-riſing ſhould firſt ney or bray. In the euening after this appointment was made, it is ſaid that *Darius* conſulted with the Maſter of his horſe *Oebarus*, who in the Suburbs of the Citie where the election was reſolued of, cauſed the ſame Horſe, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to couer a Mare, who as ſoone as hee came into the ſame place was the firſt horſe that brayed. Whereupon the other ſixe Princes deſcended from their horſes, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Her.l.3.p.100. 101.

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the ſeuen Princes, whereof *Darius* himſelfe was one, that deliuered the Empire from the vſurpation of the *Magi*, he diuided the whole into ſeuen gouernments; *Herodotus* ſaith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius *the ſonne of* Hyſtaſpes.

§. I.

Of Darius *his Linage.*

Darius was deſcended of the ancient *Perſian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenidæ*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall Succeſſor. For in this ſort *Herodotus* deriues him as before.

Cyrus the firſt, who had
Teiſpius, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arſamnes, the father of
Hyſtaſpes, the father of
Darius, ſurnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*.

Curt.l.4.

Hyſtaſpes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the warres againſt the *Scythians*, at which time *Cyrus* being made iealous of *Darius* by a dreame of his owne, cauſed him to be ſent into *Perſia*, others ſay to be impriſoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was deliuered, and made Gouernor of the *Perſian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyſes* into *Ægypt*; he then ioyned with the reſt of the Princes againſt the *Magi*, and either by the neying of his horſe, or, as others affirme, by ſtrong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more aſſured to himſelfe by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wiues.

Her.l.1 & 3

Hyſtaſpes, according to * *Herodotus*, had beſides *Darius* theſe three ſonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which *Darius* made in *Aſia* the leſſe, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artaphernes*, and *Artabanus*, who diſſwaded *Xerxes* from the ſecond *Græcian* warre. *Hyſtaſpes* had alſo a Daughter married to *Gobryas* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Armie of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius*, *Artozoſtre* his Coſen germaine.

Reineccius giues to *Hyſtaſpes* fiue ſonnes, *Darius* who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two daughters.

* *Her pag.237.*
Pag.154.
Pag.130.
Pa.101 & 202
Pag 180.190.
Her.l 6 p.180.
Pag.180.190.
Pag.199.
Pag.200.204.
& pa.213.285
286.
Pag.214.254.
De Reg.Perſar.
Fol.32.

§. II.

Of Darius *his Gouernment, and ſuppreſſing the rebellion of Babylon.*

Darius deuiſed equall lawes whereby his ſubiects might be gouerned, the ſame being formerly promiſed by *Cyrus*. He gaue acceſſe to all his ſubiects, and behaued himſelfe ſo mildly to all men, that many Nations deſired and offered themſelues to become his Vaſſals: Onely he layed diuers payments and taxes on the people, which had not beene accuſtomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of foureteene thouſand fiue hundred and threeſcore talents, ſaith *Herodotus*.

The warre which *Cambyſes* made a farre off in *Ægypt*, and the contention betweene the *Magi*, and the Princes of *Perſia*, for the Empire, gaue heart to the *Babylonians* to recouer their libertie, and to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoake; whereof *Darius* being aduertiſed, he prepared an Armie to recouer that Citie and State reuolted. But finding the ſame a difficult worke, he vſed the ſeruice of *Zopirus*, who for the loue he bare *Darius*, did cut off his owne Eares and Noſe, and with other wounds yet freſh bleeding, he ſeemed to flye to the *Babylonians* for ſuccour, to whom he accuſed the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for hauing giuen him aduice to giue ouer the ſiege of their Citie, had in this ſort diſmembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gaue him that credit, as they truſted him with the diſpoſition and commandement of their greateſt forces: which when *Zopirus* had obtained, after ſome ſmall colourable ouer-throwes giuen to the *Perſians* vpon ſallies, hee deliuered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had lyen before it twentie Moneths.

Her l.3.

§ III.

Of Darius *his fauour to the Iewes in building the Temple.*

IN the ſecond yeere of *Darius*, he gaue order that the building of the Temple at *Hieruſalem* ſhould goe on, and commanded that the ſame ſhould be finiſhed at his owne charge, and out of the reuenues of the Crowne. And whereas the Gouernours of thoſe Prouinces which are ſituate betweene *Euphrates*, and the *Phœnician*, and mid-land Sea, (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captaines beyond the Riuer) had hindred the worke in *Cambyſes* his time, *Darius* gaue commandement that they ſhould not thenceforth come neere vnto *Ieruſalem*, to giue any impediment to the building, but that they ſhould with-draw themſelues, aand get them farre off till all were finiſhed and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis*; *with-draw your ſelues farre from them*; In our *Engliſh*, *Be ye farre from thence*, to wit, from the Citie, and Temple, now in building.

Ezra.c.6.

Ezr.6.11.

He alſo made a decree, which concerned his owne Subiects, That whoſoeuer ſhould thenceforth hinder the ſetting vp of the Temple of God, that his houſe ſhould be torne downe, and the diſturber hanged on a Gallowes made of the timber thereof. He alſo in the ſame decree maketh inuocation to God, *That hath cauſed his name to dwell there(to) deſtroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and to deſtroy this houſe of God which is in Ieruſalem, &c.* In foure yeeres after which decree (the *Iewes* being really furniſhed with money and all things neceſſary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finiſhed, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the ſixth yeere of *Darius Hiſtaſpes*, and in the two and fortieth after their firſt returne.

Ezr.6.

§. IIII.

Of Darius *his Scythian Warre.*

Her.l.4.
Iuſt.l.2.

AFter the recouery of *Babylon* he inuaded the *Scythians*, whoſe King *Iuſtine* calleth *Lauthinus*; and ſaith, that *Darius* vnder-tooke this warre againſt him, becauſe he refuſed him his Daughter in marriage. The better to conuoy his Armie into *Scythia*, he built a Bridge of ſmall Veſſels ouer the Riuer *Iſter* or *Danubius*, and gaue the cuſtody of the ſame in charge (among others of *Aſia* the leſſe) to the *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the *Aſian Græcians* to breake downe the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the ſame was reſiſted by *Hiſtiæus* Prince of *Milet*, a Citie of *Ionia*, which Nation being a *Colonie* of the *Grækes*, *Diodorus* calleth Traitors to their Countrey, becauſe they ioyned themſelues to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly tearmed them good ſlaues, for as much as they would not run away from their Maſter, but were more mindefull of doing their duties, than of ſhaking off their bondage, when they were preſented with as faire an occaſion of liberty as could haue beene deſired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entring the deſart Countrie called *Beſſarabia*, found in it neither people to reſiſt them, nor any ſuſtenance to relieue them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their poſteritie, at this day, all horſe-men, vſing the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Graſiers, driuing their Heards from one place to another, as opportunitie of paſture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vſed for Houſes the Waggons wherein they carried their wiues and children. Theſe Waggons they place at euery Station in very good order, making Streetes and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, remoueable at their pleaſure. Neither hath the Emperour himſelfe, called now the great *Chrim*, any other Citie than ſuch as *Agora*, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himſelfe, and waſted his prouiſion in thoſe deſolate Regions, wherein he found neither wayes to direct him, victuals to refreſh him, nor any houſes, fruitfull trees, or liuing creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himſelfe might make vſe of, or by deſtroying it might grieue his enemies; he began to perceiue his owne folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet ſetting a good face vpon a bad game, he ſent braue meſſages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to ceaſe his flight, and either to make triall of his valour and fortune in plaine battaile: Or if he acknowledged himſelfe the weaker, then to yeelde

Diod.l.11.

by faire meanes, and become his Subiect, giuing him Earth and Water, which the *Perſians* vſed to demand as a ſigne, that all was yeelded vnto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hieroglyphicall* anſwere; ſending a *Bird*, a *Frog*, a *Mouſe*, and fiue *Arrowes*: which dumbe ſhew *Darius* interpreting by his owne wiſh, thought that he did yeelde all the Elements wherein thoſe creatures liue, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the ſeauen Princes, who had ſlaine the *Magi*, conſtrued their meaning a-right, which was thus; *O ye Perſians, get ye wings like Birds, or diue vnder the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for elſe ye ſhall not eſcape our arrowes.* And this interpretation was ſoone verified by the *Scythians* themſelues, who aſſailed the *Perſian* campe, draue the horſe-men into the trenches, and vexed the Armie with continuall Alarums day and night; were ſo feareleſſe of this great Monarch, and ſo little regarded him, that within his hearing, and euen in his ſight, they did not forbeare the paſtime of courſing a Hare, which they had ſtarted by chance. By this boldneſſe of theirs, *Darius* was ſo diſcouraged, that he forſooke his Campe by night, making many fires, and leauing all that were ſicke and weake behinde him, and ſo with all ſpeede marched away towards the Riuer *Iſter*. He was purſued hardly by the *Scythians* who miſt him, yet arriuing at the Bridge before him, perſwaded the *Ionians* to depart, aſſuring them that the *Perſian* King ſhould neuer more be able to doe them either good or harme. Which words had certainly beene proued true, had not *Hyſtiæus* the *Mileſian* preuailed with his people, to attend the comming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewiſe faile to meete, when they returned from *Iſter* to ſeeke him out.

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§. V.

Some Actions of the Perſians in Europe, after the Scythian Warre.

DArius hauing thus eſcaped out of *Scythia*, determined the inuaſion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which Warre he imployed *Megabaſus*, who maſtered the *Pæonians*, and tranſplanted them, and poſſeſt *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Bizantium*, and other places, being alſo ſoone after ſubiected, and added to the *Perſian* Empire by *Otanes*, the ſonne of *Syſamnes*, whom *Cambyſes* had excoriated for falſe iudgement. So were the Cities of * *Selybria* and [a] *Cardia* likewiſe taken in for the *Perſian*, who hauing now reduced vnder his obeyſance the beſt part of *Thrace*, did ſend his Embaſſadours to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Soueraignty ouer that Kingdome. *Amintas* doubting his owne ſtrength, entertained the Embaſſadours with gentle words, and afterward inuited them to a ſolemne and magnificent feaſt, the *Perſians* greatly deſired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be preſent: which being granted, the Embaſſadours who were well filled with wine, and preſumed vpon their greatneſſe, and many victories, began to vſe ſuch imbracings, and other laſciuious behauiour towards thoſe Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings Sonne, great Grand-father to *Alexander* the Great, diſdaining the *Perſians* barbarous preſumption, beſought his father to withdraw himſelfe from the aſſembly, continuing notwithſtanding all honourable reſpect towards the Embaſſadours, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refreſh themſelues for a while; promiſing their ſpeedy returne. This being obtained, *Alexander* cauſed the like number of well-fauoured yong-men to clothe themſelues in the ſame garments, and to vſe the ſame attires which the Ladies had worne at the feaſt, giuing them in charge, That when the *Perſians* offered to abuſe them, they ſhould forthwith tranſpierce them with their long kniues, of which they were prouided for that purpoſe, which was accordingly performed. Charge was ſoone after giuen by *Darius* for a ſeuere reuenge of this murder. But *Alexander*, ſomewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gaue his ſiſter *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principall Commander of *Darius* forces on that ſide, who perſwading her husband how helpefull the Alliance of *Macedon* would proue for the inuaſion of *Attica* intended, ſo preuailed, as *Alexander* eſcaped that tempeſt, which threatned to fall vpon him very ſuddenly; the warre of *Aſia* the leſſe, called *Ionick*, falling out at the ſame time.

Her. l. 5.

* A maritimate City of *Thrace* to the South of *Conſtantinople*.

[a] *Cardia*, a City vpon the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*, afterward *Lyſimachia*. *Pto. Pauſ.*

The

§. VI.

The firſt occaſion of the warre which Darius *made vpon Greece, with a rehearſall of the gouernment in Athens, whence the quarrell grew.*

Now the better to vnderſtand the reaſon and motiues of that great Warre, which followed ſoone after, betweene the *Perſians* and *Græcians*, it is neceſſary to make a ſhort repetition of the ſtate of *Athens*, which Citie endured the hardeſt and worſt brunt of *Darius* inuaſion on that ſide the Sea with admirable ſucceſſe. Neither doe I hold it any impertinency, to be large in vnfolding euery circumſtance of ſo great a buſineſſe as gaue fire to thoſe wars, which neuer could be throughly quenched, vntill in the ruine of this great *Perſian* Monarchie, *Perſepolis* the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the requeſt of an *Athenian* Harlot conſumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatneſſe, the *Perſians* had raiſed in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how *Athens*, and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently gouerned, the ſame being already ſet downe, though ſcatteringly, & in ſeuerall times, among other the Contemporarie occurrents of the Eaſterne Emperors, and the Kings of *Iudæa*; ſo I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two laſt changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, they maintained ſtill their ancient policie vnder Kings, though theſe alſo after ſome fifteene deſcents bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians* in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the ſafetie of his people, was therefore ſo honored by them, as (thinking none worthy to ſucceede him) they changed their former gouernement from Monarchicall to Princes for tearme of life, of which *Medon* the ſonne of *Codrus* was the firſt, after whom they were called *Medontidæ*; and of theſe there were twelue Generations beſides *Medon*, to wit.

Agaſtus.

Archippus, in whoſe times the *Greekes* tranſported themſelues into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourescore yeeres, according to *Euſebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (ſuch as follow *Euſebius* herein excepted) finde in the yeere after *Troy* fallen one hundred and fortie.

Therſippus.

Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenetus, in whoſe time *Lycurgus* gaue Lawes to the *Spartans*.

Pheredus.

Ariphron.

Theiſpius, in whoſe time the *Aſſyrian* Empire was ouer-throwne by *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*.

Pauſ pag. 159.
Dioniſ l 3.
Pauſ.p.169.
Pauſan.170.
Pag 331.

Agamneſtor.

Æſchylus, in whoſe time the *Ephori* (according to *Euſebius*) were erected in *Lacedæmon*.

Alcamenon, the laſt Prince for life, after whoſe death the *Athenians* elected *Decennall* Gouernours: the former Princes for life hauing continued in all three hundred and ſixeteene yeeres. The firſt of thoſe that gouerned for ten yeeres, or the firſt *Archon*, was

Charops, then

Æſymedes.

Elydicus.

Hyppomenes.

Leocrates.

Abſander.

Erixias was the laſt *Archon* of the *decennal* Gouernors, which forme continuing threeſcore and tenne yeeres, was then changed into *annuall* Magiſtrates, Maiors, or Burg-maſters, of which *Theſeus* was the firſt, according to *Pauſanias*: others finde *Leoſtratus*; and then

Anthoſthenes.

Archimedes.

Miltiades.

Damaſias.

Draco.

Megacles.

Solon, and others, who are the leſſe to be regarded, by reaſon of the yeerely change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wiſedome, gaue lawes to the *Athenians*, which were publiſhed according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth yeere of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and were in after-ages deriued vnto the *Romanes*, and by the *Decemviri* (Magiſtrates in *Rome* created for that purpoſe) reduced into twelue Tables, which were the ground of the *Romane* lawes. But theſe goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his owne dayes violated, and for a while almoſt quite extinguiſhed. For whereas they were framed vnto the practice and maintenance of a popular gouernment; the eſtate of *Athens* was very ſoone changed into a Monarchie by *Piſiſtratus* the ſonne of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens diſtracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* two Citizens of noble Families were become the heads, tooke occaſion by their contention and inſolencie to raiſe a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plauſible, for that he ſeemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Hauing by this meanes obtained loue and credit, he wounded himſelfe, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to haue beene ſlaine for his loue to the good Citizens; he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men ſurpriſing the State-houſe, or Cittadell of *Athens*, he made himſelfe Lord of the Towne; *Hegeſiſtratus* being then Gouernour. But the Citizens, who in euery change of gouernment had ſought to remoue themſelues further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could ſo ill brooke this vſurpation of *Piſiſtratus*, that he was driuen for lacke of helpe to flye the Towne, as ſoone as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* ioyning their forces attempted his expulſion. Yet as the building of his tyranny founded vpon the diſſenſion of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; ſo was it ſoone after wel reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his owne, he did (as is the vſuall practice of the weaker ſide) call in the common enemy *Piſiſtratus*, to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcmæonidæ*, whereof *Megacles* was chiefe, became very powerfull, yet ſo that *Piſiſtratus* by their power was made Maſter both of them and all the reſt. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmæonidæ*, and eſpecially *Megacles* being incenſed againſt *Piſiſtratus* for his miſdemeanor towards his Wife. Wherefore they practiſed with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treaſon ſo ſecretly, and ſo farre, that *Piſiſtratus* vpon the firſt diſcouery of their intent, perceiued no other remedy for his affaires, than to with-draw himſelfe to *Eretria*, where he remained eleauen yeeres. Which time being expired, hauing hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he againe recouered the principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his eſtate, he gouerned *Athens* ſeauenteene yeeres, according to *Ariſtotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three yeeres, ſaith *Elianus*, but ss *Iuſtine* hath it, foure and thirty, accounting the time belike as well before as after his ſeuerall expulſions. *Herodotus* giues the Father and Sonne ſixe and thirtie yeeres; *Ariſtotle* fiue and thirty. But *Thucidides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leauing for his Succeſſours his two Sonnes *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who gouerned the *Athenians* with ſuch moderation, as they rather ſeemed the Lineall ſucceſſors of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and ſome three yeeres before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. The cauſe why, and the manner how performed, *Thucidides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with vnnaturall luſt after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that ſcandall. *Hippias* fearing that this enterpriſe vpon his brother had more and deeper rootes than were apparent, firſt ſought to diſcouer the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who becauſe ſhe would not reueale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to ſtrengthen himſelfe, enter into a ſtrait amity with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the Citie *Lampſacus*, whom he knew to be greatly fauoured by *Darius*, to whoſe ſonne *Hypoclus* he gaue one of his Daughters in marriage. But ſome three yeeres after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what ſtrong practice againſt himſelfe, he began to vſe the Citizens with great ſeuerity, which neither *Piſiſtratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himſelfe had euer exerciſed, during their vſurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing leſt that this diſeaſe might rather increaſe, than diminiſh in *Hippias*, they ſtirred vp *Cliſtines* one of the nobleſt and beſt able of their Citie, to practice their deliuery: who calling to his aſſiſtance the baniſhed *Alcmænidæ*, together with an Armie of the *Lacedæmonians*, led by *Cleomenes* their King, ſo affrighted *Hippias*, as by compoſition he gaue ouer his eſtate, and the poſſeſſion of *Athens*, and from thence imbarked himſelfe, tooke land at * *Sigeum*, whence he went to *Lampſacus* in *Myſia* gouerned by *Æantides*, who preſented him to *Darius*. He was depriued of his eſtate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucidides* agree, twenty yeeres before the battell of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for

Her l.12.

Eretria a Citie of *Eubœa*, by others called *Melane*, by *Stephanus* *Erotria*.

Pol.5.

Heraclid. apud Elian.pag.262.

Iuſt.pag.28.

Her.l.6

Thucid l.6 c.10

Lampſacus a citie of *Myſia* vpon the *Helleſpont*

Her.l.5.

Thucid.l.6.c.1.

*Sigeum a promontorie oppoſite to the Ile of *Tenedos*, which *Ariſt in 5.Animal.* cals *Idæ promontorium.*

Darius in *Sardis*, the *Metropolis* of *Lydia*; perſwading and practiſing the enterpriſe vpon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great diſhonour vnder-tooke, twenty yeeres after *Hippias* had reſigned his eſtate.

Thus farre I haue digreſſed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceiue the better the cauſes and motiues of this warre: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be reſtored to *Athens* by the helpe of *Darius*, which made him ſolicite and perſwade the *Perſians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the moſt vrgent.

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§ VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cauſe of the warres enſuing betweene Greece and Perſia.

ANother, and a ſtrong motiue to this expedition, was the *Ionick* warre, breaking out in *Aſia* about the ſame time. The Colonies tranſported out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, which occupied the greateſt part of the Sea-coaſt, hauing enioyed their libertie about 500. yeeres, euen from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Cræſus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Seruants to the Crowne of *Perſia*.

But as it is the cuſtome of Nations halfe conquered (witneſſe *Ireland*) to rebell againe vpon euery aduantage and opportunity: ſo did the *Ionians*, and other *Græcians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, ſeeke by all meanes poſſible to free themſelues.

At this time they found ſuch men ready to ſpurre them into Rebellion, as had by the *Perſian* beene giuen vnto them for bridles to hold them in ſubiection. Euery one of thoſe Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the gouernment of one man) called their Tyrants. Theſe Lords were very true to the *Perſian*, by whoſe onely might they held the people in ſubiection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when, *Darius* being in great extremity, they vſed all meanes to deliuer him and his Armie (that otherwiſe had beene loſt) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of ſeruice *Hiſtiæus* the tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chiefe thankes, as hauing beene chiefe Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the reſt, either perſwaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their owne deſires, were ready to haue abandoned him. But it came ſo to paſſe, that *Darius* being more fearefull of the harme that *Hiſtiæus* (being powerfull and crafty) might doe to him in the future, than mindefull of the good which he had already receiued at his hand, found meanes to carry him a-long to *Suſa*, where he detained him with all kinde vſage of a friend, yet kept ſuch good eſpiall vpon him, as an enemie, he could not ſtart away. *Hiſtiæus* had ſubtilty enough to diſcouer the Kings purpoſe; which ill agreed with his owne deſires. For he thought it more pleaſant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, hauing a ſmall Territory, than to ſit and feaſt at the great Kings table, and heare the counſailes by which a large Empire was managed; being himſelfe an idle beholder, and enioying with much reſtraint of liberty, none other pleaſures than a priuate man might beſtow vpon himſelfe.

Wherefore he bethought himſelfe of raiſing of ſome tumults in the lower *Aſia*, to pacifie which if he might be ſent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in thoſe quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to ſtay at home, and either ſatisfie the King with excuſes, or deale as occaſion ſhall require. Reſoluing vpon this courſe, he ſent very ſecret inſtructions to *Ariſtagoras* his kinſman, whom he had left his Deputie at *Miletus*, aduiſing him to ſtirre vp ſome Rebellion. Theſe directions came ſeaſonably to *Ariſtagoras*, who hauing failed in an enterpriſe vpon the Iſle of *Naxos*, through the falſe dealing of a *Perſian* his Aſſociate, ſtood in feare of diſgrace, if not of ſome further ill that might befall him, as one that that had waſted the Kings treaſures to no good purpoſe.

Therefore he readily embraced the counſaile: and the better to draw the whole Countrie of *Ionia* into the ſame courſe which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyrannie, and did ſet *Miletus* at liberty. This plauſible beginning wan vnto him the hearts of the *Mileſians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom ſome he tooke and ſold as ſlaues to their Citizens, others he chaſed away) cauſed the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Perſian* fleet, whereof he lately had beene Admirall in the enterpriſe of *Naxos*, he had ſurpriſed in his firſt breaking out, together with the principall

Officers, and Captaines, ſo that now hee thought himſelfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Aſia* would ſhortly be vpon his necke, and cruſh both him and his aſſiſtants to pieces, vnleſſe hee were able to raiſe an Armie that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were inſufficient to performe. Therefore he tooke a iourney to *Sparta*, where hauing aſſayed in vaine with many arguments, and the offer of fiftie talents, to win to his party *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedæmonians*: hee went from thence to *Athens*, and with better ſucceſſe beſought the people to lend him their aſſiſtance. The *Athenian* Embaſſadors which had beene ſent to the *Perſian* Kings Lieutenants in the lower *Aſia*, deſiring them not to giue countenance to *Hippias*, now a baniſhed man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill anſwers, hauing found very churliſh entertainment. So that the euill which they were to expect in all likelyhood from the *Perſian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpoſe, their conſanguinitie with the *Ionians*, and the perſwaſions of *Ariſtagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treaſure were not helping. Twenty ſhips the *Athenians* furniſhed for this voyage; to which the *Erætrians* furniſhed fiue more, in regard of the ancient kindneſſe that had paſſed between the *Ionians* and them. With theſe and their owne forces ioyned, the *Ionians* entered the Riuer *Caiſtrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Epheſus*: by which aduantage they ſurpriſed *Sardis* when no enemie was heard of or ſuſpected; inſomuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in thoſe parts, had no other hope of ſafetie, than by retreating himſelfe into the Caſtle; which the *Græcians* could not force: from whence he beheld the ſlaughter of the Citizens, and the Citie flaming.

The *Perſians* at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recouered the Market place, ſtrengthened by the riuer *Pactolus*, which ran through it; and borrowing courage from deſperation, they both defended themſelues, and charged their enemies; who well aduiſing themſelues, made all the haſte they could toward the Sea ſide. But *Artaphernes* hauing gathered all the ſtrength he could, purſued the *Græcians*, and found them neere *Epheſus*; where ſetting reſoluedly vpon them, hee ſlaughtered a great part of their Armie; the reſt ſauing themſelues in *Epheſus*. In this fight *Eualcides*, Captaine of the *Erætrians* periſhed: but his fame and memorie was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preſerued. After this ouerthrow, the *Athenians*, which were before ſent vnto *Ariſtagoras* and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their teares, bee perſwaded to make any ſecond triall of their fortunes on that ſide the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noyſe in the world, than the late good ſucceſſe which the *Perſians* had in one or two skirmiſhes, could rayſe. Wherefore the *Ionians* brauely proceeding, won a great part of *Caria*; and ſending their Fleete into the *Helleſpont*, got *Bizantium* and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately ſubdued by *Cambyſes*, beganne heereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacie with the *Ionians*, who were able to giue them ayd by Sea, rebelled againſt the *Perſians*.

Theſe newes comming to the eare of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreame hatred of the *Athenians*, vpon whom he vowed to take ſharpe reuenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not haue dared to attempt ſuch things, but by the inſtigation of thoſe, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to prouoke him. This was the maine ground of the Warre commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt *Athens*: To which, the ſolicitation of *Hippias*, before remembred, gaue onely ſome forme and aſſiſtance: the buſineſſe, when once it was thus farre on foot, being like ynough to haue proceeded, though hee had periſhed ere it were aduanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrell of *Darius* againſt many of the Ilanders, if not againſt the whole Nation of the *Greekes*; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour: the Ilanders moreouer did helpe to furniſh out a Nauie of three hundred and ſixtie ſaile againſt him. Theſe prouocations did rather breede in him a deſire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by ſurprize. In euery fight they were beaten by the *Perſians*, who had not yet loſt the fruits of their diſcipline, wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one ſea-fight by the Iſle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeede had the vpper hand; but they were *Phœnicians*, *Ægyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquiſhed: neither was that victory of any vſe to them; the *Cyprians*, in whoſe aide they came, being vtterly beaten by the *Perſian* Armie at Land, and reduced into their old ſubiection. So had the *Perſians* likewiſe by open warre and faire force ouerthrowne the *Carians* in two battailes, and reclaimed that Nation; as alſo they had recouered the Townes vpon *Helleſpont*, with ſome *Æolian* and *Ionian* Cities: when *Ariſtagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, deſirous to ſeat himſelfe in *Amphipolis*, a Colonie of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whoſe Territorie belike he landed, ouerthrew him, & cut his troupes in pieces.

About the ſame time, *Hiſtiæus* the firſt mouer of this inſurrection came downe into thoſe quarters; who hauing vndertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double dealing was detected.

But this euaſion preſerued him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Perſians*, and haſtily beheaded, leſt the King ſhould pardon him vpon remembrance of old good turnes; as it ſeemes that he would haue done, by the buriall which he commanded to be giuen to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heauie taking of his death.

Hiſtiæus had ſought to put himſelfe into *Miletus*; but the Citizens doubting his conditions, choſe rather to keepe him out, and make ſhift for themſelues, without his helpe. The ſtrength of their Citie by land, which had in old time withſtood the *Lydian* Kings, and their good Fleet which promiſed vnto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try the vttermoſt, when very few friends were left vpon that Continent to take their part. But their Nauie was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forſaking him vpon hope of pardon; and many being danted with the cauſeleſſe flight of thoſe that ſhould haue aſſiſted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it ſelfe being aſſaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens ſlaine, their wiues and children made ſlaues, and their goods a bootie to the *Perſians*, whom for ſixe yeeres ſpace they had put to ſo much trouble.

§. VIII.

The warre which Darius *made vpon Greece, with the battaile of* Marathon, *and* Darius *his death.*

THis Warre with good ſucceſſe finiſhed by the *Perſians*, and ſome attempts made on *Europe* ſide with variable ſucceſſe: *Darius* obſtinate in the enterpriſe and conqueſt of *Greece* (though at firſt hee pretended to make the Warre but againſt the *Athenians* and *Eritræans*, who ioyntly aſſiſted the *Ionians* againſt him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his embaſſadours demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, ſome of them not ſo well reſolued as the reſt, ſubmitted themſelues; as the *Æginets* and others. Againſt theſe, the *Athenians* being inflamed, (by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*) after diuers encounters forſt them to giue pledges, and to relinquiſh the party of the *Perſians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedæmonians* in this warre, and cauſed his companion-King *Demantus* to be depoſed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*; farre the more confident of victorie, by reaſon of theſe diſcords, alienations, and ciuill warres among the *Greekes*. He therefore gaue order to *Hippagoras* to prepare a Fleete of ſhippes fit to tranſport his Armie ouer the *Helleſpont*: the ſame conſiſting of an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. The charge in chiefe of his Armie he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and aſſiſted by *Hippias*, the ſonne of *Piſiſtratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twenty yeeres before, and by *Artaphernes* his brother, Gouernour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coaſt of *Aſia* the leſſe. Theſe Commanders hauing their Companies brought downe to the Sea-ſide,

Herod lib.6. Whether this Citie or People were of *Peloponeſus* in *Sicyonia*, or of *Aegaea*, betweene *Theſſalia* and *Macedon*, I doe not know: but thoſe borderers, and next the enemy, were more likely to compound than the reſt farre off. There is alſo a Citie called *AEginum*, not farre from *Aegea Liuie* 32.33.&c.

imbarked themſelues in ſixe hundred Gallies and other Veſſels; and firſt of all attempted the Iſlands called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way betweene *Aſia* the leſſe, and *Greece*. For (obtaining thoſe places) the *Perſians* had then nothing to hinder the tranſportation of their forces ouer the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrary they might alwayes both relieue themſelues in their paſſage, and ſhrowd themſelues from all ſuddaine tempeſts and outrage.

To this end they firſt poſſeſt themſelues of *Samos*, ſecondly, they attempted *Naxos*: Which Iſland, the inhabitants deſpairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was natiue: Which Iſland *Darius* did not onely forbeare to ſacke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gaue order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice, to *Apollo* erected. And hauing recouered theſe and other Iſlands, the *Perſians* directed their courſe for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*: for that Citie, (as already hath beene ſhewed) had aſſiſted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Iſland the *Perſians* tooke ground, and beſieged *Eretria* very ſtraitly, and after ſixe dayes aſſault, partly by force, and in part by the treaſon of *Euphabus* and *Philagius*; they tooke it, ſackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus farre the winds of proſperous fortune filled their ſayles. From *Eubœa* the *Perſians* paſt their Armie into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards *Athens*.

In Herod.

The *Athenians* finding the time arriued, wherein they were to diſpute with their owne vertues againſt Fortune, and to caſt lots for their liberty, for their wiues, their children, and their liues, put themſelues in the beſt order they could to make reſiſtance, and withall ſent away with ſpeede to the *Lacedæmonians* for ſuccour, imploying in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who paſſing through *Arcadia*, encountred in the way a familiar Diuell, which he ſuppoſed to be *Pan*, who willed him to aſſure the *Athenians* of victory, promiſing that ſome one of the gods ſhould be preſent at the battaile to aſſiſt them and defend them againſt the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his returne ſeeing he could not bring with him any preſent ſuccours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly auailing to bring newes from the gods, and promiſe of aſſiſtance from Heauen, which no doubt (though the deuice was ſomowhat likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages haue beene more ſtirred vp with fond Prophecies and other like ſuperſtitious fooleries, than by any iuſt cauſe or ſolid reaſon.

The *Athenians* being now left to themſelues, with one thouſand onely of the *Platæans* (who hauing beene formerly defended by the *Athenians* againſt the *Thebans*, did in this extremity witneſſe their thankefulneſſe and gratefull diſpoſition) began to diſpute, Whether it were moſt for their aduantage to defend the walles of *Athens*, or to put themſelues into the field with ſuch forces as they had, the ſame conſiſting of tenne thouſand *Athenians*, and one thouſand of the *Platæans*. In the end, and after great diuerſity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the triall by battell, preuailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* diſpoſed themſelues into three troopes: two wings or hornes, as they tearme them, and the body of a battaile. The *Perſians* when they perceiued ſo ſmall a troope aduancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather diſpoſſeſt of their vnderſtanding, than poſſeſt with the reſolution whereof they made ſhew. So inuincible and reſiſtleſſe the *Perſians* eſteemed their owne numbers to be, and that ſmall troope of their enemies then in view, rather to be deſpiſed than to be fought withall: But in concluſion, the victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, ſometime the vertue of the *Græcians*, and ſometimes the number of the *Perſians* preuailed, the *Græcians* fighting for all that they had, the *Perſians* for that they needed not, theſe great forces of *Darius* were diſordered and put in rout; the *Athenians* following their victory euen to the Sea-ſhore; where the *Perſians*, ſo many of them as loſt not their wits with their courage, ſaued themſelues in their ſhips.

The *Perſian* Armie conſiſted of an hundred thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe; of which there were ſlaine in the place ſixe thouſand three hundred, and of the *Græcians* an hundred foureſcore and twelue. For howſoeuer it came to paſſe, either by ſtrange viſions, which were afterward called *Panici terrores*, or by ſome other affright, Ad Att.

it ſeemeth, that the inuading Armie, after the firſt encounter, fought with their backes towards their enemy, and loſt that number, by *Herodotus* ſet downe, in their diſorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Iuſtines* report, That two hundred thouſand of the *Perſian* Armie were ſlaine, the ſame hath no apparance nor poſſibilitie of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perſwader of the enterpriſe was ſlaine, ſaith *Iuſtine* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tels vs, That he eſcaped, and died moſt miſerably in *Lemnos*.

In vita Ariſt.

The greateſt honour of this victory was caſt vpon *Miltiades*, who both perſwaded the triall by battaile, and behaued himſelfe therein anſwerably to the counſell which he gaue. *Themiſtocles* had his firſt reputation in this fight, being but yong and of the firſt beard. Thoſe of the *Græcians*, of marke and commandement, that fell in the firſt encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Steſileus*. It is alſo ſaid, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Perſians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to haue held it from putting off the ſhore, and hauing his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arreſt it with his left; of which alſo being depriued, he tooke hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the firſt yeere of the threeſcore and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the War made by *Coriolanus* againſt his fellow-*Romans*: *Alexander* the ſonne of *Amintas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phanippus* then Gouernor of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*; or *Hybilides*, after *Halycarnaſſeus*.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Perſians* returned backe into the leſſer *Aſia*, *Miltiades* ſought and obtained an imployment againſt the Ilanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and paſſing ouer his Companies in threeſcore and ten Gallies, after ſixe and twentie dayes aſſault he brake his thigh, in ſeeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himſelfe being made vnable, and his companies diſcouraged, he returned to *Athens*; where thoſe vngratefull Citizens forgetting all his ſeruices paſt, and that of all other the moſt renowned at the battaile of *Marathon*, did by the perſwaſion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who enuied his fame) caſt him into priſon, and ſet on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weake and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his eſtate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which enuie of the better ſort to each other, with their priuate Factions, aſſiſted by the vnthankfull and witleſſe people, brought them, not many yeeres after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to baſe ſubiection and ſlauery. *Miltiades* left behinde him one ſonne called *Cymon*, begotten on *Hegiſipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (ſaith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themiſtocles* in vnderſtanding, but exceeded them both in iuſtice and good gouernment.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recouer his honour, than ſorrow for the loſſe receiued in *Greece*, gaue order for new leuies of men, and all other warlike prouiſions. But the *Ægyptians* reuolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great ſtrength and reuenue) greatly diſtracted his reſolution for the reinuaſion of *Greece*. The diſſenſion alſo among his ſonnes, of whom, the yonger being borne after he was King, and by ſo great a mother as *Atoſſa*, diſdained to giue place to his elder brother, borne before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And laſtly, death, who hath no reſpect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his conſultations and enterpriſes, and ioyned him to the earth of his anceſtors, about a yeere after the battaile of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned ſixe and thirty yeeres. He left behinde him fiue ſonnes, namely *Artabaſanes*, borne before he obtained the kingdome, *Xerxes* who ſucceeded him, *Achemenes* gouernor of *Ægypt*, *Maſiſtes* and *Anabignes*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

§. I.

The preparation of Xerxes *againſt Greece.*

XE*rxes* receiued from his father, as hereditarie, a double Warre; one to be made againſt the *Ægyptians*, which he finiſhed ſo ſpeedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the ſame was performed: the other againſt the *Græcians*; of which it is hard to iudge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the ſucceſſe ridiculous. In the conſultation for the proſecution of this Warre, which was chiefely bent againſt the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Perſia* were diuided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, vnder *Darius*, and had alſo *Hyſtaſpes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his ſiſter *Artozoſtres*, perſwaded by many arguments the *Europæan* warre. But *Artabanus*, brother to the late *Darius*, and vncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counſell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous ſucceſſe of the two late inuaſions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counſell: The one in perſon vpon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants vpon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Armie and his honour.

He therefore beſought *Xerxes* to be right well aduiſed before he did too farre imbarke himſelfe in this buſineſſe. For whatſoeuer vndertaking hath deliberate and ſound counſell for conductor, though the ſucceſſe doe not alwayes anſwere the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing elſe thereof to vaunt, than the variableneſſe of his owne nature, which onely the diuine Prouidence, and not any humane power, can conſtraine.

But ſo obſtinate was the reſolution of *Xerxes* in proſecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by Viſions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made knowne to all thoſe that oppoſed his deſire to this Warre (changing opinion and counſell) aſſiſted the *Græcian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the Warre of *Ægypt* was ended, foure yeeres were conſumed in deſcribing and gathering an Armie for this inuaſion: which being compounded of all Nations ſubiect to the *Perſian* Empire, conſiſted of ſeauenteene hundred thouſand foot, and eighty thouſand horſemen, beſides Chariots, Camels, and other Beaſts for Carriage, if we may beleeue *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* findes the number leſſe by ſeuen hundred thouſand footmen. *Her.l.7.*

The Commanders of the ſeuerall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of *Perſia*, either by marriage in the Kings houſe, or otherwiſe: for to theſe were all commandements of this nature giuen, ſome few people excepted, who had of their owne leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was beſtowed on *Mardonius*, the ſonne of *Gobryas* by a ſiſter of *Darius*, to whom were ioyned ſome others of *Xerxes* his neereſt kindred, as Generals ouer all; ſauing that the charge of ten thouſand ſelect *Perſians*, called the immortall Regiment (becauſe if any one of the whole number died, or were ſlaine, there was another preſently choſen in his ſtead) was giuen to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thouſand horſemen were led by the ſonnes of *Datis*, who commanded the late Armie of *Darius* in Greece.

The Fleete of Gallies were 2200. and eight, furniſhed by the *Phœnicians*, who had Commanders of their owne Nation, and by the *Cypriotes*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Helleſpontines*; who were truſted with the furniſhing of their owne Veſſels, though commanded by the Princes of *Perſia*, as by *Ariabignes* the ſonne of *Darius*, and others. The reſt of the Veſſels for tranſportation were three thouſand. There were alſo certaine Gallies furniſhed by *Artemiſia*, the daughter of *Lygdames*, Princeſſe of *Halycarnaſſus*, and the Iſlands adioyning, which her ſelfe commanded. Thoſe Gallies by her prepared and furniſhed, exceeded all the reſt of the Fleet, excepting thoſe of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himſelfe was imbarked.

§. II.

Xerxes *Armie entertained by* Pythius*: his cutting off Mount Athos from the Continent: his bridge of Boates ouer the Helleſpont: and the diſcourſe betweene him and* Artabanus *vpon the view of the Armie.*

WHen this world of an Armie was throughly furniſhed, he cauſed all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendez-vous* and repaire at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had aſſembled to the number of ſeuenteene hundred thouſand foot, as he entred the body of *Celænas*, he was by one *Pythius* the *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Heards of Cattell gaue food to *Xerxes* and his whole Armie. The Feaſt ended, he alſo preſented him with two thouſand Talents of ſiluer, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting ſeauen thouſand of the *Perſian Darici*, which make ſo many of our markes.

The King ouercome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not onely refuſe his treaſure offered, but commanded that ſeuen thouſand *Darici* ſhould be giuen him to make vp his foure Millions; of which, ſo many thouſands were wanting when he made the preſent. But ſoone after, when *Pythius* beſought him to ſpare one of his fiue ſonnes from his attendance into *Greece* (becauſe himſelfe was old, and had none whom he could ſo well truſt as his owne ſonne) *Xerxes* moſt barbarouſly cauſed the young man, for whom his father ſought exemption, to be ſundered into two parts, commanding, that the one halfe of his carkaſſe ſhould be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-ſide. The one was a paſſage for Gallies to be cut behinde Mount *Athos*, making the ſame (with the halfe Iſland or Headland, whereon it ſtood) to be an entire Iſland, ſundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* fiue Cities, beſides the Mountaine and the *Cherſoneſus* or Necke of Land it ſelfe: a worke of more oſtentation than of vſe, and yet an enterpriſe of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent hauing but twelue furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough onely for two Gallies to paſſe in front. The Cities ſo ſeuered from the maine, were *Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyſus*, and *Cleonæ*.

He alſo gaue order, that a Bridge vpon Boats ſhould be made ouer the *Helleſpont* betweene *Abidus* and *Seſtos*, the Sea there hauing a myle of breadth, wanting an eight part; which after the finiſhing, was by a Tempeſt torne aſunder and diſſeuered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than diſcouraged, commanded thoſe to be ſlaine that were maſters of the worke, and cauſed ſixe hundred threeſcore and foureteene Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and induſtrie of the *Phœnicians* was ſo well anchored to reſiſt both windes blowing into and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the ſame being well boorded and rayled, the whole Armie of ſeuenteene hundred thouſand foot, and foureſcore thouſand Horſe, with all the Moyles and Carriages, paſt ouer it into *Europe* in ſeuen dayes and ſeuen nights, without intermiſſion. This tranſportation of Armies did *Cæſar* afterward vſe. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finiſhed, and the Armie brought neere to the Sea-ſide, *Xerxes* tooke a view of all his Troupes, aſſembled in the Plaines of *Abidus*, being carried vp, and ſeated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adioyning: and after he had gloried in his owne happineſſe, to behold and command ſo many Nations, and ſo powerfull an Armie and Fleet, he ſuddenly (notwithſtanding) burſt out into teares, moued with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeeres there ſhould not any one ſuruiue of that maruellous multitude: the cauſe of which ſudden change of paſſion when he vttered to *Artabanus* his vncle, *Artabanus* ſpake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the diſſolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeeres by the King remembred, is, That the life it ſelfe which we enioy is yet more miſerable than the end thereof: for in thoſe few dayes giuen vs in the world, there is no man among all theſe, nor elſewhere, that euer found himſelfe ſo accompanied with happineſſe, but that he oftentimes pleaſed himſelfe better with the deſire and hope of death, than of liuing; the incident calamities, diſeaſes, and ſorrowes whereto mankinde is ſubiect, being ſo many and ineuitable, that the ſhorteſt life doth oftentimes appeare vnto vs ouer-long; to auoid all which, there is neither refuge nor reſt, but in deſired death alone.

With this melancholy diſcourſe, *Xerxes* being not much pleaſed, prayed *Artabanus* not to ouer-caſt thoſe ioyes which they had now in purſuit with ſad remembrances. And holding ſtill a doubtfull conceit, that *Artabanus* vtterly condemned the inuaſion of *Greece*, againſt which he had formerly giuen many ſtrong reaſons, deſired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his firſt reſolution, that the enterpriſe of *Greece* could not be proſperous? Or whether, according to the change of minde put into him by his late Viſion, he was confident of good ſucceſſe? *Artabanus*, notwithſtanding that hee aſſured himſelfe of the Kings reſolution to goe on, and dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great purpoſe it ſelfe, yet hee told the King, That there were two things which maruellouſly affrighted him, and which the King ſhould finde, as he feared, to be moſt aduerſe; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, becauſe it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of ſo great a Fleet: inſomuch, as if any tempeſt ſhould ariſe, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receiue them, nor all the Hauens thereof afford them any ſafety: and therefore when any ſuch ſhelter ſhall bee wanting vnto them, he prayed him to vnderſtand, that in ſuch a caſe of extremity, men are left to the will and diſpoſition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and diſpoſition of men. The Land, beſides other incommodities, will be found by ſo much the more an enemie, by how much the vnſatiate deſire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth leade him forward: for were there no man found to giue reſiſtance, yet the want of meanes to feede ſuch an Army, and the Famine, which cannot be preuented, will without any other violence offered diſ-inable and conſume it. By theſe Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to haue diuerted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to vtter what indeed hee moſt feared; to wit, the ouerthrow of the Armie it ſelfe both by Sea and Land, which ſoone after followed. Theſe Cautions were exceeding weightie, if *Xerxes* his obſtinacie had not miſ-priſed them. For to inuade by Sea vpon a perillous Coaſt, being neither in poſſeſſion of any Port, nor ſuccoured by any party, may better fit a Prince preſuming on his fortune, than enriched with vnderſtanding. Such was the enterpriſe of *Philip* the ſecond vpon *England* in the yeere 1588. who had belike neuer heard of this Counſell of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the ſecond point, it was very likely, that *Xerxes* his Armie, which could not haue in it leſſe then two millions of Soules, beſides his beaſts for Seruice and Carriage, ſhould after a few daies ſuffer famine, and vſing *Machiauels* words, *Mourire ſans couſteo; die without a knife.* For it was impoſſible for *Greece*, being a ragged, ſtrait and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (beſides what ſerued themſelues) for twenty hundred thouſand ſtrangers, whom they neuer meant to entertaine, but with the ſharpened points of their weapons, deſtroying withall whatſoeuer they could not well incloſe and defend. Nay, if we may beleeue *Herodotus*, the Armie of *Xerxes*, being reuiewed at *Thermopylæ*, conſiſted of fiue millions, two hundred eighty three thouſand, two hundred twentie men, beſides Laundreſſes, Harlots and Horſes, and was therefore likely to endure a ſpeedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his anſwere was, That it was impoſſible to prouide for all things; and that whoſoeuer ſhould enterpriſe any great matter, if hee gaue the hearing to all that could be obiected of accidentall inconueniences, hee ſhould neuer purſue the ſame farther, then the diſpute and conſultation: which if his Predeceſſors, the *Perſian* Kings, had done, they had neuer growne to that greatneſſe, or poſſeſt ſo many Kingdomes and Nations as now they did; and therefore concluded, That great enterpriſes were neuer vndertaken without great perils. Which reſolution of *Xerxes* was not to bee condemned, if any neceſſity had enforſt him to that warre. But ſeeing the many Nations newlie conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could bee conſtrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull proſperity of the *Perſians* endured, and that *Greece* was ſeparated by the Sea from the reſt of *Xerxes* Dominions (of whoſe reſolution his Father *Darius* had made a deare experience) the fruit of this warre was anſwerable to the plantation, and the ſucceſſe and end agreeable to the weake counſell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, thoſe millions of men which he tranſported, and yet in his owne iudgement not ſufficient, (for he gathered in marching on, all the ſtrength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the *Greekes* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and reſolution, whom he conducted. For it is wiſely ſaid of thoſe vncountable multitudes: *Non vires habēt ſed pondus, & impedimenta potiùs ſunt quàm auxilium; They are great in bulke, but weake in forces, and rather a luggage than an aide.*

Beſides, as it was impoſſible to marſhall ſuch a world of men in one Armie, ſo the diuers Nations, ſpeaking diuers languages, bred the ſame confuſion among the *Perſian* commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to worke. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his fiue millions compounded ten Armies of fiftie thouſand choſen ſouldiors in each, and ſent them yeerely into *Greece* well victualled and furniſhed, he had either preuailed by the ſword, or forced them to forſake their territorie, or brought them into obedience by neceſſitie and famine, which cannot be reſiſted. But while *Xerxes*, reſolued to cut downe the bankes of *Greece*, and to let in a ſea of men vpon them, he was deceiued both of his owne hopes, and in their hearts whom he imployed, and beaten by the *Greekes*, both by Land and Sea; yea, hee himſelfe, conducted by his feare, fled ſhamefully into *Aſia*. A great part of his Armie was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which wintred in *Theſſalie*, and led by *Mardonius*, who perſwaded the enterpriſe, was in the Summer following vtterly defeated, and himſelfe ſlaine.

§. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylæ and Artemiſium.

AFter ſuch time as *Xerxes* had tranſported the Armie ouer the *Helleſpont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leauing the deſcription of his paſſage alongſt that Coaſt, and how the Riuer of *Liſſus* was drunke drie by his multitudes, and the Lake neere to *Piſſyrus* by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will ſpeake of the encounters he had, and the ſhamfull and incredible ouerthrowes which he receiued. As firſt at *Thermopylæ*, a narrow paſſage of halfe an acre of ground, lying betweene the Mountaines which diuide *Theſſalie* from *Greece*, where ſometime the *Phocians* had raiſed a wall with gates, which was then for the moſt part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, aſſiſted with one thouſand *Tegeatæ* and *Mantineans*, one thouſand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponeſians*, to the number of three thouſand one hundred in the whole; beſides one thouſand *Phocians*, foure hundred *Thebans*, ſeuen hundred *Theſpians*, and all the forces (ſuch as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*; defended the paſſage two whole dayes together againſt that huge Armie of the *Perſians*. The valour of the *Greekes* appeared ſo excellent in this defence, that in the firſt dayes fight, *Xerxes* is ſaid to haue three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the deſtruction of his Armie by one handfull of thoſe men, whom not long before he had vtterly deſpiſed: and when the ſecond dayes attempt vpon the *Greekes* had proued vaine, he was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and ſo might haue continued, had not a run-agate *Gracian* taught him a ſecret way, by which part of his Armie might aſcend the ledge of Mountaines, and ſet vpon the backs of thoſe who kept the Straits. But when the moſt valiant of the *Perſian* Armie had almoſt incloſed the ſmall forces of the *Greekes*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, with his three hundred, and ſeuen hundred *Theſpians*, which were all that abode by him, refuſe to quit the place which they had vndertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not onely reſiſt that world of men which charged them on all ſides; but iſſuing out of their ſtrength, made ſo great a ſlaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquiſhers, though all of them were ſlaine vpon the place. *Xerxes* hauing loſt in this laſt fight, together with twenty thouſand other Souldiers and Captaines, two of his owne brethren, began to doubt what inconuenience might befall him by the vertue of ſuch as had not beene preſent at theſe battailes, with whom he knew that he ſhortly was to deale. Eſpecially of the *Spartans* he ſtood in great feare, whoſe manhood had appeared ſingular in this tryall, which cauſed him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to haue terrified him by ſaying, That the flight of the *Perſian* arrowes was ſo thicke as would hide the Sunne: he anſwered thus; It is very good newes: for then ſhall we fight in the coole ſhade.

Such notable reſolution hauing as freely beene expreſſed in deedes, as it was vttered in words, cauſed the *Perſian* to ſtand in great doubt, when he heard that the Citie of *Sparta* could arme well-nigh eight thouſand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedæmonians*, though inferior to thoſe, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counſell of *Demaratus*, a baniſhed King of the *Spartans*, who had alwayes well aduiſed and inſtructed him in the things of *Greece*, what courſe were fitteſt to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces would aſſemble together to defend the *Iſthmus*, that ſtreight necke of ground which ioyneth *Peloponneſus* to the Continent. For which cauſe he aduiſed, That three hundred ſhips well manned ſhould be ſent vnto the Coaſt of *Laconia*, to ſpoyle the Countrie, and to hold the *Lacedæmonians* and their neighbours buſied at home; whileſt *Xerxes* at his leaſure hauing ſubdued the reſt, might afterward bring his whole power vpon them, who remaining deſtitute of ſuccour, would be too weake alone to make reſiſtance. To this purpoſe alſo the ſame *Demaratus* further aduiſed, that the ſaid Fleet of three hundred ſhips ſhould ſeize vpon the Iland then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying neere to the Coaſt of *Laconia*, might ſerue as a fit place of *Rendez vous* vpon all occaſions, either of their owne defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient ſpeech of *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian* ſhould be verified, that it were better for his Country-men to haue that Ile drowned in the ſea, than ſtand ſo inconueniently as for them it did. What effect this counſell might haue taken, had it beene followed, it is not eaſie to gueſſe. But a contrary opinion of *Achæmenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the ſafer. For the *Perſian* fleet had bin ſorely vexed with a grieuous tempeſt which continued three whole dayes together, wherein were loſt vpon the coaſt of *Magneſia* foure hundred ſhips of war, beſides other veſſels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreſeene, that if any ſuch calamity ſhould ouertake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to giue them ſuccour. Therefore *Achæmenes* perſwaded his brother not to diſperſe his fleet; for if (ſaid he) after the loſſe of foure hundred ſhips we ſhall ſend away other three hundred to ſeeke aduentures, then will the *Greekes* be ſtrong enough by ſea to encounter the reſt of the Nauie, which holding altogether is inuincible. To this counſell *Xerxes* yeelded, hoping that his Land-armie and fleet ſhould each of them ſtand the other in good ſtead, whileſt both held one courſe, and lay not farre aſunder. But herein he was farre deceiued; for about the ſame time that his armie had felt the valour of the *Greekes* by Land, his Nauie likewiſe made a ſorrowfull proofe of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Gracians* fleet lay at that time at *Artemiſium* in the ſtraits of *Eubœa*, where the *Perſians* thinking to incompaſſe them, ſent two hundred ſayle about the Iland to fall vpon them behinde, vſing a like ſtratagem to that which their King did practiſe againſt *Leonidas* in a caſe not vnlike, but with farre different ſucceſſe. For that narrow channell of the ſea which diuideth *Eubœa* from the maine, was in the ſame ſort held by a Nauy of two hundred threeſcore and eleuen ſaile againſt the huge *Perſian Armada*, as the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ* had formerly beene maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumuented, as this Nauie might haue beene, but was not. The departure of thoſe two hundred ſhips that were ſent about the Iland, and the cauſe of their voyage, was too well knowne in the *Perſian* fleet, and ſoone enough diſcloſed to the *Greekes*, who ſetting ſaile by night, met them with a counter-ſurpriſe, taking and ſinking thirty veſſels, inforcing the reſt to take the Sea, where being ouertaken with foule weather, they were driuen vpon the rockes and caſt all away. Contrariwiſe, the Nauie of the *Greekes* was increaſed by the arriuall of fiftie three *Athenian* ſhips, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their party in the laſt fight. As theſe new forces incouraged the one ſide: ſo the feare of *Xerxes* his diſpleaſure ſtirred vp the other to redeeme their loſſe with ſome notable exploit. Wherefore ſetting aſide their vnfortunate policy, they reſolued in plaine fight to repaire their honour, & caſting themſelues into the forme of a Creſcent, thought ſo to incloſe the *Greekes*, who readily did preſent them battell at *Artemiſium*.

The fight endured from noone till night, and ended with equall loſſe to both parts. For though more of the *Perſian* ſhips were ſunke and taken, yet the leſſer loſſe fell altogether

gether as heauy vpon the *Greekiſh* fleet, which being ſmall could worſe beare it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may ſeeme to haue had the worſe, that they forſook the place of fight, leauing the wracke and ſpoyles to the enemy, who neuertheleſſe were faine to abandon preſently euen the paſſage which they had vndertaken to defend, both for that many of their ſhips were ſorely cruſht in the battaile, and eſpecially becauſe they had receiued aduertiſement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylæ*. Before they wayed anchors, *Themiſtocles* Generall of the *Athenians* engraued vpon ſtone at the watering place an exhortation to the *Ionians*; that either they ſhould reuolt vnto the *Greekes*, or ſtand neutrall; which perſwaſion, he hoped would either take ſome place with them, or at the leaſt make them ſuſpected by the *Perſians*.

§ IIII.

The attempt of Xerxes *vpon* Apolloes *temple: and his taking of Athens.*

WHen *Xerxes* had paſſed the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*, he waſted the countrey of the *Phocians*, and the regions adioyning: as for the inhabitants, they choſe rather to flye, and reſerue themſelues to a day of battell, than to aduenture their liues into his hands, vpon hope of ſauing their wealth, by making proffer vnto him of their ſeruice. Part of his armie he ſent to ſpoyle the Temple of *Delphi*; which was exceeding rich by meanes of many offerings that had there beene made by diuers Kings and great perſonages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inuentorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great aſtoniſhment that fell vpon the companies which ariued at the Temple to haue ſacked it, and of two Rockes, that breaking from the mount *Parnaſſus*, ouerwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peraduenture ſomewhat ſuperſtitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who liued not long after, ſaith, That the broken Rockes remained euen to his memory in the Temple of *Minerua*, whither they rowled in their fall. And ſurely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for ſeeing he beleeued that *Apollo* was a god, he ſhould not haue dared to entertaine a couetous deſire of inriching himſelfe by committing ſacriledge vpon his Temple. Wherefore it may poſſibly be true, that licence to chaſtiſe his impietie, in ſuch manner as is reported, was granted vnto the Diuell, by that Holy one, who ſaith, *Will a man ſpoyle his gods?* and elſewhere; *Hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Goe to the Iles of Kittim, and behold, and ſend to Kedar, and take diligent heede, and ſee whether there be any ſuch things.* Now this impietie of *Xerxes* was the more inexcuſable, for that the *Perſians* alleadged the burning of *Cybeles* Temple by the *Athenians*, when they ſet fire on the Citie of *Sardis* in *Aſia*, to be the ground and cauſe of the waſte which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeede, in the enterpriſe againſt *Delphos*, this Vizzor of holy and zealous reuenge falling off, diſcouered the face of couetouſneſſe ſo much the more vglie, by how much the more themſelues had profeſſed a deteſtation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kinde by meere miſchance.

Malac.c.3.v.8.
Ierem.c.2.v.9. & 10.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expreſſed briefely thus: *He came to Athens, which finding forſaken, he tooke and burnt the Cittadel and temple which was therein.* The Cittadel indeede was defended a while by ſome of more courage than wiſedome, who litterally interpreting *Apolloes* Oracle; *that Athens ſhould be ſafe in woodden wals*, had fortified that place with boords and *Paliſſadoes*: too weake to hold out long, though by their deſperate valour ſo well maintained at the firſt aſſault, that they might haue yeelded it vpon tolerable conditions, had they not vainely relied vpon the prophecie: whereof (being ſomewhat obſcure) it was wiſely done of *Themiſtocles*, to make diſcretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the preſent neede, than faſhioning the buſineſſe to words.

§. V.

How Themiſtocles *the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.*

THe *Athenians* had, before the comming of *Xerxes*, remoued their wiues and children into *Træzene*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, not ſo highly prizing their houſes and lands, as their freedome, aud the common liberty of *Greece*. Neuertheleſſe, this great zeale, which the *Athenians* did ſhew for the generall good of their Countrie, was ill requited by the other *Greekes*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to ſtay for them at *Salamis*, whileſt they remooued their wiues and children out of the Citie. But when the City of *Athens* was taken, it was preſently reſolued vpon, that they ſhould forſake the Ile of *Salamis*, and withdraw the fleet to *Iſtumus*: which necke of land they did purpoſe to fortifie againſt the *Perſians*, & ſo to defend *Peloponneſus* by Land, and Sea, leauing the reſt of *Greece* as indefenſible, to the furie of the enemie. So ſhould the Ilands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* haue beene abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there beſtowed as in places of ſecuritie) haue beene giuen ouer into mercileſſe bondage. Againſt this reſolution *Themiſtocles*, Admirall of the *Athenian* fleet, very ſtrongly made oppoſition; but in vaine. For the *Peloponneſians* were ſo poſſeſſed with feare of loſing their owne, which they would not hazard, that no perſwaſions could obtaine of them, to regard the eſtate of their diſtreſſed friends and Allies. Many remonſtrances *Themiſtocles* made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enemie at *Salamis*; As firſt in priuate vnto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the ſelfe-ſame feare which made them forſake thoſe coaſts of *Greece*, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no checke at the firſt) cauſe them alſo to diſſeuer the fleet, and euery one of the Confederates to with-draw himſelfe to the defence of his owne Citie and eſtate: Then to the Councell of Warre which *Eurybiades* vpon this motion did call together (forbearing to obiect what want of courage might worke in them hereafter) he ſhewed that the fight at *Iſthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, hauing the fewer ſhips, to determine the matter in the ſtreights; and that, beſides the ſafeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they ſhould by abiding, where they then were, ſufficiently defend *Iſthmus*, which the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſo much as once looke vpon, if the *Greekes* obtained victorie by ſea; which they could not ſo well hope for elſewhere, as in that preſent place which gaue him ſo good aduantage. All this would not ſerue to retaine the *Peloponneſians*, of whom one, vnworthy of memorie, vpbraided *Themiſtocles* with the loſſe of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for ſuffering one to ſpeake in the Councell, that had no Countrie of his own to inhabite. A baſe and ſhamefull obiection it was, to lay as a reproach that loſſe, which being voluntarily ſuſtained for the common good, was in true eſtimation by ſo much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exaſperate *Themiſtocles*, and put into his mouth a reply ſo ſharpe, as auailed more then all his former perſwaſions. Hee told them all plainely, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer Citie, than any Nation of *Greece* could boaſt of; hauing well-neere two hundred good ſhippes of Warre, the better part of the *Græcian* fleet, with which it was eaſie for them to tranſport their Families and ſubſtance into any part of the World, and ſettle themſelues in a more ſecure habitation, leauing thoſe to ſhift as well as they might, who in their extremitie had refuſed to ſtand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a towne in *Italie* belonging of olde to the State of *Athens*, of which towne hee ſaid an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians* in proceſſe of time ſhould build it a-new, and there (quoth hee) will we plant our ſelues, leauing vnto you a ſorrowfull remembrance of my words, and of your owne vnthankefulneſſe. The *Peloponneſians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better conſideration of the *Athenians*, whoſe affaires depended not, as they well perceiued, vpon ſo weake termes, that they ſhould be driuen to crouch to others; but rather were ſuch, as might inforce the reſt to yeeld to them, and condeſcend euen to the vttermoſt of their owne demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they firſt embraced that Heroicall reſolution of leauing their grounds and houſes to fire and ruine, if neceſſity ſhould inforce them ſo farre, for the preſeruation of their liberty; did imploy the moſt of their priuate wealth, and all the common treaſure, in building a great Nauie. By theſe meanes they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no ſuch calamity ſhould befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoiſed by great aduantages at ſea: Knowing well, that a ſtrong fleet would either procure victorie at home, or a ſecure paſſage to any other Countrie. The other States of *Greece* held it ſufficient, if building a few new ſhips, they did ſomewhat amend their Nauie. Wherby it came to paſſe, that, had they been vanquiſhed, they could not haue expected any other fortune than either preſent death, or perpetual ſlauerie; neither could they hope to be victorious without the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, whoſe forces by ſea did equall all theirs together; the whole conſiſting of more than three hundred and fourescore bottomes. Wherefore theſe *Peloponneſians* beginning to ſuſpect their owne condition, which would haue ſtood vpon deſperate points, if the fleet of *Athens* had forſaken them; were ſoone perſwaded, by the greater feare of ſuch a bad euent, to forget the leſſer, which they had conceiued of the *Perſians:* and laying aſide their inſolent brauery, they yeelded to that moſt profitable counſaile of abiding at *Salamis.*

§. VI.

How the Perſians conſulted about giuing battaile: and how Themiſtocles *by policie held the Greekes to their reſolution; with the victorie at Salamis thereupon enſuing.*

IN the meane ſeaſon the *Perſians* had entred into conſultation, whether it were conuenient to offer battell to the *Greekes*, or no. The reſt of the Captaines giuing ſuch aduice as they thought would beſt pleaſe the King their Maſter, had ſoone agreed vpon the fight: but *Artemiſia* Queen of *Halicarnaſſus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this warre in perſon, was of contrary opinion, Her counſell was, that the King himſelfe directly ſhould march toward *Peloponneſus*, whereby it would come to paſſe, that the *Greeke* Nauie (vnable otherwiſe to continue long at *Salamis* for want of prouiſion) ſhould preſently be diſſeuered, and euery one ſeeking to preſerue his owne Citie and goods, they ſhould, being diuided, proue vnable to reſiſt him, who had won ſo far vpon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to giue battell; ſo on the other ſide, the danger will be more (ſaid ſhe) which wee ſhall vndergoe, than any need requireth vs to aduenture vpon; and the loſſe in caſe it fall vpon vs, greater than the profit of the victory which we deſire. For if we compell the enemies to flie, it is more than they would haue done, wee ſitting ſtill: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put vs to the worſt, the iourney to *Peloponneſus* is vtterly daſht, and many that now declare for vs, will ſoone reuolt vnto the *Greekes*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had ſent for that purpoſe to the fleet, related vnto his Maſter the common conſent of the other Captaines, and withall this diſagreeing opinion of *Artemiſia*. The King well pleaſed with her aduice, yet reſolued vpon following the more generall, but farre-worſe counſaile of the reſt; which would queſtionleſſe haue beene the ſame which *Aremiſia* gaue, had not feare and flatterie made all the Captaines vtter that, as out of their owne iudgement, which they thought to bee moſt conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeede that *Xerxes* had entertained a vaine perſwaſion of much good, that his owne preſence vpon the ſhore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore hee incamped vpon the Sea-ſide, pitching his owne Tent on the mount *Ægaleus*; which is oppoſite vnto the Ile of *Salamis*, whence at eaſe he might ſafely view all which might happen in that action, hauing Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behauiour of euery Captaine. The neere approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countrimen ſhewed in fortifying the *Iſthmus*, and of a *Perſian* Armie, marching a-pace thither; did now againe ſo terrifie and amaze the *Peloponneſians*, that no intreatie, nor conteſtation would ſuffice to hold them together. For they thought it meere madneſſe to fight for a Countrey already loſt, when they rather ſhould endeuour to ſaue that which remained vnconquered; propounding chiefly to themſelues what miſery would befall them, if loſing the victory, they ſhould be driuen into *Salamis*, there to be ſhut vp, and beſieged round in a poore deſolate Iland.

Hereupon they reſolued forth-with to ſet ſaile for *Iſthmus*: which had preſently beene done, if the wiſedome of *Themiſtocles* had not preuented it. For he perceiuing what a violent feare had ſtopt vp their eares againſt all good counſaile, did practiſe another courſe, and forth-with labour to preuent the execution of this vnwholeſome decree; not ſuffering the very houre of performance to finde him buſie in wrangling alteration. As ſoone as the Councell brake vp, he diſpatched ſecretly a truſtie Gentleman to the *Perſian* Captaines, informing them truely of the intended flight, and exhorting them to ſend part of their Nauie about the Iland, which incompaſſing the *Greekes*, might preuent their eſcape; giuing them withall a falſe hope of his aſſiſtance. The *Perſians* no ſooner heard than beleeued theſe good newes, well knowing that the victorie was their owne aſſured, if the *Athenian* fleet ioyned with them; which they might eaſily hope, conſidering what abilitie their Maſter had to recompence for ſo doing, both the Captaines with rich rewards, and the People with reſtitution of their Citie, and Territories. By theſe meanes it fell out, that when the *Greekes* very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they found themſelues incloſed round with *Perſians*, who had laboured hard all that night, ſending many of their ſhips about the Iſle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemie in reare, and landing many of their men in the Iſle of *Pſyttalea*, which lyeth ouer-againſt *Salamis*, to ſaue ſuch of their owne, and kill ſuch of the *Græcian* partie, as by any misfortune, ſhould be caſt vpon the ſhore. Thus did meere neceſſitie enforce the *Græcians* to vndertake the battaile in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victorie, ſtemming the formoſt of their enemies, and chaſing the reſt, who falling foule one vpon another, could neither conueniently fight nor flie. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkeable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a weariſome taske of writing downe many diſaſters that befell the *Perſian* fleet, which ill acquitted it ſelfe that day, doing no one piece of ſeruice worthy the preſence of their King, or the regiſtring of his Notaries. As for the *Greekes*, they might well ſeeme to haue wrought out that victorie with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was aſcribed to thoſe of *Ægina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did flie towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-armie of *Xerxes* lay, the ſhips of *Ægina* hauing poſſeſſed the Straights, did ſinke or take them, whileſt the *Athenians* did valiantly giue charge vpon thoſe that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of reſiſting.

§. VII.

Of things following after the battaile of Salamis: and of the flight of Xerxes.

AFter this victory, the *Greekes* intending by way of ſcrutinie, to determine which of the Captaines had beſt merited of them, in all this great ſeruice; euery Captaine, being ambitious of that honour, did in the firſt place write downe his owne name, but in the ſecond place as beſt deſeruing next vnto himſelfe, almoſt euery Suffrage did concur vpon *Themiſtocles*. Thus priuate affection yeelded vnto vertue, as ſoone as her owne turne was ſerued. The *Perſian* King, as not amazed with this calamitie, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in ſuch faſhion, that they which were beſt acquainted with his temper, might eaſily diſcerne his faint heart, through his painted lookes. Eſpecially, *Mardonius*, Author of the Warre, beganne to caſt a warie eye vpon his Maſter, fearing leſt his counſell ſhould be rewarded according to the euent. Wherefore purpoſing rather to aduenture his life in purſuite of the victorie, than to caſt it away by vnder-going his Princes indignation; hee aduiſed the King to leaue vnto him three hundred thouſand men, with which forces hee promiſed to reduce all *Greece* vnder the ſubiection of the *Perſian* Scepter. Heerewithall he forgot not to ſooth *Xerxes* with many faire words; telling him, that the cowardiſe of thoſe *Ægyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like mettall, nothing better than ſlaues, who had ſo ill behaued themſelues in the late Sea-ſeruice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies beene victorious, and had alreadie ſubdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it ſelfe, againſt which the Warre was principally intended. Theſe words found very good acceptance in the Kings eare, who preſently betooke himſelfe to his iourney homewards, making the more haſte, for that he vnderſtood, how the *Greeks* had a purpoſe to ſaile to *Helleſpont*, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his paſſage. True it was that the *Greekes* had no ſuch intent, but rather wiſhed his haſty departure, knowing that hee would leaue his Armie not ſo ſtrong, as it ſhould haue beene, had he in perſon remained with it. And for this cauſe did *Eurybiades* giue counſell, that by no meanes they ſhould attempt the breaking of that bridge, leſt neceſſitie ſhould inforce the *Perſians* to take more courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beaſts. Wherefore *Themiſtocles* did, vnder pretence of friendſhip, ſend a falſe aduertiſement vnto this timerous Prince, aduiſing him to conuay himſelfe into *Aſia* with all ſpeed, before his bridge were diſſolued: which counſell *Xerxes* took very kindly, and haſtily followed, as before is ſhewed. Whether it were ſo that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repaſſed into *Aſia*; or whether it were torne in ſunder by tempeſts, and he thereby driuen to imbarke himſelfe in ſome obſcure veſſell, it is not greatly materiall; though the *Greekes* did moſt willingly imbrace the later of theſe reports. Howſoeuer it were, this flight of his did well eaſe the Countrie; that was thereby diſburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locuſts, had before ouerwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations betweene Mardonius *and the Athenians, as alſo betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians; after the flight of* Xerxes.

Mardonius with his three hundred thouſand had withdrawne himſelfe into *Theſſalie*, whence he ſent *Alexander*, the ſonne of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embaſſador to the *Athenians*, with promiſe of large amends for all their loſſes receiued; and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne deſires; allowing them to retaine their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and aſſiſt him in that Warre.

The *Athenians* had now reentred their Citie, but not as yet brought backe their wiues and children; for as much as they well perceiued that the place could not be ſecure, till the Armie of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians*, vnderſtanding what faire conditions this Embaſſador would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, leſt he ſhould finde good and ready acceptance. Heereupon, they likewiſe very ſpeedily diſpatched their Embaſſadors for *Athens*, who arriuing before the *Macedonian* had audience, vſed the beſt of their perſwaſion to retaine the *Athenians* firm. They alleadged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre againſt the reſt of *Greece*, but had onely threatned the ſubverſion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themſelues in defence of that Citie, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie of injuſtice could not leaue them. Wee know, ſaid they, that yee haue endured great calamities, loſing the fruit of the grounds, and being driuen to forſake the Towne, the houſes whereof be ruined, and vnfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we vndertake to maintaine as our owne, your wiues and children amongſt vs, as long as the warre ſhall continue, hoping that yee, who haue alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into ſlauery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promiſes are large, but their words and oathes are of no aſſurance. It was needleſſe to vſe many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gaue anſwere to *Alexander* in preſence of the *Spartan* Embaſſadors; That whileſt the Sunne continued his courſe, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which hee might ſeeke to make purchaſe of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wiues and children, it was a burden which they promiſed to ſuſtaine themſelues, onely deſiring the *Lacedæmonians*, that with all ſpeed they would cauſe their Armie to march, for as much as it was not likelie, that *Mardonius* would long ſit ſtill in *Theſſalie*, hauing once receiued ſuch a peremptorie anſwere. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readineſſe to inuade *Attica*, they found themſelues nothing deceiued. For hee, as ſoone as *Alexander* had returned their obſtinate purpoſe of reſiſtance, did forthwith leade his Armie towards them, and their Citie: they hauing now the ſecond time quitted it, and conueyed themſelues into places of more ſecuritie abroad in the Countrie, where they expected the arriuall of their confederates. From *Athens* he ſent his Agent vnto them with inſtructions, not only to perſwade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promiſes to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was that either the people, wearied with forſaking their houſes ſo often, would be deſirous to preſerue them from fire, & to haue thoſe which were already laid waſte, reedified at the Kings charges: Or if this affection tooke no place with them, but that needs they would relie vpon their old Confederates, whoſe ſuccors did very ſlowly aduance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might be wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpoſe; all which proiects if they ſhould faile, the deſtruction of *Athens* would be a good meane to pleaſe his Maſter, King *Xerxes*, who muſt thereby needes vnderſtand that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the ſtrongeſt part of their owne Countrie. But his expectation was beguiled in all theſe. For the *Athenians* ſo little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demoſthenes* calls him)

Cyrcilus, aduiſed the *Senate* to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the *Senators*, & as many as abiding without the Counſaile-houſe heard what hee had ſaid, immediately ſet vpon him, and ſtoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or money, that had moued him to vtter ſuch a vile ſentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counſaile, and bad end, aſſembling together, did enter his houſe there; and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this brauerie notwithſtanding, when they perceyued the ſlackeneſſe of the *Peloponneſians* in giuing them aide, they were faine to betake themſelues to *Salamis* againe, the old place of their ſecuritie. Remaining there, and ſeeing little forwardnes in thoſe whom it moſt concerned to aſſiſt them, they ſent very ſeuere meſſages to *Sparta*, complaining of their ſlacknes, & threatning withal, to take ſuch courſe as might ſtand beſt with their own good, ſeeing that the common eſtate of all was ſo little regarged. Theſe meſſengers were at the firſt entertained with dilatorie anſwers, which euery day grew colder, when as the *Peloponneſian* Wall, builded a-thwart the *Iſthmus*, was almoſt finiſhed. But as the *Lacedæmonians* waxed careleſſe & dull, ſo the *Athenians* hotely preſſed them to a quick reſolution, giuing them plainly to vnderſtand, that if they ſhould hold on in thoſe dilatory courſes, it would not be long ere the city of *Athens* took a new courſe, that ſhould little pleaſe them. All this while the *Perſian* fleet lay vpon the coaſt of *Aſia*, not daring to draw neerer vnto *Greece*, as being now too weake at Sea. Likewiſe the *Greekiſh* Nauie contained it ſelfe within the Harbours vpon *Europe* ſide; both to doe ſeruice where need ſhould require at home; and withall to ſhunne the danger which might haue befallen any part of it, that being diſtracted from the reſt, had aduentured ouer-farre. So mutuall feare preſerued in quiet the Ilands lying in the midſt of the *Ægean* Seas. But it was well and ſeaſonably obſerued by a Counſellor of *Sparta*, that the wall vpon *Iſthmus* would ſerue to little purpoſe for the defence of *Peloponneſus*, if once the *Athenians* gaue eare to *Mardonius*: conſidering that many dores would be opened into that Demie-Iland, as ſoone as the Enemie ſhould by winning the friendſhip of *Athens*, become the Maſter of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* vpon this admonition, making better peruſall of their owne dangers, were very carefull to giue ſatisfaction to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, who not brooking their dalaies, were vpon point of taking leaue, yea as it ſeemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherfore diſpatching away fiue thouſand *Spartans* in the euening, vnder conduct of *Pauſanias*; they gaue audience the next day to the Embaſſadors, whoſe complaints they anſwered with vehement proteſtations of their readineſſe; deeply ſwearing that the Armie of *Sparta* was already farre vpon the iourney; and giuing them leaue to take vp other fiue thouſand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adioyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though diſtaſting ſuch want of grauitie, in a matter ſo important, were neuertheleſſe contented with the finall concluſion; and leuying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, made what haſte they could to incampe in *Attica*. The other *Græcians* were nothing ſlacke in ſending forth Companies, whoſe neere approach cauſed *Mardonius* to forſake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much diſaduantage to Horſe, wherein conſiſted the beſt of his power. Before his departure hee burnt the Citie of *Athens*, beating downe the walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly eſcaped the fury of Warre.

§. IX.

The great battaile of Platea.

IT were too long a rehearſall to ſhew all that happened in many skirmiſhes betweene the *Greekes* and him, in the Countrie of *Bœotia*, which *Mardonius* had choſen to be the ſeate of that Warre. Much time was ſpent before the quarrell was decided by the triall of one maine battell: for both parties did ſtand vpon their guard, each expecting when the other ſhould aſſaile them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thouſand, which were by him choſen out of *Xerxes* his Armie; to whom were adioyned the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedonie*, *Theſſalie*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now ſiding with the *Perſian*, furniſhed his Campe with fiftie thouſand men. Againſt theſe the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leauied an Armie of one hundred and tenne thouſand, of which forty thou-

and were weightily armed, the reſt were onely aſſiſtants to theſe forty thouſand, being armed more ſlightly, as rather to make excurſions and giue chaſe, than to ſuſtaine any ſtrong charges.

Theſe two Armies hauing eleuen daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of ſeruice; *Mardonius*, whoſe victualls beganne to faile, reſolued to begin the fray. The *Greekes* were promiſed victorie by an *Oracle*, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plaine of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, making praiers vnto certaine gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphes. But it was hard to find the certaine place which the *Oracle* deſigned. For the plaine of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territorie of *Athens*; but there was alſo an olde Temple of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, neere vnto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewiſe the memorialls of thoſe Nymphes, and Demi-gods, were in the ſame place, vpon Mount *Cithæron*, and the ground ſerued well for foot-men againſt horſe; onely the Land belonged vnto the *Platæans*, and not vnto the *Athenians*.

Whileſt the *Greekes* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull *Oracle*; the *Platæans*, to make all cleere, did freely beſtow their land on that ſide the Towne vpon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Platæans* cauſed *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to reedifie their Citie, which was ruined in the *Peloponneſian* warres.

All things being ready for battaile; the *Lacedæmonian* Generall thought it moſt meet, that the *Athenians* ſhould ſtand oppoſite that day to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, whom they had formerly vanquiſhed at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, ſhould entertaine the *Thebans* and other *Greekes* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and hauing beaten them often-times before. This being agreed vpon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* vnderſtanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whoſe valour the *Medes* and *Perſians* had felt heauy proofe, or deſiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the braueſt Souldiers in *Greece*) he did alſo change the order of his battaile, and oppoſe himſelfe to *Pauſanias*. All the *Greekes* might well perceiue how the Enemie did ſhift his wings, and *Pauſanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did alſo the like. So one whole day was ſpent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Perſians* made that day with their Archers on horſe-back, who did ſo moleſt the *Greekes* at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into conſultation of retiring; becauſe they could not without much loſſe to themſelues, and none to the enemie, lie neere to that fountaine which did ſerue all the Campe. Hauing therefore concluded among themſelues to diſlodge; and part of the Armie being ſent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceiued their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him ſeemed to proceed out of meere cowardiſe) he charged them in the reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedæmonians* being ouer-taken by the enemies horſe, and ouer-whelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly ſit ſtill, not making any reſiſtance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and ſlaine, and ſome of eſpeciall marke loſt, before any ſigne of good ſucceſſe appeared in the entrailes.

But as ſoone as *Pauſanias* had found in the Sacrifice thoſe tokens, which the ſuperſtition of that Age and Countrie accounted fortunate; hee gaue the Signall of battaile: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did ſit vpon the ground, as was their manner, aroſe altogether, and with excellent courage receiued the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging vpon them without any feare of ſuch notable reſiſtance. The reſt of the *Greeke* Armie that was in march, being reuoked by *Pauſanias*, came in a-pace to ſuccour the *Lacedæmonians*: onely that part of the Armie which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arriue vnto the place of the great battaile, becauſe the *Thebans*, and other *Greekes* confederated with the *Perſians*, gaue them checke by the way. Neuertheleſſe, the *Spartans* with other their Aſſiſtants, did ſo well acquite themſelues, that the *Perſians* were vanquiſhed, and *Mardonius* with many thouſands more ſlaine in the field; the reſt fledde into the Campe, which they had fortified with woodden walls, and there defended themſelues with ſuch courage as deſperate neceſſity inforced them vnto, holding out the longer, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the manner of aſſaulting Fortreſſe, and Walls. In the meane time the *Athenians* hauing found ſtrong oppoſition of the *Thebanes*, and *Theſſalians*, did with much labor and courage obtaine victorie, which hauing not long purſued, they came to helpe the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found wearily buſied in aſſaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themſelues vnder-took it, and in ſhort ſpace forced a paſſage through the Wall; at which breach firſt, and then on all ſides, the *Greekes* entred with ſuch furie, and iuſt deſire of vengeance, that of three hundred thouſand they are ſaid not to haue left three thouſand aliue; excepting thoſe who fledde away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Perſian* Armie firſt fell to rout.

If the execution were ſo great, as is reported, an eſpeciall cauſe of it was the fooliſh retrait, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were ſo, that the place was well fortified, and the number of thoſe who caſt themſelues into it greater than any of the Aſſailants; yet they being of ſeuerall Nations and Languages, and hauing loſt their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was impoſſible that they in ſuch a terrour and aſtoniſhment ſhould make good that peece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemie Countrie, againſt an Armie of men, farre mor valiant than themſelues, and enflamed with preſent victorie. Therefore the ſame wall which for a few houres had preſerued their liues, by holding out the Enemie, did now impale them, and leaue them to the ſlaughtering furie of vnpittifull Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Theſſalie*, and other Countries in his way, that he was ſent by *Mardonius* vpon ſome piece of ſeruice: For he well knew, that had they vnderſtood any thing of that great diſcomfiture, all places would haue beene hoſtile vnto him, and ſought with his ruine to purchaſe fauour of the vanquiſhers. Therefore making ſo large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and loſt, he came to *Byzantium*, whence hee ſhipped his men ouer into *Aſia*. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, vndertaken by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greekes*, vpon hope of honour, and Conqueſt, though ſorting otherwiſe, accordingly as *Artabzaus* had fore-ſeene, and rather worſe, for as much as it began the quarrell, which neuer ended, before the ruine of the *Perſian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greekes*, deſpiſed and ſought to haue beene brought into ſlauery. Hereby it may ſeeme, that the viſion appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himſelfe, who had formerly diſpoſed of thoſe things, ordaining the ſubuerſion of the *Perſian* Monarchie by the *Greekes*, who, thus prouoked, entred into greater conſideration of their owne ſtrength, and the weakeneſſe of their Enemies.

§. X.

The battaile of Mycale, with a ſtrange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.

THe ſame day on which the battaile was fought at *Platæa*, there was another battaile fought at *Mycale*, a Promontorie, or Head-land in *Aſia*, where the *Perſian* fleet rode.

Leutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greeke* Nauie, at the requeſt of ſome Ilanders & *Ionians*, did ſaile into thoſe parts, to deliuer the *Samians*, & procure the *Ionians* to reuolt from the *Perſian*. *Xerxes* himſelfe at this time lay at *Sardis*, a Citie in *Lydia*, not farre from the Sea-ſide, hauing left threeſcore thouſand vnder the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionia* and the Sea-coaſt. Therefore when *Artayntes* and *Ithramitres*, Admiralls of the *Perſian* fleete, vnderſtood that the *Greekes* bent their courſe towards them; they did forth-with draw their ſhips a-ground, fortifying with *Paliſſadoes* & otherwiſe, as much ground as was needfull for the encamping of al their Land & Sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arriuall, perceiuing that they meant to keepe within their ſtrength, & reſoluing to force them out of it, rowed with his Gally cloſe aboord the ſhore and called vpon the *Ionians* (who more for feare then good will were encamped among the *Perſians*) exhorting them in the *Greeke* tongue to remember liberty, & vſe the faire occaſion which they now had to recouer it. Heerein he did imitate *Themiſtocles*, who had done the like at *Eubæa*; truſting that either theſe perſwaſions would preuail, or if the *Perſians* did happen to vnderſtand them, that it would breed ſome iealouſie in them, cauſing them to fight in feare of their owne companions. It need not ſeeme ſtrange, that this very ſame ſtratageme, which little or nothing auailed *Themiſtocles*, did now very happily ſucceede. For *Xerxes* being in his full ſtrength, it was a matter of much difficultie, to perſwade thoſe Inhabitants of *Aſia* to reuolt; who now, in his declining eſtate, gaue a willing eare to the ſweet ſound of libertie. The *Perſians* likewiſe, who in their former brauerie, little regarded and leſſe feared any treaſon to be contriued by their ſubiects, were now ſo warie, that from the *Samians* which were amongſt them, they tooke away their armes; the *Mileſians* whom they did ſuſpect, but would not ſeeme to miſtruſt, they placed farre from them, as it were for defence of the ſtreight paſſages of *Mycale*; pretending that theſe *Mileſians* did beſt of all others know thoſe places. But theſe deuices little auailed them. For the *Samians* perceiuing that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold vpon ſuch weapons as came to hand, aſſailed the *Perſians* manfully within the Campe; which example the *Ionians* preſently followed, being very glad to haue found ſome that durſt beginne. It is ſaid that while the *Greekes* were yet in a march towards the Enemies campe, a rumour ſuddenly ranne in the Armie, that *Mardonius* was ouerthrowne in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was giuen out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the euening of the ſame day.

The like report of that great battaile, wherein *Paulus Æmylius* ouerthrew *Perſeus* the laſt king of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in foure daies, as *Liuie* with others doe record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the Riuer *Sagra* in *Italie*, which was heard of the ſame day in *Peloponneſus*: That of the battell againſt the *Tarquinians* and the *Latines*, preſently noyſed at *Rome*: And (which is moſt remarkeable) the victory obtained againſt *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebell to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germanie*, had corrupted his Armie with gifts and promiſes, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himſelfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the Citie of *Rome*, with feare of a dangerous Warre; it was ſodainly reported that *Antonius* was ſlaine, and his Armie defeated.

Hereupon many did offer ſacrifice to the gods, and ſhew all manner of publique ioy, as in ſuch caſes was accuſtomed. But when better inquirie was made, and the Author of theſe tidings could not bee found; the Emperour *Domitian* betooke himſelfe to his iourney againſt the Rebell; and beeing now with his Armie in march, hee receiued aduertiſement by Poſte, of the Victorie obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the rumour noiſed before in *Rome*, of the ſelfe-ſame victorie, hee found that the report and victory were borne vpon one day, though twentie thouſand furlongs (which make about fiue and twenty hundred miles) a-ſunder. It is truly ſaid of *Plutarch*, that this laſt example giues credit vnto many the like. And indeed it were very ſtrange, if among ſo many rumours, begotten by forgerie or miſtakings, and foſtered by credulous imagination, there ſhould not bee found (as happens in dreames among many thouſand vaine and friuolous) a few preciſely true. Howbeit wee may finde, that God himſelfe doth ſometimes vſe to terrifie thoſe who preſume vpon their owne ſtrength, by theſe light meanes of tumultuous noyſes; as hee raiſed the ſiege of *Samaria*, by cauſing a ſound of Horſes and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as hee threatned *Senacherib*, ſaying: *Behold, I will ſend a blaſt vpon him, and hee ſhall heare a noyſe, and returne to his owne Land.* Wherefore it may well haue beene true, that God was pleaſed by ſuch a meane as this, to animate the *Greekes*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heauy hearts, being in great feare, leſt their owne aduenture ſhould by no meanes fall out well; conſidering in what danger they had left their owne Countrie of *Greece*, which was ready to be ſubdued by *Mardonius* whileſt they went wandring to ſeeke out enemies a-farre-off, vpon the coaſt of *Aſia*. But the fame of the battaile fought at *Platæa* being noyſed among them; euery man deſired that his owne valor in the preſent fight, might be ſome helpe to work out the full deliuerance of *Greece*. In this alacritie of ſpirit, they diuided themſelues into two Battalians, whereof the *Athenans* ledde the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies campe; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountaines and ſtreight paſſages, to winne the higher ground. The *Athenians* did firſt ſet vpon the Campe (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arriue on the other part) and being deſirous to get all the honor

Eſay c.37.v.7.

of the day to themſelues, did ſo forcibly aſſault it, that they brake way through the Paliſſadoes and Gabions, and made themſelues Maſters of the place, ſlaying all that could not ſaue themſelues by flight. In this fight the *Samians* did good ſeruice, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Mileſians*, who vpon the like iealouſie, were placed by the *Perſians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the paſſages; did now (as if they had been ſet of purpoſe to keep them from running away) put as many to the ſword as fell into their hands, letting none eſcape, except very few, that fled through by-pathes. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little ſeruice, for the buſineſſe was diſpatched ere they came in: Onely they broke ſuch companies as retired in whole troopes; making them flie diſperſed in very much diſorder, whereby the *Mileſians* were enabled to doe the greater execution vpon them. This was the laſt fight of that huge Armie leauied againſt *Greece*, which was now vtterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offenſiue Warre.

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§. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes: *with a tranſition from the Perſian affaires to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.*

XErxes lay at *Sardis*, not farre from the place of this battaile; but little minde had he to reuenge either this or other his great loſſes, being wholly giuen ouer to the loue of his Brothers Wife: with whom hee could not preuaile by intreatie, nor would obtaine his deſire by force, becauſe he reſpected much his Brother her husband, he thought it beſt to make a match betweene his owne Sonne *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that meanes to finde occaſion of ſuch familiaritie as might worke out his deſire. But whether it were ſo, that the chaſtity of the Mother did ſtill reiect him, or the beauty of her Daughter allure him; he ſoone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to gouerne himſelfe in peace, as to guide his Armie in War. This yong Lady hauing once deſired the King to giue her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife; cauſed the Queene thereby to perceiue her husbands conuerſation with her, which ſhe imputed not ſo much to the beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, againſt whom thereupon ſhe conceiued extreame hatred. Therefore at a Royall feaſt, wherein the cuſtome was that the King ſhould grant their requeſt, ſhe craued that the Wife of *Maſiſtes*, her husbands brother, the yong Ladies Mother, might be giuen into her diſpoſition. The barbarous King, who might either haue reformed the abuſe of ſuch a cuſtome, or haue deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatning her ſelfe with the like, to whatſoeuer ſhe ſhould inflict vpon the innocent Lady, granted the requeſt; and ſending for his brother, perſwaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her ſtead. Hereby it ſeemes, that he vnderſtood how villainouſly that poore Lady ſhould be intreated, whom he knew to be vertuous, and whom himſelfe had loued. *Maſiſtes* refuſed to put her away; alleadging his owne loue, her deſeruing, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reaſons important to moue him to keepe her. But in moſt wicked manner *Xerxes* reuiled him; ſaying, That he now ſhould neither keepe the Wife which he had, nor haue his Daughter whom he had promiſed vnto him. *Maſiſtes* was much grieued with theſe words, but much more, when he returned home, he found his Wife moſt butcherly mangled by the Queene *Ameſtris*, who had cauſed her Noſe, Lips, Eares, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Breſts in like manner, which were caſt vnto Dogs. *Maſiſtes* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children, and ſome Friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Prouince he was Gouernor, intending to rebell & auenge himſelfe. But *Xerxes* vnderſtanding his purpoſe, cauſed an Armie to be leuied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Companie to the ſword. Such was the Tyrannicall condition of the *Perſian* Gouernment; and ſuch are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is ioyned with abſolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his ouer-throwne, and lying vpon the ground, ſaid, That he doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, he ſhould againe erect it, or, for the the miſchiefe done by him to *Greece*, ſhould let it lye. But ſurely whatſoeuer his other good qualities were, he was fooliſh, and was a coward, and conſequently mercileſſe.

Therefore we may firmely beleeue, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great, vpon which the foundation of the *Perſian* Empire was ſo ſurely laid, that all the wickedneſſe and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worſe Princes, could not ouerthrow it, vntill it was broken by a vertue almoſt equall to that which did eſtabliſh it. In wars againſt the *Ægyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the firſt it had beene very good; but againſt the generall eſtate of *Greece*, neither he, nor any of his poſterity, did euer make offenſiue warre, but receiued many loſſes in *Aſia*, to which the laſt at *Mycale* ſerued but as an introduction; teaching the *Greekes*, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, that the *Perſian* was no better Souldier at his owne dores, than in a forraine Countrie: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better proofe as ſoone as the affaires of *Athens* were quietly ſetled and aſſured.

From this time forward I will therefore purſue the Hiſtorie of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Perſia*, as alſo the eſtate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time ſhall preſent them. True it is, that the *Perſian* eſtate continued in her greatneſſe, many ages following, in ſuch wiſe that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, repreſenting the Maieſtie of a great Empire.

But this greatneſſe depended onely vpon the riches and power that had formerly beene acquired, yeelding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting ſome Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that exceſſiue Luxurie, where-with both it, and all, or the moſt of Empires that euer were, haue beene eneruated, made vnweildie, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry ſwords of poore and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to paſſe, that *Xerxes* and his ſucceſſours were faine to defend their Crownes with money and baſe policies; very ſeldome or neuer (vnleſſe it were with great aduantage) daring to aduenture the triall of plaine battaile with that little Nation of *Greece*; which would ſoone haue ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not priuate malice and ielouſie vrged euery Citie to enuie the height of her neighbours wals, and thereby diuerted the ſwords of the *Greekes* into their owne bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better haue continued, to hew out the way of conqueſt, on the ſide of *Aſia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that paſſed in Greece from the end of the Perſian Warre, to the beginning of the Peloponneſian.

§. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.

After that the *Medes* and *Perſians* had receiued their laſt blow, and were vtterly beaten at *Mycale*: *Leotychides*, who then commanded the *Græcian* Armie, leauing the purſuit of the warre to the *Athenians*, aſſiſted by the reuolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Peloponneſians* to *Sparta* and other places, out of which they had beene leauied. The *Athenians* in the meane while beſieged *Seſtos*, a Citie on the ſtrait of the *Helleſpont*, betweene which and *Abydus*, *Xerxes* had lately faſtned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, deſperate of ſuccour, did not long diſpute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greekes*, who entertained themſelues the Winter following on that ſide the *Helleſpont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and hauing left their wiues and children, ſince the inuaſion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens*, in diuers Iſlands, and at *Troezen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the moſt part of all their houſes in *Athens* were burnt and broken downe, and the wals of the Citie ouer-turned, yet they reſolued firſt on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to couer themſelues, their wiues and children, with any priuate buildings: Whereof the *Lacedæmonians* being aduertiſed, and miſliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in reſpect that their owne Citie of *Sparta* was vnwalled, as alſo becauſe the *Athenians* were growne more powerfull by Sea, than either themſelues, or any other State of *Greece*, they diſpatched meſſengers to the *Athenians* to diſſwade them; not acknowledging any priuate miſlike or ielouſie, but pretending, that if the *Perſians* ſhould returne to inuade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better ſtate to defend themſelues than heretofore, the ſame would ſerue to receiue their enemies, and to be made a Seate for the Warre, as *Thebes* had lately beene. To this the *Athenians* promiſed to giue them ſatisfaction by their own Embaſſadors very ſpeedily. But being reſolued to goe on with their workes by the aduice of *Themiſtocles*, they held the *Lacedæmonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raiſed their wals to that height, as they cared not for their miſlikes, nor doubted their diſturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they diſpatched *Themiſtocles* towards *Lacedæmon*, giuing him for excuſe, that hee could not deliuer the *Athenians* reſolutions, till the arriuall of his fellow-Commiſſioners, who were of purpoſe retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being conuerted into ielouſie (for by the arriuall of diuers perſons out of *Attica*, they were told for certaine, That the wals of *Athens* were ſpeedily growne vp beyond expectation) *Themiſtocles* prayed them not to beleeue reports and vaine rumors, but that they would be pleaſed to ſend ſome of their owne truſtie Citizens to *Athens*, from whoſe relation they might reſolue themſelues, and determine accordingly. Which requeſt being granted, and Commiſſioners ſent, *Themiſtocles* diſpatched one of his owne, by whom he aduiſed the *Athenians*, firſt to entertaine the *Lacedæmonians* with ſome ſuch diſcourſe as might retaine them a few dayes, and in concluſion to hold them among them, till himſelfe and the other *Athenian* Embaſſadours, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty alſo to returne. Which done, and being alſo aſſured by his aſſociates and *Ariſtides*, that *Athens* was already defenſible on all parts, *Themiſtocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true that the wals of *Athens* were now raiſed to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their Citie; praying the *Lacedæmonians* to beleeue, That whenſoeuer it pleaſed them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for ſuch, as right well vnderſtood what appertained to a Common-weale and their owne ſafety, without direction and aduice from any other: That they had in the warre of *Xerxes* abandoned their Citie, and committed themſelues to the woodden wals of their ſhippes, from the reſolution of their owne counſels and courage, and not thereto taught or perſwaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre againſt the *Perſians* they found their owne iudgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or leſſe fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Commonweale among the *Greekes*; And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Maſters and Iudges of their owne affaires, and thought it good reaſon, that either all the Cities confedered within *Greece* ſhould be left open, or elſe that the wals of *Athens* ſhould be finiſhed and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time vnfit for quarrell, diſſembled their miſlike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diuiſion, and ſo ſuffered the *Athenians* to depart, and receiued backe from them their owne Embaſſadors.

The wals of *Athens* finiſhed, they alſo fortified the Port *Pyreus*, by which they might vnder couert imbarke themſelues vpon all occaſions.

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§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatneſſe, and proſperous warres made by that State vpon the Perſian.

THe *Athenians* hauing ſetled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the purſuit of the warre againſt the *Perſians*, to which the *Lacedæmonians* added other twenty, and with this Fleet, ſtrengthened by the reſt of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they ſet ſayle for *Cyprus*, vnder the conduct of *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; where after their landing hauing poſſeſt themſelues of many principall places, they imbarked the Armie againe, and tooke land in *Thrace*, recouering from the *Perſians* by force the Citie *Bizantium,* now *Conſtantinople*: from whence *Pauſanias,* behauing himſelfe more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, eſpecially towards the *Ionians* lately reuolted from *Xerxes,* was called backe by the Councell of *Lacedæmon,* and not onely accuſed of many inſolent behauiors, but of intelligence with the *Medes,* and Treaſon againſt his Countrey. In his ſtead they imployed *Docres,* who either gaue the ſame cauſe of offence; or elſe the *Athenians,* who affected the firſt commandement in that warre, practiſed the ſouldiors to complaine; though indeede the wiſe and vertuous behauior of *Ariſtides,* Generall of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare and incomparable ſincerity, had beene able to make a good Commander ſeeme ill in compariſon of himſelfe; and therfore was much more auaileable, in rendring thoſe deteſted, whoſe vices afforded little matter of excuſe. Howſoeuer it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being no leſſe wearied of the warre, than the *Athenians* were eagre to purſue it, the one obtained their eaſe, and the other the execution and honor which they deſired: for all the *Greekes* (thoſe of *Peloponneſus* excepted) willingly ſubiected themſelues to the commandement of the *Athenians,* which was both the beginning of their greatneſſe in that preſent age, and of their ruine in the next ſucceeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities, they appointed receiuers and Treaſurers, and began to leuie money, according to their diſcretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of *Greece,* and for the recouering of thoſe places on *Europe* ſide, in *Aſia* the leſſe, and the Iſlands, from the *Perſians.* This tribute (the firſt that was euer payed by the *Greekes*) amounted to foure hundred and threeſcore Talents; which was raiſed eaſily by the honeſt care of that iuſt man *Ariſtides,* to whoſe diſcretion all the confederates referred themſelues, and no one man found occaſion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of *Ariſtides,* and other worthy Citizens, brought vnto the *Athenians* great commoditie; ſo the deſire which they conceiued of encreaſing their commoditie, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall loue, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their Citie to the defence of her treaſure, which with her in the next age periſhed. For it was not long ere theſe foure hundred and threeſcore Talents were rayſed to ſixe hundred, nor long after that, ere their couetous Tyrannie had conuerted their followers into ſlaues, and extorted from them yeerely thirteene hundred Talents. The Iſle of *Delos* was at the firſt appointed for the Treaſure-houſe wherein theſe ſummes were layd vp, and where, at the generall Aſſembly, the Captaines of thoſe forces, ſent by the confederates, were for forme ſake called to conſultation. But the *Athenians,* who were ſtronger by ſea than all *Greece* beſides, had lockt vp the common treaſure in an Iſland, vnder their owne protection, from whence they might tranſport it at their pleaſure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commander in this Warre was *Cimon,* the ſonne of *Miltiades,* who firſt tooke *Eiona,* vpon the Riuer *Strimon*; then the Iſle of *Sciros,* inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they maſtered the *Cariſtij,* & brought into ſeruitude the *Naxij,* contrary to the forme of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece,* if at any time they failed of their contribution, or diſobeyed their commandements; taking vpon them and vſurping a kinde of ſoueraigne authority ouer the reſt: which they exerciſed the more aſſuredly, becauſe they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be reſiſted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, wearie of the warre in their owne perſons, and giuen vp altogether to their eaſe, made choiſe rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in ſhips; leauing the prouiſion of both to the *Athenians.* Hereby the one grew weake in all their Sea-defences, and in the exerciſe of the Warres; the other greatly ſtrengthened their Nauie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and imployed in honourable Seruices, at the coſt of thoſe, who hauing lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money, leuied vpon theſe their confederates, employed ſo well by the *Athenians* at the firſt (as ill proceedings are often founded vpon good beginnings) that no great cauſe of repining was giuen. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admirall ſcouring the Aſiaticke Seas, tooke in the Citie of *Phaſelis*; which hauing formerly pretended neutralitie, and refuſed to relieue, or any way aſſiſt the *Greekes,* were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and ſo to become followers of the *Athenians,* paying yeerely contribution.

From thence he ſet ſayle for the Riuer *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia,* where the *Perſian*

Fleet rode, being of ſixe hundred ſayle, or (according to the moſt ſparing report) three hundred and fiftie, and hauing a great Land-Armie, encamped vpon the ſhoare; all which forces hauing beene prouided for aduancing the Kings affaires in *Greece*, were vtterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ſhips taken by the *Athenians*, the reſt being broken to pieces, or ſunke, ere euer they had ſwom in the *Greekiſh* Seas. *Cimon* hauing in one day obtained two great victories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very ſoone preſented with a third. For foureſcore ſayle of *Phœnicians* (who were the beſt of all Sea-men, vnder the *Perſian* command) thinking to haue ioyned themſelues with the Fleet before deſtroyed, arriued vpon the ſame Coaſt, ignorant of what had paſſed, and fearing nothing leſſe than what enſued. Vpon the firſt notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did ſo amaze them, that they onely ſought to run themſelues on ground; by which meane preſeruing few of their men, they loſt all their ſhips. Theſe loſſes did ſo breake the courage of the *Perſian*, that, omitting all hope of preuailing vpon *Greece*, he condeſcended to whatſoeuer Articles it pleaſed the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty vnto all the *Greekes* inhabiting *Aſia*; and further couenanting, That none of his ſhips of War ſhould ſayle to the Weſtward of the Iſles, called *Cyaneæ* and *Chelidoniæ*.

This was the moſt honourable peace that euer the *Greekes* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till ſuch time as, vnder *Alexander*, they ouerthrew the Empire of *Perſia*; in which war, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but ſerued altogether vnder the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The death of Xerxes *by the treaſon of* Artabanus.

Beſides theſe loſſes, which could not eaſily haue beene repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time ſuch, as gaue iuſt cauſe to the *Perſian* of ſeeking peace vpon any tearmes not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the vncle of *Xerxes*, perceiuing, that the King his maſter did eaſily take ſmall occaſions to ſhed the bloud of ſuch, as in kindred or place were neere vnto him, began to repoſe leſſe hope of a ſafetie in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soueraigntie, by deſtroying a Prince that was ſo hated for his cruelty, and deſpiſed for his cowardiſe and misfortunes. Hauing conceiued this Treaſon, he found meanes to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in ſuch cloſe manner, that (as if he himſelfe had beene innocent) he accuſed *Darius* the ſonne of *Xerxes*, and cauſed him to ſuffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedneſſe he got the Kingdome, and held it ſeauen moneths; or whether intending the like euill to *Artaxerxes* the ſonne of *Xerxes*, he was by him preuented and ſurpriſed, it were hard to affirme any certainty. But all Writers agree vpon this, That taken he was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreame torments, according to the ſentence, whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verſe:

Rarò antecedentem ſceleſtum
Deſeruit pede pœna claudo.

Seldome the villaine, though much haſte he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance failes to ouer-take.

§. IIII.

The baniſhment of Themiſtocles: *His flight to* Artaxerxes *newly reigning in* Perſia; *& his death.*

Artaxerxes being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdome, and hauing ſo compounded with the *Athenians*, as the preſent neceſſity of his affaires required, began to conceiue new hopes of better fortune againſt the *Greekes*, than he or his predeceſſors had euer hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Perſians* were chaſed out of *Greece*, did ſo highly value their owne merits in that ſeruice, that they not onely thought it fit for themſelues to become the Commanders ouer many Townes and Iſlands of the *Greekes*, but euen within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Gouernment than meerely *Democraticall*. Herein they were ſo inſolent, that no integritie nor good deſert was able to preſerue the eſtate of any ſuch as had borne great office, longer than, by flattering the raſcall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themiſtocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatneſſe vpon popularitie, yet now preſuming vpon his good ſeruices done to the State, he thought that with great reaſon they might grant him the liberty to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwiſe, they were ſo highly offended with his often rehearſing the benefits which they had receiued from him, that they layed vpon him the puniſhment of *Oſtraciſme*, whereby he was baniſhed for ten yeeres, as a man ouer-burthenſome to the Common-wealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accuſation was brought againſt him by the *Lacedæmonians*, who charged him of conſulting with *Pauſanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* vnto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themiſtocles* finding no place of ſecurity againſt the malice of two ſuch mighty Cities, was driuen, after many troubleſome flights, and dangerous remouings, to aduenture himſelfe into *Perſia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly ſetled, & was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceiued of aduancing his affaires by the counſell and aſſiſtance of *Themiſtocles*, proued altogether fruitleſſe. For when the *Athenians*, in fauour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infeſted *Ægypt*, cauſing it to rebell againſt the *Perſian*) had ſent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Armie in *Ægypt*, and ſcowring thoſe Eaſterne Seas, to the great hinderance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can vnderſtand) to the manifeſt breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King ſend his Letters to *Themiſtocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had giuen, of aſſuring the *Perſian* eſtate againſt the *Greekes*.

But whether *Themiſtocles* perceiued much vnlikelineſſe of good ſucceſſe, in leading a great Armie of daſtardly *Perſians* againſt the warlike people of *Greece*; or elſe (as in fauour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to ſeeke honour by the ruine of it: ſure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to vndertake the conduct of great forces againſt the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict betweene thankfulneſſe to his well-deſeruing Prince, and naturall affection to his own ill-deſeruing people, by finiſhing his life with a cup of poyſon.

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§. V.

How the Athenians, *breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the* Perſian, *were ſhamefully beaten in* Ægypt.

THen was *Artaxerxes* driuen to vſe the ſeruice of his owne Captaines in the *Ægyptian* warre, wherein it appeared well, That a iuſt cauſe is a good defence againſt a ſtrong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred ſaile ſtrong was ſent forth vnder *Cimon*, to take in the Iſle of *Cyprus*: which conqueſt ſeemed eaſie both to make and to maintaine, the *Perſian* being vtterly broken at Sea, and thereby vnable to relieue the Iſland. Now although it were ſo, that a peace had beene concluded, which was likely to haue beene kept ſincerely by the *Perſian*, who had made ſo good proofe of the *Græcian* valour, that he was nothing deſirous to build any ſhips of Warre (without which the *Greekes* could receiue no harme from him) whereof if any one ſhould be found ſayling towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole eſtate; yet all the Sea-coaſt (no ſmall part of his Dominions) expoſed to the waſte of an enemy too far ouermatching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, leſt the league which in his own worſer fortunes he had made with them, he would breake in theirs; and therefore ſought to get ſuch aſſurance into their hands, as might vtterly diſable him from attempting ought againſt them; or whether the increaſe of their reuenues & power, by adding that rich and great *Iland* to their Empire, cauſed them to meaſure honour by profit; they thought it the wiſeſt way, to take whileſt they might, whatſoeuer they were able to get and hold, and he vnable to defend.

The *Ile* of *Cyprus* lying in the bottome of the ſtreights betweene *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Ægypt*, is very fitly ſeated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either ſeeke to enrich himſelfe by trade with thoſe Countries, or to infeſt one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpoſe of the *Athenians*, their *Ambition* which had already deuoured, in conceit, this *Iland*, was on the ſodaine well-nigh choaked with a greater morſell, to ſnatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might eaſily haue ſwallowed and digeſted. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians* confining *Ægypt*, hauing found how greatly the Countrey was exhauſted by the late warres, and how weakely defended by very ſlender *Perſian* Garriſons, conceiued rightly, that if ſuch ſmall forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the ſodaine of his owne *Gardes*, or leuie out of the ordinary *Garriſons*, were by him defeated; the naturals of the Countrey, not long ſince oppreſſed by *Cambyſes*, and after a reuolt very lately ſubdued by *Xerxes*, would ſoone breake faith with him who had no other title to that kingdome than a good ſword. Further, he perſwaded himſelfe that the people, vnable to defend themſelues againſt the *Perſian* without his aſſiſtance; would eaſily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliuerance for King. Neither did this hope deceiue him. For hauing taken and cruelly ſlaine *Achæmenes* the *Viceroy*; diuers *Cities* forwith declared themſelues for him, and proclaiming him King, ſhewed the moſt of their endeuour for proſecution of the warre. But he conſidering his owne weakeneſſe, and that the meanes of the *Ægyptians* his adherents were not anſwerable to their deſires, perceiued well, that to reſiſt the power of *Artaxerxes*, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price ſoeuer he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* fleete, and knowing well the vertue of the Souldiers therein embarqued, he inuited the Commanders to ſhare with him the kingdome of *Ægypt*, as a farre greater reward of their aduenture, than ſuch an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their eſtate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly ſorted according to their expectation) would haue beene contented with an equall ſhare, and not haue fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a diuination vnneceſſary. He was poſſeſſed of the peoples loue, they were of moſt power. But the iſſue of thoſe affaires was ſuch as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they ſhared ſomewhat equally.

Yet had the beginnings of their enterpriſe very good and hopefull ſucceſſe: For they entred the Land as farre as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it ſelfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they laid ſuch hard ſiege, that neither thoſe forces of the *Perſians*, which then were in *Ægypt*, were ſtrong enough to remoue them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well deuiſe what meanes to vſe for the recouery of that which was loſt, or for the preſeruation of the remainder. The beſt of his hope was by ſetting the *Lacedæmonians* vpon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to looke homewords to their owne defence. This was the firſt time that the *Perſian* ſought to procure the aſſiſtance of the *Greekes* one againſt the other, by ſtirring them vp with gold to the entertainement of priuate quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpoſe he ſent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treaſure; who, after great expence, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* were nothing forward in imploying their whole force againſt the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithſtanding the abſence of their Armie in *Ægypt*; he thought it his wiſeſt way to imploy the reſt of his mony and meanes to their reliefe, who had now the ſpace of ſixe yeeres defended his maſters right in *Ægypt*. Therefore he haſtily diſpatched another of his name, the ſonne of *Zopyrus*, who arriuing in *Ægypt*, was firſt encountred by the reuolted people; ouer whom he obtained victory, which made him maſter of the Countrey, whileſt the *Athenians* lay buſied about *Memphis* the great Citie.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a ſtrange ayre, and want of ſupply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: ſure it is, that when *Megabazus*, hauing reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it ſelfe, whether his former ſucceſſe had amended the courage of the *Perſians*, or want of neceſſaries made the *Athenians* inferiour to themſelues, he chaſed them out of *Memphis*, and purſued them ſo neere, as they were forſt to fortifie themſelues in the Iſle of *Proſopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteene moneths ſiege, turning away one part of the Riuer by diuers Trenches, aſſaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the ſword, ſaue a few that ſaued themſelues by flight into *Lybia*; the ſame entertainement had fiftie other Gallies which they ſent to the ſuccour of the firſt two

Proſopites an Iland betweene the Riuers of *Taly* & *Pharmutiacus*, two of the out-lets of *Nilus*, towards *Alexandria*.

hundred. For thoſe *Athenians* hauing heard nothing that their Fleete and Armie was conſumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendeſium*, and fell vnawares among the *Phœnician* Gallies and the *Perſian* Armie; ſo as the *Perſians* recouered all *Ægypt*; but that part held by *Amyrteus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* ſixe yeeres warre in *Ægypt*, and the reward of their vanitie and indiſcretion to vndertake many enterpriſes at once.

Mendeſius is an Iſland in the mouth of *Nilus*, betweene the out-let called *Buſiriticus* and *Diolcos*. But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendeſium*, runneth into the Sea by the Citie *Panaphyſis*.

§. V.

Of other Warres made by the Athienians for the moſt part with good ſucceſſe, about the ſame time.

NOtwithſtanding theſe ouerthrowes in *Ægypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-warres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their aduantage than otherwiſe. For as they were beaten neere vnto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, ſo they obtained two great victories ſoone after; the one ouer the *Peloponneſians*, neere vnto *Cecryphalia*; the other ouer the *Æginets*, neere vnto *Ægina*; where they ſunke and carried away threeſcore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the ſuddaine, and beſieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moued, notwithſtanding that the *Corinthians*, to diuert them, inuaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight, with equall loſſe, the *Corinthians*, when they returned againe to ſet vp their *Trophie*, as Victors in the former battaile, were vtterly broken and ſlaughtered by the *Athenian* Garriſons and *Megarians*, to their great loſſe and diſhonour.

Againe, as the *Athenians* were diſcomfited neere to *Tanagra*, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the ſuccour of the *Dorians* againſt the *Phocians* (at which time the *Theſſalian* horſe-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought againſt them) ſo about threeſcore dayes after, the *Athenians* entred *Bœotia* vnder the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wan *Phocis* on the gulfe *Oeteus*, and euened the wals of *Tanagra*, to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render vpon moſt baſe conditions; as to beat downe the wals of their Citie, and to giue them hoſtages for Tribute; the ſiege whereof they had continued, notwithſtanding all their other brabbles and attempts elſewhere. Beſides theſe victories they ſackt and ſpoiled many places vpon the Sea-coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*; wan vpon the *Corinthians*, and ouerthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their ſuccour. Theſe were the vndertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of thoſe ſixe yeeres that a part of their forces made warre in *Ægypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Theſſalie*, perſwaded thereunto by *Oreſtes*, but were reſiſted by the King *Pharſalus*, who had chaſed *Oreſtes* out of his Dominions. They alſo landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victory ouer thoſe that reſiſted, after which they made truce with the *Peloponneſians* for fiue yeeres, and ſent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ſhips; but they were againe allured by *Amyrteus* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Mariſh and Wooddie parts of *Ægypt* from the *Perſians*, to whom they ſent ſixtie of their ſhips. The reſt of their Armie failing in their enterpriſe of *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coaſted the Iland, incountred a fleet of the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, ouer both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as alſo thoſe returned ſafe which were ſent into *Ægypt*.

§. VII.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *that he was* Ahaſhueroſh *the husband of Queene* Heſter.

THeſe *Ægyptian* troubles being ended, the reigne of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable, whereof the length is by ſome reſtrained into twenty yeeres, but the more and better Authors giue him fortie, ſome allow vnto him foure and forty.

He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleneſſe. His fauour was exceeding great to the *Iewes*, as appeareth by the Hiſtories of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To proue that this was the King who gaue countenance and aide to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needeleſſe trauaile; conſidering that all the late Diuines haue taken very much paine, to ſhew that thoſe two Prophets were licenſed by him, and ſuccoured in that building, in ſuch ſort as appeares in their writings.

This was likewiſe that King *Ahaſhueroſh* who married *Heſter*. Whereof if it be needefull to giue proofe, it may ſuffice; That *Ahaſhueroſh* liued in *Suſa*, reigning from *India* to *Æthiopia*, and therefore muſt haue beene a *Perſian*; That he liued in peace, as appeares by the circumſtances of the Hiſtorie, and vſed the counſaile of the ſeuen Princes, the authority of which Princes began vnder *Darius*, the ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyſes*.

The continuall Warres which exerciſed King *Darius* the ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes*, together with the certainety of his marriages with ſundry wiue, from none of whom he was diuorced, but left his firſt wife *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, aliue in great honour, ſhe being mother to *Xerxes* the ſucceeding King; doe manifeſtly prooue that *Heſter* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Iew*, That at the perſwaſion of *Mardochæus*, *Ioiachim* the high Prieſt the ſonne of *Ieſua*, cauſed the feaſt of *Purim* to be inſtituted in memory of that deliuerance. Now the time of *Ioiachim* was in the reigne of *Artaxerxes*, at the comming of *Eſdras*, and *Nehemias*: *Ieſua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The ſame continuance of warres, with other his furious and tragicall loues, wherewith *Xerxes* did conſume ſuch little time, as he had free from warre, are enough to proue, that the ſtorie of *Heſter* pertained not vnto the time of *Xerxes*, who liued but one and twentie yeeres, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahaſuerus* or *Artaſaſtha* is expreſſed by *Nehemias*. Againe, it is well knowne, that *Xerxes* in the ſeauenth yeere of his reigne (wherein this marriage muſt haue beene celebrated) came not neere to *Suſa*. Of the Princes that ſucceeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to proue that none of them could be *Ahaſhueroſh*, it is enough to ſay, that *Mardochæus* hauing beene carried from *Hieruſalem* captiue, with *Iechonia*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was vnlikely to haue liued vntill their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he liued in *Suſa*, reigned from *India* to *Æthiopia*, liued in peace, was contemporarie with *Ioiakim* the high Prieſt: and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Ægyptians* in that ſeauenth yeere of his reigne; which good fortune might well giue occaſion to ſuch a Royall feaſt, as is deſcribed in the beginning of *Heſter*. This is the ſumme of the arguments, brought to proue the age of *Heſters* ſtorie by the learned and diligent *Krentzhemius*, who addes the authorities of *Ioſephus*, affirming the ſame, and of *Philo*, giuing to *Mardochæus* eighteene yeeres more than *Iſaac* the *Patriarch* liued, namely, one hundred fourescore and eighteene yeeres in all, which expire in the fiue and thirtieth yeere of this *Artaxerxes*, if we ſuppoſe him to haue beene carried away captiue, being a Boy of ten yeeres old.

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§. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponneſian warre.

But it is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the *Greekes*, who from this time forward, more vehemently proſecuting their ciuill warres, ſuffered the *Perſians* for many ages to reſt in peace: this *Ægyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soone after this, the *Lacedæmonians* vndertooke the warre called, Sacred, recouered the Temple and Ile of *Delphos*, and deliuered both to the inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the ſame, and gaue it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the meane while the baniſhed *Bœotians* reentred their owne Land, and maſtred two of their owne Townes poſſeſt by the *Athenians*, which they ſoone recouered againe from them; but in their returne towards *Athens*, the *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, and *Locrians*, (Nations oppreſt by the *Athenians*) ſet vpon them with ſuch reſolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all ſlaine or taken, wherby the *Bœotians* recouered their former liberty, reſtoring to the *Athenians* their priſoners. The Ilanders of *Eubœa* tooke ſuch courage vpon this, that they reuolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was aduertiſed that the *Megarians*, (who firſt left the *Lacedæmonians*, & ſubmitted themſelues to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had ſlaine the *Athenians* Garriſons, and ioyned themſelues with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, & *Epidaurians*. Theſe newes haſtened *Pericles* homeward with all poſſible ſpeede; but ere he could recouer *Attica*, the *Peloponneſians*, led by *Pliſtoanax*, the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, had inuaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whoſe returne *Pericles* went on with his firſt intent and recouered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponneſians*, and yeelded to deliuer vp all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponneſus*: and this truce was made for thirty yeeres.

After ſixe of theſe yeeres were expired, the *Athenians* (fauouring the *Myleſians* againſt the *Samians*) inuaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulſes, and ſome great loſſes, both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forc't to yeelde themſelues vpon moſt lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliuer vp all their ſhips, to breake downe their owne wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to reſtore whatſoeuer had beene taken by themſelues, or by their practice, from the *Athenians*. In the necke of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponneſian* Warre, whereof I haue gathered this briefe following: the ſame contention taking beginning fiftie yeeres after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But becauſe there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell: I hold it conuenient now at the firſt to ſhew briefly the eſtate of the Countrie at that time, and eſpecially the condition of thoſe two great Cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, vpon which all the reſt had moſt dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponneſian Warre.

§. I.

Vpon what tearmes the two principall Cities of Greece, *Athens and Sparta, ſtood, at the beginning of the Peloponneſian Warre.*

Greece was neuer vnited vnder the gouernement of any one Prince or Eſtate, vntill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Vnion and League againſt the *Perſian*, whereof they were Captaines, than into any abſolute ſubiection. For euery Eſtate held their owne, and were gouerned by Lawes farre different, and by their owne Magiſtrates, notwithſtanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeelde obedience no otherwiſe than as to ſuch, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Perſian* warre (deemed the Generall quarrell of *Greece*) and tooke the profit and honour of the victory, to their owne vſe and increaſe of greatneſſe. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did ſo farre enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought vnder ſuch obedience, as differed little from ſeruitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, ſometimes with armes, and ſometimes with gifts, preſerue their liberty; of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chiefe: which two people deſerued beſt the plague of tyranny, hauing firſt giuen occaſion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countrie by perpetuall Warre. For vntill theſe two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* diſtracted all *Greece*, drawing euery State into the quarrell, on the one or other ſide, and ſo gaue beginning to the *Peloponneſian* warre (the effects whereof in true eſtimation ceaſed not, before the time that *Philip* had ouer-maſtred all, foraſmuch as euery concluſion of one war afforded henceforth matter of ſome new diſtraction of the whole Countrie) the warres, commenced betweene one Citie of *Greece* and an other, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controuerſies were ſoone decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the generall Councell of *Greece*; or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe aide was commonly held as good as the aſſurance of victorie.

Theſe *Lacedæmonians* had liued about foure hundred yeeres vnder one forme of Gouernment, when the *Peloponneſian* warre began. Their education was onely to practiſe feates of Armes; wherein they ſo excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; euery one had an equall portion of the common field, which ſufficed to maintaine him in ſuch manner as they vſed. For brauery they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was ſimple, their feaſts and ordinary meales being in common Hals, where all fared alike. They vſed money of yron, whereof they could not be couetous nor great hoarders. Briefely, they liued *Vtopian*-like, ſaue that they vſed no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to paſſe that in all enterpriſes, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they ſought wealth, and meaſured the honours of their victories by the profit; they vſed mercenarie Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subiects, which were for the moſt part Ilanders, compelled to obey them, becauſe the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in forme of policy, and in courſe of life, ſo in conditions naturall, the difference betweene theſe two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, ſuddaine in their concluſions, and as haſtie in the execution: The *Lacedæmonians* very ſlow in their deliberations, full of grauitie, but very reſolute, and ſuch as would in cold bloud performe what the *Athenians* did vſually in flagrant. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Eſtates of *Greece* depending vpon them, as on men firme and aſſured, that ſought honor & not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by ſuch as obeyed them perforce, being held in ſtreight ſubiection. But the Signorie of the *Athenians* was nothing large, vntill ſuch time as the *Perſian Xerxes* had inuaded *Greece*, pretending onely a quarrell to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiuing well, that the Towne of *Athens* could not be defended againſt his great Armie of ſeuenteene hundred thouſand men, beſtowed all their wealth vpon a Nauie, & (aſſiſted by the other *Græcians*) ouerthrew the fleet of *Xerxes*, whoſe Land-forces were ſoone after diſcomfited by them, and the *Greekes*, who all ſerued vnder conduct of the *Spartans*. After theſe victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the *Greekiſh* Seas vnder their obedience; impoſing vpon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of warre againſt the *Perſian*; though indeede they imployed their forces chiefly, to the conqueſt of ſuch Ilands, and hauen-Townes, of their owne Countrimen, as ſtood out againſt them All which was eaſily ſuffered by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made farre from home. But afterwards perceiuing the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much ielouſie, and were very apt to quarrell with them; but much more willing to breed contention betweene them and other Eſtates. Wherefore at ſuch time as the *Thebans* would haue oppreſſed the *Platæans*, when they of *Platæa* repaired to *Sparta* for ſuccour, they found there no other aide, than this aduice, That they ſhould ſeeke helpe at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* ſhould be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proued otherwiſe; for their force was now ſo great, that all ſuch occaſions did onely ſerue to increaſe their honour and puiſſance.

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§. II.

How Sparta and Athens entred into Warre.

NEuertheleſſe many Eſtates of *Greece* were very ill affected to *Athens*, becauſe that Citie grew very inſolent vpon ſuddaine proſperitie, and maintaining the weaker Townes againſt the ſtronger, incroached apace vpon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Eſpecially the *Corinthians* were much inraged, becauſe the people of the Iland *Corcyra*, their Colonie which had rebelled againſt them, and giuen them a great ouerthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who deſired to increaſe their fleet by adioyning that of *Corcyra* vnto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that reuenge which elſe they would haue taken. Now howſoeuer it were ſo, that theſe dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly againſt the conditions of peace agreed vpon among the *Greekes*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* ſo vehement, that (though with much a-doe) they concluded to redreſſe by warre the iniuries done to their Allies.

Firſt therefore ſeeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certaine offences committed againſt the gods; whereto hauing for anſwere, That they themſelues ſhould expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*; they began to deale plainly, and required that the people of ſome Townes, oppreſſed by the eſtate of *Athens*, ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that a decree made againſt thoſe of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, ſhould be reuerſed. This laſt point they ſo earneſtly preſſe, that if they might obtaine it, they promiſed to abſiſt from their purpoſe of making Warre.

This they deſired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but onely that by ſeeming to haue obtained ſomewhat, they might preſerue their reputation without entring into a warre, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to vnder-goe.

But the *Athenians* would yeelde to nothing; for it was their whole deſire that all *Greece* ſhould take notice, how farre they were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both ſides very ſtrongly, all that was needefull to the Warre; wherein the *Lacedæmonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being aſſiſted by moſt of the Cities in *Greece*; and hauing the generall fauour, as men that pretended to ſet at liberty ſuch as were oppreſſed: but the *Athenians* did as farre exceede them in all prouiſions of Money, Shipping, Engines, and abſolute power of command among their Subiects; which they held; and afterward found of greater vſe in ſuch neede, than the willing readineſſe of friends, who ſoone grow weary, and are not eaſily aſſembled.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponneſian warre.

THe firſt and ſecond yeeres expedition was very grieuous to the Citie of *Athens*. For the fields were waſted, the Trees cut downe; the Countrie people driuen to flye, with Wiues, Children, and Cattaile, into the Towne; whereby a moſt furious peſtilence grew in the Citie, ſuch as before they had neuer felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the reuolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Ile of *Lesbos*, & the ſiege of *Platæa* their confederated Citie, which they durſt not aduenture to raiſe, beſides ſome ſmall ouerthrowes receiued. The *Lacedæmonians* aſſembling as great forces as they could raiſe out of *Peloponneſus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrie of *Attica*, and therein abide, vntill victuals began to faile, waſting and deſtroying all things round about: The Gouernours of the *Athenians* would not ſuffer the people to iſſue into the field againſt them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies; but vſed to ſend a fleet into *Peloponneſus*, which waſted as faſt all the Sea-coaſt of their Enemies, whileſt they were making warre in *Attica*. So the *Peloponneſians* being the ſtronger by Land, wan the Towne of *Platæa*, which wanted reſcue; the *Athenians* likewiſe being more mighty by Sea, did ſubdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not bee ſuccoured from *Sparta*. By theſe proceedings in that warre, the *Lacedæmonians* beganne to perceiue how vnfit they were to deale with ſuch enemies. For after that *Attica* was throughly waſted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to ſuch harme as they themſelues might, and did receiue. Their Confederates beganne to ſet forward very ſlowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiuing well that *Athens* was plentifully relieued with all neceſſaries, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were ſubiect vnto that Eſtate; and therefore theſe inuaders tooke but ſmall pleaſure in beholding the walls of that mightie Citie, or in waſting a forſaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territorie was the whileſt afflicted. Wherefore they began to ſet their care to build a ſtrong Nauie, wherein they had little good ſucceſſe, being eaſily vanquiſhed by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ſhips, and were ſo skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Veſſels of theirs durſt vndertake a great number of the *Peloponneſians*.

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§. IIII.

Of the great loſſe which the Spartans receiued at Pylus.

AMong other loſſes which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea; they receiued at *Pylus* a verie ſore blow, that compelled them to ſue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ſhips bound for *Corcyra*, waſting in that paſſage, as their manner was, the coaſt of *Laconia*, and all the halfe Ile of *Peloponneſus*, was by contrarie windes detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontorie, ioyning to the maine, by a ſtrange necke of Land. Before it there lies a ſmall barren Iland of leſſe than two miles compaſſe, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ſhips, the force of weather being borne off by the head-Land and Iſle. This Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in haſte they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was ſupplied by the naturall ſtrength and ſite of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and hauen, they in reaſon expected many aduantages againſt their enemies. For the Countrie adioyning was inhabited by the *Meſſenians*, who in ancient times had held very ſtrong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and (though quite ſubdued) they were held in ſtreight ſubiection, yet was not the olde hatred ſo extinguiſhed, that by the neere neighbourhood and aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, it might not be reuiued. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of her bond-ſlaues as could eſcape from them, would repaire to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily excurſions into *Laconia*, which was not farre off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this hauen, lying almoſt in the mid-way betweene them and *Corcyra*, make them able to ſur-round all *Peloponneſus*, and waſte it at their pleaſure. The newes of theſe doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponneſians* thither in all haſte out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not onely their Land-forces, but all their Nauie, to recouer this peece, which how bad a neighbour it might prooue in time, they well foreſaw, little fearing the grieuous loſſe at hand, which they there in few daies receiued. For when they in vaine made a generall aſſault on all ſides, both by Sea and Land; finding that ſmall Garriſon which the *Athenians* had left, very reſolute in the defence: they occupied the hauen, placing foure hundred and twenty choice men all of them, Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell, that leades into the Port; but ſo narrow, that onely two ſhips in front could enter betweene the Iſle and *Pylus*; likewiſe but ſeuen or eight ſhippes could enter at once by the further channell, betweene the Iland and the Maine. Hauing thus taken order to ſhut vp this new Towne by Sea, they ſent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other ſtuffe, wherewith to fortifie round about, and blocke vp the piece on all ſides. But in the meane ſeaſon, the *Athenian* fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the hauen, did breake and ſinke many of their Enemies veſſels; tooke fiue, and ſo inforced the reſidue to runne themſelues a-ground.

Now was the Towne ſecure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as loſt. Wherefore the Magiſtrates were ſent from *Sparta* to the campe (as was their cuſtome in great dangers) to aduiſe what were beſt for the publike ſafety; who when they did perceiue that there was no other way to reſcue their Citizens out of the Iſle, then by compoſition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould deliuer vp all the ſhips which were in the coaſt, and that they ſhould attempt nothing againſt the Town, nor the *Athenians* againſt the camp: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Fleſh, ſhould be daily carried into the Iſle, but that no ſhips ſhould paſſe into the Iland ſecretly: That the *Athenians* ſhould carry the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and ſhould bring them backe, at whoſe returne the truce ſhould end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, ſhould be held vtterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the

Athenians ſhould reſtore the *Peloponneſian* ſhips, in as good caſe as they receiued them. The Embaſſadors comming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themſelues had begun the warre, ſo might they end it when they pleaſed. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did ſue to them for peace; aduiſing them to make an end of warre, whileſt with ſuch reputation they might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation: For in ſtead of concluding vpon euen termes, or deſiring of meet recompence for loſſe ſuſtained; the *Athenians* demanded certaine Cities to be reſtored to them, which had beene taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this warre beganne, refuſing likewiſe to continue the treaty of peace, vnleſſe the *Spartans* which were in the Iſle, were firſt rendred vnto them as priſoners. Thus were the Embaſſadors returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was deſired from the *Athenian* Captaines, that they ſhould, according to their couenant, reſtore the ſhips, which had beene put into their hands. Whereto anſwere was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all ſhould be held void; now (ſaid the *Athenians*) yee haue aſſaulted our Garriſons, and thereby are wee acquited of our promiſe to reſtore the ſhips. This and the like friuolous allegations which they made, were but meere ſhifts; yet profit ſo far ouer-weighed honour, that better anſwere none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driuen to vſe many hard meanes, for conueiance of victuals into the Iſle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried priſoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponneſians* next inuaded *Attica*, theſe priſoners ſhould all be ſlaine. Whether fearing the death of theſe men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell vpon them; the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo farre from waſting *Attica*, that they ſuffered their owne Countrie to be continually ouer-runne, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coaſt, and by thoſe which iſſued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendeuous of all that were ill-affected vnto them.

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§. V.

How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great diſaduantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.

THerefore they indeuoured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not harken vnto. For they were ſo puffed vp with continuance of good ſucceſſe, that hauing ſent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold vp a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Iſle were taken away, and their bands returned without eyther gaine or loſſe, they baniſhed the Captaines, as if it had beene meerely through their default, that the Ile of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (beſides the longer diſtance) was in power to offend others, or defend it ſelfe, no whit inferiour vnto *Peloponneſus*. Yet was this their ouer-weening much abated ſhortly after, by ſome diſaſters receiued, eſpecially in *Thrace*, where in a battaile which they loſt at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Braſidas*, Generalls of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both ſlaine; which two had moſt been aduerſaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their loſſes were taught moderation; ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, who not onely felt the like wounds, but through the great Nauie which they had receiued at *Pylus*, were faine to proceed lamely in the warre, againſt ſuch as, through commoditie of their good fleet, had all aduantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently deſirous to conclude the buſineſſe, ere Fortune by any new fauour ſhould reuiue the inſolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it onely a conſideration of their preſent eſtate, that vrged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and ſpeedy effect; but other dangers hanging ouer their heads, and ready to fall on them, which vnleſſe they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to auoid. The eſtate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmity with them, was now, after a truce of thirty yeeres well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their preſent troubles, by ioyning with thoſe who alone found them worke enough. *Argos* was a rich and ſtrong Citie, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not ſo vnwarlike, nor held ſuch ill correſpondence with the neighbouring Eſtates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could euer farre preuaile vpon it, when they had little elſe to doe.

This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not beene regarded. For it was then thought, that by waſting the Territorie of *Athens* with ſword and fire, the quarrell ſhould eaſily and in ſhort time haue beene ended, whereby not onely the *Athenians* ſhould haue beene brought to good order, but the *Corinthians* and others, for whoſe ſake the war was vnder-taken, haue been ſo firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould for loue of them haue abandoned the *Argiues*, to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of thoſe hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready mony, and meanes to raiſe more, were able to ſecure themſelues by a ſtrong fleet from any great harme, that the *Peloponneſians* wanting wherewith to maintaine a Nauie, could doe vnto them; yea as Maſters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily trauailes, and many loſſes had ſo wearied and incenſed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to vſe the occaſion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, which with much adoe they procured, as ſeemed equall and eaſie; but was indeed impoſſible to be performed, and therefore all their trauaile was little effectuall.

The reſtitution of priſoners and places taken being agreed vpon; it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould reſtore firſt. Theſe had wonne more townes vpon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not wonne abſolutely. For they had reſtored ſome Townes to ſuch of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; ſome, and thoſe the moſt, they had ſet at liberty (as reaſon required) which had opened their gates vnto them, as to their friends and deliuerers, and not compelled them to breake in as Enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands, but had beene rendred vnto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found meanes to giue ſome ſatisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retaine others, which they had gotten in the Warre; as for the reſt, they promiſed more then afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themſelues into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by reuolting, notwithſtanding whatſoeuer articles were drawne, and concluded, for their ſecuritie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the ſide of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backeward in doing thoſe things which on their part were required; ſo that reſtoring onely the priſoners which they had, they deferred the reſt, vntill ſuch time as they might receiue the full ſatisfaction, according to the agreement. But before ſuch time as theſe difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more ſtreight alliance with the *Athenians*; making a league offenſiue and defenſiue with them. Heereunto they were moued by the backwardneſſe of the *Argiues*, who being (as they thought) likely to haue ſued for peace at their hands, as ſoone as things were once compounded betweene *Athens* and *Sparta*; did ſhew themſelues plainely vnwilling to giue eare to any ſuch motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* ſuccour, they ſhould make ſure worke, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deſeruing in the late warre, or found ſo troubleſome, that their enmitie (if perhaps they durſt let it appeare) was little worſe than friendſhip. It bred great iealouſie in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceiue ſuch a coniunction between two ſo powerfull Signiories: eſpecially one clauſe threatning euery one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a ſecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of ſubduing the whole Countrie, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For beſides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutuall conſent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleaſures. This impreſſion wrought ſo ſtrongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebanes*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their profeſſed enemies, was violently thrown vpon the *Lacedæmonians* their vniuſt friends: whereby it came to paſſe, that they who had lately borne chiefe ſway in *Greece*, might haue beene abandoned to the diſcretion of their Enemies, as already in effect they were, had the Enemies wiſely vſed the aduantage.

§. VI.

§. VI.

Of the negotiations, and practices, held betweene many States of Greece, by occaſion of the peace that was concluded.

The admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as vnreſiſtable, and able to make way through all impediments, had been ſo exceſſiue, that when by ſome ſiniſter accidents, that City was compelled to take and ſeeke peace, vpon termes not ſounding very honourable, this common opinion was not onely abated, but (as happens vſually in things extreame) was changed into much contempt. For it was neuer thought that any *Lacedæmonian* would haue endured to lay downe his weapons, and yeeld himſelfe priſoner, nor that any misfortune ſhould haue beene ſo great, as ſhould haue drawne that Citie to relieue it ſelfe otherwiſe then by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were ſome of eſpeciall marke, being ouer-laied by enemies, in the Iland before *Pylus*, had rather choſen to liue in captiuitie, than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it ſelfe, ſticking as a thorne in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred ſuch anguiſh in that Eſtate, as vtterly wearying the accuſtomed *Spartan* reſolution, had made it ſit downe, and ſeeke to refreſh it ſelfe by diſhonourable eaſe: then did not onely the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceiue baſely of thoſe men which were vertuous, though vnfortunate; but other leſſer Cities ioyning with theſe in the ſame opinion, did caſt their eies vpon the rich and great Citie of *Argos*, of whoſe abilitie, to do much, they conceiued a ſtrong beleefe, becauſe of long time it had done nothing. Such is the baſe condition, which through fooliſh enuie is become almoſt naturall in the greater part of mankinde. We curiouſly ſearch into their vices, in whom, had they kept ſome diſtance, we ſhould haue diſcerned only the vertues; and comparing iniuriouſlie our beſt parts with their worſt, are iuſtly plagued with a falſe opinion of that good in ſtrangers which we know to be wanting in our ſelues.

The firſt that publiſhed their diſlike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whoſe vehement entreaty (though moued rather by enuy at the greatneſſe of *Athens* daily encreaſing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entred into the preſent Warre. But theſe *Corinthians* did onely murmure at the peace, alleadging as grieuances, that ſome townes of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantinæans*, who during the time of Warre, had procured ſome part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forſake their dependency vpon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily diſcouer themſelues; feare of reuenge to come, working more effectually, than indignation at things already paſt. The *Argiues* feeling the gale of proſperous Fortune that began to fill their ſailes, prepared themſelues to take as much of it as they could ſtand vnder; giuing for that purpoſe vnto twelue of their Citizens, a full & abſolute commiſſion to make alliance between them & any free Cities of *Greece* (*Athens* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding euery particular buſineſſe to the multiude. When the gates of *Argos* were ſet thus open to all commers; the *Mantinæans* began to leade the way, and many Cities of *Peloponneſus* following them entred into this new confederacy; ſome incited by priuate reſpects, others thinking it the wiſeſt way to doe as the moſt did. What inconuenience might ariſe vnto them by theſe courſes, the *Lacedæmonians* eaſily diſcerned, and therefore ſent Embaſſadors to ſtop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceiued that the miſchiefe had beene hatched. Theſe Embaſſadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough diſpoſition, with a grauity expreſſing the opinion which they had conceiued of their preſent aduantage ouer *Sparta*. They had cauſed all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with *Argos*, to ſend their Agents to them, in whoſe preſence they gaue audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whoſe Embaſſie was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forſake the alliance, which they had long ſince made with *Sparta*; and that reaſon did as well binde them to hold themſelues contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy, foraſmuch as it had been agreed between the *Spartans* and their aſſociates, that the conſent of the greater part, (which had yeelded vnto peace with *Athens*) ſhould binde the leſſer number to performe what was concluded, if no Diuine impediment withſtood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made anſwere, that the *Spartans* had firſt begun to doe them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had loſt many places, without proviſion of reſtitution; and that the very clauſe, alledged by the Embaſſadors, did acquite them from any neceſſity of ſubſcribing to the late peace, foraſmuch as they had ſworn vnto thoſe people whom they perſwaded to rebell againſt *Athens*, that they would neuer abandon them, nor willingly ſuffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themſelues bound both in reaſon & religion to vſe all meanes of vpholding thoſe, whom by common conſent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no leſſe to be accounted a Diuine impediment, than were peſtilence, tempeſt, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things vndertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they ſaid that they would doe as they ſhould finde cauſe. Hauing diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with this anſwere, they made haſte to ioyne themſelues with *Argos*, and cauſed other States to doe the like; ſo that *Sparta* & *Athens* were in a manner left to themſelues, the *Thebanes* and *Megarians* being alſo vpon the point to haue entred into this new confederacie. But as the affections were diuers, which cauſed this haſtie confluence of ſudden friends to *Argos*, it ſo likewiſe came to paſſe that the friendſhip it ſelfe, ſuch as it was, had much diuerſitie both of ſinceritie and of continuance. For ſome there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*: as the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*: theſe did firmely betake themſelues to the *Argiues*, in whom they knew the ſame affection to be inueterate; others did onely hate the peace concluded; and theſe would rather haue followed the *Spartans* than the *Argiues* in war, yet rather the *Argiues* in war than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like vnto themſelues, dealt with them to enter into the ſocietie of the *Argiues*, as they had done: but the different formes of gouernment, vſed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, cauſed the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incurre the danger of innouation, by joyning with ſuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This buſineſſe hauing ill ſucceeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethinke themſelues of their owne danger, who had not ſo much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were vnprepared for warre. They ſought therefore to come to ſome temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one Citie that had ſhewed againſt them more ſtomacke then force; but gaue them to vnderſtand that they might be ſafe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* & her dependants; yet finally they granted vnto theſe *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themſelues dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they deſired; but into priuate confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one ſhould not make peace nor warre without the other.

Heerein, as in many other paſſages, may cleerely be ſeene the great aduantage which abſolute Lords haue as well in peace as in warre, ouer ſuch as are ſerued by voluntaries. We ſhall hardly finde any Signiorie, that hath beene ſo conſtantly followed as *Sparta* was by ſo many States, and ſome of them little inferiour to it ſelfe, being all as free: whereas contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulſiue meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themſelues as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed vpon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and giuing vp ſuch places as were agreed vpon: of which the *Lacedæmonians* could doe neither the one nor the other. For ſuch Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their meanes in the late warre, could not be reſtored without their conſent, which had them in preſent poſſeſſion; and particularly the Towne of *Panacte*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earneſtly deſired it, that by reſtitution thereof vnto the *Athenians*, as earneſtly demanding it, themſelues might recouer *Pylus*) vnleſſe that they would agree to make a priuate alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were conſtrained to doe, though knowing it to bee contrarie to the laſt agreement betweene them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* hauing broken one article of the league made betweene them and the *Athenians*, that by ſo doing they might enable themſelues to the performance of another, were ſhamefully diſappointed of their hopes by the *Thebanes*, who did not giue vp the Towne of *Panacte*, till firſt they had vtterly demoliſhed it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was ſought to haue beene excuſed by the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadours, who comming to *Athens* (whither they had ſent home all priſoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to ſalue the matter; ſaying, That from henceforth no enemie to *Athens* ſhould neſtle in *Panacte*, for it was deſtroyed. But theſe Embaſſadors had not to deale with tame fooles. For the *Athenians* told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed vpon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but vſed ſuch baſe colluſion as ſtood not with their honour: hauing made priuate alliance with the *Thebanes*; hauing deſtroyed a Towne that they ſhould haue reſtored; and not hauing forced their dependants by Warre, to make good the Couenants of the late concluded peace. Heereupon they diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger thoſe that ſent them.

There were at that time, both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, choſen for that yere, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades* a powerfull yong Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though deſiring to renew the warre, yet wiſhed that firſt they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendred to them by Couenant, eſpecially *Pylus* that had ſo ſorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whoſe Nobilitie, riches, & fauor, with the people, made him deſire warre, as the meanes, whereby himſelfe might procure ſome honourable employment; vſed all meanes to ſet the quarrell on foot, whileſt the *Athenians* had yet both aduantage enough, as not hauing rendred ought ſaue their priſoners, and pretence enough to vſe that aduantage of breaking the peace, by reaſon that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed againſt their wills) had broken all couenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to performe nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould, and might require, vntill they had firſt, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles whereto they were bound, euen to the vtmoſt point. This was enough to make them ſweat, who hauing already done the moſt that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the deliuery of their Citizens, which were priſoners. But *Alcibiades* wiſhing a ſpeedy beginning of open warre, ſent priuily to the *Argiues*, and gaue them to vnderſtand how fitly the time ſerued for them to aſſociate themſelues with *Athens*, which was enough to giue them ſecuritie againſt all Enemies.

The *Argiues* vpon the firſt confluence of many Eſtates vnto their ſocietie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they ſhould haue had the conduct of all *Greece* againſt the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as hauing ill vſed it, and thereby leauing their old enemies in caſe of much contempt and diſabilitie. But theſe ſuddain apprehenſions of vaine ioy, were ſuddainly changed into as vaine feare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately beene conceiued of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refuſed their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had ſought ſecuritie from *Athens*; and when a falſe rumour was noyſed abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement vpon all points of difference; then began the *Argiues* to let fall their creſts, and ſue for peace vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauity, and were not ouer-haſtie to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the meſſage of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argiues*, which were not now conſulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to ſaue themſelues. Wherefore they ſent away preſently to *Athens*, their owne Embaſſadours, accompanied with the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offenſiue, and defenſiue, betweene their Eſtates and the *Athenians*.

Of this buſineſſe the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to thinke: for well they ſaw, that ſuch a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were deſirous to preuent it; but to keepe the loue of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was alreadie done, than ſtood with their honour, or profit; others held it the wiſeſt way, hauing done ſo much, not to ſticke vpon a little more, but rather by giuing full ſatisfaction, to retaine the friendſhip of that State, which was more to be valued then all the reſt of *Greece*. This reſolution preuailing, they ſent away ſuch of their Citizens as were beſt affected to the peace, who comming to *Athens*, with full commiſſion to make an end of all controuerſies, did earneſtly labour in the Councell-houſe, to make the truth of things appeare, ſaying; that their Confederacie with the *Thebanes* had tended to none other end than the recouery of *Panacte*: concerning which Towne, or any other buſineſſe, that it much grieued the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſee things fall out in ſuch wiſe as might giue to the *Athenians* cauſe of diſpleaſure; but that all ſhould be done which in reaſon might be required for making matters euen betweene them; to which purpoſe they ſhewed that themſelues had abſolute commiſſion. Wherefore they deſired that *Pylus* might be reſtored to them, and eſpecially for the preſent, that the negotiation with the *Argiues* might be called aſide. Fauourable audience was giuen to this propoſition, the rather becauſe they which promiſed amends, had power to make their words good. But all this faire likelihood of good agreement was daſht on the ſuddaine, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, ſecretlie dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, perſwaded them well of his friendſhip towards their Citie, and aduiſed them to take all care that their abſolute power to conclude what they pleaſed in the name of *Sparta*, might not be knowne to the Communalty of *Athens*, leſt the inſolent multitude ſhould thereupon grow peremptorie and yeeld to nothing, vnleſſe they could draw them to vnreaſonable conditions. The Embaſſadors beleeued him, and faſhioned their tale in the aſſembly of the people, as he had aduiſed them. Hereupon the ſame *Alcibiades* taking preſently the aduantage, which their double dealing afforded, inueighed openly againſt them, as men of no ſinceritie, that were come to *Athens* for no other purpoſe, than to hinder the people from ſtrengthning themſelues with friends, meaning to draw the *Argiues* and their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrary to their owne Oath) already they had the *Thebanes*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleaſing errand would very hardly haue ſatisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whoſe honeſt meanings had ſo ill beene ſeconded with good performance) were now ſo much incenſed with the double dealing of the Embaſſadours, and the ſtrong perſwaſions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the preſent ſo farre did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preuaile with them, that the buſineſſe was put off, vntill hee himſelfe with other Embaſſadors might fetch a better anſwere from *Sparta*.

It may alſo ſeeme a great wonder, how ſo poore a tricke of *Alcibiades* was able to carrie a matter of ſo great importance, when the *Spartan* Embaſſadours might haue caſt the loade vpon his owne ſhoulders, by diſcouering the truth: But the grauitie which was vſually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handſomely againſt ſo nimble a witte; and they might well haue been thought vntruſty men, had they profeſſed themſelues ſuch as would ſay and vn-ſay for their moſt aduantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a ſowre meſſage to deliuer at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the reſt, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould take the paines to rebuild *Panacte*, and ſhould immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebanes*; letting them vnderſtand that otherwiſe the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the *Argiues*, and their adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no minde to forſake the *Thebanes*, aſſured friends to their State; but wrought ſo hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was ſuffered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would doe no more, than onely (at the requeſt of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not ſeeme to haue effected nothing) ſweare a-new to keepe the Articles of the league betweene him and *Athens*. Immediately therefore vpon returne of the Embaſſadours, a new league was made betweene the *Athenians*, *Argiues*, *Mantinæans*, and *Eleans*, with very ample prouiſion for holding the ſame common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were paſſed ouer with ſilence, yet was it manifeſt that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend it ſelfe chiefly againſt them, as in ſhort while after was proued by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill caſe, who hauing reſtored all that they could vnto the *Athenians*, and procured others to doe the like, had themſelues recouered nothing of their owne (priſoners excepted) for default of reſtoring all that they ſhould. But that which did moſt of all diſable them, was the loſſe of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late Warre by misfortunes, than in ſundrie paſſages betweene them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keepe whoſe Amitie, they had left ſundrie of their olde friends to ſhift for themſelues. Contrariwiſe the *Athenians*, by the treatie of peace, had recouered the moſt part of that which they loſt in warre;

all their gettings they had retained; and were ſtrengthened by the acceſſe of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the peace betweene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the *Argiues* and their fellowes had found buſineſſe wherewith to ſet the *Athenians* on worke, and make vſe of this coniunction. For preſuming vpon the ſtrength of their ſide, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So, many acts of hoſtilite were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) infeſt each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their ſeuerall friends.

By theſe occaſions the *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece*, began a-new to range themſelues vnder the *Lacedæmonians*, and follow their enſignes. One victorie which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meere valour in a ſet battaile, neere to *Mantinæa*, againſt the *Argiue*-ſide, helped well to repaire their decaied reputation, though otherwiſe it yeelded them no great profit. The ciuill diſſenſion ariſing ſhortly after within *Argos* it ſelfe, betweene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almoſt throwne downe the whole frame of the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the vpper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded ſo farre as to renounce the amity of the *Athenians* in expreſſe words, and forced the *Mantinæans* to the like. But in ſhort ſpace of time the multitude preuailing, reuerſed all this, and hauing chaſed away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themſelues to the *Athenians* as cloſely as before.

Beſide theſe vprores in *Peloponneſus*, many aſſaies were made to raiſe vp troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewiſe in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whoſe forces and readines for execution, preuented ſome things, reuenged other, and requited all with ſome proſperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrell; and the *Lacedæmonians* growing wearie, they began to be quiet, retaining ſtill that enmitie in their hearts, which they had ſufficiently diſcouered in effects, though not yet breaking out into termes of open warre.

§. VIII.

The Athenians ſending two Fleetes to ſacke Siracuſe, are put to flight, and vtterly diſcomfited.

DVring this intermiſſion of open warre, the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of ſubduing *Sicil*, whither they ſent a fleet ſo mighty as neuer was ſet forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This fleet was very well manned, and furniſhed with all neceſſaries to ſo great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades* Author of that voyage, and one of the Generalls of their fleet, was driuen to baniſh himſelfe, for feare of ſuch iudgement, as elſe he was like to haue vndergone, among the incenſed people; partly by the inuaſion which the *Lacedæmonians* made vpon *Attica*, whileſt the forces of that State were ſo farre from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the King of *Perſia*, who ſupplied the *Peloponneſians* with money.

Neyther was the ſucceſſe of things in *Sicilia* ſuch, as without helpe from *Athens*, could giue any likelihood of a good end in that warre. For although in the beginning, the enterpriſe had ſo well ſucceeded, that they beſieged *Siracuſe*, the chiefe Citie of all the Iland, and one of the faireſt Townes which the *Greekes* inhabited, obtayning the better in ſundry battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was relieued with ſtrong aide from *Peloponneſus*, it came to paſſe that the *Athenians* were put to the worſe on all ſides, in ſuch wiſe that their fleet was ſhut vp into the hauen of *Siracuſe*, and could not iſſue out.

As the *Athenian* affairs went very ill in *Sicil*, ſo did they at home ſtand vpon hard terms, for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had beene formerly accuſtomed to make weariſome yeerely iournies into *Attica*, which hauing pilled and forraged, they returned home; did now by counſell of *Alcibiades*, (who ſeeking reuenge vpon his owne Citizens was fled vnto them) fortifie the Towne of *Decelea*, which was neere to *Athens*, whence they ceaſed not with daily excurſions to harrie all the Countrie round about, and ſometimes giue alarme vnto the Citie it ſelfe. In theſe extremities, the peruerſe obſtinacie of the *Athenians* was very ſtrange; who leauing at their backes, and at their owne dores, an enemie little leſſe mighty than themſelues, did yet ſend forth another fleet into *Sicil*, in inuade a people no leſſe puiſſant, which had neuer offended them.

It often happens, that proſperous euent makes fooliſh counſaile ſeem wiſer than it was; which came to paſſe many times among the *Athenians*, whoſe vaine conceits *Pallas* was ſaid to turne vnto the beſt. But where vnſound aduice, finding badde proofe, is obſtinately purſued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be iuſtly blamed for a miſerable iſſue. This ſecond fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might haue ſerued to conuey home the former that was defeated; after ſome attempts made to ſmall purpoſe againſt the *Siracuſans*, was finally (together with the other part of the Nauie, which was there before) quite vanquiſhed, and bard vp into the hauen of *Siracuſe*, wherby the campe of the *Athenians*, vtterly depriued of all benefit by Sea, either for ſuccour or departure, was driuen to breake vp, and flie away by Land; in which flight they were ouer-taken, routed, and quite ouerthrown in ſuch wiſe that ſcarce any man eſcaped.

This miſchiefe well deſerued fell vpon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus* Generalls, formerly ſent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken mony for making peace in *Sicil*, whereas indeed there was not any meanes or poſſibilitie to haue made warre. Heereby it came to paſſe, that *Nicias*, who had the chiefe command in this vnhappie enterpriſe, did rather chooſe to hazard the ruine of his Countrie by the loſſe of that Armie, wherein conſiſted little leſſe then all the power of *Athens*; than to aduenture his owne eſtate, his life, and his honour vpon the tongues of ſhameleſſe accuſers, and the ſentence of Iudges before his triall reſolued to condemne him, by retiring from *Syracuſe*, when wiſdome and neceſſitie required it. *For* (ſaid hee) *they ſhall giue ſentence vpon vs, who know not the reaſon of our doings, nor would giue eare to any that would ſpeake in our behalfe, but altogether harken to ſuſpicious and vaine rumors that ſhall be brought againſt vs; yea theſe our Souldiers who now are ſo deſirous to returne in ſafetie, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleaſure of the lewd and inſolent multitude.*

This reſolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honeſt and valiant man to doe what reaſon willeth, not what opinion expecteth; & to meaſure honour or diſhonour by the aſſurance of his well-informed conſcience, rather than by the malicious report & cenſure of others) yet it may be excuſed; ſince he had before his eyes the iniuſtice of his people, and had well vnderſtood that a wicked ſentence is infinitely worſe than a wicked fact, as being held a preſident and patterne, whereby oppreſſion beginning vpon one, is extended as warrantable vpon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was ſuch, as a conſtant man could not eaſily haue ouer-maſtered; but when afterwards the Armie, hauing no other expectation of ſafetie than the faint hope of a ſecret flight; he was ſo terrified with an Eclipſe of the Moone, happening when they were about to diſlodge, that he would not conſent to haue the campe break vp till ſeuen and twentie daies were paſt. His timorouſneſſe was euen as fooliſh and ridiculous, as the iſſue of it was lamentable. For he ſhould not haue thought that the power of the Heauens, and the courſe of Nature, would be as vniuſt as his *Athenians*, or might pretend leſſe euill to the ſlothfull, than to ſuch as did their beſt. Neither doe I thinke that any Aſtrologer can alleage this Eclipſe, as either a cauſe or prognoſtication of that Armies deſtruction, otherwiſe than as the follie of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confuſion. Had *C. Caſsius* the *Roman*, he, who ſlew *Iulius Cæſar*, imitated this ſuperſtition of *Nicias*, he had ſurely found the ſame fortune in a caſe very like. But when, hee retyring, the broken remainder of *Craſſius* his Armie defeated by the *Parthian* Archers, was aduiſed, vpon ſuch an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were paſt the ſigne of *Scorpio*; he made anſwere that hee ſtood not in ſuch feare of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So aduenturing rather to abide the frowning of the Heauens, than the neerer danger of Enemies vpon earth, he made ſuch a ſafe and honourable retrait, as did both ſhew his noble reſolution, and giue a faire example to that good rule,

——*Sapiens dominabitur aſtris.*

Thus we ſee that God, who ordinarily workes by a concatenation of meanes, depriues the Gouernours of vnderſtanding, when he intends euill to the multitude; and that the wickedneſſe of vniuſt men is the readie meane to weaken the vertue of thoſe who might haue done them good.

§. IX.

Of the troubles where-into the State of Athens fell, after the great loſſe of the Fleet, and Army, in Sicilia.

THe loſſe of this *Armie* was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may bee well accompted a very little leſſe calamitie to that Eſtate, than was the ſubuerſion of the walls, when the Citie about ſeuen yeeres after was taken by *Lyſander.* For now began the ſubiects of the *Athenian* Eſtate to rebell, of whom, ſome they reduced vnder their obedience; others held out; ſome for feare of greater inconuenience were ſet at libertie, promiſing onely to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subiects; others hauing a kinde of libertie offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among theſe troubles it fell out very vnſeaſonably, that the principall men of *Athens* being wearied with the peoples inſolencie, tooke vpon them to change the forme of that Eſtate, and bring the gouernment into the hands of a few. To which purpoſe conſpiring with the Captaines which were abroad, they cauſed them to ſet vp the forme of an Ariſtocratie in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, ſome that were moſt likelie to withſtand this innouation, being ſlaine at *Athens*, the Commonaltie were ſo diſmaid, that none durſt ſpeake againſt the Conſpirators, whoſe number they knew not, but euerie man was afraid of his neighbour, leſt he ſhould be a member of the league. In this generall feare the Maieſtie of *Athens* was vſurped by foure hundred men, who obſeruing in ſhew the ancient forme of proceeding, did cauſe all matters to be propounded vnto the people, and concluded vpon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were onely ſuch as were firſt allowed in priuate among themſelues; neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than onely to approue and giue conſent: for whoſoeuer preſumed any further, was quickly diſpatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murther. By theſe meanes were many Decrees made, all tending to the eſtabliſhment of this new Authoritie, which neuertheleſſe endured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was in the Iſle of *Samos*, did altogether deteſt theſe dealings of the foure hundred vſurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they reuoked *Alcibiades* out of baniſhment, and by his aſſiſtance procured that the ſupplies which the *Perſian* King had promiſed to the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tiſſaphernes* his Lieutenant, made vnprofitable, through the ſlow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the firſt beene very well entertained in *Sparta*, whileſt his ſeruice done vnto that State was not growne to be the obiect of enuie. But when it appeared that in Counſaile and good performance he ſo farre excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good ſucceſſe was aſcribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens wearie of his vertue; eſpecially *Agis* one of their Kings, whoſe wife had ſo farre yeelded her ſelfe to the loue of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends ſhe could not forbeare to call her yong childe by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* ſhould be killed out of the way. But he diſcouering the *Spartan* trechery, conueighed himſelfe vnto *Tiſſaphernes*, whom he ſo bewitched with his great beauty, ſweet conuerſation, and ſound wit, that he ſoone became the Maſter of that barbarous Vice-roies affections, who had free power to diſpoſe the great Kings Treaſures and forces in thoſe parts. Then began he to aduiſe *Tiſſaphernes*, not ſo farre forth to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould quite ouerthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to helpe the weaker ſide, and let them one conſume another, whereby all ſhould fall at length into the hands of the *Perſian*. By this counſaile he made way to other practices, wherein by ſtrength of his reputation (as the onely fauourite of ſo great a Potentate) he played his owne game, procuring his reſtitution. At length his baniſhment being repealed by the Armie, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppreſſed by the foure hundred) hee laboured greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the Gouernours; or at leaſt to diuert their heat another way, and turne it vpon the common Enemie. Some of the foure hundred approued his motion, as being wearie of the tyrannie whereof they were partakers, partly becauſe they ſaw it could not long endure; and partly for that themſelues, being leſſe regarded by the reſt of their companions, than ſtood with their good liking, ſought to acquit themſelues of it as honeſtly as they might. But the moſt of that Faction laboured to obtaine peace of the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring chiefly to maintaine both their owne authoritie & the greatneſſe of their Citie, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wiſh to preſerue their owne power, or ſafetie at leaſt, than the good Eſtate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made ſundry ouertures of peace to the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be truſted than the wauering multitude; eſpecially conſidering that the Citie of *Sparta* was gouerned by an *Ariſtocratie*, to which forme they had now reduced *Athens*. All theſe paſſages betweene the foure hundred (or the moſt and chiefe of them) and the *Lacedæmonians*, were kept as ſecret as might be. For the City of *Athens*, hoping, without any great cauſe, to repaire their loſſes, was not inclined to make compoſition, from which vpon iuſter ground the enemie was much more auerſe, truſting well that the diſcord of the *Athenians* (not vnknowne abroad) might yeeld ſome faire opportunitie to the deſtruction of it ſelfe, which in effect (though not then preſently) came to paſſe. And vpon this hope King *Agis* did ſometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he receiued ſome ſmall loſſes. Likewiſe the Nauie of *Peloponneſus* made ſhew of attempting the Citie, but ſeeing no likelihood of ſucceſſe, they bent their courſe from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly haue beene regarded, than in this their decaied eſtate. Yet it ſeemes, without any diſparagement to their wiſedome, they ſhould rather haue forborne to preſent vnto the Citie, or to the Countries neere adioyning, any terrour of the warre. For the diſſenſion within the walls might ſoon haue done more good than could be receiued from the Fleet or Armie without, which indeed gaue occaſion to ſet the Citizens at vnitie, though it laſted not very long. The foure hundred, by meanes of theſe troubles, were faine to reſigne their authoritie, which they could not now hold, when the people hauing taken armes to repell forraigne enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed themſelues from ſuch as oppreſſed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of gouernment a full reſtitution of the ſoueraigne command vnto the people, or whole body of the Citie, but onely to fiue thouſand; which company the foure hundred (when their authoritie beganne) had pretended to take vnto them as aſſiſtants: herein ſeeming to doe little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who ſeldome aſſembled in greater number. But now when the higheſt power was come indeed into the hands of ſo many, it was ſoon agreed that *Alcibiades* and his Companions ſhould be recalled from exile, and that the Armie at *Samos* ſhould be requeſted to vndertake the gouernment: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers deſire.

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§. X.

How Alcibiades *wonne many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and againe depoſed.*

THis eſtabliſhment of things in the Citie, was accompanied with ſome good ſucceſſe in the warres. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the ſame time ouerthrowne at Sea, in a great battaile, by the *Athenian* fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards ioyning ſuch forces as he could raiſe, obtained many victories. Before the Towne of *Abydus*, his arriuall with eighteene ſhippes, gaue the honour of a great battaile to the *Athenians*; he ouerthrew and vtterly deſtroyed the fleet of the *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*; tooke the Townes of *Cyzicus*, and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ranſome their Citie, and fortified *Chryſopolis*. Hereupon letters were ſent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians* intercepting, found to containe the diſtreſſe of the Armie in theſe few words: *All is loſt*, Mindarus *is ſlaine; the Souldiers want victuals; we know not what to doe.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* ouerthrew the *Lacedæmonians* in fight by Land at *Chalcedon*, took *Selymbria*, beſieged and won *Byzantium*, now called *Conſtantinople*, which euen in thoſe dayes was a goodly, rich, and very ſtrong Citie. Heereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the Nauie.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and hee driuen to baniſh himſelfe againe; onely becauſe his Lieutenant, contrary to the expreſſe command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his abſence, had loſt a great part of the fleete.

The ſecond baniſhment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmefull than the firſt; and the loſſe which thereupon they receiued, was (though more heauie to them, yet) leſſe to be pittied of others, than that which enſued vpon his former exile. For whereas at the firſt, hee had ſought reuenge vpon his owne Citie; now, as inured to aduerſitie, he rather pittied their furie, who in time of ſuch danger had caſt out him that ſhould haue repaired their weake eſtate, than ſought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himſelfe after injurie receiued. Before they, who were inſtituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arriued at the fleete, he preſented battaile to *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* Admirall, who was not ſo confident vpon his former victorie, as to vndertake *Alcibiades* himſelfe, bringing ſhips more in number (notwithſtanding the former loſſe of fifteene) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had beene vnder his Lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was publiſhed in the Nauie, then did *Alcibiades* with-draw himſelfe to a Towne vpon *Helleſpont*, called *Bizanthe*, where he had built a Caſtle.

§. XI.

The battaile at Arginuſæ, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaines by the people.

After this time, the *Athenians* receiuing many loſſes and diſcomfitures, were driuen to flie into the Hauen of *Mytelene*, where they were ſtreightly beſieged both by Land and Sea. For the raiſing of this ſiege neceſſity inforced them to man all their Veſſells, and to put the vttermoſt of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile was fought at *Arginuſa*, where *Callicraditas*, Admirall of the *Lacedæmonians*, loſing the honour of the day, preſerued his owne reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well haue beene expected, that the tenne Captaines, who ioyntly had command in chiefe ouer the *Athenian* fleet, ſhould for that good daies ſeruice, and ſo happie a victorie, haue receiued great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwiſe they were forth-with called home, and accuſed, as if wilfully they had ſuffered many of the Citizens, whoſe ſhips were broken and ſunke, to be caſt away, when by appointing ſome Veſſels to take them vp, they might haue ſaued them from being drowned. Hereto the Captaines readily made a very iuſt anſwere; That they purſuing the victory, had left part of the fleet, vnder ſufficient men, to ſaue thoſe that were wrackt; which if it were not well accompliſhed, it was, becauſe a tempeſt ariſing about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuſe auailed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who ſaid, That hee himſelfe eſcaping in a meale-tubbe, had beene intreated by thoſe who were in perill of drowning, to deſire of the people reuenge of their deaths vpon the Captaines. It was very ſtrange, that vpon ſuch an accuſation maintained with ſo ſlender euidence, men that had well deſerued of their Countrie ſhould be ouerthrowne. But their enemies had ſo incenſed the raſcall multitude, that no man durſt abſolue them, ſaue onely *Socrates* the wiſe and vertuous Philoſopher, whoſe voice in this iudgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly eſcaped drowning, and was with much a-doe relieued by other veſſels in the ſtorme: but the Captaines which were abſent eſcaped; for when the furie of the people was ouer-paſt, this judgement was reuerſed, and the accuſers called into queſtion for hauing deceiued and peruerted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themſelues from the infamie of injuſtice; but the diuine iuſtice was not a-ſleepe, nor would be ſo deluded.

§. XII.

The battaile at Ægos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponneſian warre.

THe *Peloponneſian* fleet vnder *Lyſander*, the yeere next following, hauing ſcowred the *Ægean* Seas, entred *Helleſpont*, where (landing Souldiers) it beſieged and tooke the Town of *Lampſacus*. Hereupon all the Nauie of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourescore ſaile, made thither in haſte, but finding *Lampſacus* taken before their comming, they put in at *Seſtos*, where hauing refreſhed themſelues, they ſailed to the Riuer called, *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goates-Brooke*, or the Riuer of the *Goate*; being on the Continent, oppoſite to *Lampſacus*: & there they caſt Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lyſander*, who rode at *Lampſacus* in the harbour. The next day after their arriuall they preſented fight vnto the *Peloponneſians*, who refuſed it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Ægos-Potamos*, & thus they continued fiue daies, brauing euery day the Enemy, and returning to their owne harbour when it drew towards euening.

The Caſtle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Nauie, and his power in thoſe places was ſtch as might haue greatly auailed his Countrimen, if they could haue made vſe of it. For he had waged Mercenaries, and making warre in his owne name vpon ſome people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiuing the diſorderly courſe of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired vnto them, and ſhewed what great inconuenience might grow, if they did not ſoone fore-ſee and preuent it. For they lay in a roade ſubiect to euery weather, neither neere enough to any Towne where they might furniſh themſelues with neceſſaries, nor ſo farre off as had beene more expedient. *Seſtus* was the next Market-Towne; thither both Souldiers and Marriners reſorted, flocking away from the Nauie euery day, as ſoone as they were returned from brauing the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at *Seſtus*, which was not farre off, or at leaſt to conſider how neere their enemie was, whoſe feare proceeded rather from obedience to their Generall, than from any cowardiſe. This admonition was ſo farre deſpiſed, that ſome of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne matters, and to remember that his authoritie was out of date. Had it not been for theſe opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) haue compelled the *Lacedæmonians*, either to fight vpon vnequall termes, or vtterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might ſo haue done by tranſporting the light-armed *Thracians* his Confederates, and others his Followers ouer the Streights, who aſſaulting the *Peloponneſians* by Land, would either haue compelled them to put to Sea, or elſe to leaue their ſhips to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counſaile no better than hath beene rehearſed, he left them to their fortune, which how euill it would be he did prognoſticate.

Lyſander all this while defending himſelfe by the aduantage of his Hauen, was not careleſſe in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was to ſend forth ſome of his ſwifteſt Veſſels after them, who obſeruing their doings, related vnto him what they had ſeene. Therefore vnderſtanding in what careleſſe faſhion they romed vp & downe the Countrie; he kept all his men a-boord after their departure, & the fift day gaue eſpeciall charge to his Scouts, That when they perceiued the *Athenians*, diſembarking, as their cuſtome was, and walking towards *Seſtos*, they ſhould forthwith returne, and hang vp a brazen ſhield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lyſander* being in a readineſſe, made all ſpeede that ſtrength of Oares could giue, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies a-boord their Ships, not many neere them, and all in great confuſion vpon the news of his approach.

Inſomuch that the greateſt induſtry which the *Athenians* then ſhewed, was in the eſcape of eight or nine ſhips, which knowing how much that loſſe imported, gaue ouer *Athens* as deſperate, and made a long flight vnto the Ile of *Cyprus*; all the reſt were taken, and ſuch of the Souldiers as came in to the reſcue cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had laſted ſeuen and twenty yeers, with variable ſucceſſe concluded in one houre, & the glory of *Athens* in ſuch wiſe eclipſed, that ſhe neuer afterward ſhone in her perfect light.

Immediately vpon this victory *Lyſander*, hauing taken ſuch Townes as readily did yeelde vpon the firſt fame of his exploit, ſet ſayle for *Athens*, and ioyning his forces with thoſe of *Agis* & *Pauſanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, ſummoned the Citie; which finding too ſtubborne to yeeld, and too ſtrong to be won on the ſudden, he put forth againe to Sea, and rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Iſlands, and ſuch Townes of the *Ionians*, as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to ſubmit themſelues to *Sparta*, he did thereby cut off all prouiſion of victuals, and other neceſſaries, from the Citie, & inforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to theſe conditions: That the long wals, leading from the Town to the Port, ſhould be thrown down; That all Cities ſubiect to their Eſtate, ſhould be ſet at liberty; That the *Athenians* ſhould be Maſters onely of their owne Territories, and the fields adioyning to their Towne; And that they ſhould keep no more than twelue Ships; That they ſhould hold as Friends or Enemies, the ſame, whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the Warres.

Theſe articles being agreed vpon, the wals were throwne downe with great reioycing of thoſe who had borne diſpleaſure to *Athens*; and not without ſome conſultation of deſtroying the Citie, and laying waſte the Land about it. Which aduice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Gouernors, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed ouer the people, who recompenſed their former inſolency and iniuſtice ouer their Captaines, by oppreſſing them with all baſe and intolerable ſlauery.

The onely ſmall hope then remaining to the *Athenians*, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repaire what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirty Tyrants perceiuing this, aduertiſed the *Lacedæmonians* thereof, who contriued, and (as now domineering in euery quarter) ſoone effected his ſuddaine death.

Such end had the *Peloponneſian* Warre. After which the *Lacedæmonians* abuſing the reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to *Greece*, and by Combination of many Cities againſt them, were diſpoſſeſſed of their high authority, euen in that very Age, in which they had ſubdued *Athens*. The greateſt foile that they tooke was of the *Thebans*, led by *Epaminondas*, vnder whom *Philip* of *Macedon*, father to *Alexander* the Great, had the beſt of his education. By theſe *Thebans*, the Citie of *Sparta* (beſides other great loſſes receiued) was ſundry times in danger of being taken. But theſe haughty attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing, for the ſeuerall Eſtaes and Signories of *Greece*, were growne ſo iealous one of anothers greatneſſe, that the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, *Argiues*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightieſt, aſſociating themſelues with the weaker party, did ſo counterpoize the ſtronger, that no one Citie could extend the limits of her iuriſdiction ſo farre as might make her terrible to her Neigbours. And thus all parts of the Countrie remained rather euenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till ſuch time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whoſe forefathers had beene dependants, and followers, yea almoſt meere Vaſſals to the Eſtates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found meanes, by making vſe of their factions, to bring them all into ſeruitude, from which they neuer could be free, till the *Romanes* preſenting them with a ſhew of liberty, did themſelues indeede become their Maſters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponneſian Warre, or ſhortly following it.

§. I.

How the affaires of Perſia ſtood in theſe times.

DVring the times of this *Peloponneſian* Warre, and thoſe other leſſe expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, hauing peaceably enioyed a long reigne ouer the *Perſians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the *Baſtard*, whom the *Greeke* Hiſtorians (lightly paſſing ouer *Xerxes* the ſecond, and *Sogdianus*, as Vſurpers, and for their ſhort reigne little to be regarded) place next vnto them, or to *Xerxes* the ſecond; who, and his brother *Sogdianus* after him (ſeeming to haue beene the ſonnes of *Heſter*) held the Kingdome but one yeere betweene them, the yonger ſucceeding his elder brother. It is not my purpoſe (as I haue ſaid before) to purſue the Hiſtorie of the *Perſians* from henceforth, by rehearſall of all the particulars, otherwiſe than as they ſhall be incident to the affaires of *Greece*. It may therefore ſuffice to ſay, That *Xerxes* the ſecond, being a vicious Prince, did periſh after a moneth or two, if not by ſurfeit, then by treachery of his as riotous brother *Sogdianus*. Likewiſe of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he ſlew vniuſtly *Bagorazus* a principall *Eunuch*, and would haue done as much to his brother *Darius* the *Baſtard*, had not he foreſeene it, and by raiſing a ſtronger Armie than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leauie, ſeized at once vpon the King and Kingdome. *Darius* hauing ſlaine his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeeres. *Amyrtæus* of *Sais* an *Ægyptian* rebelled againſt him, and hauing partly ſlaine, partly chaſed out of the Land the *Perſian* Garriſons, allied himſelfe ſo firmely with the *Greekes*, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliuered it ouer to his poſterity, who (notwithſtanding the furie of their ciuill Warres) maintained it againſt the *Perſian*, all the dayes of this *Darius*, and of his ſon *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewiſe *Amorges*, a ſubiect of his owne and of the Royall bloud, being Lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled againſt him; confederating himſelfe with the *Athenians*. But the great calamity, before ſpoken of, which fell vpon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, hauing put new life into the *Spartans*, and giuen courage to the Ilanders and others, ſubiect to the State of *Athens*, to ſhake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedæmonians* being deſtitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Nauie, without which it was impoſſible to aduance the warre againſt the State of *Athens*, that remained powerful by Sea, were driuen to craue his aſſiſtance, which he granted vnto them, firſt vpon what conditions beſt pleaſed himſelfe, though afterwards the articles of the league betweene him and them were ſet downe in more preciſe tearmes; wherein it was concluded, That he and they ſhould make warre ioyntly vpon the *Athenians*, and vpon all that ſhould rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Aſia*, which had formerly beene his, or his Predeceſſours, ſhould returne to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the warre enſuing (of which I haue already ſpoken) he recouered all that his Grand-father and Father had loſt in *Aſia*. Likewiſe by aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* he got *Amorges* a-liue into his hands, who was taken in the Citie of *Iaſus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to ſuccour him. Neuertheleſſe *Ægypt* ſtill held out againſt him; the cauſe whereof cannot be the employment of the *Perſian* forces on the parts of *Greece*: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occaſions, but they wanted manhood, which cauſed him to fight with gold, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his naturall enemies, what the valour of his owne Subiects was inſufficient to performe. *Darius* had in marriage *Paryſatis* his owne ſiſter, who bare vnto him (beſides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to ſay, the Mindefull, or the Rememberer, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdome; and *Cyrus* the yonger, a Prince of ſingular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the moſt excellent man that euer *Perſia* bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leaue vnto his elder ſonne *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great Empire, did caſt a iealous eye vpon the doings of yong *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Aſia*, tooke more vpon him than befitted a Subiect: for which cauſe his father ſent for him, with intent to haue taken ſome very ſharpe courſe with him, had not his owne death preuented the comming of his yonger ſonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre betweene theſe brethren, and ſummarily of *Artaxerxes*, we ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake ſomewhat in more conuenient place.

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§. II.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very conuenient to ſhew the proceedings of the *Greekes*, after the ſubuerſion of the wals of *Athens*, which gaue end to that war called the *Peloponneſian* warre, but could not free the vnhappy Countrie of *Greece* from ciuill broiles. The thirtie Gouernours, commonly called the thirtie Tyrants of *Athens*, were choſen at the firſt by the people to compile a body of their Law, and make a collection of ſuch ancient Statutes,as were meete to be put in practice: the condition of the Citie ſtanding as it did in that ſo ſodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the ſupreame authority,either as a recompence of their labours,or becauſe the neceſsity of the times did ſo require it,wherein the Law being vncertain,it was fit that ſuch men ſhould giue iudgement in particular cauſes,to whoſe iudgement the Lawes themſelues,by which the Citie was to be ordered, were become ſubiect. But theſe thirty hauing ſo great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deſerue it, by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them in truſt.

Therefore apprehending ſuch troubleſome fellowes, as were odious to the Citie, though not puniſhable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approued, who conſidered their lewd conditions,but did not withall bethinke themſelues, how eaſie a thing it would be vnto theſe thirty men, to take away the liues of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what elſe they liſted, when condemnation without due triall and proofe had beene once well allowed. Hauing thus plauſibly entred into a wicked courſe of gouernment, they thought it beſt to fortifie themſelues with a ſure guard, ere they brake out into thoſe diſorders, which they muſt needes commit for the eſtabliſhing of their authority. Wherefore diſpatching two of their owne company to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedæmonians*, that it was the full intent of the thirty, to keepe the City free from all rebellious motions, to which purpoſe it behooued them to cut off ſuch as were ſeditious; and therefore deſired the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them a Garriſon, which they promiſed at their owne coſt to maintaine. This motion was well approued, and a guard ſent, the Captaine of which was ſo well entertained by the thirty, that none of their miſdeedes could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after baſe and deteſted perſons, inuaded the principall men of the Citie, ſending armed men from Houſe to Houſe, who drew out ſuch as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head againſt this wicked forme of gouernment: whereby there was ſuch effuſion of bloud, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirty) ſeemed very horrible, and vnable to eſcape vengeance. His diſlike of their proceedings being openly diſcouered,cauſed his fellowes to bethinke themſelues,and prouide for their owne ſecurity, and his deſtruction, leſt he ſhould make himſelfe a Captaine of the diſcontented (which were almoſt the whole Citie) and redeeme his owne peace with their ruine. Wherefore they ſelected three thouſand of the Citizens, whom they thought meeteſt, and gaue vnto them ſome part of publike authority, the reſt they diſarmed; and hauing thus increaſed their owne ſtrength, and weakened their oppoſites, they began a-freſh to ſhead the bloud, not onely of their priuate enemies, but of ſuch whoſe money,or goods,might inrich them, and enable them for the paiment of their guard. And to this purpoſe they concluded, that euery one of them ſhould name one man, vpon whoſe goods he ſhould ſeize,putting the owner to death.But when *Theramenes* vttered his deteſtation of ſo wicked intent,then did *Critias*,who of all the thirty was moſt tyrannicall, accuſe him to the Councell,as a treacherous man,and (whereas one maine priuiledge of the three thouſand was, that none of them ſhould ſuffer death at the appointment of the thirty, but haue the accuſtomed triall)he took vpon him to ſtrike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and ſo reduced him vnder the triall and ſentence of that order. It was well alleadged by *Theramenes*,that his name was not more eaſie to be blotted out of the *Catalogue*, than any other mans; vpon which conſideration, he aduiſed them all to conceiue no otherwiſe of his caſe, than as of their owne, who were liable to the ſame forme of proceeding: but euery man chooſing rather to preſerue his owne life by ſilence, than preſently to draw vpon himſelfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little,and perhaps would neuer come neere him) the Tyrants interpreting ſilence as conſent,condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drinke poyſon.

§. III.

The conſpiracie againſt the thirty Tyrants,and their depoſing.

After the death of *Theramenes*, the thirty began to vſe ſuch outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For hauing three thouſand (as they thought) firme vnto them, they robbed all others without feare or ſhame, deſpoiling them of lands and goods, and cauſed them to flye into baniſhment, for ſafeguard of their liues. This flight of the Citizens procured their liberty, and the generall good of the City. For the baniſhed Citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into conſultation, and reſolued to hazard their liues in ſetting free the Citie of *Athens*. The very thought of ſuch a practice had beene treaſon at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seuentie men, or thereabout, were the firſt vndertakers, who with their Captaine *Thraſybulus* tooke *Phyla*, a place of ſtrength in the Territorie of *Athens*. No ſooner did the thirty heare of their exploit, than ſeeke meanes to preuent further danger; aſſembling the three thouſand, and their *Lacedæmonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with ſome loſſe of their men repelled. Finding the place too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, they intended to beſiege it; which purpoſe came to nought by meanes of ſnow that fell, and other ſtormie weather, againſt which they had not made prouiſion. Retirng therefore to the Citie, which aboue all they were to make good, they left the moſt of their guard, and two companies of Horſe, to wearie out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying ſiege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thraſybulus* were encreaſed from ſeuenty to ſeuen hundred, which aduentured to giue charge vpon thoſe guards, of whom they cut off aboue an hundred and twenty. Theſe ſmall, but proſperous beginnings, added more to the number of thoſe in *Phyla*, who now with a thouſand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the ſuburbe of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their comming, the thirty had reſolued to fortifie the Towne of *Eleuſine*, to their owne vſe, whereinto they might make an eaſie retrait, and ſaue themſelues from any ſudden perill. It may well ſeeme ſtrange, that whereas their barbarous manner of gouernement had brought them into ſuch danger, they were ſo far from ſeeking to obtaine mens good will, that contrariwiſe, to aſſure themſelues of *Eleuſine*, they got all of the place who could beare armes into their hands by a traine, and wickedly (though vnder forme of iuſtice) murthered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutum per ſcelera eſt iter*, the miſchiefes which they had already done were ſuch, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparant likelihood of ſafety, than by extending their cruelty vnto all, ſeeing few or none were left, whom they could truſt. When *Thraſybulus* and his fellowes, who as yet were tearmed conſpirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thouſand armed againe by the Tyrants, and brought to aſſault it; but in this enterpriſe *Thraſybulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom although there were ſlaine to the number of ſeuenty onely, yet the victory ſeemed the greater, becauſe *Critias*, and one other of the thirty, periſhed in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the ſtout defence of *Piræus*, together with ſome exhortations vſed by *Thraſybulus* to the Citizens, wrought ſuch effect, that the thirty were depoſed. Neuertheleſſe there were ſo many of the three thouſand, who hauing communicated with the thirty in their miſdeeds, feared to be called to a ſharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet forme of gouernement could be eſtabliſhed. For Embaſſadors were ſent to *Sparta*, who crauing aide againſt *Thraſybulus*, and his followers, had fauourable audience, and a power ſent to their aſſiſtance, both by Land and Sea, vnder the conduct of *Lyſander*, and his Brother; whom *Pauſanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raiſing an Armie of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared firſt the iealouſie, wherein ſome people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Bœotians*, and *Corinthians*, who in the late warres had beene the moſt bitter enemies to *Athens*, refuſed to follow *Pauſanias* in this expedition; alleaging that it ſtood not with their oathes, to make war againſt that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing, indeede, leſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould annexe the Territory of *Athens* to their owne Demaines. It is not to be doubted, that *Pauſanias* tooke this anſwere in good part. For it was not his purpoſe to deſtroy thoſe againſt whom he went, but onely to croſſe the proceedings of *Lyſander*, whom he enuied. Therefore hauing in ſome ſmall ſkirmiſhes againſt them of *Thraſybulus* his party, made a ſhew of war, finally wrought ſuch meanes, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, & ſuch others, as were like to giue cauſe of tumults, being ſent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, hauing withdrawn themſelues to *Eleuſine*, were ſhortly after found to attempt ſome innouation; whervpon the whole City riſing againſt them, tooke their Captains, as they were comming to Parlie, & ſlew them: which done, to auoid further inconuenience, a law was made, that all iniuries paſt ſhould be forgottē, & no man called into queſtion for wrongs committed. By which order, wiſely made, & carefully obſerued, the City returned to her former quietnes.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of Cyrus *the yonger.*

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus *his attempt againſt his brother.*

THE matters of *Greece* ſtanding vpon ſuch tearmes, that no one Eſtate durſt oppoſe it ſelfe againſt that of *Lacedæmon*; young *Cyrus*, brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Perſia*, hauing in his fathers life time very carefully proſecuted the warre againſt *Athens*, did ſend his meſſengers to *Sparta*, requeſting that their loue might appeare no leſſe to him, than that which hee had ſhewed towards them in their dangerous war againſt the *Athenians*. To this requeſt, being generall, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue a ſutable anſwere, commanding their Admirall to performe vnto *Cyrus* all ſeruice that he ſhould require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainely diſcouered himſelfe, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his aſſiſtance, very like it is, that either the Kingdome of *Perſia* ſhould haue beene the recompence of his deſerts; or that he periſhing in battaile, as after he did, the ſubuerſion of that Empire had forthwith enſued. But it pleaſed God, rather to ſhew vnto the *Greekes* the wayes, which vnder the *Macedonian* Enſignes, the victorious foot-ſteps of their poſterity ſhould meaſure; and opening vnto them the riches, and withall the weakeneſſe of the *Perſian*, to kindle in them both deſire and hope of that conqueſt, which he reſerued to another generation; than to giue into their hands that mighty Kingdome, whoſe houre was not yet come. The loue which *Paryſatis*, the Queen-Mother of *Perſia* bare vnto *Cyrus* her yonger ſonne, being ſeconded by the earneſt fauour of the people, and ready deſires of many principall men, had moued this yõg Prince, in his fathers old age, to aſpire after the ſucceſſion. But being ſent for by his Father (as hath before beene ſhewed) whoſe meaning was to curbe this ambitious youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* eſtabliſhed ſo ſurely by the old Kings fauor, that it were not ſafe to attempt any meanes of diſplanting him, by whoſe diſfauour, himſelfe might eaſily loſe the place of a Viceroy, which he held in *Aſia* the leſſe, and hardly be able to maintaine his owne life. The neereſt neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Aſia*, was *Tiſſaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardiſe, trechery, craft, and all vices which accuſtomably branch out of theſe. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, vſing by the way all faire ſhewes of friendſhip, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that Queene *Paryſatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Paryſatis* had vſed the beſt of her endeuour to that purpoſe, alleadging that (which in former ages had bin much auaileable to *Xerxes*, in the like diſceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was borne whileſt his father was a priuate man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a crowned King. All which not ſufficing; when the moſt that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of ſome preſumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adioyning: then did this *Tiſſaphernes* diſcouer his nature, and accuſe his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treaſon intended againſt his perſon. Vpon this accuſation, whether true or falſe, very eaſily beleeued, *Cyrus* was arreſted, and by the moſt vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly deliuered, and ſent backe into his owne Prouince.

§. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, *and his firſt entrie into the warre.*

THe forme of gouernement which the *Perſian* Lieutenants vſed in their ſeuerall Prouinces, was in many points almoſt Regall. For they made War and Peace, as they thought it meete, not onely for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; vſually indeede with the Kings enemies, yet ſometimes one with another: which was the more eaſily tolerated, becauſe their owne heads were held onely at the Kings pleaſure, which cauſed them to frame all their doings to his will, whatſoeuer it were, or they could coniecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being ſetled in *Lydia*, began to conſider with himſelfe, the intereſt that he had in the Kingdome; the ſmall aſſurance of his brothers loue, held onely by his Mothers interceſſion; the diſgrace endured by his late impriſonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his owne people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound vnto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himſelfe. Neither was it expedient that he ſhould long ſit idle, as waighting till occaſion ſhould preſent it ſelfe: but rather enterpriſe ſomewhat whileſt yet his Mother liued, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worſe than onely queſtionable. Hereupon he firſt began to quarrell with *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſeized vpon many Townes of his iuriſdiction, annexing them to his owne Prouince; which diſpleaſed not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (beſides that he was of condition ſomewhat ſimple) being truely paid by *Cyrus* the accuſtomable Tributes out of thoſe places, was well contented to ſee his brothers hot ſpirit exerciſed in priuate quarrels. But *Tiſſaphernes*, whoſe baſe conditions were hated, and cowardize deſpiſed, although he durſt not aduenture to take armes againſt *Cyrus*, yet perceiuing that the *Mileſians* were about to giue vp themſelues into the hands of that young Prince, as many other Townes of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terrour to preſerue his reputation, and keepe the Towne in his owne hands. Wherefore he ſlew many, and many he baniſhed, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occaſion to take armes, which was no ſmall part of his deſire. In leuying Souldiers he vſed great policie; for he tooke not onely the men of his owne Prouince, or of the Countries adioyning, whoſe liues were ready at his will; but ſecretly he furniſhed ſome *Græcian* Captaines with money, who being very good men of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, ſome of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Theſſalie*, others elſewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to croſſe the Seas, at the firſt call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had ſecret inſtructions to prolong their ſeuerall warres, that the Souldiers might be held in continuall exerciſe, and ready in armes vpon the ſudden. *Cyrus* hauing ſent a power of men to beſiege *Miletus*, forthwith ſummoned theſe bands of the *Greekes*, who very readily came ouer to his aſſiſtance, being thirteene thouſand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almoſt incredible) againſt the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Armie, and that which he had leuied before, he could very eaſily haue forced *Miletus*, and chaſed away *Tiſſaphernes* out of *Aſia* the leſſe: but his purpoſe was not ſo to loſe time in ſmall matters, that was to be imployed in the accompliſhment of higher deſignes. Pretending therefore that the *Piſidians*, a people of *Aſia* the leſſe, not ſubiect to the *Perſian*, had inuaded his Territorie, he raiſed the ſiege of *Miletus*, and with all ſpeede marched Eaſtward, leauing *Tiſſaphernes* much amazed, who had no leiſure to reioyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himſelfe, when he conſidered, that ſo great an Army, and ſo ſtrong, was neuer leuied againſt the Rouers of *Piſidia*, but rather againſt the great King his Maſter. For which cauſe taking a band of fiue hundred horſe, he poſted away to carry tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

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§. III.

How Cyrus *tooke his iourney into the higher Aſia, and came vp cloſe to his Brother.*

THe tumult which his comming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queene *Statira*, againſt *Paryſatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom ſhe called the Author and occaſioner of the war. But whileſt the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger haſted vpon him very faſt. For *Cyrus* made great marches, hauing his number much increaſed, by the repaire of his Countrimen, though moſt ſtrengthned by the acceſſe of ſeuen hundred *Greeks*, and of other foure hundred of the ſame Nation, who reuolted vnto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by triall in a Muſter, which (to pleaſe the Queene of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aide) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge vpon the reſt of his Armie, which contained a hundred thouſand men, the whole Campe (not perceiuing that this was but a brauery) fled a-maine, the victuallers and baggagers forſaking their cabbins, and running all away for very feare. This was to *Cyrus* a ioyfull ſpectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed by men of the ſame temper, and the more vnlikely to make reſiſtance, becauſe they were preſt to the warre againſt their will and diſpoſitions, whereas his Armie was drawne along by meere affection and good will. Neuertheleſſe he found it a very hard matter to perſwade the *Greekes* to paſſe the Riuer of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore he was driuen, being yet in *Cilicia*, to ſeeke excuſes, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principall Captaines, & his owne great enemy, lay by the Riuer, againſt whom he requeſted them to aſſiſt him. By ſuch deuices, and exceſſiue promiſe of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*, where ſome of the *Greekes* conſidering, That who ſo paſſed the Riuer firſt, ſhould haue the moſt thankes, and might ſafely returne if the reſt ſhould refuſe to follow them; they entred the Foords, whereby were all finally perſwaded to doe as ſome had begun, and being allured by great hopes, they reſolued to ſeeke out *Artaxerxes*, whereſoeuer he was to be found. The King in the meane time hauing raiſed an armie of nine hundred thouſand men, was not ſo confident vpon this huge multitude, as to aduenture them in triall of a plaine battaile. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thouſand men, had vnder-taken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a ſtrong wall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to ſeeme impregnable, had quitted the paſſage, and retired himſelfe toward the Kings forces, not daring to looke *Cyrus* in the face, who deſpairing to finde any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedæmonian* fleete, by the benefit whereof to haue tranſported his Armie. I doe not finde that this cowardiſe of *Abrocomas*, or of his Souldiers, who arriued not at the Campe, till fiue dayes were paſt after the battaile, receiued either puniſhment, or diſgrace; for they, toward whom he with-drew himſelfe, were all made of the ſame mettall.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was vpon the point of retiring to the vttermoſt bounds of his Kingdome, vntill by *Teribazus*, one of his Captaines, he was perſwaded not to abandon ſo many goodly Prouinces to the Enemy, who would thereby haue gathered addition of ſtrength, and (which in the ſharpe diſputation of Title to a Kingdome is moſt auaileable) would haue growne ſuperior in reputation. By ſuch aduice, the King reſolued vpon meeting with his brother, who now began to be ſecure, being fully perſwaded, that *Artaxerxes* would neuer dare to abide him in the field. For the King hauing caſt vp a Trench of almoſt fortie miles in length, about thirtie foote broad, and eighteene foote deepe, intended there to haue encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing ſo ſafe, as to be farre diſtant from his enemies.

§. IIII.

The battaile betweene Cyrus *and* Artaxerexes.

THe Armie of *Cyrus* hauing ouercome many difficulties of euill wayes, and ſcarcitie of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiuing this great feare of *Artaxerxes*; and being paſt this trench, marched careleſly in great diſorder, hauing beſtowed their Armes in Carts, and vpon Beaſts of carriage; when on the ſudden one of their Vaunt-currors, brought newes of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themſelues, and had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the ſide of the Riuer *Euphrates*, where they waited for the comming of their enemies, whom they ſaw not till it was after-noone. But when they ſaw the cloud of duſt raiſed by the feete of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceiued by their neere approach how well they were marſhalled, comming on very orderly in ſilence, whereas it had beene expected, that ruſhing violently with loud clamours, they ſhould haue ſpent all their force vpon the firſt brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were ſo vnequall in diſtent, being all embattailed in one body and ſquare, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Perſian* manner) in the middeſt of his owne, did not with the corner, and vtmoſt point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greekes* begin to diſtruſt their owne manhood, which was not accuſtomed to make proofe of it ſelfe, vpon ſuch exceſſiue oddes. It was almoſt incredible, that ſo great an Armie ſhould be ſo eaſily chaſed. Neuertheleſſe, it quickely appeared, that theſe *Perſians*, hauing learned (contrary to their cuſtome) to giue charge vpon their enemies with ſilence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receiue a ſtrong charge with courage. Vpon the very firſt offer of on-ſet, made by the *Greekes*, all that beaſtly rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the ſtroke, or ſtaying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and ſithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did ſmall hurt that day, becauſe the driuers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This baſe demeanour of his enemies gaue ſo much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his Followers, that ſuch as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainely, the Title had beene aſſured vnto him that day, had not he ſought how to declare himſelfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiuing that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him voide, was about to encompaſſe the *Greekes*, and to ſet vpon them in the reare, he aduanced with ſixe hundred Horſe, and gaue ſo valiant a charge vpon a ſquadron of ſixe thouſand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, ſlaying the Captaine thereof, *Artagerſes*, with his owne hands, and putting all the reſt to flight. Hereupon his whole company of ſixe hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chaſe, leauing *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiuing where the King ſtood in troupe, vncertaine whether to fight, or leaue the field, could not containe himſelfe, but ſaid; *I ſee the man:* and preſently with a ſmall handfull of men about him ran vpon his brother, whom he ſtrake through the Curace, and wounded in the breſt. Hauing giuen this ſtroake, which was his laſt, he receiued immediately the fatall blow, which gaue period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded vnder the eye with a dart, throwne by a baſe fellow; wherewith aſtonied, he fell dead from his horſe, or ſo hurt, that it was vnpoſſible to haue recouered him, though all which were with him, did their beſt for his ſafetie; not caring afterwards for their owne liues, when once they perceiued that *Cyrus* their Maſter was ſlaine. *Artaxerxes* cauſed the head and right hand of his brother to be forthwith ſtricken off, and ſhewed to his people, who now purſuing them, fled apace, calling vpon the name of *Cyrus*, and deſiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troupes, and vtterly diſmaied ſuch *Perſian* Captaines, as were now, euen in their owne eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned, from whence *Artaxerxes* making all ſpeede, arriued quickly at the quarter of the *Greekes*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tiſſaphernes*, who hauing made way through the battaile of the *Greekes*, was ready now to ioyne with his Maſter in ſpoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, beene ſufficient to counteruaile all diſaſters receiued, the exploit of *Tiſſaphernes* in breaking through the *Greekes* would haue yeelded little comfort. For *Tiſſaphernes* had not ſlaine any one man of the *Greekes*, but contrariwiſe, when he gaue vpon them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great ſlaughter through them, in ſuch wiſe, that he rather eſcaped as out of an hard paſſage, than forced his way through the ſquadron of the *Greekes*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greekes*, as Maſters of the field, gaue chaſe to all that came in their ſight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after theſe *Greekes*, intending to ſet vpon them in the reare. But theſe good Souldiers perceiuing the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head againſt him; who not intending to ſeeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being purſued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill, on the top whereof he made a ſtand, rather in a brauery, than with purpoſe to attempt vpon theſe bold fellowes any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had ſecured his eſtate, whom he would ſeeme to haue ſlaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone ſufficient to giue reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preſerue well enough, ſhewing a manly looke, halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he aduanced his Standard, a golden Eagle diſplaied on the top of a Speare. This enſigne might haue encouraged his people, had not ſome of the *Greekes* eſpied it, who not meaning that he ſhould abide ſo neere them, with all their power marched toward him. The King diſcouering their approach, fled vpon the ſpurre; ſo that none remained in the place of battaile, ſaue onely the *Greekes*, who had loſt that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no newes of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was purſuing the Armie, they thought it was fitteſt for them, hauing that day done enough, to returne to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, becauſe the expectation of the Kings comming had giuen them no leiſure to dine.

§. V.

The hard eſtate of the Greekes after the fight; and how Artaxerxes *in vaine ſought to haue made them yeelde vnto him.*

IT was now about the ſetting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe ſpoiled, little, or nothing being left, that might ſerue for foode: ſo that wanting victuals to ſatisfie their hunger, they refreſhed their weary bodies with ſleepe. In the meane ſeaſon *Artaxerxes* returning to his Campe, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enioy the pleaſure of his good fortune entire, becauſe he perceiued that the baſeneſſe of his people, and weakeneſſe of his Empire, was now plainely diſcouered to the *Greekes*: which gaue him aſſurance, that if any of theſe who had beheld the ſhamefull demeanor of his Armie, ſhould liue to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they diſputed with him for his whole Signorie. Wherefore he reſolued, to try all meanes, whereby he might bring them to deſtruction, and not let one eſcape to carry tidings of that which he had ſeene: to which purpoſe he ſent them a braue meſſage the next morning; Charging them to deliuer vp their Armes, and come to his Gates, to awaite there vpon his Mercie. It ſeemes that he was in good hope to haue found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceiued in that thought. For the *Greekes* being aduertiſed that morning from *Ariæus*, a principall Commander vnder *Cyrus*, that his Maſter being ſlaine, he had retired himſelfe to the place of their laſt encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into *Ionia*, his meaning was to diſlodge the next day, awaiting for them ſo long if they would ioyne with him, but reſoluing to ſtay no longer: they ſent anſwere backe to *Ariæus*, that hauing beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durſt reſiſt them, they would place *Ariæus* himſelfe in the Kings Throne, if he would ioyne with them, and purſue the victory. Before they receiued any reply to this anſwere, the Meſſengers of *Artaxerxes* arriued at the Campe, whoſe errand ſeemed to the Captaines very inſolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquiſhers to yeelde their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yeelded to ſuch a motion; a third asked, whether the King, as hauing the victory, required their Weapons; if ſo, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he deſired them in way of friendſhip; for then would they firſt know, with what courteſie he meant to requite their kindneſſe. To this queſtion *Phalinus* a *Græcian*, waiting vpon *Tiſſaphernes*, anſwered; That the King hauing ſlaine *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdome, in the middeſt whereof he held them faſt encloſed with great Riuers, being able to bring againſt them ſuch numbers of men, as they wanted ſtrength to kill if they would hold vp their throats; for which cauſe he accounted them his priſoners. Theſe words, to them, who knew themſelues to be free, were nothing pleaſant. Therefore, one told *Phalinus*, that hauing nothing left, but their Armes and Valour, whileſt they kept their Armes, their Valour would be ſeruiceable; but ſhould they yeelde them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat *Phalinus* laughed, ſaying; This young man did ſeeme a Philoſopher, and made a pretty ſpeech; but that his deepe ſpeculation ſhewed his wits to be very ſhallow, if he thought with his Armes and Valour, to preuaile againſt the great King. It ſeemes that *Phalinus* being a Courtier, and imployed in a buſineſſe of importance, thought himſelfe too profound a States-man, to be chekt in his Embaſſage by a bookiſh diſcourſer. But his wiſedome herein failed him. For whatſoeuer he himſelfe was (of whom no more is knowne than that he brought an vnhoneſt meſſage to his owne Countrimen, perſwading them baſely to ſurrender their Weapons, and Liues, to the mercileſſe *Barbarians*) this young Scholler by him deſpiſed, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principall Commanders were ſurpriſed by treacherie of the *Perſians*, being a priuate Gentleman, and hauing neuer ſeene the warres before, vnder-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which he brought ſafe into *Greece*, freeing it from all thoſe, and from greater dangers than *Phalinus* could propound. Some there were who promiſed to be faithfull to the King, as they had beene to *Cyrus*, offering their ſeruice in *Ægypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might haue vſe of them. But the finall anſwer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends, nor defend themſelues from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalinus* deliuered the Kings further pleaſure, which was to grant them Truce, whileſt they abode where they then were, denouncing Warre if they ſtirred thence; Whereunto he required their anſwere. *Clearchus* the Generall told him, they liked it. How (ſaith *Phalinus*) muſt I vnderſtand you? as chooſing peace if we ſtay, or otherwiſe warre, ſaid *Clearchus*. But whether warre or peace? quoth this politique Embaſſadour. To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpoſe,) Let our doings tell you; and ſo diſmiſſed him, no wiſer than he came. All that day the *Greekes* were faine to feede vpon their Horſes, Aſſes, and other Beaſts, which they roſted with arrowes, darts, and wooden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

How the Greekes began to returne home-wards.

AT night they tooke their way towards *Ariæus*, to whom they came at mid-night; being forſaken by foure hundred foot, and forty horſe, all *Thracians*, who fled ouer to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not finde. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they beene kindly vſed, it may well be thought that ſome of them ſhould haue accompanied *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſerued as Stales to draw in the reſt. *Ariæus* being of too baſe a temper, and birth, to thinke vpon ſeeking the Kingdome for himſelfe, with ſuch aſſiſtance as might haue giuen it vnto *Cyrus*, was very well pleaſed to make couenant with them for mutuall aſſiſtance vnto the laſt: Whereunto both parts hauing ſworne, he aduiſed them to take another way homeward, which ſhould be ſomewhat longer, yet ſafer and fitter to relieue them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, hauing made a weariſome march, & tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coaſted them, lodged in certaine Villages, where they purpoſed themſelues to haue encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly; becauſe he would not ſeeme by declining them to ſhew feare, or weakeneſſe. That the Kings men were contented to remoue, and giue place to their betters, it cannot be ſtrange to any that hath conſidered their former behauiour; Nor ſtrange, that the *Græcians* being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an vnknowne Countrie, ſhould be very fearefull: but it is almoſt paſt beliefe, that the noiſe which was heard of theſe poore men, calling one to another tumultuouſly, as the preſent condition inforced them to doe, ſhould make the *Perſians* flie out of their Campe, and ſo affright the great King, that in ſtead of demanding their Armes, he ſhould craue peace of them. The next day very early, came meſſengers from *Artaxerxes*, deſiring free acceſſe for Embaſſadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that ſuch particulars doe beſt open the quality of the perſons, by whom things were managed, I ſhould hold it fitter, to run ouer the generall paſſages of thoſe times, than to dwell among circumſtances. But ſurely it is a point very remarkeable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Meſſengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, becauſe the *Greeks* (as he ſaid) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* diſſembling the indignity, was contented ſweetly to ſwallow downe this pill, ſending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieue them.

§. VII.

How Tiſſaphernes, *vnder colour of peace, betraied all the Captaines of the Greekes.*

HItherto the *Greekes*, relying vpon their owne vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought themſelues into any ſtraights or tearmes of diſaduantage. But now came vnto them the ſubtile Foxe *Tiſſaphernes*, who circumuenting the chiefe Commanders by fine ſleights, did miſchieuouſly entrappe them, to the extreame danger of the Armie. He told them, that his Prouince, lying neere vnto *Greece*, had cauſed him greatly to deſire, that their deliuerance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrimen at home, would not be vnthankefull for ſuch a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearſe the great ſeruice that he had done to his Maſter, being the firſt that aduertiſed him of *Cyrus* his intent, and hauing not onely brought him a good ſtrength of men, but in the day of battaile ſhewed his face to the *Greekes*, when all others turned their backes: that he, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gaue chaſe to the *Barbarians* that ſtood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alleadge to the King; entreating that he would giue me leaue to conduct you ſafe into *Greece*; in which ſuite I haue good hope to ſpeede, if you will ſend a milde anſwere to him, who hath willed me to aske you, for what cauſe ye haue borne Armes againſt him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to giue gentle words, which *Tiſſaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he ſaid) that peace ſhould be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they ſhould paſſe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they tooke, and committing no ſpoile: yet that it ſhould be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refuſed to affoord them an open Market. Hereupon both parties hauing ſworne, the League was concluded, and *Tiſſaphernes* returning to the King to take leaue, and end all buſineſſe, came vnto them againe after twenty dayes, and then they ſet forward. This interim of twenty dayes, which *Tiſſaphernes* did ſpend at the Court, miniſtred great occaſion of miſtruſt to his new Confederates. For beſides his long abſence, which alone ſufficed to breede doubt, the Brethren, and Kindred of *Ariæus*, repairing daily to him, and other *Perſians* to his Soulders, did worke him and them ſo with aſſurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more ſtrange to the *Greekes*, than formerly he had beene. This cauſed many to aduiſe *Clearchus*, rather to paſſe forward as well as he might, than to relye vpon couenants, and ſit ſtill whileſt the King layed ſnares to entrappe them. But he on the contrary perſwaded them, to reſt contented whileſt they were well, and not to caſt themſelues againe into thoſe difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting withall their owne wants, and the Kings meanes, but eſpecially the Oathes mutually giuen and taken, wherewith he ſaw no reaſon why the enemie ſhould haue clogged himſelfe if he meant miſchiefe, hauing power enough to doe them harme by a faire and open Warre.

Tiſſaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatneſſe and place in Court) which cauſed his Oath to be the more eſteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or baſe reſpect, was like to haue drawne it from him. But his falſhood was ſuch, both in ſubſtance and in ſucceſſe, as may fitly expound that ſaying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyar*. A lye may finde excuſe when it growes out of feare: for that paſſion hath his originall from weakeneſſe. But when Power, which is a *Character* of the *Almighty*, ſhall be made the ſupporter of vntruth, the falſhood is moſt abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, aduancing his owne ſtrength againſt the diuine Iuſtice, doth commit that ſinne with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with ſure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tiſſaphernes* found meanes to deſtroy all the Captaines, whom he ſubtilly got into his power by a traine; making the Generall *Clearchus* himſelfe the meane to draw in all the reſt. The buſineſſe was contriued thus: Hauing trauailed ſome dayes together in ſuch wiſe, that the *Perſians* did not encampe with the *Greekes*, who were very iealous of the great familiarity, appearing betweene *Tiſſaphernes*, and *Ariæus*; *Clearchus* thought it conuenient to roote out of *Tiſſaphernes* his braines all cauſes of diſtruſt, whereof many had growne in that ſhort time. To which purpoſe obtaining priuate conference with him, he rehearſed the oath of Confederacie, which had paſt betweene them, ſhewing how religiouſly he would keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the *Greekes* did receiue by the helpe of *Tiſſaphernes*, he promiſed that their loue ſhould appeare to him not vnfruitfull, if he would make vſe of their ſeruice againſt the *Myſians* or *Piſidians*, who were accuſtomed to infeſt his Prouince, or againſt the *Ægyptians*, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cauſe he deſired him, that whereas all diuine and humane reſpects had linked them together, he would not giue place to any cloſe accuſation or ſuſpition, whereby might grow ſudden inconuenience to either of them, vpon no iuſt ground. The faithleſſe *Perſian* was very much delighted with this ſpeech, which miniſtred faire occaſion to the execution of his purpoſe. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wiſely conſidered, wiſhing him further to call to minde how many waies he could haue vſed to bring them to confuſion, without perill to himſelfe, eſpecially by burning the country, through which they were to paſſe, wherby they muſt needs haue periſhed by meere famine. For which cauſe he ſaid that it had beene great folly, to ſeeke by periurie, odious to God and Man, the deſtruction of ſuch as were already in his hands; But the truth was, that his owne loue to them had moued him to worke their ſafetie, not onely for thoſe ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleaſures that might redound to himſelfe, and the King, by their aſſiſtance: but for that hee might by their friendſhip, hope to obtaine what *Cyrus* had miſt. Finally, he inuited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and ſent him away ſo well aſſured of his good will, that he promiſed to bring all the Captaines with him to the ſame place, where, in preſence of them all, *Tiſſaphernes* likewiſe promiſed to tell openly, which of them had by ſecret information ſought to raiſe diſſenſion betweene them. *Clearchus* himſelfe being thus deceiued, with great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the Campe of *Tiſſaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers as it had been to ſome common Faire. But being there arriued, *Clearchus* with other the fiue principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the reſt ſtaying without, where they had not waited long ere a ſigne was giuen, vpon which they within were apprehended, and the reſidue ſlaine. Forth-with certaine bands of *Perſian* Horſe-men ſcoured the field, killing as many *Greekes* as they met, and riding vp to the very Campe of the *Græcians*, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cauſe, till one, eſcaping ſorely wounded, informed them of all that had beene done. Heereupon the *Greekes* tooke Armes in haſte, thinking that the enemy would forthwith haue aſſailed their Campe. Anon they might perceiue the Embaſſadours of *Tiſſaphernes*, among whom were his owne brother, and *Ariæus*, followed with three hundred Horſe, who called for the principall men in the Armie, ſaying, that they brought a meſſage from the King, which *Ariæus* deliuered to this effect: That *Clearchus* hauing broken his faith, and the league made, was iuſtly rewarded with death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the fiue Coronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honored: and finally, that the King required them to ſurrender their Arms, which were due to him, as hauing belonged vnto his ſeruant *Cyrus*. When ſome altercation had followed vpon this meſſage, *Xenophon* told the Embaſſadours, that if *Clearchus* had in ſuch ſort offended, it was well that he was in ſuch ſort puniſhed: but hee willed them to ſend backe *Menon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had ſo greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greekes* might be aduiſed how to anſwer the *Perſian*. Hereunto the Embaſſadours knew not how to frame any reply, and therfore departed without ſpeaking one word more. *Clearchus*, and the other foure were ſent to *Artaxerxes*, by whoſe commandement their heads were ſtricken off. I hold it not amiſſe to preuent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiouſneſſe of *Tiſſaphernes*, the reward which he afterward receiued. He ſaw his Prouince waſted by the *Greekes*, againſt whom receiuing from his Maſter conuenient aid of men and money, he did ſo ill manage his affaires, that neither ſubtiltie, nor periurie (to which he failed not to haue recourſe) auailed him; finally, the King was iealous of his cunning head, and ſent a new Lieutenant into thoſe parts, who tooke it from his ſhoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, which made him ſo miſtruſted at home, that the ſeruice which he could not doe, he was thought vpon priuate ends to neglect; and ſo hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flie from the ſtroke, all the word being ſhut againſt him. But now let vs returne to the proſperitie, wherein hee triumphed without great cauſe, hauing betrayed brauer men then himſelfe, and intending to bring the like miſchiefe vpon the whole Armie.

§. VIII.

How Xenophon *heartened the Greekes, and in deſpight of* Teſſaphernes *went off ſafely.*

GReat was the heauineſſe of the Souldiers, being now left deſtitute of Leaders; and no leſſe their feare of the euill hanging ouer their heads, which they knew not well how to auoide. Among the reſt, *Xenophon*, whoſe learning ſupplied his want of experience, finding the deepe ſadneſſe of the whole Armie to be ſuch as hindred them from taking any courſe of preuenting the danger at hand, began to aduiſe the vnder-Officers of *Proxenus* his companies, whoſe familiar friend he had beene, to bethinke themſelues of ſome meane, whereby their ſafety might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: ſetting before their eyes whatſoeuer might ſerue for to giue them hope, and aboue all, perſwading them in no wiſe to yeeld to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they deſired him to take vpon him the charge of that Regiment; and ſo together with him, the ſame night calling vp ſuch as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fitteſt men to ſucceed in the places of thoſe who were ſlaine, or taken. This being done, and order ſet downe for diſburdening the Armie of all ſuperfluous impediments, they eaſily comforted themſelues for the loſſe of *Tiſſaphernes* his aſſiſtance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheape than he had beene wont to ſell them; To which purpoſe they intended to take vp their lodging two or three miles further, among ſome plentifull Villages, and ſo to proceed, marching towards the heads of thoſe great Riuers, which lay in their way, and to paſſe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made vpon them by *Tiſſaphernes*, whom they, ſeruing all on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they receiued by the *Perſian* Archers, who ſhot at a farther diſtance than the *Greekes* could reach. For this cauſe did *Xenophon* prouide ſlings, wherewith hee ouer-reached the enemy; and finding ſome Horſes fit for ſeruice, that were imployed among the carriages, he ſet men vpon them; training likewiſe his Archers to ſhoot compaſſe, who had been accuſtomed to the point blanke. By theſe meanes did he beare off the *Perſians* who aſſailed him; and ſometimes gaue them chaſe with that band of fiftie Horſe, which being well backt with a firme bodie of footmen, and ſeconded with troupes of the light-armed-ſhot & ſlingers, compelled the enemie to lie a-loof. *Tiſſaphernes* not daring to come to handie-gripes with theſe reſolute men, did poſſeſſe the tops of Mountaines, and places of aduantage, by which they were to paſſe. But finally, when their valour made way through all ſuch difficulties, he betooke himſelfe to that courſe, which was indeed the ſureſt, of burning the Countrie. With great ſorrow did the *Greekes* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some aduiſed to defend the Countrie, as granted by the enemie himſelfe to be theirs; others to make more fires, if ſo perhaps the *Perſians* might be aſhamed to doe that which was the deſire of ſuch as made paſſage in hoſtile manner; But theſe were faint comforts. The beſt counſaile was, that being neere vnto the *Carduchi*, a people enemie to the *Perſian*, they ſhould enter into their Country, paſſing ouer ſome high mountaines which lay betweene them. This couſe they followed, which could not haue auailed them, if *Tiſſaphernes* had begun ſooner to cut off their victuals, rather then to ſeeke to force, or to circumuent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the Greeke Armie found in paſſing through the Land of the Carduchi.

ENtring vpon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountred with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accuſtomed by force to defend themſelues againſt the huge Armies of the *Perſian*, were no way inferiour to the *Greekes* in daring, but onely in the Art of Warre. They were very light of foot, skilfull Archers; and vſed the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrie were of much vſe againſt theſe poore trauellers, afflicting them in ſeuen daies which they ſpent in that paſſage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Betweene the Territorie of theſe *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ranne *Centrites* a great Riuer, vpon which the *Greekes* refreſhed themſelues one day, reioycing that they had ſo well eſcaped theſe dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prooue eaſie. But the next morning they ſaw certaine troupes of Horſe, that lay to forbid their paſſage. Theſe were leauied by the Kings deputies in thoſe parts; *Tiſſaphernes* and his Companies hauing taken their way towards *Ionia*. The Riuer was broad and deepe, ſo that it was not poſſible for ſuch as would enter it, to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe which kept the oppoſite bankes. To increaſe theſe dangers the *Carduchi* following vpon them, lay on the ſide of a Mountaine, within leſſe than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to diſcouer a Foord, by which the greater number of them paſſing ouer, did eaſily chaſe away the Subiects of the *Perſian*, and then ſending backe the moſt expedite men, gaue ſuccour to the Reare-ward, againſt which the *Carduchi* being ſlightly armed, could not on plaine ground make reſiſtance hand to hand. Theſe *Carduchi* ſeeme to haue inhabited the Mountaines of *Niphates*, which are not farre from the Spring of *Tygris*; though *Ptolomie* place them far more to the Eaſt vpon the Riuer of *Cyrus* in *Media*, wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whoſe relation being grounded vpon his owne knowledge, doth beſt in this caſe deſerue credit. Of the Riuer *Centrites* (as of many other Riuers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a coniecture, which may endure the ſeuerity of a *Criticke*. For *Ptolomie*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, adde ſmall light to this expedition: onely of this laſt, I thinke it the ſame which falleth into *Tigris*, not much aboue *Artaſigarta* ſpringing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Towne of *Sardeua* in *Gordene*, a Prouince of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greekes* hauing paſſed *Centrites* did arriue.

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§. X.

How Teribazus *Gouernour of Armenia, ſeeking to entrap the Greekes with tearmes of fained peace, was diſappointed and ſhamefully beaten.*

THe Armie finding in *Armenia* good prouiſion, marched without any diſturbance about fiftie or threeſcore miles to the heads of the Riuer *Tigris*, and paſſing ouer them, trauailed as farre further without reſiſtance, till they were encountred by *Teribazus* at the Riuer *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though ſmall, but *Ptolomie* and others omit it. *Teribazus* gouerned that Countrie for the *Perſian*, and was in great fauor with *Artaxerxes*, whoſe Court may ſeeme to haue been a Schoole where the Art of falſhood was taught as wiſedome. He deſired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made vpon this condition, that they ſhould take what they pleaſed, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As ſoone as he had made this league, he leauied an Armie, and beſetting the Streights of certaine Mountaines which they were to paſſe, hoped well to make ſuch benefit of their ſecurity, as might giue him the commendation of being no leſſe craftily diſhoneſt than *Tiſſaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of ſucceſſe. For a great ſnow fell, which cauſed the *Greekes* to make many fires, and ſcatter themſelues abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* alſo made many fires, and ſome of his men wandred about ſeeking reliefe. By the fires he was diſcouered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken priſoner, the whole plot was reuealed. Hereupon the *Greekes*, taking this captiue with them for a guide, ſought him out; and comming vpon his Campe, did ſo affright him, that before the whole Armie could arriue there, the ſhout which was raiſed by the Vaunt-currors, chaſed him away. They tooke his Pauilion, wherein (beſides many ſlaues, that were Artificers of voluptuouſneſſe) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Armie went Northward, and paſſing *Euphrates*, not farre below the ſprings thereof, trauailed with much difficulty through deepe ſnow, being followed aloofe by the enemie, who durſt not approach them, but did cut off ſuch as they found ſtragling behinde. The Inhabitants of the Countrey, through which they marched, had their wintering houſes vnder ground, wherein was found great plentie of victuals, and of cattaile, which likewiſe did winter in the ſame Cellars with the owners. Hauing refreſhed themſelues in thoſe parts, and taken ſufficient eaſe after the miſerable iourney, which had conſumed many of them with extreame cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-ſlaues, and taking away (beſides other Horſes and Cattaile) ſome Colts that were bred vp for the great King.

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§. XI.

The paſſage of the Armie to Trabizonde, through the Countries bordering vpon the Riuer of Phaſis, and other obſcure Nations.

SO without impediment they came to the Riuer *Phaſis*, neere whereunto the people called *Phaſiani Taochi*, and *Chalybes* were ſeated. Theſe Nations ioyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaines, which the *Greekes* were to paſſe, made countenance of warre: but ſome companies being ſent by night to ſeize vpon a place of equall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, ſecured the aſcent of the reſt; which cauſed theſe people to flye, euery one retyring to the defence of his owne. The firſt vpon whoſe Countrie the *Greekes* did enter were the *Tacchi*, who conuaying all their prouiſion of victuals into ſtrong holds, brought the Armie into much want, vntill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great ſtore of cattaile were taken; the people, to auoide captiuitie, threw themſelues head-long downe the rockes, the very women throwing downe firſt their owne children, and then caſting themſelues vpon them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cattaile, which ſerued to feede them, trauailing through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but ſtroakes. The *Chalybes* were a very ſtout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the *Greekes* hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke priſoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, ſinging and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions liuing; who were glad, when after ſeauen dayes iourney they eſcaped from thoſe continuall skirmiſhes, wherewith they had beene vexed by theſe *Barbarians*. Hence trauailing through a good corne-Countrie, inhabited by an obſcure Nation called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adioyning, vſed them friendly, and promiſed to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might diſcouer the *Euxine*-Sea. From *Gymnias* (which was the name of his Towne) he led them through the Territorie of his enemies, deſiring them to waſte it with ſword and fire. After fiue dayes march, they came to a Mountaine called *Teches*, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called *Moſchici*, whence their guide ſhewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their courſe, and paſſing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by meanes of an interpreter, found among themſelues, who borne in that place had beene ſold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arriued in the Land of *Colchos*, wherein ſtands the Citie of * *Trabiſond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colonie of the *Greekes*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hoſtilitie, were requited with the like; for the Armie hauing now good leiſure to repoſe themſelues among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did ſpoile the Countrie thirtie dayes together, forbearing onely the Borderers vpon *Trabizonde*, at the Citizens requeſt.

* *Trabiſond* a Colonie of the *Greeke*, ſituate in the bottome of the *Euxine Sea*.

§. XII.

How the Armie began at Trabizond to prouide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of Sinope, and there proſequuted the ſame purpoſe.

HAuing now found an Hauen Towne, the Souldiers were deſirous to take ſhipping, & change their tedious Land-iournies into an eaſie Nauigation. To which purpoſe *Cheriſophus* a *Lacedæmonian*, one of the principall Commanders, promiſed by meanes of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedæmonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that he would prouide Veſſels to embarke them. Hauing thus concluded, they likewiſe tooke order for the ſtaying of ſuch ſhips as ſhould paſſe that way, meaning to vſe them for their nauigation. Leſt all this prouiſion ſhould be found inſufficient for the tranſportation of the whole Armie, *Xenophon* perſwaded the Cities adioyning to cleare the wayes, and make an eaſie paſſage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were vtterly vnwilling to giue eare, being deſirous to returne by Sea; but the Countrie fearing what inconuenience might grow by their long ſtay, did readily condeſcend to *Xenophons* requeſt. Two ſhips they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and ſent to Sea: the one of them ſailed directly into *Greece*, forſaking their Companions, who had put them in truſt to bring ſhips into the Port of *Trabiſonde*: the other tooke Merchants and paſſengers, whoſe goods were ſafely kept for the owners, but the Veſſels were ſtaied to increaſe the fleet. After long aboade, when victuals began to faile, by reaſon that all the Land of the *Colchi*, neere vnto the Campe was already quite waſted, they were faine to embarke their ſicke men, with the women, children, and ſuch of the baggage as might beſt be ſpared, in thoſe few ſhips which they had already prouided. The reſt of the Armie tooke their way by Land to *Ceraſus*, a *Greeke* Towne, where the fleet likewiſe arriued. Here the Armie being muſtered, was found to conſiſt of eight thouſand and ſixe hundred men. From hence they paſſed through the Countrie of the [a] *Moſynaci*, who were

[a] *Moſynaci* a Nation of *Pontus Cappadocicus*.

diuided into factions. The ſtronger partie, deſpiſing their friendſhip, cauſed them to ioyne them with the weaker, whom they left Maſters of all.

The next place of their abode was[b] *Cotyora*, a *Greeke* Towne likewiſe, and a *Colonie* of the *Sinopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Ceraſus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churliſh, hauing neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the ſicke-men that were among them admitted into any houſe. Heereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) beſtowed thoſe which were ſicke in conuenient lodgings, taking into their owne hands the cuſtody of the Gates. Prouiſion for the Armie they made by ſtrong hand, partly out of the Territorie of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. Theſe newes were vnwelcome to [c] *Sinope*, whence Embaſſadours were ſent to the Camp, who complaining of theſe dealings, and threatning to ioyne with the *Paphlagonians*, if redreſſe could not otherwiſe be had, were roundly anſwered by *Xenophon*, That meere neceſſitie had enforced the Army to teach thoſe of *Cotyora* good manners in ſo bad a methode: letting them know, that he feared not to deale with them and the *Paphlagonian* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it ſelfe, to which, if cauſe were giuen, they would lend aſſiſtance. Vpon this anſwere the Embaſſadors grew better aduiſed, promiſing all friendſhip that the State of *Sinope* could ſhew, and commanding the Towne of *Cotyora* to relieue the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promiſed to aſſiſt them with ſhipping, letting them vnderſtand how difficult the paſſage by Land would proue, in regard of the many and great Riuers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which croſſed their way. This good counſaile, and the faire promiſes accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armie, which well perceiued, that the City of *Sinope* would ſpare for no coſt, to be freed from ſuch a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would paſſe the reſt of the way by Sea; prouided that if there ſhould want ſuch number of Veſſels as might ſerue to imbarke euery one of them, then would they not put from the ſhore.

[b] *Cotyora* a Port-Towne in the ſame Region.

[c] *Sinope* a Port-Towne in *Leucoſyria*, a Colonie of the *Myleſians*.

§. XIII.

Of diſſenſion which aroſe in the Armie; and how it was embarked.

Hitherto the danger of enemies, and miſeries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firme vnitie; which now beganne to diſſolue and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of *Greece*, warming their heads with priuate reſpects to their ſeuerall ends and purpoſes. Whileſt they, who were ſent as Agents from the Campe, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* conſidering the ſtrength and valour of his men, and the opportunitie of the coaſt whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable worke to build a City in thoſe parts, which were ſoone like to proue great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puiſſance, and of the great repaire of the *Greekes* into that quarter. For this cauſe he made ſacrifice, according to the ſuperſtition of his time and Countrie, diuining of his ſucceſſe by the entrailes of beaſts. The Sooth-ſayer whom he imployed had receiued a great reward of *Cyrus*, for coniecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not giue battaile in ten daies: he therefore, hauing preſerued his money carefully, was deſirous to be ſoone at home, that hee might freely enioy his gettings. By him the purpoſe of *Xenophon* was diuulged, which was interpreted according to the diuerſitie of mens opinions; ſome approuing the motion, but the greater part reiecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this conſultation, were ſore afraid, leſt the pouertie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themſelues at home, ſhould giue ſucceſſe to the proiect. Which to preuent, they promiſed to ſupply the Armie with a ſufficient fleet, and likewiſe offered money to ſome of the Captaines, who thereupon vndertooke to giue the Souldiers pay, if they would preſently ſet ſaile for *Greece*. One of theſe Captaines being a baniſhed man, deſired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to leade them into *Cherroneſus*. *Xenophon* who deſired onely the common good, was pleaſed greatly with theſe propoſitions, and profeſſed openly that hee would haue them to ſet forward, and hold together in any caſe, puniſhing him as a traitor that ſhould forſake the Armie, before ſuch time as they were arriued at their iournies end. *Silanus* the Sooth-ſayer, who had vttered *Xenophons* purpoſe, was heereby ſtaied from out-running his fellowes, and driuen to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than ſtood with his good liking. Alſo the other Captaines were much troubled and afraid, when they perceiued, that ſhips were prepared ſufficient for their Nauigation, but that the money promiſed to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Armie was now reſolued for the voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perſwaded them to this reſolution, thought it the wiſeſt way to furniſh them with a Nauie whileſt they were in good readineſſe to depart, but to keepe the money to themſelues. The Captaines therefore who being diſappointed by theſe Townes, found themſelues in great danger of their men, whom they had deceiued with faire hopes, repented much of their faire offers, and ſignifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make propoſition to the Armie, of taking the ſhips, and ſayling to *Phaſis*, where they might ſeize vpon Lands, and plant themſelues in ſuch wiſe as ſhould ſtand beſt with their good liking. But finding him cold in the buſineſſe, they began to worke the principall of their owne followers, hoping by them to draw in all the reſt. Theſe newes becomming publike, bred a ſuſpition of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the reſt of the Captaines to his purpoſe, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their owne home. Wherfore aſſembling the Companies, he gaue them ſatisfaction, and withall complained of ſome diſorders which he cauſed them to redreſſe: A generall inquiſition was likewiſe made of offences committed ſince the death of *Cyrus*; which being puniſhed, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embaſſadours from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who ſending preſents deſired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embaſſadours were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to haue beene ſought, for that the *Greeks* hauing now their fleet in a readines, did ſoone weigh Anchors, and ſet ſaile for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cheriſophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promiſed to giue the Army pay as ſoone as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIIII.

Another great diſſenſion and diſtraction of the Armie. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and reſcued by Xenophon.

THe neerer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their deſire to make prouiſion for themſelues, that they might not returne home emptie-handed. Wherefore truſting well that if the charge of the Armie were abſolutely committed to one ſufficient man, he might the more conueniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* ſole Commander of all; in whoſe fauour as well the Captaines as the common Souldiers were very earneſt and violent. But he, either fearing to diſpleaſe the *Lacedæmonians*, who were iealous of him already (being incenſed by that fugitiue who forſooke the Army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ſhips) or moued by ſome tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatned ill ſucceſſe to his gouernment, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laied vpon *Cheriſophus* a *Lacedæmonian*. It ſeemes that *Xenophon*, conſidering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Armie, wanting pay, did wiſely in yeelding to ſuch tokens as forbad him to accept it: eſpecially, knowing ſo well their deſire, which was by right or by wrong to get wealth whereſoeuer it might be found, without all regard of Friend or Foe. *Cheriſophus* had beene Generall but ſixe or ſeauen dayes, when he was depoſed, for hauing beene vnwilling to rob the Towne of *Heraclea* which had ſent preſents to the Campe, and beene very beneficiall vnto them in lending ſhips for their tranſportation. Two daies they had ſailed by the coaſt of *Aſia*, when being paſt thoſe great Riuers, which would haue giuen impediment to their iourney by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where conſulting how to take their way onwards: whether by Land or Sea, one ſeditious man began to put them in minde of ſeeking to get ſomewhat for themſelues, telling them that all their prouiſion would be ſpent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the enemies Countrie, victuals and other neceſſaries could not be had without money; for which cauſe he gaue aduice to ſend meſſengers into the Towne of *Heraclea*, giuing the Citizens to vnderſtand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thouſand pieces of money, called *Cyzicens*, which ſumme amounteth to two thouſand and fiue hundred pound ſterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the ſum raiſed to ten thouſand *Cyzicens* at leaſt: which to require, they thought *Cheriſophus*, as being Generall, the fitteſt man; others had more deſire to ſend *Xenophon*: but in vaine, for they both refuſed it, and renounced the action as diſhoneſt. Leſt therefore either of theſe ſhould faile in managing the buſineſſe which agreed not with his diſpoſition, others of more impudency and leſſe diſcretion were ſent, who in ſuch wiſe deliuered their inſolent meſſage; that the Citizens taking time to deliberate vpon their requeſt, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and ſhutting the Gates, did forthwith man the wals. When the Souldiers perceiued themſelues to be diſappointed of their rauenous purpoſe, they fell to mutiny, ſaying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians* and *Achæans*, they forſooke immediately *Cheriſophus* and *Xenophon*, chooſing new Leaders out of their owne number. Aboue foure thouſand and fiue hundred they were, all heauily armed, who electing ten Captaines, ſailed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the mid-way betweene *Heraclea* and *Bizantium*, with purpoſe to aſſaile the *Bythinians* on the ſuddaine. With *Cheriſophus* there abode two thouſand and one hundred, of whom one thouſand and foure hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thouſand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and fortie horſe; which ſmall band had done good ſeruice already, and could not haue beene ſpared now. *Cheriſophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Gouernour of *Bizantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the Riuer *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promiſed to bring ſome Gallies to conuey him ouer into *Greece*; for which cauſe he tooke his way thither by Land, leauing to *Xenophon* ſuch ſhipping as he had; who paſſing ſome part of the way by Sea, landed vpon the Confines of *Heraclea*, and *Thracia Aſiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land-Countrie to the *Propont*. The Mutiners, who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpoſe to take ſpoiles in *Bythinia*, diuided themſelues into ten Companies, euery Captaine leading his owne Regiment into ſome Village, fiue or ſixe miles from the Sea, in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered; and ſo was that part of the countrie ſurpriſed on the ſuddaine, and ſacked all at one time. The place of Rendeuous was an high peece of ground, where ſome of them arriued, finding no diſturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and defeated, onely eight men eſcaped, the reſt were all put to the ſword. For the *Thracians* which had ſlipt at firſt out of the Souldiers hands, did raiſe the Countrie, & finding the *Greeks* loden with bootie, took the aduantage of their diſorder, cutting in pieces thoſe two Regiments: which done, they attempted the reſt, encompaſſing the hill wheron they encamped. One great aduantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleaſure make retrait from theſe *Arcadians* & *Achæans*: who wanting the aſſiſtance of horſe, & hauing neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driuen to ſtand meerely vpon their defence, bearing off with greater danger, & many wounds receiued, the Darts and Arrows of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driuen from their watering place, and enforced to craue parly. Whatſoeuer the articles of compoſition were, the *Thracians* yeelded to all; but pledges for aſſurance they would giue none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promiſes of ſuch people, eſpecially ſo incenſed, were nothing worth. In the meane time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of ſome Trauailers, whether they knew ought of any *Græciã* Army, paſſing along thoſe parts: & receiuing by them true information of the deſperate caſe into which theſe Gallãts had fooliſhly throwne themſelues, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides them who gaue him the intelligence. His horſe-men he ſent before to diſcouer, & to ſcowre the wayes; the light-armed foot-men tooke the hill tops on either hand, all of them ſetting fire on whatſoeuer they found combuſtible; whereby the whole Countrie ſeemed to be on a light flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that ſome huge Armie had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within fiue mile of the *Arcadians*, encreaſing ſtill the number of his fires, which he cauſed haſtily to be quenched ſoone after Supper. The enemies perceiuing this, thought certainly that he would haue fallen vpon them in the darke, which cauſed them in all haſte to diſlodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* comming thither in very good order, to haue giuen battaile, found that his deuice, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he maruailed that the *Greekes* were alſo departed, concerning whom he learned by enquirie, that they remoued at breake of day, and perceiued by ſignes that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which iourney he ouertooke them. They embraced Him, and His, with great ioy: Confeſſing that they themſelues had thought the ſame which the enemies did, looking that he ſhould haue come by night; wherein finding themſelues deceiued, they were afraid leſt he had forſaken them, and therefore haſtened away, to ouertake him, and ioyne with him. So they arriued at the Hauen of *Calpas*, where it was decreed, That whoſoeuer from thenceforth made any motion to diſioyne the Armie, ſhould ſuffer death.

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§. XV.

Of diuers pieces of ſeruice done by Xenophon; *and how the Armie returned into* Greece. *The occaſions of the Warre betweene the Lacedæmonians and the Perſian.*

THe Hauen of *Calpas* lay vnder a goodly head-land, that was very ſtrong, and abounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Oliues. There was alſo Timber for building and ſhipping, and a very conuenient ſea for a great Citie. All which commodities, that might haue allured the Souldiers to ſtay there, and to plant, cauſed them to haſte away, fearing leſt *Xenophon* ſhould finde ſome deuice to haue ſetled himſelfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to liue at home; neither did they ſo much for hope of gaine follow *Cyrus* in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the loue which they bare vnto him: the poorer ſort were ſuch as left their Parents, Wiues, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchaſe) they were now deſirous to returne. But whether it were ſo that *Xenophon* found aduantage by their owne ſuperſtition, to make them ſtay, which they greatly ſuſpected; or whether the ſignes appearing in the entrailes, did indeede forbid their departure: ſo long they were inforced to abide in the place till victuals failed; neither would the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Countrie, vntill the Sacrifices ſhould promiſe good ſucceſſe. *Cheriſophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ſhips were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were ioyned to the reſt of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more prouiſion it needed, and the ſooner felt want. For which cauſe, he that was choſen Coronell into the place of *Cheriſophus*, would needes aduenture to gratifie the Souldiers with the ſpoile of ſome Villages that ſtood neere at hand; in which enterpriſe he found ill ſucceſſe, the whole Countrie lying in waite to entrap him, and an Armie of Horſe being ſent by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or *Vice-roy* of *Phrygia*, to the aſſiſtance of theſe *Bythinian Thracians*, which troupes falling vpon the *Greekes* that were ſcattered abroade in ſeeking bootie, ſlew fiue hundred of them, and chaſed the reſt to a certaine Mountaine there by. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Armie to the reſcue of thoſe that ſuruiued, and brought them ſafe to the Campe; vpon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du garde*, ſlew ſome, purſuing the reſt to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the preſent condition of the Armie, ſo diſheartened and vnfurniſhed of neceſſaries, cauſed the *Greekes* to remoue their Campe to a place of more ſtrength; which hauing intrenched, and committed to the defence of ſuch as were leaſt able to endure trauaile, *Xenophon* with the firmeſt and beſt able men went forth, both to burie thoſe which were lately ſlaine, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their aſſiſtants. In this iourney his demeanour was very honourable. For hauing giuen buriall to the dead, the Enemy was diſcouered, lying on the tops of the Hils adioyning, to whom (notwithſtanding that the way was very rough, and troubleſome, ſo that ſome thought it a matter of too great danger, to leaue at their backes a wood ſcarce paſſeable) he marched directly, telling his men plainely, that he had rather follow the enemy with halfe the number, than turne his back to them with twice as many; and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarians*, he would not faile with the greater reſolution to purſue them; from whom if they could ſafely retire to the campe, yet what ſhould they doe there, wanting victuals to ſuſtaine them in the place, and ſhips, to carrie them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, hauing eaten their dinners, than another day faſting; and not to regard the vneaſie returne, which might ſerue to ſtay Cowards from running away, but to wiſh vnto the Enemie a faire and eaſie way, by which he might flye from them. Theſe perſwaſions were followed with ſo valiant execution, that both *Perſians* and *Bythinians* being chaſed out of the field, abandoned the Countrie forthwith, remouing their Families, and leauing all that could not ſodainely be conueighed away, to the diſcretion of the *Greekes*, who at good leiſure gathered the harueſt of theſe bad Neighbours fields. This was the laſt fight which they had on the ſide of *Aſia*. For they were not onely ſuffered quietly to enioy the ſpoile of the Countrie, but when the opinion grew common in thoſe parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colonie on the Port of *Calpas*, Embaſſadours were ſent from the Neighbour people, to deſire friendſhip, and make offer of their beſt aſſiſtance. But the Souldiers had no minde to ſtay. Wherefore entring further into *Bythinia*, they tooke a great bootie; which they carried away to *Chryſopolis*, a Citie neere vnto *Chalcedon*, where they ſold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly feare, leſt their long ſtay in that Countrie might breede in them a deſire to viſite his Prouince, where they might haue found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he ſent to the *Lacedæmonian* Admirall, entreating him with much inſtance and large promiſes to waft them ouer into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condeſcending, promiſed to giue the Souldiers pay, as ſoone as they arriued at *Bizantium*. So were they carried out of *Aſia* at the intreatie of the *Perſian*, who in the height of his pride had thought them ſo ſurely impriſoned with mighty Riuers, that he not onely denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to ſurrender their Armes into his hands, and ſo to yeeld their liues to his diſcretion. How diſcourteouſly they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his iniurious dealings, they ſeized vpon *Bizantium*, which by *Xenophons* perſwaſion they forbare to ſacke, I hold it ſuperfluous to relate. For the reſidue of their doings appertaine little to the generall courſe of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, ſo did it both diſcouer the ſecrets of *Aſia*, and ſtirre vp the *Greekes* to thinke vpon greater enterpriſes, than euer their forefathers had vndertaken. Likewiſe it was the onely remarkeable action which the time affoorded. For the *Roman* warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of *Italie*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedæmonians* ruling inſolently, but without diſturbance. True it is, that the ſeedes of the Warre ſhortly following, which the *Lacedæmonians* made vpon *Artaxerxes*, were already ſowne, before theſe companies returned out of the high Countries of *Aſia*. For the Townes of *Ionia*, which had ſided with young *Cyrus* againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, if not againſt the great King, prepared to rebell; which they thought ſafer, than to fall into the hands of *Tiſſaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* beſought the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them aide, whereby to recouer their libertie; and obtained their requeſt. For a power was ſent ouer, vnder conduct of *Thimbro* a *Spartan*, who beſtowed his men in ſuch Townes as had already reuolted, to ſecure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offenſiue Warre.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, whileſt they were managed by the Lacedæmonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians tooke courage by example of Xenophons *Armie, to make warre vpon* Artaxerxes.

IT ſeemes that the *Lacedæmonians* did well perceiue in how ill part *Artaxerxes* tooke their fauour ſhewed vnto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open warre againſt him, thinking it ſufficient to take al care that no aduantage might ſlip, which could ſerue to ſtrengthen their Eſtate, by finding the *Perſian* worke beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Armie had reuealed the baſeneſſe of thoſe effeminate *Aſiatiques*, and rehearſed the many victories which they themſelues had gotten, vpon tearmes of extreame diſaduantage; then was all *Greece* filled with deſire of vndertaking vpon this huge vnweildie Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the ioynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Suſa*, whereof one handfull had opened the paſſage to *Babylon*, and further, finding no power that was able to giue them reſiſtance, in all that long iourney of foure and thirty thouſand two hundred and fifty fiue furlongs, ſpent in going and returning, which make of Engliſh miles about foure thouſand two hundred foure ſcore and one, a very painefull march of one yeere and three moneths. Neuertheleſſe the ciuill diſtraction wherewith *Greece* was miſerably torne, and eſpecially that hot fire of the *Theban* Warre, which, kindled with *Perſian* gold, brake forth ſodainly into a great flame, drew backe out of *Aſia* the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the defence of their owne Eſtate; leauing it queſtionable, whether *Ageſilaus* hauing both the ſame, and farre greater forces, could haue wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole ſpace of two yeeres, which he ſpent in *Aſia*, his deedes procured more commendation of magnanimity and faire behauiour, than of ſtout courage, and great, or profitable atchieuements. For how highly ſo euer it pleaſed *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being onely a few incurſions into the Countries lying neere the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophons* owne iourney, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retrait of *Conon* the *Briton* with ſixe thouſand men from *Aquileia*, to his owne Countrie, through all the breadth of *Italie*, and length of *France*, in deſpite of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, being rather like it than equall. But of *Ageſilaus* and his wars in *Aſia* and *Greece*, we ſhall ſpeake more in due place.

§. II.

The proſperous beginnings of the warre in Aſia.

THimbro receiuing *Xenophons* men, began to take in Townes, and to entertaine all ſuch as were willing to reuolt from the *Perſian*, who were many, and ſome of them ſuch, as had beene highly beholding to the King; who ſeeme to haue had no other cauſe of diſcontent, than that they were to liue vnder the gouernement of *Tiſſaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Maſter did loue him. The managing of the warre begun by *Thimbro*, was for his oppreſſions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaued himſelfe as a good man of Warre, and a wiſe Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of *Aſia* was diuided betweene *Pharnabazus* and *Tiſſaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes fauour the greater, and hauing the chiefe command in thoſe warres againſt the *Greekes*; *Dercyllidas* who did beare a priuate hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tiſſaphernes* was of a miſchieuous nature, and would not be ſorry to ſee his Corriuall throughly beaten, though to the Kings loſſe) made an appointment with *Tiſſaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was vnder the iuriſdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Prouince in few dayes, he brought into his owne power.

That Countrie of *Æolis* had about the ſame time ſuffered a violent alteration, which gaue eaſie ſucceſſe to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a *Dardanian* had beene Deputie to *Pharnabazus* in thoſe parts; after whoſe death his wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein ſhe behaued her ſelfe ſo well, that ſhe not onely was beloued of the people vnder her gouernement: but enlarged her Territorie, by the conqueſt of certaine Townes adioyning; and ſundry times gaue aſſiſtance to *Pharnabazus* in his warres againſt the *Myſians* and *Perſians*. For ſhe had in pay ſome Companies of *Greekes*, whoſe valour by her good vſage did her great ſeruice. But ſomewhat before the arriuall of *Dercyllidas* in thoſe parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom ſhe truſted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to ſtifle her, and kill her ſonne of ſeauenteene yeeres old; which done, he ſeized vpon two of her principall Townes, wherein her treaſure lay, hoping to haue beene admitted into poſſeſſion of her whole eſtate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers, that lay in Garriſon, he ſent Meſſengers with preſents to *Pharnabazus*, deſiring him to make him Gouernour in the place of *Mania*. His preſents were not onely reiected by *Pharnabazus*, but reuenge of his foule treaſon threatned, whereby the wicked villaine was driuen into tearmes of almoſt vtter deſperation. In the meane time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Townes of *Mania*, that held againſt *Midias*, did quickely open their Gates. One onely Towne ſtood out foure dayes (againſt the will of the Citizens, who were couetous of liberty) the Gouernour ſtriuing in vaine to haue kept it to the vſe of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained onely two Cities, *Gergethe* and *Scepſis*, which the Traitour held, who fearing all men, as being loued of none, ſent Embaſſadours to *Dercyllidas*, deſiring leaue to ſpeake with him, and pledges for his ſecuritie: vpon the deliuery of which he iſſued out of *Scepſis*, and comming into the Campe, made offer to ioyne with the *Greekes* vpon ſuch conditions, as might ſeeme reaſonable. But he was plainely told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to ſet the Citizens freely at liberty. And preſently vpon theſe words they marched toward *Scepſis*. When *Midias* perceiued that it was in vaine to ſtriue againſt the Armie, and the Towneſ-men, who were all of one minde; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*; who remaining but a few houres in the Citie, did a ſacrifice to *Minerua*, and then leading away the Garriſon of *Midias*, he left the Citie free, and departed toward *Gergethe*. *Midias* did not forſake his Companie, but followed him, earneſtly intreating that he might be ſuffered to retaine *Gergethe*: but comming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they ſhould be opened, for (quoth *Dercyllides*) I muſt here likewiſe doe a ſacrifice to *Minerua*. The Traitor, not daring to make deniall, cauſed his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking poſſeſſion of the place, tendred pay to the Garriſon, who did not refuſe to ſerue vnder his Enſignes. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were ſeized vpon, as belonging to one that had beene ſubiect to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemie to the *Greekes*: and ſo the murderous wretch was ſent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might finde any place to hide his deteſted head. *Dercyllidas*, hauing in eight dayes taken nine Cities, purpoſed for the eaſe of his Confederates to winter in *Bythinia*, to which end he tooke Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any deſire of Warre. That Winter, and the Sommer enſuing, the Truce being recontinued held; in which time, beſides the waſting of *Bythinia*, the necke of Land ioyning *Cherronea* to the Main, was fortified, being foure or fiue miles in breadth, by which meanes eleauen Towns with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incurſions of the wilde *Thracians*; and made fit and able to victuall the Campe. Likewiſe the Citie of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great ſtrength, and very well ſtored with prouiſion. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from *Sparta*, to diuert the warre into *Caria*, where was the ſeate of *Tiſſaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not vneaſie to recouer all the Townes of *Ionia*; *Pharax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yeerely Office) being appointed to ioyne with him. Though it was manifeſt that *Tiſſaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of neceſſity, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* hauing reſpect to the Kings ſeruice, came to aſſiſt his priuate enemie *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſo paſſing into *Caria*, they thruſt Garriſons into all places of ſtrength; which done, they marched towards *Ionia*, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for reſiſtance. As theſe *Perſians* were deſirous to keepe the warre from their owne doores, ſo was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the ſpoile and danger of the warre, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cauſe he paſſed the Riuer of *Mæander*, and not looking to haue bin ſo ſoone encountered, marched careleſly through the Countrie: when on the very ſodaine the whole Armie of *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was diſcouered, conſiſting of *Perſians*, *Carians*, and ſome Mercenarie *Greekes*, who were all marſhalled in very good order to preſent battaile. The oddes was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readineſſe, as alſo in aduantage of ground: for the *Perſian* had a great multitude of Horſe, the *Greeke* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the Ilanders and others, of ſuch places as bordered vpon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themſelues to preſent flight; or abiding a while for ſhame, did plainely diſcouer by their lookes, that they meant not to be more bold than wiſe. Onely *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponneſians* regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight: which muſt needes haue brought them to deſtruction, if the counſaile of *Pharnabazus* had beene followed, who perceiuing the opportunitie of ſo great a victory, was not willing to let it ſlip. But *Tiſſaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, ſeeing that countenance of reſiſtance was made, began to conſider what ſtrange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had ſhewed, and thinking that all the *Greekes* were of the like reſolution, held it the wiſeſt way to craue parley; the concluſion of which was, That a truce ſhould be made, to laſt vntill *Tiſſaphernes* might receiue anſwer from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from

Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treatie, which were on the one part, that all the *Greekes* in *Aſia* might enioy their owne libertie and lawes; but contrariwiſe on the other ſide, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould depart *Aſia*, and leaue the Townes to the Kings pleaſure. This Treatie was of none effect; onely it ſerued to free the *Greekes* from the preſent danger, and to gaine time vnto *Tiſſaphernes*, who deſired to auoide the warre by procraſtination, which he durſt not aduenture to finiſh by triall of a battaile.

§. III.

How the Lacedæmonians tooke reuenge vpon the Eleans for old diſpleaſure. The diſcontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceiued againſt the State of Sparta.

IN the meane ſeaſon the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to withſtand them in *Greece*, beganne to call the *Eleans* to accompt for ſome diſgraces receiued by them during the late warres, when leiſure was wanting to the requitall of ſuch pettie iniuries. Theſe *Eleans* being Preſidents of the *Olympiaque* games, had ſet a fine vpon the Citie of *Sparta*, for Non-paiment of which, they forbad them to come to the ſolemnitie; and publiquely whipt one of them, that was of note, for preſuming to contend againſt their decree. Likewiſe they hindred *Agis* King of *Sparta*, from doing ſacrifice to *Iupiter*; and in all points vſed great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no buſineſſe that could hinder them from taking reuenge: and therefore ſent a peremptorie meſſage to the *Eleans*, commanding them to ſet at libertie the Cities which they held in ſubiection. This was the vſuall pretence which they made the ground of all their warres: though little they cared for the libertie of ſuch Townes, which they cauſed afterwards to become followers, and little better than meere Vaſſals of the *Lacedæmonians*. In their late warres with *Athens*, the ſtrong oppoſition which they found, cauſed this goodly Title of liberty to worke very ſlowly: but hauing now to doe with a State of great ſpirit and ſmall force, it gaue preſent ſucceſſe to their deſires. Two yeeres together they ſent an Armie into the Countrey of the *Eleans*: the firſt yeere an earthquake (held in thoſe times a prodigious ſigne, and which did alwayes forbid the proſecution of any enterpriſe in hand) cauſed them to retire: the ſecond yeere, all the Townes of the *Eleans* did haſtily reuolt, and the Citie it ſelfe was driuen to ſubmiſſion; conſenting both to ſuffer their old ſubiects freely to enioy their libertie, and to haue her owne wals throwne downe. Onely the Preſidentſhip of the *Olympian* games was left vnto them, which, it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming vſe modeſtly, finding themſelues to ſtand at the mercy of *Sparta*. In this expedition all the *Greekes* were aſſiſtant to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Bœotians*, whoſe aide hauing beene of as much importance in the late *Peloponneſian* Warre, as the force of *Sparta* it ſelfe, they could not ſmoother their diſlike of their vnequall diuiſion following the victory; which gaue to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes*, and *Corinth*, onely ſecurity againſt *Athens*, but ſuch a ſecurity as was worſe than the danger. For when the equall greatneſſe of two mighty Eſtates did counterpoiſe each the other, it was in the power of theſe Neutrall Common-weales to adhere to either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to reuenge iniuries, they had by mortall hatred proſecuted the warre to extremitie, leauing the one Citie naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreaſed in both; it was then (if not neceſſary to obey the greatneſſe which themſelues had made, yet) fooliſh and dangerous to prouoke it. Neuertheleſſe, it was not the purpoſe of the *Spartans* to take occaſion of any quarrell, which they could not finiſh at pleaſure, till ſuch time as they had by victory or compoſition made ſome good end with the *Perſian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IIII.

The paſſage of Ageſilaus *into Aſia. His warre with* Tiſſaphernes. *How* Tiſſaphernes *was put to death; and the warre diuerted into another Prouince, through perſwaſion and gifts of* Tithrauſtes *his ſucceſſour. How careleſſe the Perſian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.*

Ageſilaus newly made King of *Sparta,* was deſirous to haue the honour of the victory, which not without cauſe, he expected vpon thoſe of *Aſia*; and therefore procuring a great Armie to ioyne with that of *Dercyllidas,* he tooke his way in great pompe to *Aulis* in *Bœotia,* a Hauen, lying oppoſite to the Iland of *Eubœa*; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the warre againſt *Troy,* many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon* he meant alſo to doe ſacrifice in *Aulis,* which the *Thebans,* Lords of that Countrey, would not permit, but ſaying that the performance of ſuch ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers; they were ſo vnable to conceale their malice, that ſending ſome Companies of horſe, they threw downe his ſacrifice from the Altar. It was not then conuenient time for *Ageſilaus* to entangle himſelfe and his Countrey in a new warre; therefore waiting better opportunitie of reuenge, he quietly ſwallowed the contumelie, and followed his maine intendment. Hauing landed his men at *Epheſus,* he was entertained by *Tiſſaphernes* with a Treatie of peace, wherein *Ageſilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Perſian* ſhould reſtore to liberty all the *Greeke* Townes in *Aſia,* was promiſed that the *King,* being firſt informed of his demand, ſhould ſend anſwere to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tiſſaphernes* had ſought, onely to win time of making prouiſion for the warre, and getting ſupply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*; whileſt *Ageſilaus* was buſie in ſetling the eſtates of his confederate Cities on that ſide of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from warre was at the comming downe of theſe forces which *Artaxerxes* had ſent: at what time *Ageſilaus* receiued a plaine meſſage from *Tiſſaphernes,* that either he muſt forth-with depart out of *Aſia,* or make good his aboade by ſtrong hand. *Ageſilaus* returning word, that he was glad to heare that his enemies had by periurie deſerued vengeance from Heauen, prepared to inuade them; and ſending word to all the Townes which lay betweene him and *Caria,* that they ſhould prouide victuals and other neceſſaries for his Armie, did eaſily make *Tiſſaphernes* beleeue, that his intent was to inuade that Prouince wherein *Tiſſaphernes* dwelt, and which was vnfit for Horſe, in which part of his forces the *Perſian* had moſt confidence. Therefore *Tiſſaphernes* beſtowing all his Companies of foot in *Caria,* entred with his horſe into the plaines of *Mæander,* hoping thereby to ſtop the paſſage of a heauie foot-Armie, not ſuffering them to paſſe into that Countrie which was fitteſt for their ſeruice. But the *Greekes* left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into *Phrygia,* where they tooke great ſpoyle without reſiſtance, till ſuch time as the Horſe-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a ſmall skirmiſh hauing the better of the *Greekes,* were the occaſion that *Ageſilaus* returned to *Epheſus.* Although in this laſt fight onely twelue men were loſt, yet *Ageſilaus* perceiuing by that triall how hard it would be to preuaile, and hold the maſtery of the field, without a greater ſtrength of Horſe, tooke all poſſible care to encreaſe that part of his forces. By which meanes hauing enabled himſelfe, whileſt winter laſted he entred vpon the Countrey of *Tiſſaphernes,* as ſoone as the ſeaſon of the yeere would permit, and not onely tooke a great bootie, but finding the Horſe-men of *Tiſſaphernes* in the plaine of *Mæander,* without aſſiſtance of their infanterie, he gaue them battaile, and had a great victory, taking their Campe in which he found great riches. The blame of this loſſe fell heauie vpon *Tiſſaphernes,* who either vpon cowardiſe had abſented himſelfe from the battaile, or following ſome other buſineſſe, was then at *Sardes.* For which cauſe his Maſter hauing him in diſtruſt, and thinking that peace might be the ſooner had, which he much deſired, if the man, ſo odious to the whole Nation of the *Greekes,* were taken out of the way; he ſent into thoſe parts *Tithrauſtes* a *Perſian,* to cut off the head of *Tiſſaphernes,* and ſucceede him in the gouernment. Such was the end of this baſe and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heauen, when by periurie he could aduance his purpoſes on Earth, failed at the laſt through too much ouer-weening of his owne wiſedome, euen in that part of cunning, wherein he thought himſelfe moſt perfect; for ſuppoſing, that by his great skill in ſubtile negotiation he ſhould one way or other circumuent the *Greekes*, and make them wearie of *Aſia*; he did not ſeeke to finiſh the warre, and according to his Maſters wiſh, bring all things ſpeedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might finde ſome opportunitie of making ſuch end as beſt might ſtand with the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it ſeemes that he much miſtooke his Princes diſpoſition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly haue taken it, if he could haue found ſuch meanes whereby the danger it ſelfe might haue beene auoided: as not louing to haue warre, whileſt by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtaine peace. And this appeared well by the courſe which *Tithrauſtes* tooke at his firſt poſſeſſion of the low-Countries. For he ſent Embaſſadours to *Ageſilaus*, in very friendly ſort, letting him know, that the man who had beene Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleaſure to let the *Greekes* enioy their owne lawes and libertie, vpon condition, that they ſhould pay him the tribute accuſtomed, and the Armie be forthwith diſmiſſed. The anſwere to this propoſition, was by *Ageſilaus* referred to the Councell of *Sparta*; in the meane ſeaſon he was content to transferre the warre into the Prouince of *Pharnabazus*, at the requeſt of *Tithrauſtes*, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

This was a ſtrange manner of Warre, both on the offenſiue and on the defenſiue part. For *Ageſilaus* hauing entertained great hopes of vanquiſhing the great King, was contented to forbeare his ſeuerall Prouinces, at the entreatie of the Lieutenants: and thoſe Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintaine his Eſtates againſt all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might eaſily be taken from their ſhoulders) were little offended at any loſſe that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were ſubiect likewiſe to the ſame Crowne of *Perſia*, ſo long as their owne gouernement could be preſerued free from waſte and danger. The cauſe of this diſorder on the *Perſian* ſide, I can aſcribe to nothing ſo deſeruedly, as to the corrupted eſtate of the Court, wherein *Eunuches*, *Concubines*, and *miniſters* of pleaſure, were able by partiall conſtruction to countenance, or diſgrace, the actions of ſuch as had the managing of things abroade; and to that fooliſh manner of the Kings (which was ſo vſuall that it might be called a rule) to reward or puniſh the Prouinciall Gouernour, according to the benefit or loſſe, which the Countrie giuen in charge vnto each of them, receiued, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to paſſe, that as euery one was deſirous to make his owne Territorie yeeld a large increaſe to the Kings treaſure; ſo no man was carefull to aſſiſt his borderers, if loſſe or danger might thereby grow to himſelfe and his; but ſate ſtill as an idle beholder, when perhaps by ioyning their forces, it had not beene vneaſie to recompence the ſpoile of one Countrie, by conquering another, or defending a third from farre greater miſeries.

§. V.

The Warre and Treatie betweene Ageſilaus *and* Pharnabazus.

A*Geſilaus* hauing thus compounded with *Tithrauſtes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and waſting the Countrie without reſiſtance. He tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. Theſe actions, together with his honourable behauiour, which added much to their luſtre, were more glorious then profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of ſtrength, which might haue encreaſed his power, and giuen aſſurance to the reſt of his proceedings: but purchaſed fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him ſome that were diſcontented and ſtood vpon bad tearmes with the great King; whom he loſt againe as eaſily, by meanes of ſome ſlight iniurie done to them by his vnder-Captaines. *Pharnabazus* did not encloſe himſelfe in any Towne for feare of being beſieged, but kept the field, lying as neere as he could ſafely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpoſe to fight, but to make ſome good end by compoſition, which he found not vneaſie to doe. For the pleaſures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their moſt neceſſity, had beene ſo great, that when he (obtaining parley) did ſet before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his loue (which had beene ſuch, that beſides many other hazards of his perſon, he had for the reſcue of their fleet when it was driuen to runne a-ſhore at *Abydus*, aduentured to ride into the Seas as farre as he could finde any ground, and fight on horſebacke againſt the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had neuer beene violated in word or deede: they knew not how to excuſe their ingratitude, otherwiſe then by telling him, That hauing warre with his Maſter, they were inforced, againſt their will, to offend him. *Ageſilaus* did make a faire offer to him, that if he would reuolt from the King to them; they would maintaine him againſt the *Perſian*, and eſtabliſh him free Prince of the Countrie wherein he was at that time onely Deputie to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainely, That if the King his Maſter did put him in truſt to make war againſt them, he would not faile to doe the beſt that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey an other, he would then ſhift ſide, and betake himſelfe to their alliance. The iſſue of this parlie was, That the Armie ſhould no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor againe returne into it, whileſt employment could be found elſewhere. The excuſe made by *Ageſilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of thoſe parts, were not ſufficient to appeaſe *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not inuaded for want of more neceſſary buſineſſe elſewhere; but becauſe his Countrie would yeeld great bootie; and for the hire of thirtie Talents. By this meanes the *Lacedæmonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemie, who afterwards requited their vnthankefulneſſe with full reuenge.

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§. VI.

The great commotions raiſed in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hyred with gold from the Perſian.

IN the meane while *Tithrauſtes*, perceiuing that *Ageſilaus* meant nothing leſſe then to returne into *Greece*, and let *Artaxerxes* reſt quietly in *Aſia*, tooke a wiſe courſe whereby the Citie of *Sparta* was not onely driuen to looke to her owne, and giue ouer her great hopes of ſubuerting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had beene gotten by many late victories, and ſaw her Dominion reſtrained vnto the narrow bounds of her owne Territorie. He ſent into *Greece* fiftie talents of ſiluer, to be imployed in raiſing warre againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; which treaſure was, by the ſubtile practice of him that was put in truſt with it, in ſuch wiſe diſperſed, among the principall men of the *Thebans*, *Argiues*, and *Corinthians*, that all thoſe Eſtates hauing formerly borne ſecret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now deſirous of nothing ſo much as of open warre. And leſt this great heate of the incenſed multitude ſhould, for want of preſent exerciſe, begin to faint, and vaniſh away in idle words, occaſion was found out to thruſt the *Lacedæmonians* into Armes, that they themſelues might ſeeme Authors of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claime; but the *Phocians* either hauing the better tittle, or finding the greater fauour, had it adiudged vnto them, and receiued yeerely money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or perſwaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning ſo to loſe their Rent, made a diſtreſſe by ſtrong hand, recouering a great deale more than their owne; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an inuaſion made vpon *Phocis*, waſting that Countrie in the manner of open war. Such were the beginnings of profeſſed hoſtilitie betweene *Thebes* & *Sparta*, & the firſt breaking out of their cloſe enmitie, that had long time, though hardly, beene concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embaſſadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, and requeſting ſuccour, they had very fauourable audience, & ready conſent to their ſuite; it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to deferre the acknowledgement of iniuries receiued, vntill occaſion of reuenge were offered, and then to diſcouer their indignation in cold bloud. At this time they had very good opportunitie to worke their owne wils, hauing no other war to diſturbe them in *Greece*, and hearing out of *Aſia* no newes, that could offend or trouble them. Wherfore they ſent *Lyſander* to raiſe all the Countries about *Phocis*, and with ſuch forces as he could leauie, to attend the comming of *Pauſanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath beene ſhewed before, had two Kings) who ſhould follow him with the ſtrength of *Peloponneſus*. *Lyſander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in thoſe parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to reuolt from *Thebes*. *Pauſanias* likewiſe raiſed all *Peloponneſus*, except the *Corinthians*, (who refuſed to aſſiſt him in that enterpriſe) meaning to ioyne with *Lyſander*, & make a ſpeedy end of the warre. The conſideration of ſo great a danger, approaching ſo ſwiftly, cauſed the *Thebans* to ſeeke what helpe they could abroad, for as much as their owne ſtrength was farre too little to make reſiſtance againſt ſuch mighty preparations. It was not vnknowne to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwiſe affected in heart than they durſt vtter in countenance; but the good wiſhes of ſuch people were little auaileable, conſidering that the moſt which could be expected from them, was, that they ſhould doe as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiuerſation, the *Corinthians* did at that preſent caſt themſelues into the diſpleaſure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the ſafeſt courſe, to procure the aſſiſtance of ſome Eſtate that might preſently declare it ſelfe on their ſide, which would cauſe many others to follow the example, and make their partie ſtrong. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours to *Athens*, excuſing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompenced with friendſhip lately ſhewne in their refuſall of aſſiſting *Pauſanias*, when he came in behalfe of the thirty Tyrants, againſt the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their owne Honour ſake, they requeſted them of aide in the preſent warre, offering to doe the beſt that they could for the reſtoring of *Athens* to her former Eſtate and Dignitie. *Thraſybulus* and his Friends, who perſecuted by the thirtie, had beene well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the Citie to make a large requitall of the courteſie which they had receiued. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* ſhould not onely refuſe to aide the *Lacedæmonians* in this Warre; but that it ſhould aſsiſt the *Thebans*, and engage it ſelfe in their cauſe. Whileſt *Pauſanias* lay ſtill, waiting the arriuall of his Confederates; *Lyſander* being deſirous to doe ſomewhat that might aduance the buſineſſe in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though *Pauſanias* did not meet him, as had beene appointed, yet he attempted the Towne, and was ſlaine in fight by the *Thebans*, who came haſtily to the reſcue. As this victory did encourage the *Thebans*, ſo the comming of *Pauſanias* with his great Armie did againe amaze them, with preſentation of extreame danger; but their ſpirits were ſoone reuiued by the ſtrong ſuccour which was brought from *Athens*, in conſideration of which, and of the late battaile, *Pauſanias* durſt not hazard a new fight with them, but receiuing the bodies of thoſe that were ſlaine, by compoſition, departed out of their Territorie; for which, either cowardiſe or indiſcretion, he was at his returne to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitour, and driuen to flie into *Tegea*, where he ended his daies in baniſhment.

§. VII.

How Ageſilaus *was called out of Aſia to helpe his Countrie. A victorie of the Spartans.* Conon *the Athenian, aſsiſted by* Pharnabazus, *ouercomes the Lacedæmonian fleet; recouers the maſterie of the Seas; and rebuilds the wals of Athens.*

This good ſucceſſe, and the confederacie made with *Athens*, gaue ſuch reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argiues*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanes*; did forthwith ſide with them, and raiſing a ſtrong Armie, determined to giue battaile to the *Lecedæmonians* as neere as they might, to their owne doores; Conſidering that the force of *Sparta* it ſelfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adiunction of their Confederates. The Magiſtrates of *Sparta* perceiuing the danger, ſent for *Ageſilaus*, who readily obeied them, and promiſing his friends in *Aſia* to returne ſpeedily to their aſſiſtance, paſſed the Streights of *Helleſpont* into *Europe*. In the meane time the Cities of the new league had giuen battaile to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the remainder of their Aſſociates, but with ill ſucceſſe. For when the right-wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argiues* and *Thebans* returning from the chaſe in ſome diſorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten, by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and made the victory of that day entirely their owne. The report of this battaile meeting *Ageſilaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him ſent ouer into *Aſia*, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friend, who had ſince his departure ſeene the *Spartan* fleet beaten, and *Lyſander* the Admirall ſlaine. The ſame man, whoſe endeuour had brought the *Athenians* into order, by aduancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedæmonians* with money, and all manner of ſupplies, was now the occaſion that the power of *Athens* grew ſtrong at Sea, when the City was deſpoiled of her olde reputation, & ſcarſly able to maintaine an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* conſidering how much it imported the King his Maſter, to haue the *Greeks* diuided into ſuch factions, as might vtterly diſable them from vndertaking abroad, thought it the ſafeſt way for himſelfe, during theſe broyles, to take ſuch order, that he ſhould not need any more, to ſeeke peace by entreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who vnprouoked had ſold his loue for thirty Talents. To which purpoſe he furniſhed *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight ſhips, who had eſcaped, when the fleet of *Athens* was ſurprized by *Lyſander* at *Ægos-Potamos*; giuing him the command of a great Nauy, wherewith he requited the loſſe receiued at *Ægos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like deſtruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victory *Conon* ſailed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, ſo ſtrong a Nauy, and ſo much golde, as encouraged the *Athenians* to rebuild their walles, and thinke more hopefully vpon recouering the Signiory which they had loſt.

§. VIII.

Of ſundry ſmall victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians loſe all in Aſia; The Athenians recouer ſome part of their old Dominion.

NEuertheleſſe the *Lacedæmonians*, by many victories at Land, maintained for ſome yeeres the honour of their Eſtate, endangered very greatly by this loſſe at Sea. For *Ageſilaus* obtained the better with his horſe-men from the *Theſſalians*, who were accounted the beſt riders in *Greece*: He waſted *Bœotia*, and fought a great battaile at *Coronea* againſt the *Thebans*, and their Allies, whom hee ouer-threw; and by his *Marſhall Gylis* forraged the Countrey of *Locris*: which done, hee returned home.

The gaine of theſe victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by many loſſes, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battaile of *Coronea* vanquiſh the *Orchomenians*, who ſtood oppoſite vnto them, and retyred vnbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Ageſilaus* charged them in the returne from the purſuite. Likewiſe *Gylis* was ſlaine with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*; and ſome other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed againſt the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equall damage receiued in the parts adioyning; many Townes being eaſily taken, and as eaſily recouered. The variety of which enterfeats was ſuch that the *Thebans* themſelues were drawne by the loſſe of the hauen of *Corinth*, to ſue for peace, but could not get audience, till ſuch time as the newes came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, Generall of the *Athenian*-forces at *Lechæum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embaſſadours being ſent for, and willed to doe their meſſage, required onely in ſcorne, to haue a ſafe conduct giuen them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while onely by incurſions, wherein the *Achæans*, confederates of *Sparta*, felt moſt loſſe, their whole ſtate being endangered by the *Acarnanians*, who held with the contrary ſide, vntill *Ageſilaus* repayed theſe inuaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought vpon their owne Lands, which did ſo afflict the *Acarnanes*, that they were driuen to ſue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of moſt conſequence, vpon which the ſucceſſe of all depended. For when the Towns of *Aſia* perceiued, that the *Lacedæmonians* were not onely intangled in an hard warre at home, but almoſt diſabled to paſſe the Seas, hauing loſt their fleet at *Cnidus*; they ſoone gaue eare to *Pharnabazus*, who promiſed to allow that they ſhould vſe their owne lawes, if they would expell the *Spartan* Gouernours. Onely the City of *Abidus* did ſtand firme, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his beſt to contain all the Townes about *Helleſpont*, in the alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not doe, becauſe the *Athenian* fleet vnder *Thraſybulus* tooke in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgement of *Athens*.

§. IX.

The baſe conditions offered vnto the Perſian by the Lacedæmonian. Of ſundry fights and other paſſages in the warre. The peace of Antalcidas.

About this time the *Spartans* began to perceiue how vneaſie a thing it would be, to maintaine the warre againſt men as good as themſelues, aſſiſted with the treaſures of *Perſia*: wherefore they craued peace of *Artaxerxes*, moſt baſely offering, not onely to renounce the *Greekes* inhabiting *Aſia*, and to leaue them to the Kings diſpoſition, but withall to ſet the Ilanders, and euery Towne in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and abſolute liberty whereby they ſaid that all the principall Eſtates of their Countrie would be ſo weakened, that no one, nor all of them ſhould be able to ſtir againſt the great King. And ſure it was, that the power of the Countrie being ſo broken and rent into many ſmall pieces, could neither haue diſquieted the *Perſian*, by an offenſiue warre, nor haue made any good defence againſt him, but would haue left it eaſie for him in continuance of time, to haue taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himſelfe Maſter of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were ſo carried with enuie, that perceiuing how the dominion of the Seas was like to returne to *Athens*, they choſe rather to giue all from themſelues and others, and make all a-like weake, than to permit that any of their owne Nation ſhould grow ſtronger than themſelues, who ſo lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the firſt accepted, both in regard that the other Eſtates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalfe ioyned together againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, did by their ſeuerall Embaſſadours oppoſe themſelues vnto it; and for that it was thought ſafeſt for *Artaxerxes*, rather to weaken the *Lacedæmonians* yet more, than by interpoſing himſelfe to bring friends and foes on the ſuddaine to an equalitie. Eſpecially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had ſent as his Lieutenant into the low-Countries, did ſeeke to repay the harme done by *Ageſilaus* in thoſe parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off; *Thimbro* was ſent into *Aſia* to make warre vpon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the warre, being ſcattered about, all the Iles and Townes on the firme Land grew almoſt to the manner of piracie and robberie, affording many skirmiſhes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance, *Thimbro* was ſlaine by *Struthas*, & in his place *Diphridas* was ſent, who demeaned himſelfe more warily. *Dircyllidas* was remoued from his charge at *Abydus*, becauſe he had not impeached *Thraſybulus* in his enterpriſes about *Helleſpont*; *Anaxibius*, who ſucceeded him, was ſurpriſed and ſlaine in a skirmiſh by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thraſybulus*, departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was ſlaine by the way at *Aſpendus*. The Citie of *Rhodes* had long before ioyned with the *Lacedæmonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Ariſtocratie*, or the Gouernment of a few the principall Citizens; whereas contrariwiſe the *Athenians* were accuſtomed to put the Soueraigntie into the hands of the people, each of them ſeeking to aſſure themſelues, by erecting in the Towne of their Confederates a Gouernment like vnto their owne: which doing (where more eſpeciall cauſe did not hinder) cauſed the Nobilitie to fauour *Sparta*, and the Commons to encline to *Athens*. The people of *Ægina* roued vpon the coaſt of *Attica*, which cauſed the *Athenians* to land an Armie in *Ægina*, and beſiege their Towne: but this ſiege being raiſed by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, the Ilanders began a-new to moleſt *Attica*, which cauſed the *Athenians* to man their ſhips againe, that returned beaten, hauing loſt foure of thirteene. The loſſe of theſe ſhips was ſoone recompenſed by a victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* Generall had in *Ægina*, whereupon the Ilanders were faine to keepe home, and leaue to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well ſeeme ſtrange that the Citie of *Athens*, hauing but newly raiſed her wals; hauing not by any fortunate and important battaile ſecured her eſtate from dangers by land; but onely depending vpon the aſſiſtance of ſuch Confederates, as carried vnto different ends, had often diſcouered themſelues irreſolute in the common cauſe; would ſend a fleet and an Armie to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Euagoras*, when the maſtry of the Seas was ſo ill aſſured, that an Iland lying in the eye of *Pyræus*, had abilitie to vexe the coaſt of *Attica*. But as the ouer-weaning of that Citie did cauſe it vſually to embrace more then it could compaſſe; ſo the inſolency and ſhameleſſe iniuſtice of the people, had now bred in the chiefe Commanders, a deſire to keepe themſelues farre out of ſight, and to ſeeke emploiments at ſuch diſtance as might ſecure them from the eyes of the enuious, & from publike iudgements, out of which, few or none eſcaped. For which cauſe *Timotheus* did paſſe away much part of his time in the Iſle of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Country well could haue ſpared: with which he returned not when the buſineſſe in *Cyprus* came to an end, but ſought new aduentures in *Ægypt*; whereby aroſe neither thanks to himſelfe, nor profit to his Citie, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careleſſe of things at hand, had a notable blow giuen vnto them, ſhortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, euen within their owne Hauen. For *Teleutias*, a *Lacedæmonian*, being made Gouernour of *Ægina*, conceiued a ſtrong hope of ſurpriſing the Nauie of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking a-right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ſhips prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whoſe Mariners were aſleepe in their Cabbins, or drinking in Tauernes. Wherefore he ſailed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entring at the breake of day, hee found (according to his expectation) moſt of the men on ſhore, and few or none left aboord to make reſiſtance: by which meanes hee tooke many ſhips laden with merchandizes, many fiſher-men, paſſengers, and other Veſſells, alſo three or foure Gallies; hauing ſunke or broken, and made vnſeruiceable, as many of the reſt as the time would ſuffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters giuen to him in marriage, with whom hee liued about the Court; and many Officers that fauoured the *Lacedæmonians* were placed in the lower *Aſia*; by whoſe aſſiſtance the fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Helleſpont*; in ſuchwiſe, that perhaps they ſhould not haue needed the peace, which they themſelues procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the conditions whereof were ſuch as are mentioned before, giuing freedome to all the Cities of *Greece*, and diuiding the Countrie into as many ſeuerall States as were pettie Boroughes in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* hauing bought his owne peace with money, did likewiſe by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controuerſies betweene the *Greekes*, diſpoſing of their buſineſſe in ſuch wiſe as ſtood beſt with his owne good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes* his decree was, That all *Aſia* and *Cyprus* ſhould be his owne; the Iles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus* bee ſubject to *Athens*; all other *Greeke* Townes, as well the little as the great, be ſet at liberty; and that whoſoeuer ſhould refuſe this peace, vpon them the approouers of it ſhould make warre, the King aſſiſting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ſhips, and treaſure. The *Athenians* were ſo diſcouraged by their loſſes at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by reuolt of their Confederates, and the neceſſity of maintaining many Garriſons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miſeries of the warre, whereof they ſaw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did conſent vnto theſe Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking vpon themſelues the execution, did not onely compell the *Argiues* to depart out of *Corinth* (which vnder pretence of defending they held by Garriſons, lately thruſt into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leaue *Bœotia* free, of which Prouince *Thebes* had alwaies held the gouernment: the *Thebans* themſelues being alſo comprehended vnder the name of the *Bœotians*; but cauſed the *Mantinæans* to throw downe their owne Citie, and to dwell in Villages: alleaging that they had formerly beene accuſtomed ſo to doe, though purpoſing indeed to chaſtiſe them, as hauing beene ill affected to *Sparta* in the late Warre. By theſe courſes the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the ſmall Townes in *Greece* would, when occaſion ſhould require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities hauing loſt all their dependants, would bee vnable to make oppoſition.

§. X.

The warre which the Lacedæmonians made vpon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treaſon; and Olynthus by famine.

WHileſt theſe Warres, which ended without either victory or profit, conſumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the Citie of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was growne ſo mighty, that ſhee did not onely command her Neighbour Townes, but was alſo become terrible to places farre remooued, and to *Sparta* it ſelfe. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the

Olynthians, who following the vſuall pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſet at libertie the places ouer which King *Amintas* did tyrannize, had almoſt now driuen him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themſelues. The Citizens of *Acanthus* and of *Apollonia*, being neereſt vnto the danger of thoſe incroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too ſtrong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time ſhould giue it reputation, which onely it wanted: wherefore they requeſted aſſiſtance, but in ſuch termes as did ſound of compulſion; proteſting that either they muſt warre vpon *Olynthus*, or become ſubiect vnto her, and fight in her defence. Heereupon was made a haſtie leuie of men, two thouſand being preſently ſent away, with promiſe to be ſeconded by a greater Armie. Whileſt theſe two thouſand gaue ſuch beginning to the warre, as agreed with their ſmall number, the body of the Armie following them, ſurprized the Cittadell of *Thebes*, which was betraied into the hand of *Phœbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by ſome of the Magiſtrates, who ſought to ſtrengthen their faction by the ſlauerie of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made between them; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phœbidas* were more worthy of reward or of puniſhment; In concluſion, profit ſo farre ouer-weighed honeſtie, that the deede was approoued, many principall Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driuen into baniſhment, and the Traitors rewarded with the gouernment of the Citie: by whoſe authoritie, and the force of the Garriſon, the *Thebans* were compelled to ſerue the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This acceſſe of power hauing ſtrengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, cauſed them to entertaine the greater forces about *Olynthus*, which (notwithſtanding the loſſe of one great battaile, and ſome other diſaſters) they compelled at length by famine to render it ſelfe vnto their obedience.

§. XI.

How the Tebans recouered their libertie, driuing out the Lacedæmonian Garriſon.

AFter this *Olynthian* Warre, which endured almoſt three yeeres, it ſeemed that no Eſtate in *Greece* was able to make head againſt that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a meanes to ſhake off their yoke, and gaue both example and meanes to others to do the like. One of the baniſht men found by conference with a *Scribe* of the *Theban* Magiſtrates, comming to *Athens*, that the tyrannie wherewith his Countrie was oppreſſed, pleaſed him no better then it did thoſe who for feare of it were fledde from home. Whereupon a plot was layd betweene theſe two, that ſoone found very good ſucceſſe, being managed thus. Seauen of the baniſhed men forſooke *Athens* priuily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where ſpending the next day ſecretly, they came late in the euening to the Gates like husband-men returned from worke, and ſo paſſed vndiſcouered vnto the houſe of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawne into the conſpiracie. The day following, a ſolemne feaſt being then held in the Citie, *Phyllidas* promiſed the Gouernors, who were inſolent and luſtfull men, that he would conueigh vnto them that night the moſt beautifzll Dames of the Towne, with whom they ſhould take their pleaſure. Hauing cheared them with ſuch hope, and plentie of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came, that hee could not make good his promiſe, vnleſſe they would diſmiſſe their followers, becauſe the Gentlewomen, who attended without a Chamber, would not endure that any of the ſeruants ſhould ſee their faces. Vpon this occaſion the attendants were diſmiſſed, and the Conſpirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; who taking aduantage of the Gouernours looſe behauiour, ſlew them all vpon the ſodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden vnder their garments. Then preſently caſting off their diſguiſe, they went to other places, where feigning themſelues to come to the Gouernours vpon buſineſſe, they got admittance, and likewiſe ſlew thoſe which were of the *Lacedæmonian* faction. By the like deuice they brake into the priſon; ſlew the *Gaoler*; and ſet at liberty ſuch as they thought meet, and being followed by theſe deſperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captaine of the Caſtle hearing the ſodaine Proclamation, thought the Rebels to bee ſtronger then indeede they were: the Citizens contrariwiſe miſtruſted, that it was a practice to diſcouer ſuch, as would be forward vpon occaſion of reuolting. But as ſoon as day-light reuealed the plaine truth, all the people tooke armes & beſieged the Caſtle, ſending haſtily to *Athens* for ſuccour. The Garriſon alſo ſent for aide vnto the Townes adioyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the reſcue, were defeated on the way by the horſe-men of *Thebes*. On the other ſide the baniſhed *Thebans* did not onely make ſpeed to aſſiſt their Countrimen, but procured ſome *Athenians* to ioyne with them, and thereby came ſo ſtrong into the Citie, that the Caſtle was yeelded, more through feare than any neceſſitie, vpon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which compoſition the Captaine at his returne to *Sparta* was put to death. When the newes of the doings at *Thebes*, and the ſucceſſe arriued at *Sparta*, an Armie was raiſed forth-with, and all things prepared as earneſtly for the recouering of that Citie, as if ſome part of their ancient inheritance had beene taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a Towne perfidiouſly vſurped by them, reſtored to her owne libertie; *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was ſent on this expedition, who hauing wearied his followers, with a toileſome Winters iourney, returned home without any good or harme done; leauing *Sphodrias*, with part of his Armie, at *Theſpies*, to infeſt the *Thebans*; who doing them ſome diſpleaſures, made large amends by a fooliſh attempt vpon the Hauen of *Athens*, which failing to take, he waſted the Countrie adioyning, and draue away Cattell, cauſing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the Warre, out of which they were before very carefully ſeeking how they might poſſibly with-draw themſelues.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flouriſhing eſtate of Thebes, from the battaile of Leuctra, to the battaile of Mantinæa.

§. I.

How Thebes and Athens ioyned together againſt Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themſelues, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battaile of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatneſſe.

THE *Lacedæmonians* were men of great reſolution, and of much grauitie in all their proceedings, but one diſhonourable rule they held, That all reſpects withſtanding the commoditie of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrin, euen by the beſt and wiſeſt of them, did greatly blemiſh that Eſtate: but when it was put in execution by inſufficient ouer-weening men, it ſeldome failed to bring vpon them in ſtead of profit vniuſtly expected, both ſhame and loſſe. And ſo it befell them in theſe enterpriſes of *Phœbidas*, vpon the Caſtle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* vpon the *Piræus*. For, howſoeuer *Ageſilaus* did ſpoyle the Countrie about *Thebes*, in which hee ſpent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good ſucceſſe of ſome attempts, grew ſtronger than they were at the firſt.

The *Athenians* likewiſe began to looke abroad, ſayling to the Iſle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleaſure, and hauing in ſome fights at Sea preuailed, began as in the *Peloponneſian* Warre, to ſurround *Peloponneſus* with a Nauie; afflicting ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their inſolencie wearied their friends, and cauſed them to ſeeke for peace, it had beene very likely that the end of this warre, ſhould haue ſoone come to a good end, which neuertheleſſe, being proſequuted by the *Thebans* (who oppoſed at once both theſe two great Eſtates) left the City of *Sparta* as much deiected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiuing how *Thebes* encroached euery day vpon her weake Neighbours, not ſparing ſuch as had beene dependants vpon *Athens*, and finding themſelues, whileſt engaged in ſuch a warre, vnable to relieue their complaining friends, reſolued to ſettle the affaires of *Greece*, by renewing that forme of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Perſian*. Wherefore they ſent Meſſengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily ſignifying, That it was their intent to finiſh the Warre; to which purpoſe they willed the *Thebans* to ſend Embaſſadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condeſcended, fearing otherwiſe that they ſhould be left out of the Treaty of peace: which came to paſſe, being ſo wrought by the couragious wiſedome of *Epaminondas*, who vnderſtood farre better than his Countrimen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did ſoone agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to ſweare to the Articles in the name of the *Bœotians*; *Ageſilaus* required them to ſweare in their owne name, and to leaue the *Bœotians* free, whom they had lately reduced vnder their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made anſwere, That the City of *Sparta* ſhould giue example to *Thebes* by ſetting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signorie of *Bœotia* did by as good right appertaine to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly ſpoken; but was heard with no patience: For *Ageſilaus* bearing a vehement hatred vnto thoſe of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawne backe out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, and diſappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to atchieue by the *Perſian* war, did now paſſionately vrge that point of ſetting the *Bœotians* at libertie, & finding it as obſtinately refuſed, hee daſht the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the ſame time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta* lay in *Phocis*, who receiued command from the Gouernours of *Sparta* forthwith to enter vpon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; which hee did, and was there ſlaine at *Leuctra*, and with him the flowre of his Armie. This battaile of *Leuctra*, being one of the moſt famous that euer were fought betweene the *Greekes*, was not ſo notable for any circumſtance fore-going it, or for the managing of the fight it ſelfe, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*, but eſpecially, for that after this battell (betweene which and the concluſion of the generall peace there paſſed but twentie daies) the *Lacedæmonians* were neuer able to recouer the ſtrength and reputation which had formerlie made them redoubted farre and neere; whereas contrariwiſe the *Thebans*, whoſe greateſt ambition had in former times confined it ſelfe vnto the little Region of *Bœotia*, did now begin to vndertake the leading and command of many People and Eſtates, in ſuch wiſe, that ſoone after they brought an Armie of threeſcore and ten thouſand ſtrong vnto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the afflictions of an hard warre, valiantly endured, aduance the affaires of the diſtreſſed, and guide them into the way of Conqueſt, by ſtiffening that reſolution with a manly temper, which wealth and eaſe had through luxurie, retchleſnes, and many other vices or vanities, made ruſtie and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians tooke vpon them to maintaine the peace of Greece. New troubles hence ariſing. Epaminondas *inuadeth and waſteth the Territorie of Lacedæmon.*

THe *Athenians*, refuſing to take aduantage of this ouerthrow fallen vpon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*; did neuertheleſſe finely giue them to vnderſtand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking vpon themſelues the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, which *Ageſilaus* (perhaps of purpoſe to make benefit of quarrells that might ariſe) had left vnperfect, they aſſembled the Deputies of all the Eſtates confederated at *Athens*; where the generall libertie of all Townes, as well ſmall as great, was ratified, vnder the ſtile Of the *Athenians*, and their Aſſociates. Hereupon began freſh garboiles. The *Mantinæans*, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their owne pleaſure, did (as it were) in deſpight of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their towne, reedifie it, and allie themſelues with ſuch of the *Arcadians* as ſtood worſt affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a ſtrong Nation, conſiſting of many Cities, were diſtracted with factions; ſome deſiring to hold good correſpondency with the *Lacedæmonians*; ſome to weaken & keepe them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durſt not giue impeachment to the *Mantinæans*; nor take vpon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till ſuch time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called in forraine helpe. Then was an Army ſent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegea*, againſt the *Mantinæans*, but indeed againſt them both. *Ageſilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time ſubdued the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; with the power of which Countries they entred *Peloponneſus* in fauour of the *Arcadians*, who had, vpon expectation of their comming, abſtained from giuing battaile to *Ageſilaus*. The Armie of the *Spartans* being diſmiſſed, and *Epaminondas* ioyned with the *Arcadians*; the Region of *Laconia* was inuaded & ſpoyled: a thing ſo ſtrange, that no Oracle could haue found beliefe if any had foretold it. Almoſt 600. yeeres were ſpent, ſince the *Dorians*, vnder the poſteritie of *Hercules*, had ſeized vpon *Laconia*, in all which time the ſound of an enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrie: Ten yeeres were not fully paſt, ſince all *Greece* was at the deuotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Armie could once looke vpon, nor the mighty forces of *Athens*, and other enemie-States had dared to ſet foot on, ſauing by ſtealth, was all on a light fire, the very ſmoke whereof the women of *Sparta* were aſhamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithſtanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not iſſue out of *Sparta* to fight, but ſought how to preſerue the Towne, ſetting at libertie as many of their *Heilotes* or Slaues as were willing to beare Armes in defence of the State, & ſomewhat pittifully entreated the *Athenians* to giue them ſuccour. From *Corinth* & ſome Towns of *Peloponneſus* they receiued ſpeedy aſſiſtance; the *Athenians* came forward more ſlowly, ſo that *Epaminondas* returned without battell, hauing re-builded the Citie of *Meſſene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient inhabitants, whom the *Lacedæmonians* many ages before had chaſed away to other Countries, poſſeſſing their Territories themſelues.

§. III.

The Compoſition betweene Athens and Sparta for command in warre againſt the Thebans; who againe inuade and ſpoyle Peloponneſus. The vnfortunate preſumption of the Arcadians.

THis iournie therefore vtterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in ſuch wiſe, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raiſed, nor any manner of precedence: but ſending Embaſſadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, vnto *Athens*, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, requeſting that they themſelues might be Generalls by Land. This had beene a compoſition well agreeing with the ſituation and qualitie of thoſe two Cities; but it was reiected, becauſe the Mariners and others that were to bee imployed at Sea, were men of no marke or eſtimation, in regard of thoſe companies of horſe and foot, whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to haue ſerued vnder the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authority ſhould be diuided by time, the *Athenians* ruling fiue daies, the *Lacedæmonians* other fiue, and ſo ſucceſſiuely that each of them ſhould haue command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifeſt, that in this concluſion vaine ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which muſt of neceſſitie be very ſlowly aduanced, where conſultation, reſolution, and performance are ſo often to change hands. This appeared by a ſecond inuaſion of *Peloponneſus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies ſo vnable to impeach them, that hauing fortified *Iſthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done againſt *Xerxes*, they were driuen out of their ſtrength by *Epaminondas*, who forraged the Country without reſiſtance. But as the Articles of this league betweene *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by diuiding the conduct in ſuch manner, diſable the ſocietie, and make it inſufficient to thoſe ends for which it was concluded; ſo the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the *Arcadians* conſidering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and hauing found by many trials that their people were not inferiour to others in ſtrength of body, in courage, or in good Souldierſhip, thought it good reaſon that they ſhould in like manner ſhare the gouernment, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by increaſing whoſe greatneſſe they ſhould ſtrengthen their owne yoke. Heereupon they beganne to demeane themſelues very inſolently, whereby they grew hatefull to their Neighbors, and ſuſpected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of generall peace hauing beene made (which tooke not effect; becauſe the Citie of *Meſſene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterpriſe of the *Spartans* and their friends was vpon theſe *Arcadians*, who relying too much vpon their owne worth, were ouerthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitie being as pleaſing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

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§. IIII.

The great growth of the Theban Eſtate. Embaſſages of the Greekes to the Perſian; with the reaſons why he moſt fauoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Perſian Empire. The fruitleſſe iſſue of the Embaſſages.

THe *Thebans* eſpecially reioyced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, conſidering, that, without their aide, the ſucceſſe of all enterpriſes proued ſo ill; whereas they themſelues had by their owne power accompliſhed very well whatſoeuer they tooke in hand, and were become not onely victorious ouer the *Lacedæmonians*, but patrons ouer the *Theſſalonians*, and moderatours of the great quarrels that had riſen in *Macedonia*; where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleaſed them beſt, they carried *Philip* the Sonne of *Amyntas*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hoſtage vnto *Thebes*. Hauing therefore obtained ſuch reputation, that little ſeemed wanting to make them abſolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they ſought meanes of alliance with the *Perſian* King, to whom they ſent Embaſſadour the great and famous Captaine *Pelopidas*, whoſe reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant vnto the *Thebans* all that they deſired; whereof two eſpeciall points were, That *Meſſene* ſhould remaine free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* ſhould forbeare to ſend their ſhips of Warre to Sea; onely the later of theſe two was ſomewhat qualified with reference to further aduice. The other States of *Greece* did alſo ſend their Embaſſadours at the ſame time, of whom few or none receiued much contentment. For the King hauing found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintaine a ſure partie in *Greece*, did vpon many weightie conſiderations reſolue, to binde the *Thebans* firmely vnto him; iuſtly expecting, that their greatneſſe ſhould be on that ſide his owne ſecuritie. The *Athenians* had beene ancient enemies to his Crowne; and hauing turned the profit of their victories vpon the *Perſian* to the purchaſe of a great Eſtate in *Greece*, maintained their Signorie in ſuch puiſſant manner, that (ſundry grieuous misfortunes notwithſtanding) they had endured a terrible warre, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by moſt of the *Greekes*, and ſupplied with treaſure, and all ſorts of aide by *Darius Nothus*, were not able to vanquiſh them, till their owne indiſcretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious ouer *Athens*, had no ſooner eſtabliſhed their Dominion at home, than they vndertooke the conqueſt of *Aſia*, from which though by the commotion raiſed in *Greece* with *Perſian* gold, they were called backe, yet hauing renewed their power, and ſetled things in *Greece*, it was not vnlikely, that they ſhould vpon the next aduantage haue purſued the ſame enterpriſe, had not they beene empeached by this *Theban* Warre. But the *Thebans* contrariwiſe had alwayes diſcouered a good affection to the Crowne of *Perſia*. They had ſided with *Xerxes* in his inuaſion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* againſt *Athens*: And finally, hauing offered much contumelie to *Ageſilaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Beſides all theſe their good deſeruings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore vnlikely to looke abroade; whereupon if perchance they ſhould haue any deſire, yet were they diſabled by the want of good hauen townes, which they could not ſeize vpon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giuing liberty to all Cities that had at any time beene free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condeſcend vnto the requeſts of *Pelopidas*, as farre forth as he might without giuing open defiance to the reſt of *Greece*; and by that meane he purchaſed his owne quiet, being neuer afterward moleſted by that Nation in the lower *Aſia*. The ill meanes which the *Greekes* had to diſturbe *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficiall to the Eſtate of *Perſia* ſhortly after theſe times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Prouinces. For had then the affaires of *Greece* beene ſo compoſed, that any one Citie might without empeachment of the reſt haue tranſported an Armie, to aſſiſt the reuolting *Satrapæ*, or *Viceroies* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Myſia*, *Lycia*, *Piſidia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*; humane reaſon can hardly finde the meanes, by which the Empire could haue beene preſerued from that ruine, which the diuine Counſell had deferred vnto the dayes of *Alexander*. But this great conſpiracie of ſo many large and wealthy Prouinces, wanting a firme body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in ſhort ſpace diſcuſſed and vaniſhed like a miſt, without effect: theſe effeminate *Aſiatiques* wearied quickly with the trauailes and dangers incident to warre, forſaking the common cauſe, and each man ſtriuing to be the firſt, that by treaſon to his company ſhould both redeeme the former treaſon to his Prince, and purchaſe withall his owne promotion with encreaſe of riches. Of this commotion, which in courſe of time followed ſome actions not as yet related, I haue rather choſen to make ſhort mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a ſudden ſtorme, raſhly commenced, idlely followed, and fooliſhly layed downe, hauing made a great noiſe without effect, and hauing ſmall reference to any other action regardable; as alſo becauſe in the whole reigne of *Artaxerxes*, from the warre of *Cyrus*, to the inuaſion of *Ægypt*, I finde nothing (this inſurrection, and a fruitleſſe iourney againſt the *Caduſians* excepted) worthy of any mention; much leſſe of digreſſion from the courſe of the buſineſſe in *Greece*. All, or the moſt of his time paſſed away ſo quietly, that he enioyed the pleaſures which an Empire ſo great and wealthy could affoord vnto ſo abſolute a Lord, with little diſturbance. The troubles which he found were onely or chiefly Domeſticall; growing out of the hatred which *Paryſatis* the Queene-Mother bare vnto his wife *Statira*, and to ſuch as had beene the greateſt enemies to her ſonne *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: vpon whom, when by poyſon and miſchieuous practices ſhe had ſatisfied her feminine appetite of reuenge, thenceforth ſhe wholly applyed her ſelfe to the Kings diſpoſition, cheriſhing in him the lewd deſire of marrying his owne Daughter, and filling him with the perſwaſion, which Princes, not endued with an eſpeciall grace, doe readily entertaine: That his owne will was the ſupreame law of his ſubiect, and the rule by which all things were to be meaſured and adiudged to be good or euill. In this imaginarie happineſſe *Pelopidas*, and the other Embaſſadours of *Greece*, both found and left him; but left him by ſo much more aſſured than they found him, by how much the concluſion of his Treatie with them, being altogether to his owne aduantage, did ſeeme to promiſe, if not the perpetuitie, a long endurance of the ſame felicity to him and his, or (at the leaſt) a full ſecurity of danger from *Greece*, whence onely could any danger be feared. But ſuch foundations of eternity laied by mortall men in this tranſitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either ſhaken from heauen, or made vaine and vnprofitable, ere the frame can be raiſed to full heighth, by confuſion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Eſtates of *Greece* that had ſent Embaſſadours to the *Perſian*. For whereas it had beene concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby ſhould become the Iudges of all controuerſies that might ariſe, and Leaders in warre of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being ſolemnly publiſhed at *Thebes*, in the preſence of Embaſſadours, drawne thither from all parts of *Greece*; when an oath was required for obſeruation of the forme of peace therein ſet downe, a dilatorie anſwere was made by the Embaſſadors, who ſaid, that they were ſent to heare the articles; not to ſweare vnto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driuen to ſend vnto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vaine. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refuſed it, ſaying, That they did not neede it; others tooke courage by their example to doe the like, diſappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gaue neither addition nor confirmation of greatneſſe, but left them as it found them to relie vpon their owne ſwords.

§. V.

How all Greece was diuided, betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, on the one ſide, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults riſing in Arcadia.

THe condition of things in *Greece* at that time did ſtand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each vpon enuie of the others greatneſſe drawne all their followers into a cruell inteſtine warre, by which the whole Countrie, and eſpecially the Eſtate of theſe two Cities, was brought very low, did now conioyne their forces againſt the *Thebans*, who ſought to make themſelues Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaians*, followed the party of theſe ancient gouerning Cities; either for the old reputation of them, & benefits receiued, or in diſlike of thoſe, who by ſtrong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authority they could not ſuddenly aſpire without ſome iniurie and much enuie. The Citie of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom neceſſitie had made warlike, & many victories in few yeeres had filled with great ſpirits; and being ſo mighty in dependants, that ſhe had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peleponneſus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beſide excepted) vnder ſuch acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meere Vaſſallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponneſus* to the like obedience, wherein already ſhe had ſet good footing by her coniunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argiues* had beene alwayes bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themſelues in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre vnder them in valour, hauing beene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of loſing all: which cauſed them to ſuſpect and enuie nothing more than the greatneſſe and honour of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when ſhe was at reſt, and had leiſure to bend her whole force againſt them; but firmely ioyning with her enemies whenſoeuer they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the *Argiues* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, ſure friends of *Thebes*, ſo the *Arcadians*, tranſported with a great opinion of their owne worthineſſe, had formerly renounced and prouoked againſt them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought conuenient by *Epaminondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to ſend an Armie into *Peloponneſus*, before ſuch time as theſe wauering friends ſhould fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared open enemies. And ſurely great cauſe there was to ſuſpect the worſt of them, conſidering that without conſent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*; which was very ſtrange, & ſeemed no leſſe to the *Athenians* themſelues, who holding a firme league with *Sparta* at the ſame time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did neuertheleſſe accept this new Confederacy, not relinquiſhing the old, becauſe they found that, howſoeuer theſe *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they ſhould hereby be drawne ſomewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was vnlikely to inuade *Peloponneſus* with a ſtong Armie. But this did rather haſten, than by any meanes ſtay, the comming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way ſomewhat more cleare for him (becauſe the Citie of *Corinth*, which lay vpon the *Iſthmus*, and had beene aduerſe to *Thebes*, was now, by miſeries of this grieuous warre, driuen to become Neutrall) tooke occaſion hereby, and by ſome diſorders among the *Arcadians*, to viſit *Peloponneſus* with an Armie, conſiſting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had riſen in *Arcadia* about conſecrated money, which many principall men among them had laied hands on, vnder pretence of imploying it to publique vſes. In compounding the differences growne vpon this occaſion, ſuch, as had leaſt will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captaine of ſome *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take priſoners many of their Countrimen, as people deſirous of innouation, This was done: but the vp-roare thereby cauſed was ſo great, that the priſoners were forth-with enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a-doe ſcarſe pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame vpon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be ſhortly among them, to iudge of their fidelity, by the aſſiſtance which they ſhould giue him, in that warre, which he intended to make in *Peloponneſus*. Theſe Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aide of ſo mighty a power as he drew a-long with him, did vehemently ſuſpect that great preparation to be made againſt themſelues. Hereupon ſuch of them as had before ſought meanes to ſettle the affaires of their Countrie, by drawing things to ſome good concluſion of peace, did now forthwith ſend to *Athens* for helpe, and withall diſpatched ſome of the principall among them as Embaſſadours to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themſelues to the common defence of *Peloponneſus*, now ready to be inuaded. This Embaſſage brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the comming of *Epaminondas*, againſt whom they well knew, that all their forces, and beſt prouiſions, would be no more than very hardly ſufficient. Forbearing therefore to diſpute about prerogatiues, they (who had beene accuſtomed vnto ſuch a ſupremacie, as they would in no wiſe communicate with the powerfull Citie of *Athens*, till other hope of ſecuring their owne Eſtate could not be thought vpon) did now very gently yeelde to the *Arcadians*, that the command of the Army in chiefe, ſhould be giuen, for the time, to that Citie, in whoſe Territorie it lay.

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§. VI.

A terrible inuaſion of Peloponneſus by Epaminondas.

Certaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firme conſent, and vniforme care of the common ſafetie. For beſide the great forces raiſed out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argiues* and *Meſſenians*, prepared with all their ſtrength to ioyne with *Epaminondas*; who hauing lien a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, receiued there intelligence, that the Armie comming from *Athens* would paſſe by Sea, whereupon he diſlodged, and came to *Tegea*, which Citie, and the moſt of all *Arcadia* beſides, forthwith declared themſelues his. The common opinion was, that the firſt attempt of the *Thebans*, would be vpon ſuch of the *Arcadians* as had reuolted; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonian* Captaines to fortifie *Mantinæa* with all diligence, and to ſend for *Ageſilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that ſmall force of able men which remained in the Towne, they might be ſtrong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held ſo good eſpiall vpon his Enemies, that had not an vnknowne fellow brought haſty aduertiſement of his purpoſe to *Ageſilaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantinæa*, the Citie of *Sparta* had ſuddenly beene taken. For thither with all ſpeede and ſecrecie did the *Thebans* march, who had ſurely carried the Citie, notwithſtanding any defence that could haue beene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that *Ageſilaus* in all flying haſte got into it with his Companies, whom the Armie of his Confederates followed thither to the reſcue as faſt as it was able. The arriuall of the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, ſo it preſented him with a faire aduantage vpon *Mantinæa*. It was the time of Harueſt, which made it very likely, that the *Mantinæans*, finding the warre to be carried from their wals into another quarter, would vſe the commoditie of that vacation, by fetching in their corne, and turning out their cattell into their fields, whileſt no enemie was neere that might empeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinæa*, ſending his horſe-men before him, to ſeize vpon all that might be found without the Citie. The *Mantinæans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were ſcattered abroad in the Countrie; farre more intent vpon their harueſt-buſineſſe, than vpon the warre, whereof they were ſecure, as thinking themſelues out of diſtance. By which preſumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being vnable to recouer the Towne, were in a deſperate caſe; and the Towne it ſelfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemie ſhould haue taken all their prouiſion of victuals with ſo many of the people, as had not ouer-deerely beene redeemed, by that Cities returning to ſocietie with *Thebes*. But at the ſame time, the *Athenians* comming to the ſuccour of their Confederates, whom they thought to haue found at *Mantinæa*, were very earneſtly entreated by the Citizens to reſcue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were poſſible by any couragious aduenture to deliuer thoſe who otherwiſe were giuen as loſt. The *Thebans* were knowne at that time to be the beſt Souldiers of all the *Greekes*, and the commendation of good horſemanſhip had alwayes beene giuen to the *Theſſalians*, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations; yet the regard of honour ſo wrought vpon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this warre, vpon no neceſſitie of her owne, but onely in deſire of relieuing her diſtreſſed friends, they iſſued forth of *Mantinæa*, not abiding ſo long as to refreſh themſelues, or their horſes with meate, and giuing a luſtie charge vpon the enemie, who as brauely receiued them, after a long and hot fight, they remained maſters of the field, giuing by this victory a ſafe and eaſie retrait to all that were without the wals. The whole power of the *Bœotians* arriued in the place ſoone after this battaile, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their Aſſiſtants were not farre behinde.

§. VII.

The great battaile of Mantinæa. The honourable death of Epaminondas, *with his commendation.*

EPaminondas, conſidering that his Commiſſion was almoſt now expired, and that his attempts of ſurpriſing *Sparta* and *Mantinæa*, hauing failed, the impreſſion of terrour which his name had wrought in the *Peloponneſians*, would ſoone vaniſh, vnleſſe by ſome notable act he ſhould abate their courage in their firſt growth, and leaue ſome memorable character of his expedition; reſolued to giue them battaile, whereby he reaſonably hoped both to ſettle the doubtfull affections of his owne Aſſociates, and to leaue the *Spartans* as weake in ſpirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into ſubiection. Hauing therefore warned his men to prepare for that battaile, wherein victory ſhould be rewarded with Lordſhip of all *Greece*; and finding the alacritie of his Souldiers to be ſuch as promiſed the accompliſhment of his owne deſire; he made ſhew of declining the enemie, and intrenching himſelfe in a place of more aduantage, that ſo by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward ſtrike their ſenſes with amazement, when he ſhould come vpon them vnexpected. This opinion deceiued him not. For with very much tumult, as in ſo great and ſodaine a danger, the enemie ran to Armes, neceſſity enforcing their reſolution, and the conſequence of that dayes ſeruice vrging them to doe as well as they might. The *Theban* Armie conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends were ſhort of this number, both in horſe and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantinæans* (becauſe the warre was in their Countrie) ſtood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*: the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and others of leſſe account, filled the body of the Armie. The *Thebans* ſtood in the left wing of their owne battaile, oppoſite to the *Lacedæmonians*, hauing by them the *Arcadians*; the *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Meſſenians*, and *Theſſalians* with others, compounding the maine battaile; the *Argiues* held the right wing; the horſe-men on each part were placed in the flankes, onely a troupe of the *Eleans* were in reare. Before the footmen could ioyne, the encounter of the horſe on both ſides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* preuailed, notwithſtanding the valiant reſiſtance of the *Athenians*: who not yeelding to the enemie either in courage or skill, were ouer-laied with numbers, and ſo beaten vpon by *Theſſalian* ſlings, that they were driuen to forſake the place, and leaue their infanterie naked. But this retrait was the leſſe diſgracefull, becauſe they kept themſelues together, and did not fall backe vpon their owne foot-men; but finding the *Theban* horſe to haue giuen them ouer, and withall diſcouering ſome Companies of foot, which had beene ſent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battaile in the reare, they brake vpon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the meane ſeaſon the battaile of the *Athenians* had not onely to doe with the *Argiues*, but was hardly preſſed by the *Theban* Horſemen, in ſuch wiſe that it began to open, and was ready to turne backe, when the *Elean* ſquadron of Horſe came vp to the reliefe of it, and reſtored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meete, theſe contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour, ſo that equall courage and equall loſſe on both ſides made the hope and appearance of victory to either equally doubtfull: vnleſſe perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firme abiders, might ſeeme the more likely to preuaile, as hauing borne the firſt brunt and furie of the on-ſet, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by Diſcipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few yeeres, cannot be thought to haue gotten a habite ſo ſure and generall. But *Epaminondas* perceiuing the obſtinate ſtiffeneſſe of the Enemies to be ſuch, as neither the bad ſucceſſe of their owne horſe, nor all the force of the *Bæotian* Armie, could abate ſo farre, as to make them giue one foote of ground: taking a choiſe Companie of the moſt able men, whom he caſt into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the aduantage of that figure againſt a ſquadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great ſtrength and reſolution of them which followed him, did open their ranckes, and cleaue the whole battaile in deſpight of all reſiſtance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may iuſtly be ſaid to haue carried the victory, ſeeing that they remained Maſters of the ground whereon the battaile was fought, hauing driuen the Enemie to lodge farther off. For that which was alleaged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victorie was partly theirs, the ſlaughter of thoſe Mercenaries vpon whom they lighted by chance in their owne flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a Ceremonie regardable onely among the *Greekes*, and ſerued meerely for oſtentation, ſhewing that by the fight they had obtained ſomewhat, which the Enemie could not get from them otherwiſe than by requeſt. But the *Thebans* arriued at the generall immediate end of battaile; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifeſt confeſſion is expreſſed from them, who forſake the place which they had choſen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their abilitie and proweſſe. This was the laſt worke of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonian* eſquadron, and forced it to giue backe in diſaray, was furiouſly charged on the ſodaine, by a deſperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiuing many wounds, he neuertheleſſe with a ſingular courage maintained the fight, vſing againſt the Enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his owne body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he receiued ſo violent a ſtroake with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leauing the yron and a peece of the tronchion in his breſt. Hereupon he ſunke downe, and was ſoone conueighed out of the fight by his friends; hauing by his fall ſomewhat animated the *Spartans* (who faine would haue got his body,) but much more inflamed with reuengefull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heauie miſchance did with great ſlaughter compell their diſordered enemies to leaue the field; though long they followed not the chaſe, being wearied more with the ſadneſſe of this diſaſter, than with all the trauaile of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Phyſitians, That when the head of the Dart ſhould be drawne out of his body, he muſt needes dye. Hearing this, he called for his ſhield, which to haue loſt, was held a great diſhonour: It was brought vnto him. He bad them tell him which part had the victory; anſwere was made, that the *Bœotians* had won the field. Then ſaid he, It is faire time for me to dye, and withall ſent for *Iolidas*, and *Diophantes*, two principall men of Warre, that were both ſlaine; which being told him, Hee aduiſed the *Thebans* to make Peace, whileſt with aduantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to diſcharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon ſhould be drawne out of his body; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of iſſue, by telling them, that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinæa* were two faire Daughters, in whom his memory ſhould liue.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthieſt man that euer was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Countrie: for he equalled all others in the ſeuerall vertues, which in each of them were ſingular. His Iuſtice, and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wiſedome, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferiour to his Militarie vertue; in euery part whereof he ſo excelled, that he could not properly be called a Warie, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Induſtrious, and a Prouident Captaine. Neither was his priuate Conuerſation vnanſwerable to thoſe high parts, which gaue him praiſe abroade. For he was Graue, and yet very Affable and Curteous; reſolute in publique buſineſſe, but in his owne particular eaſie, and of much mildeneſſe: a louer of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, wittie and pleaſant in ſpeech, farre from inſolence, Maſter of his owne affections, and furniſhed with all qualities that might win and keepe loue. To theſe Graces were added great abilitie of bodie, much Eloquence, & very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philoſophy and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, reſted not in the ſweetneſſe of Contemplation, but brake forth into ſuch effects as gaue vnto *Thebes*, which had euer-more been an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adioyning, and the higheſt command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battaile of Mantinæa. The voiage of Ageſilaus *into Ægypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the compariſon made betweene him and* Pompey *the Roman.*

THis battaile of *Mantinæa* was the greateſt that had euer beene fought in that Countrie betweene the Naturals; and the laſt. For at *Marathon*, and *Platæa*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the *Græcian* valour; neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie, ſo perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponneſian* Warre, as long continuance and daily exerciſe had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, thoſe excepted which were vndertaken againſt forraine enemies, prouing for the moſt part vnfortunate. But in this laſt fight all *Greece* was intereſſed, which neuer had more able Souldiers, and braue Commanders, nor euer contended for victory with greater care of the ſucceſſe, or more obſtinate reſolution. All which notwithſtanding the iſſue being ſuch as hath beene related, it was found beſt for euery particular Eſtate, that a generall peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, euery one retaining what he preſently had, and none being forced to depend vpon another, The *Meſſenians* were by name compriſed in this new league; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their ſtanding out hindred not the reſt from proceeding to concluſion; conſidering that *Sparta* was now too weake to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to ſhew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it ſelfe in execution. This peace, as it gaue ſome breath and refreſhing to all the Country, ſo to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leiſure to ſeeke after wealth by forraine emploiment in *Ægypt*, whither *Ageſilaus* was ſent with ſome ſmall forces to aſſiſt, or indeede, as a Mercenarie, to ſerue vnder *Tachos* King of *Ægypt* in his warre vpon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded vnder *Acoris* King of *Ægypt*, went now as a voluntary, with ſuch forces as he could raiſe, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the ſame ſeruice. Theſe *Ægyptian* Kings deſcended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled againſt *Darius Nothus*, hauing retained the Countrie, notwithſtanding all inteſtine diſſenſions, and forraine inuaſions, during three Generations of their owne race, were ſo well acquainted with the valour of the *Greekes*, that by their helpe (eaſily procured with gold) they conceiued great hope, not onely to aſſure themſelues, but to become Lords of the Prouinces adioyning, which were held by the *Perſian*. What the iſſue of this great enterpriſe might haue beene, had it not fallen by Domeſticall rebellion, it is vncertaine. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it ſelfe had ſoone come to nothing, if *Ageſilaus* had not proued a falſe Traitor, ioyning with *Nectanebus*, who roſe againſt his Prince, and helping the Rebell with that Armie which the money of *Tachos* had waged. This falſhood *Ageſilaus* excuſed, as tending to the good of his owne Countrie; though it ſeeme rather, that he grudged becauſe the King tooke vpon himſelfe the Conduct of the Armie, vſing his ſeruice onely as Lieutenant, who had made full accompt of being appointed the Generall. Howſoeuer it came to paſſe, *Tachos* being ſhamefully betraied by them, in whom he had repoſed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the *Perſian*, who vpon his ſubmiſſion gaue him gentle entertainement; and *Nectanebus* (who ſeemes to haue beene the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his ſtead. At the ſame time the Citizens of *Mendes* had ſet vp another King, to whom all, or moſt of the *Ægyptians* yeelded their obedience. But *Ageſilaus* fighting with him in places of aduantage, preuailed ſo farre, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdome; who in recompence of his treaſon to the former King *Tachos*, and good ſeruice done to himſelfe, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of ſiluer, with which bootie ſailed homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in Warre, free from couetouſneſſe, and not reproached with any blemiſh of luſt; which praiſes are the leſſe admirable in him, for that the diſcipline of *Sparta* was ſuch as did endue euery one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent ſtreame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of theſe good qualities. He was neuertheleſſe very arrogant, peruerſe, vniuſt and vaine-glorious, meaſuring all things by his owne will, and obſtinately proſecuting thoſe courſes, whoſe ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Perſia* ſhould be ouerthrowne; with which conceit being tranſported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* and their Allies, he did euer after beare ſuch hatred vnto *Thebes*, as compelled that Eſtate by meere neceſſity to grow war-like, and able, to the vtter diſhonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable loſſe of all her former greatneſſe. The commendations giuen to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, haue cauſed *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance againſt *Pompey* the Great; whoſe actions (the ſolemne grauity of carriage excepted) are very diſproportionable. Yet we may truely ſay, That as *Pompey* made great warres vnder ſundry Climates, and in all the Prouinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imployments all that were before him; ſo *Ageſilaus* had at one time or other, ſome quarrell with euery Towne in *Greece*, had made a Warre in *Aſia*, and medled in the buſineſſe of the *Ægyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predeceſſours: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* neuer tooke. Herein alſo they are very like: Each of them was the laſt great Captaine which his Nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his Countrey by his owne Lordly wilfulneſſe. We may therefore well ſay, *Similia magis omnia quàm paria*; *The reſemblance was neerer then the equality*. Indeed the freedome of *Rome* was loſt with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæſar*, whom he had enforced to take Armes; yet the *Roman* Empire ſtood, the forme of Gouernement onely being changed: But the liberty of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it ſelfe, was not forfaited vnto the *Thebans*, whom *Ageſilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renowne of *Sparta* was preſently loſt; and the freedome of all *Greece* being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much bloud loſt, ill healed by the peace enſuing, did very ſoone, vpon the death of *Ageſilaus*, giue vp the Ghoſt, and the Lordſhip of the whole Country was ſeized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whoſe actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporarie paſſages of things, in any other Nation.

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Finis Libris Tertii.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM THE reigne of PHILIP of MACEDDN, to the *eſtabliſhing of that Kingdome, in the race of* ANTIGONVS.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip *the Father of* Alexander *the Great, King of Macedon.*

§. I.

What Kings reigned in Macedon before Philip.

THe *Greekes*, of whom we haue already made large diſcourſe, not as yet wearied with inteſtine Warre, nor made wiſe by their vaine contention for ſuperiority, doe ſtill as in former times, continue the inuaſion and vaſtation of each other.

Againſt *Xerxes*, the greateſt Monarch of that part of the World, their defended their libertie, with as happy ſucceſſe as euer Nation had, and with no leſſe honour, than hath euer been acquired by deeds of Armes. And hauing had a tryall and experience, more then fortunate, againſt thoſe Nations, they ſo little regarded what might come frō them, who had ſo often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatſoeuer could be ſpared from their owne diſtraction at home, they tranſported ouer the *Helleſpont*, as ſufficient, to entertaine and buſie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with euery man of mark in the world, that they vnderfall, and periſh, by the hands and harmes which they leaſt feare; ſo fared it at this time with the *Greekes*. For of *Philip* of *Macedon* (of whom we are now to ſpeake) they had ſo little regard, as they grew euen then more violent in deuouring each other, when the faſt-growing greatneſſe of ſuch a Neighbour-King, ſhould, in regard of their owne ſafeties, haue ſerued them for a ſtrong argument of vnion and accord. But the glory of their *Perſian* victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themſelues, and the rather to value at little the power and purpoſes of the *Macedonians*, becauſe thoſe Kings and States, which ſate neerer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the Father of *Philip*, ſo much weakened them, and wonne vpon them, that they were not (as the *Græcians* perſwaded themſelues) in any one age, likely to recouer their owne, much leſſe to worke any wonders againſt their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philoſophie to conſider, That all great alterations are ſtormelike, ſuddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decayed and broken banks, when great Riuers are once ſwollen, faſt-running, and inraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather imploy themſelues, in breaking downe thoſe defences, which ſtood betweene them and this inundation, than ſeeke to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Leuell of reaſon they might haue found to haue lien vnder it. It was therefore well concluded by *Oroſius*: *Græciæ Ciuitates imperare ſingulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt*; *The Cities of Greece loſt their commaund, by ſtriuing each of them to command all.*

Oroſ. li. 3. c. 12.

The Kingdome of *Macedon*, ſo called of *Macedon*, the ſonne of *Oſiris*, or, as other Authors affirme, of *Iupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the Eaſt, the *Ægean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-weſt, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-weſt, by *Theſſalie* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by nation *Argiues*; who are liſted as followeth. About ſome ſixe yeares after the tranſlation of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, *Arbaces* then gouerning *Media*; *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle, to leade a Colonie into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Country, the weather being raynie and tempeſtuous, he eſpied a great heard of Goats, which fled the ſtorme as faſt as they could, haſting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to minde, that he had alſo by another Oracle beene directed, to follow the firſt troupe of beaſts, that ſhould eyther leade him, or flie before him; He purſued theſe Goates to the Gates of *Edeſſa*, and being vndiſcouered by the Inhabitants, by reaſon of the darkeneſſe of the aire, he entred their Citie without reſiſtance, and poſſeſt it. Soone after this, by the ouerthrow of *Ciſſeus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the reſt of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twentie yeeres. *Cænus* ſucceeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelue yeeres. *Tyrimas* followed *Cænus*, and ruled eight and twentie yeeres.

Paul. Dion. Chuſ. Theop. Antioſ. 6.

Euſeb. in Chro.

Perdiccas the firſt, the ſonne of *Tyrimas*, gouerned one and fiftie yeeres: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solinus*, *Plinie*, *Iuſtine*, *Euſebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochenus*, and others affirme, that he appoynted a place of buriall for himſelfe, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Succeſſours, at *Ægæ*: aſſuring them, that the Kingdome ſhould ſo long continue in his line and race, as they continued to lay vp their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is ſaid, that becauſe *Alexander* the great failed, therefore the poſteritie of the *Temenidæ* failed in him: a thing rather deuiſed after the effect, as I conceiue, then fore-told by *Perdiccas*.

Sol. c. 14. Pli. li. 4. c. 10.

Argæus ſucceeded vnto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twentie yeeres.

Euſeb. in Chro.

Philip the firſt, his ſucceſſour, reigned eight and twentie yeeres.

Europus followed *Philip*, and gouerned ſix and twentie yeeres: in whoſe infancie the *Illyrians* inuaded *Macedon*, and hauing obtained a great victorie, they purſued the ſame to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and reſoluing either to recouer their former loſſe, or to loſe at once both their Kingdome and their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their nation could not be beaten (their King being preſent;) or rather they perſwaded themſelues that there was no man ſo void of honour and compaſſion, as to abandon their naturall Lord, being an infant, and no way (but by the hands of his ſeruants) able to defend himſelfe from deſtruction. The like is reported by *Aimonius* of *Clotarius* the ſonne of *Fredegunda*.

Euſeb. Iuſtin. Amman. The. Ant. &c. Aimon. l. 3. c. 81.

Alcetas ſucceeded *Æropus*, and ruled nine and twentie yeeres.

Amyntas the firſt ſucceeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fiftie yeeres; He liued at ſuch time as *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, after his vnproſperous returne out of *Scythia*, ſent *Megabazus* with an Armie into *Europe*, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yeelding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Embaſſadours, as you haue heard before, were, for their inſolent behauiour towards the *Macedonian* Ladies, ſlaine by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the ſonne of *Amyntas*, and his Succeſſour.

Her. Euſ. Iuſt. &c.

Alexander, ſurnamed the Rich, the ſonne of *Amyntas*, gouerned *Macedon* three and fortie yeeres. He did not onely appeaſe the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the ſlaughter of the *Perſian* Embaſſadours, by giuing *Gygæa* his Siſter, to *Bubares* of the bloud of *Perſia*, but by that match hee grew ſo great in *Xerxes* grace, as hee obtained all that Region betweene the Mountaines of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be vnited to the Kingdome of *Macedon*. Yet could not theſe benefits buy his affection from the *Greekes*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Aſia*, and *Mardonius* made Generall of the *Perſian* Armie; *Alexander* acquainted the *Greeks* with all his intents and purpoſes againſt them. He had three ſonnes, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

Her. lib. 8. Plut. Euſeb. Iuſt. &c.

Perdiccas the ſecond, the ſonne of *Alexander*, liued in the time of the *Peloponneſian* Warre, and raigned in all eight and twentie yeeres. The Warres which he made were not much remarkeable: the Storie of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his firſt ſix bookes. He left behind him two ſonnes; *Perdiccas*, who was very yong, and *Archelaus*, who was baſe borne.

Perdiccas the third, being deliuered to the cuſtody and care of *Archelaus*, was at ſeuen yeeres of age caſt into a Well and drowned by his falſe Guardian: who excuſing this fact to *Cleopatra* the mother of the young King, ſaid, That the child in following a Gooſe haſtily, fell thereinto by miſaduenture. But *Archelaus* ſtayed not here: for hauing thus diſpatched his brother, he ſlew both his Vncle *Alcetas* the ſonne of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the ſonne of this *Alcetas*, his Coſen Germaine, & enioyed the Kingdome of *Macedon* himſelfe foure and twentie yeeres.

Plut. in Gorg. Ariſt. in Pol. 5.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* make mention, though he made himſelfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is ſaid, That he ſought by all meanes to draw *Socrates* vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honored *Eurypides* the *Tragedian*. He had two ſons, *Archelaus* and *Oreſtes*.

Archelaus the ſecond ſucceeded his Father, and hauing raigned ſeuen yeeres, hee was ſlaine in hunting, either by chance, or of purpoſe by *Cratæus*.

Oreſtes his younger ſonne was committed to the education of *Æropus*, of the royall bloud of *Macedon*, and had the ſame meaſure which *Archelaus* had meaſured to his Pupill; for *Æropus* murdered him and vſurped the Kingdome, which hee held ſome ſixe yeeres: the ſame who denied paſſage to *Ageſilaus* King of *Sparta*, who deſired after his returne from the *Aſian* expedition, to paſſe by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

Diod. Polyan. Plut. in Demet.

This Vſurper left three ſonnes, *Pauſanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pauſanias* ſucceeded his father *Æropus*, and hauing raigned one yeere, hee was driuen out by *Amyntas* the ſon of *Philip*, the ſon of the firſt *Perdiccas*, the ſon of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preſerued, when *Archelaus* the Baſtard ſlew his brother *Perdiccas*, his Vncle *Alcetas*, and his ſonne *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* raigned (though very vnquietly) foure and twentie yeeres; for he was not only infeſted by *Pauſanias*, aſſiſted by the *Thracians*, and by his brother *Argæus*; incouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the ſaid *Argæus*, for two yeeres diſpoſſeſt of *Macedon*: but on the other ſide, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbors neare the *Ægæan* Sea, made themſelues for a while Maſters of *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the ſecond had by his Wife *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three Sonnes; *Alexander* the ſecond, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the ſecond, Father of *Alexander* the Great; and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*: Hee had alſo by his ſecond Wife *Gygæa*, three Sonnes; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward ſlaine by their brother *Philip*: He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomie*, ſurnamed *Alorites*, of the Citie *Alorus*, wherein he was borne.

Alexander the ſecond raigned not much aboue one yeere, in which time he was inuaded by *Pauſanias*, the ſonne of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while hee was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was alſo conſtrained (for the payment of a great ſumme of mony) to leaue his yongeſt brother *Philip* in Hoſtage with the *Illyrians*, who had ſubiected his father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander*, being inuited by the *Aleuadæ* againſt *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Theſſaly*, hauing redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the *Thebans* to his aſſiſtance, entred into confederacie with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the ſame Countrey, with whom hee alſo left *Philip* with diuers other principall perſons for the gage of his promiſes to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his mother falling in loue with her Sonne-in-law, who had married her

Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practized the death of *Alexander* her ſonne, with a purpoſe to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which *Ptolomy Alorites* did put in execution: by meanes whereof hee held *Macedon* for three yeeres, but was ſoone after ſlaine by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore* hath it otherwiſe of *Philip* being made pledge; and ſayth, That *Amyntas* his Father deliuered him for hoſtage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conueyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his father was yet liuing) was firſt ingaged to the *Thebans*, and deliuered for hoſtage a ſecond time by *Alexander* his brother.

Diod.li.15. & 16.

Perdiccas the third, after hee had ſlaine *Alorites* his baſe brother, gouerned *Macedon* fiue yeeres, and was then ſlaine in a battaile againſt the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Iuſtine* affirmeth, that he periſhed by the practice of *Eurydice* his mother, as *Alexander* did.

Iuſt.li.7.

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§. II.

The beginning of Philips *reigne; and how he deliuered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.*

PHilip the ſecond, the yongeſt ſonne of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, hauing beene inſtructed in all knowledge requiſite vnto the gouernment of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which he had vnder *Epaminondas*, making an eſcape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the firſt yeere of the hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourſcore and thirteene yeeres: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was enuironed, hee tooke on him, not as King (for *Perdiccas* left a ſonne, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Warre. Yet his fruitfull ambition ſoone ouer-grew his modeſtie, and hee was eaſily perſwaded by the people to accept both the Title of King, and withall, the abſolute Rule of the Kingdome. And to ſay the truth, The neceſſitie of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and actiue. For, beſides the incurſions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did ſet vp in oppoſition *Pauſanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*; ſonnes of the late Vſurper *Æropus*: each of theſe labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their owne Election. Theſe heauie burdens when *Philip* could not well beare, hee bought off the weightieſt by money, and by faire promiſes vnloded himſelfe of ſo many of the reſt, as hee ranne vnder the remainder happily enough. For, notwithſtanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with foure thouſand *Macedonians*, beſide theſe that were wounded and taken priſoners; and that the *Pannonians* were deſtroying all before them in *Macedon*; and that the *Athenians* with a fleete by Sea, and three thouſand Souldiers by Land vnder *Mantias*, did beate vpon him on all ſides and quarters of his Country: Yet after he had practiſed the men of warre of *Pannonia*; and corrupted them with gifts; and had alſo bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pauſanias*, hee forthwith made head againſt the *Athenians* his ſtiffeſt enemies; and, for the firſt, he preuented their recouerie of *Amphipolis*, a Citie on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then purſue *Argæus* the ſonne of *Æropus*, ſet againſt him by the *Athenians*, and followed him ſo hard at the heeles, in his retrait from *Æges*, that hee forced him to abide the battaile: which *Argæus* loſt, hauing the greateſt part of his Army ſlaine in the place. Thoſe of the *Athenians*, and others which remayned vnbroken, tooke the aduantage of a ſtrong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet auoyding thereby the preſent furie of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquiſhers life and libertie to returne into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded betweene him and the *Athenians* for that preſent, and for this clemencie hee was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greekes*.

Diod.li.16.

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§. III.

The good ſucceſſe which Philip *had in many enterpriſes.*

NOw had *Philip* leiſure to looke Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pæonians*, his irreconciliable enemies and borderers: both which he inuaded with ſo proſperous ſucceſſe,as he ſlew *Bardillis*, King of the *Illyrians*, with ſeuen thouſand of his Nation,and thereby recouered all thoſe places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*: and withall,vpon the death of the King of *Pannonia*,he pierſt that Countrey, and after a maine victory obtained,he enforſt them to pay him tribute. This was no ſooner done, than(without ſtaying to take longer breath)he haſted ſpeedily towards *Lariſſa*,vpon the Riuer *Peneus* in *Theſſalie*,of which Towne he ſoone made himſelfe maſter; and thereby he got good footing in that Country,whereof he made vſe in time following. Now although he reſolued either to ſubdue the *Theſſalians*, or to make them his owne againſt all others, becauſe the horſe-men of that Countrey were the beſt, and moſt feared in that part of *Europe*; yet hee thought it moſt for his ſafety to cloſe vp the entrances out of *Thrace*,leaſt while he inuaded *Theſſalie* and *Greece* towards the South, thoſe ample Nations,lying towards the North, ſhould either withdraw him,or ouer-runne *Macedon*, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, ſeated on the famous Riuer of *Strimon*,which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*,and wonne it. He alſo recouered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenides* (ſometime *Datus*,) and called it after his name *Philippi*: to the people whereof Saint *Paul* afterward directed one of his *Epiſtles*. This place, wherein *Philippi* ſtood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which,greatly to the aduancement of *Philips* affaires,he drew yeerely a thouſand talents, which make ſixe hundred thouſand *French* Crownes.

And that he might with the more eaſe diſburden the *Thracian*-ſhores of the *Athenian* Garriſons,to which he had giuen a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies the *Olynthians*; whom the better to faſten vnto him,he gaue them the Citie of *Pydna* with the Territory, meaning nothing leſſe than that they ſhould enioy it,or their owne Eſtate,many yeeres.

Now that he might by degrees winne ground vpon the *Greekes*, he tooke the faire occaſion to deliuer the City of *Pheres* in *Theſſalie*, from the tyrants *Lycophron* and *Tiſiphonus*: who,after they had conſpired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who vſurped vpon the liberty of that State,they themſelues (*Alexander* being murdered) held it alſo by the ſame ſtrong hand and oppreſſion that *Alexander* did, till by the aſſiſtance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* reſtored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for-euer after faſten the *Theſſalians* vnto him, and, to his exceeding great aduantage, binde them to his ſeruice.

§. IIII.

Of the Phocian Warre which firſt drew Philip *into Greece.*

ABout this time, to wit, in the ſecond yeere of the hundred and ſixth *Olympiad*, eight yeeres after the battaile of *Mantinæa*, and about the eighth yeere of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, beganne that Warre, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occaſions concurre towards the execution of eternall prouidence, and of euery great alteration in the World there is ſome preceding preparation, though not at the firſt eaſily diſcerned; ſo did this reuengefull hatred by the *Thebans*,*Theſſalians*, and *Locrians*, conceiued againſt the *Phocians*, not onely teach *Philip* how he might with halfe a hand wreſt the ſword out of their fingers; but the *Greekes* themſelues,beating downe their owne defences,to giue him an eaſie paſſage;and beating themſelues,to giue him victory without perill,left nothing vnperformed towards their owne ſlauery, ſauing the title and impoſition. Of this Warre the *Thebans* (made ouer-proude by their victory at *Leuctres*) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the generall Eſtates of *Greece*, in which, at that time, they ſwayed moſt, they cauſed both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Phocians* to bee condemned in greater ſummes of money than they could well beare; the one for ſurprizing the Caſtle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing vp a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being reſolued not to obey this Edict, were ſecretly ſet on and incouraged by the *Lacedæmonians*: and for refuſall were expoſed as *Sacrilegers*, and accurſed to all their Neighbour-Nations,for whom it was then lawfull to inuade, and deſtroy them at their pleaſures.

The *Phocians* perſwaded thereunto by *Philomelus*,a Captaine of their owne, caſt the ſame dice of hazzard that *Cæſar* after many Ages following did; but had not the ſame chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an vngracious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of compoſition, they reſolued to ſacke the Temple it ſelfe. For ſeeing that for the ploughing of a piece of *Apollo's* ground, they had ſo much offended their Neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worſe could not befall them than alreadie was intended; they reſolued to take the gold with the ground, and either to periſh for all, or to preuaile againſt all that had commiſſion to call them to account. The treaſure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, was tenne thouſand talents, which in thoſe dayes ſerued them to wage a great many men; and ſuch was their ſucceſſe in the beginning of the warre, as they wonne three great battailes againſt the *Thebans*, *Theſſalians*, and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* caſt himſelfe head-long ouer the Rockes.

In the meane while the Cities of *Cherſoneſus*, both to defend themſelues againſt their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroched vpon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themſelues to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands; and at the ſiege of *Methone* loſt one of his eyes. It is ſaid, That hee that ſhot him, did purpoſely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the ſhaft thereof: *Aſter Philippo*; *Aſter to Philip*; for ſo hee was called that gaue him the wound. This Citie he euened with the ſoile.

Plut. Vlpian. Strab. l. 8.

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was buſied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Theſſalians* ingaged in the holy warre, entred *Theſſalie* with new forces, being aſſiſted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Armie, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped ſo to entertaine the *Theſſalians* at home, as they ſhould not find leiſure to inuade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the ſecond time called into *Theſſalie*; but both the *Theſſalians*, and *Macedonians*, (*Philip* being preſent) were vtterly ouerthrowne by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both Nations loſt. From *Theſſalie*, *Onomarchus* drew ſpeedily towards *Bœotia*, and with the ſame victorious Armie brake the forces of the *Bœotians*, and tooke from them their Citie of *Coronea*. But *Philip* impatient of his late miſaduenture, after hee had re-enforced his Armie, returned with all ſpeed into *Theſſalie*, there to find againe the honour which hee lately loſt: and was the ſecond time encountred by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twentie thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe. All this great preparation ſufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* ſurmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armie ouerturned, ſixe thouſand ſlaine, and three thouſand taken: of which number himſelfe being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Thoſe that fled, were in part receiued by the *Athenian* Gallies, which ſailed alongſt the coaſt, commanded by *Chares*; but the greateſt number of thoſe that tooke the Sea, were therein deuoured ere they recouered them. *Lycophron* was now againe driuen out of *Theſſalie*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

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§. V.

Of the Olynthian Warre. The ambitious practiſes of Philip.

FRom hence *Philip* reſolued to inuade *Phocis* it ſelfe, but the Athenians did not fauour his enterance into thoſe parts, and therefore with the helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*, they retrencht his paſſage at the Streits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Townes, he quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very ſtrong, and had euermore both braued and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is ſaid, that *Philip* hauing put to death *Archelaus* his halfe brother (for *Amyntas* had three ſonnes by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other ſonnes by *Gygæa*: but *Philips* elder brothers by the ſame Mother being dead, he determined to rid himſelfe alſo of the reſt) the two yonger held themſelues within *Olynthus*; and that the receiuing of them by the *Olynthians* was the cauſe of the war, *Iuſtine* affirmeth. But iuſt quarrels are ballanced by iuſt Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might ſerue his turne; all his affections, & paſſions, how diuers ſoeuer in other men, were in his ambition ſwallowed vp, and thereinto conuerted.

Iuſt. l. 8.

For he neither forbare the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie; he eſteemed no place ſtrong where his Aſſe loaden with gold might enter: Nor any Citie or State vnconquerable, where a few of the greateſt, to be made greater, could loſe the ſenſe of other mens ſorrow and ſubiection. And becauſe he thought it vaine to practiſe the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had incloſed all the power they had within their owne walls, he entred their Territorie, and by the aduantage of a well-compounded and trained Armie, he gaue them two ouerthrowes ere he ſate downe before the Citie it ſelfe: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Laſthenes* from their people, and from the ſeruice of their Countrie and Common-weale, by whoſe treaſon he entred the Towne, ſlew his brothers therein, ſackt it, and ſold the inhabitans for ſlaues by the drum. By the ſpoile of this place he greatly enriched himſelfe, and had treaſure ſufficient to buy in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For ſo was hee aduiſed by the Oracle in the beginning of his vndertaking, *That he ſhould make his aſſaults with ſiluer ſpeares:* Whereupon *Horace* well and truely ſaid,

Hor.carm. Od.16.

——— Diffidit Vrbium
Portas vir Macedo, & ſubruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.———

By gifts the *Macedon* claue gates aſunder,
And Kings enuying his eſtate brought vnder.

And it is true that he wonne more by corruption and frande, then he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of *Greece* his ſecret workers (which way of Conqueſt was well followed by *Philip* the ſecond of *Spaine*:) So when in the contention betweene the Competitors, for the kingdome of *Thrace*, he was choſen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Counſell accompanied with Pietie and Iuſtice, but with a powerfull Armie, and hauing beaten and ſlaine both Kings, gaue ſentence for himſelfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

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§. VI.

How Philip ended the Phocian Warre.

THe warre ſtill continued betweene the *Phocians*, and the Aſſociates of the holy warre, the *Bæotians*, finding themſelues vnable to ſubſiſt without ſome preſent aide, ſent vnto *Philip* for ſuccour, who willingly yeelded to their neceſſities, and ſent them ſuch a proportion of men, as were neither ſufficient to maſter their enemies, nor to aſſure themſelues; but yet to inable them to continue the warre, and to waſte the ſtrength of *Greece*. They alſo ſent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for ſupply of treaſure, who lent them thirtie talents, which makes a hundred & fourescore thouſand Crownes: but when with theſe ſupplies they had ſtill the worſt againſt the *Phocians*, who held from them three of the ſtrongeſt Cities within *Bæotia* it ſelfe, they then beſought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would aſſiſt them in perſon, to whom they would giue an enterance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandements in Warre.

Now had Philip what he longed for; for he knew himſelfe in ſtate to giue the law to both, and ſo quitting all his other purpoſes towards the North, he marched with a ſpeedie pace towards *Bæotia*, where being arriued, *Phallechus* who commanded the *Phocian* Armie, fearing to ſhock with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and withdrew himſelfe with a Regiment of eight thouſand Souldiers into *Peloponneſus*, leauing the *Phocians* to the mercy of the Conquerour; and for concluſion he had the glorie of that warre called *Sacred*, which the *Græcians* with ſo many mutuall ſlaughters had continued for ten yeeres; and, beſides the glorie, he poſſeſt himſelfe of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corſia*, in the Country of the *Bæotians*, who inuited him to be victorious ouer themſelues. He brought the *Phocians* into ſeruitude, & waſted their Cities, and gaue them but their Villages to inhabite, reſeruing vnto himſelfe the yerely tribute of threeſcore talents, which make ſixe and thirtie thouſand *French* Crownes. He alſo hereby (beſides the fame of pietie for ſeruice of the Gods) obtained the ſame double voice in the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*,

phyctiones which the *Phocians* had, with the ſuperintendencie of the *Pythian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* ſacriledge.

§. VII.

How Philip with ill ſucceſſe attempted vpon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

PHilip, after his triumphant returne into *Macedon*, by the Lieutenant of his Armie *Parmenio*, ſlaughtered many thouſands of the *Illyrians* and *Dardanians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their reuenues. But his next enterpriſe againſt the *Perinthians* ſtaied his fury. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, ſeated vpon *Propontis*, in the mid-way betweene *Seſtos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great ſtrength, and a people reſolued to defend their libertie againſt *Philip*, where the *Athenians* incouraged and aſſiſted them. *Philip* ſate downe before it with a puiſſant Armie, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious aſſaults, built many ouer topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repell'd with equall violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continuall aſſaults to wearie them, and waſte both their men and munition, they were ſupplied, not only from the *Perſian* with men and money, and ſuccoured from *Byzantium* which ſtood vpon the ſame Sea-coſt, but they were relieued from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatſoeuer was wanting to their neceſſitie. But becauſe thoſe of *Byzantium*, by reaſon of their neighbourhood, and eaſie paſſage by water, gaue them often and ready helpe; *Philip* remoued the one halfe of his Armie and beſieged it, leauing fifteene thouſand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could; But to be ſhort, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that vndertake diuers enterpriſes at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no leſſe diſhonour than loſſe: whereupon he made an Ouerture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly deſired it, to which though *Phocion* perſwaded them in all he could, and that by the occaſion offered they might greatly aduantage their conditions; Yet *Demoſthenes* with his eloquence preuailed in the refuſall. In the meane while, *Philip* hauing digeſted his late affront, and ſupplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred and threeſcore and ten Merchants ſhips, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his ſonne *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*; but he was alſo vnproſperous in this enterpriſe: For the *Triballi*, a people of *Mœſia* ſet on him in his returne, wounded him, and tooke from him the greateſt part of the ſpoiles, which he had gathered.

§. VIII

How Philip ouerthrowing the Greekes in the battaile of Chæronæa, was choſen Captaine-Generall of Greece. The death of Philip.

AMong theſe Northren Nations (part of which he ſuppreſt, and part quieted) he ſpent ſome eight yeeres; and in the ninth yeere, after the end of the holy warre, he was by his great aduantage inuited againe by the *Græcians* to their aſſiſtance. For the Citizens of *Amphiſſa* hauing diſobeyed the decree of the *Amphyctiones*, in which *Philp* had a double voice, and who by reaſon that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gaue countenance and aide to the *Amphiſſenians*, the reſt were not of themſelues able to conſtraine them, they beſought *Philip* to come in perſon to their aſſiſtance. Now you muſt thinke that *Philip* was not long in reſoluing vpon this enterpriſe; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe backe; nor other diſſwaſion than a maſtring power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march; the ſame being compounded of thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, wanne *Platæa*, and brought into ſubiection all that Region.

The reſt, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, although they had good cauſe to feare that a great part of this ſtorme would fall on themſelues, yet were they diſſwaded by *Demoſthenes* from accepting ſuch reaſonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choiſe (hauing drawne the *Thebans* to ioyne with them) to leaue the enioying of their eſtates and their freedome to the chance of one battaile, than to hold it either by compoſition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence coſt them deare. It is true that he could farre more eaſily minde them of the vertue of their Anceſtors, than make them ſuch as they were. He might repeat vnto them (with words moouing paſſion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transforme the *Macedonians* into *Perſians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Ariſtides*, a *Themiſtocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of thoſe famous Commanders, whoſe great vertues they had payed with the greateſt ingratitude that euer Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the ſtrength of a contrary faction he was at this time in diſgrace, and not imployed: inſomuch as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incountred, although ſome thouſand of the *Athenians* did abide the killing, and the like number well-neere of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of the worthie men on that ſide to holde vp the reſt, and to draw them on, and the many choiſe Captains of the *Macedonians*, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gaue to *Philip* ſo ſhining a victorie that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in deſpight of all the Nations interiacent) into *Perſia*, *India*, and *Ægypt*; ſo it cut to the ground, and gaue ende and date to all the *Græcian* glory: Yea their libertie (ſaith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion wonne with ſo many difficulties, continued for ſo many Ages, and ſo often defended againſt the greateſt Kings, was now loſt in a moment, and for euer loſt.

Now this aduiſed King (neuer paſſionate to his diſaduantage) to the ende hee might obtaine the Soueraignetie ouer all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captaine-Generall againſt the *Perſians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let goe thoſe *Athenians* that were taken at this battaile of *Cheronæa*, as he alſo forbare to attempt any thing againſt their Citie: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed ouer the reſt) hee lodged a Garriſon of *Macedonians*. And being ſoone after (according vnto the long deſire which he had nouriſhed of this Soueraignetie) by the generall States at *Corinth*, ſtiled the firſt Commander of all the *Græcians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Armie of great ſtrength, and vnder the Commandement of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, tranſported the ſame ouer the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, to begin the warre. Of his enterpriſe againſt *Perſia*, hee ſought the ſucceſſe from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence he receiued ſuch another conuertible riddle, as *Crœſus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like ſort miſtaken in the expoſition.

But as it is hard to diſcerne and withſtand the flatteries of our owne appetites, ſo did *Philips* ambitious deſire to inuade *Perſia*, abuſe his iudgement, ſo farre, that the death, wherewith himſelfe was threatned, he vnderſtood to be deliuered of his enemie, whom he intended preſently to inuade. Before his purpoſed departure into *Aſia*, hee prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, to which feaſt and paſtimes thereat appointed, he inuited all his Friendes, and Alleis, with the principall perſons of the *Græcian* Cities, from whom he receiued much honour and many rich preſents; but this was indeed the feaſt of his Funerall. For hauing refuſed to doe iuſtice to one *Pauſanias* a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly fauoured by *Philip*) had firſt made drunke, and then left to be carnally abuſed by diuers baſe perſons; This *Pauſanias* grew into ſo great deteſtation of the Kings partiality in ſo foule a fact, as when *Philip* was paſſing towards the *Theater*, he drew a ſword from vnder his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had liued ſixe and fortie yeeres, and reigned fiue and twenty. *Iuſtine* reports it, that *Olympais* incouraged *Pauſanias* to murder the King her huſband, which after his death ſhe boldly auowed, by the honor ſhe did vnto *Pauſanias*, in crowning his dead body, in conſecrating his ſword vnto *Apollo*, by building for him a monument, and other like Graces.

Iuſt.l.9.

§. IX

What good foundations of Alexanders *greatneſſe were laid by* Philip. *Of his laudable qualities, and iſſue.*

NOw although he were then taken from the World, when he had maſtred all oppoſition on that ſide of the Sea, and had ſeene the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripeneſſe and perfection; yet hee was herein happy that he liued to ſee his ſonne *Alexander* at mans eſtate, and had himſelfe been an eye-witneſſe of his reſolution, and ſingular valour in this laſt battaile.

The foundation of whoſe future greatneſſe he had laid ſo ſoundly for him, with ſo plaine a patterne of the buildings which himſelfe meant to erect, as the performance and finiſhing was farre more eaſie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings vnto *Philip*, though leſſe famous. For beſides the recouery of *Macedon* it ſelfe, in competition betweene him and the ſonnes of *Æropus*, the one aſſiſted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*, and beſides the regaining of many places poſſeſt by the *Illyrians*, the cruſhing of all thoſe Northren Kings his Neighbours, the ouer-throw of *Olynthus*, a State that deſpiſed the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Citties taken, of great ſtrength and ancient freedome, and the ſubiection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for ſo many Ages had defended it ſelfe againſt the greateſt Kings of the World, and wonne vpon them; He left vnto his ſonne, and had bred vp for him, ſo many choiſe Commanders, as the moſt of them, both for their valour and iudgement in the Warre, were no leſſe worthy of Crownes, than himſelfe was that ware a Crowne: For it was ſaid of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, vngratefull to ſo great vertue, impiouſly murdered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternall fame, without the King, but the King, without *Parmenio* neuer did any thing worthy of renowne; as for the reſt of his Cptaines, though content to obey the Sonne of ſuch a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themſelues.

Of this Prince it is hard to iudge, whether his ambition had taught him the exerciſe of more vices, than Nature and his excellent Education had inriched him with vertues. For beſides that he was Valiant, Wiſe, Learned, and Maſter of his Affections, he had this ſauour of Piety, that he rather laboured to ſatisfie thoſe that were grieued, than to ſuppreſſe them. Whereof (among many other) we finde a good example in his dealing with *Arcadion*, and *Nicanor*; whom, when for their euill ſpeech of *Philip*, his familiars perſwaded him to put to death; He anſwered them, That firſt it ought to be conſidered, whether the fault were in them that gaue him ill language, or in himſelfe: Secondly, that it was in euery mans owne power to be well ſpoken off; and this was ſhortly prooued, for after *Philip* relieued their neceſſities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told thoſe that had perſwaded him to vſe violence, that he was a better Phiſition for euill ſpeech than they were.

His *Epiſtles* to *Alexander* his ſonne are remembred to *Cicero*, and *Gellius*; and by *Dion*: and *Chryſoſtome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyænus* and *Frontinus*, his wiſe ſayings by *Plutarch*; And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his owne right, all the time of his reigne, yet was he not the true and next Heire thereof: for *Amyntas* the ſonne of his brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his Daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a Daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philips* baſe ſonne *Aridæus*, her Vncle by the Mothers-ſide: both which *Olympias*, *Philips* firſt Wife, and mother to *Alexander the* Great, put to death; *Aridæus* by extreame torments: *Eurydice* ſhe ſtrangled.

Cic.Off.2.
Gell.l.9.c.3.
Dion.2.de Regge.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Moloſſians* (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Vncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her brother *Alexanders* death ſlaine at *Sardis*, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Audata*, an *Illyrian*, his ſecond Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is ſhewed before.

By *Nicaſipolis*, the Siſter of *Iaſon*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Theſſalonica*, whom *Caſſander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married, but ſhe was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him, *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, cauſed to be roſted to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder to *Alexander* himſelfe. By the ſame *Cleopatra* he had likewiſe a Daughter, called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* alſo murdered at the Mothers breſt.

Athen l.13. c.2. Iuſt.l.9.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no iſſue.

He had alſo two Concubines, *Arſinoe*, whom after he had gotten with childe, he married to an obſcure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomie*, King of *Ægypt*, called the ſonne of *Lagus*, but eſteemed the ſonne of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his ſecond Concubine, a publike Dancer, hee had *Aridæus*, of whom wee ſhall haue much occaſion to ſpeake hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of Alexander *the Great.*

§. I.

A briefe rehearſall of Alexanders *doings, before he inuaded Aſia.*

ALexander, afterward called the Great, ſucceeded vnto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no leſſe valiant by Nature, than by Education, well inſtructed, and inriched in all ſorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reigne ouer the *Macedonians* foure hundred and ſeuenteene yeeres after *Rome* built, and after his owne birth twenty yeares. The ſtrange dreames of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the gods in the ſhape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as fooliſh tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a worke the moſt magnificent of the World) was burnt vpon the day of his birth, and that ſo ſtrange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three ſeuerall victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkeable, and might with the reaſon of thoſe times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-ſhewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbor-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppreſt, began to conſult about the recouery of their former liberty, and to aduenture it by force of Armes. *Alexanders* yong-yeeres gaue them hope of preuailing, and his ſuſpected ſeuerity increaſed courage in thoſe, who could better reſolue to die, than to liue ſlauiſhly. But *Alexander* gaue no time to thoſe ſwelling humours, which might ſpeedily haue endangered the health of his Eſtate. For after reuenge taken vpon the Conſpirators againſt his Father, whom he ſlew vpon his Tombe; & the celebration of his Funerals, he firſt faſtened vnto him his owne Nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily ſlauery, other than their ſeruice in his Warres; and vſed ſuch kingly auſterity towards thoſe that contemned his young yeares, and ſuch clemency to the reſt that perſwaded themſelues of the cruelty of his diſpoſition, as all affections being paſſed at home, hee made a preſent iourney into *Peloponneſus*, and ſo well exerciſed his ſpirits among them, as by the Councell of the States of *Greece*, he was according to the great deſire of his heart, elected Captaine-Generall againſt the *Perſians*, vpon which warre *Philip* had not onely reſolued, (who had obtained the ſame title of Generall Commander) but had tranſported vnder the leading of *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recouer ſome places on *Aſia*-ſide, for the ſafe deſcent of the reſt.

This enterpriſe againſt the *Perſian* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; thoſe faire marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now ſhot at both ſleeping and waking: all other thoughts and imaginations were either grieuous or hatefull. But a contrary wind ariſeth; for he receiueth aduertiſement that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, had vnited themſelues againſt him, and, by aſſiſtance from the *Perſian*, hoped for the recouery of their former freedome. Hereto they were perſwaded by *Demoſthenes*, himſelfe being thereto perſwaded by the gold of *Perſia*; the deuice he vſed was more ſubtile then profitable, for hee cauſed it to be bruted that *Alexander* was ſlaine in a battaile againſt the *Triballes*, and brought into the aſſembly a Companion whom he had corrupted to affirme, That himſelfe was preſent and wounded in the battaile. There is indeed a certaine Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now a-daies defined by falſhood and knauery) that deuiſed rumors & lies, if they ſerue the turne, but for a day or two, are greatly auaileable. It is true that common people are ſometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by falſe alarums in the Wars; but in all that I haue obſerued, I haue found the ſucceſſe as ridiculous as the inuention. For as thoſe that find themſelues at one time abuſed by ſuch like brutes, doe at other times neglect their duties, when they are vpon true reports, and in occaſions perilous, ſummoned to aſſemble; ſo doe all men in generall condemne the Venters of ſuch trumperie, and for them, feare vpon neceſſary occaſions to entertaine the truth it ſelfe. This labour vnlooked for, and loſſe of time, was not onely very grieuous to *Alexander*, but by turning his ſword from the ignoble and effeminate *Perſians*, againſt which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Græcians*, of whoſe aſſiſtance he thought himſelfe aſſured, his preſent vndertaking was greatly diſordered. But he that cannot endure to ſtriue againſt the winde, ſhall hardly attaine the Port which he purpoſeth to recouer: and it no leſſe becommeth the worthieſt men to oppoſe misfortunes, than it doth the weakeſt children to bewaile them.

He therefore made ſuch expedition towards theſe Reuolters, as that himſelfe, with the Armie that followed him, brought them the firſt newes of his preparation. Hereupon all ſtagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the firſt that moued, ſo were they the firſt that fainted, ſeeking by their Embaſſadours to pacifie the King, and to be receiued againe into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in reſoluing; for the *Perſians* perſwaded him to pardon the *Græcians*. Wiſe men are not eaſily drawne from great purpoſes by ſuch occaſions as may eaſily be taken off, neither hath any King euer brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himſelfe in many enterpriſes at once, not tending to one and the ſame certaine end.

And hauing now quieted his borderers towards the South, he reſolued to aſſure thoſe Nations which lay on the North-ſide of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Tracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agrians*, and other ſaluage people, which had greatly vexed with incurſions, not onely other of his Predeceſſours, but euen *Philip* his Father: with all which, after diuers ouerthrowes giuen them, he made peace, or elſe brought them into ſubiection. Notwithſtanding this good ſucceſſe, he could not yet finde the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more naturall to man than liberty; the *Greekes* had enioyed it ouer-long, and loſt it too late to forget it; they therefore ſhake off the yoke once againe. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadell a Garriſon of a thouſand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* haſtneth to their ſuccour, and preſents himſelfe with thirty thouſand foot, all old Souldiers, & three thouſand horſe, before the Citie, & gaue the Inhabitants ſome daies to reſolue, being euen heart-ſicke with the deſire of paſſing into *Aſia*. So vnwilling, indeed, he was to draw bloud of the *Græcians*, by whom he hoped to ſerue himſelfe elſewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remiſſion, if they would onely deliuer into his hands *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the ſtirrers vp of the Rebellion. But they, oppoſing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all reſiſtance before it, like the breaking-in of the Ocean-Sea) in ſtead of ſuch an anſwere, as men beſieged and abandoned ſhould haue made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be deliuered vnto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of Fortune with the Kingdome of *Macedon*, and many other Prouinces, could either haue euened the ſcale or ſwaied it. Therefore in the end they periſhed in their obſtinacie. For while the *Thebans* oppoſe the Armie aſſailant, they are charged at the backe by the *Macedonian* Garriſon, their Citie taken and razed to the ground, ſixe thouſand ſlaine, and thirty thouſand ſold for ſlaues, at the price of foure hundred and fortie talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other *Græcian* Cities.

Many Arguments were vſed by *Cleadas* one of the priſoners, to perſwade *Alexander* to forbeare the deſtruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to beleeue that they were rather miſſe-led by giuing haſty credit to falſe reports, than any way malicious; for being perſwaded of *Alexanders* death, they rebelled but againſt his Succeſſour. He alſo beſought the King to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that Citie, yea that his Anceſtor *Hercules* was borne therein: but all perſwaſions were fruitleſſe; the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggrauate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and ſpared, and ſet at liberty *Timoclea*, the ſiſter of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the liberty of *Greece* againſt his Father *Philip*. This Noble-woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him rauiſhed, he threatned to take her life vnleſſe ſhe would confeſſe her treaſure: ſhe led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that ſhe had therein caſt it: and when the *Thracian* ſtooped to looke into the Well, ſhe ſuddenly thruſt him into the mouth thereof, and ſtoned him to death.

Now becauſe the *Athenians* had receiued into their City ſo many of the *Thebans*, as had eſcaped and fled vnto them for ſuccour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but vpon condition to deliuer into his hands both their Orators which perſwaded this ſecond reuolt, and their Captaines;yet in the end it being a torment vnto him to retard the enterpriſe of *Perſia*, he was content that the Orators ſhould remaine, and accepted of the baniſhment of the Captaines, wherein he was exceeding ill aduiſed, had not his fortune, or rather the prouidence of God, made all the reſiſtance againſt him vnprofitable: for theſe good Leaders of the *Græcians* betook themſelues to the ſeruice of the *Perſian*, whom after a few dayes he inuaded.

§. II.

How Alexander *paſsing into Aſia, fought with the Perſians vpon the Riuer of Granicus.*

WHen all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the truſt of *Antipater* both *Greece* & *Macedon*, in the firſt of the Spring did paſſe the *Helleſpont*, and being ready to diſ-imbarke, he threw a Dart towards the *Aſian* ſhore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waſte in their owne Territorie, or to burne, or defaee thoſe buildings which themſelues were preſently, and in the future to poſſeſſe. He landed his Armie, conſiſting of two and thirty thouſand foot, & fiue thouſand horſe, all old Souldiers, neere vnto *Troy*, where he offered a ſolemne ſacrifice vpon *Achilles* Tombe, his maternall Anceſtor.

But before he left his owne coaſt, he put to death, without any offence giuen him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinſmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly aduanced, not ſparing ſuch of his owne as the ſuſpected. He alſo tooke with him many of his tributarie Princes, of whoſe fidelity he doubted; thinking by vniuſt crueltie to aſſure all things, both in the preſent and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended vnto him, though agreeing very well with the iuſtice of God; for al that he had planted, was ſoone after withered, and rooted vp; thoſe, whom he moſt truſted, were the moſt traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by ſuch another mercileſſe ſword as his owne, and all manner of confuſion followed his dead body to the graue, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexanders* landing on *Aſia* ſide was brought to *Darius*, he ſo much ſcorned the Armie of *Macedon*, and had ſo contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himſelfe, as hauing ſtiled him his ſeruant on a letter which he wrote vnto him, reprehending his diſloyaltie and audacitie (for *Darius* intitled himſelfe King of Kings, and the Kinſman of the gods) he gaue order withall to his Lieutenants of the leſſer *Aſia*, that they ſhould take *Alexander* aliue, whip him with rods, and then conuay him to his preſence: that they ſhould ſinke his ſhips, and ſend the *Macedons* taken priſoners beyond the Red-Sea, belike into *Æthiopia*, or ſome other vnhealthfull part of *Affrica*.

In this ſort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartleſſe, multitude which he commanded, diſpoſe of the already-vanquiſhed *Macedonians*; But the ill deſtinies of men beare them to the ground, by what ſtrong confidence ſoeuer armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heape into the field, gaue rather an exceeding aduantage to his enemies, than any diſcouragement at all. For beſides that they were men vtterly vnacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to preuaile againſt thoſe of leſſe courage than themſelues, men that tooke more care how to embroder with gold and ſiluer their vpper garments, as if they attended the inuaſion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themſelues with yron and ſteele againſt the ſharpe pikes, ſwords and darts of the hardie *Macedonians*; I ſay, beſides all theſe, euen the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which euery one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled euery of them with the care of their owne ſafetie, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horſes, in running away. The *Macedonians* as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themſelues with the gold and iewels of *Perſia*, both which they needed; ſo the *Perſians*, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to conſtraine them in aſſembling themſelues for his ſeruice; but their owne feares and cowardice, which in time of danger had moſt power ouer them, they onely then obeyed, when their rebellion againſt ſo ſeruile a paſſion did iuſtly and violently require it. For ſaith *Vegetius*: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prælium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam ſciendum eſt in pugnâ vſum ampliùs prodeſſe quàm vires; As the well-practiſed Souldier deſires to come to battaile, ſo the raw one feares it: for we muſt vnderſtand, that in fight it more auailes to haue beene accuſtomed vnto the like, than onely to haue rude ſtrength.* What manner of men the *Perſians* were, *Alexander* diſcouered in the firſt encounter, before which time it is ſaid, by thoſe that writ his Storie, That it was hard to iudge, whether his daring to vndertake the conqueſt of an Empire ſo well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the ſucceſſe he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the Riuer of *Granick*, which ſeuereth the Territorie of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Perſians* ſought to ſtop his paſſage, taking the higher ground and banke of the Riuer to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime vp vnto, and ſcale from the Leuel of the water; Great reſiſtance (ſaith *Curtius*) was made by the *Perſians*, yet in the end *Alexander* preuailed. But it ſeemes to me, that the victory then gotten was exceeding eaſie, and that the twenty thouſand *Perſian* foot-men, ſaid to be ſlaine, were rather kil'd in the backe, in running away, than hurt in the boſomes by reſiſting. For had thoſe twenty thouſand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horſe-men, or after *Plutarch*, two thouſand and fiue hundred horſe-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not haue bought their liues at ſo ſmall a rate, as with the loſſe of foure and thirtie of all ſorts of his owne. And if it were alſo true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountred two of the *Perſian* Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rhœſaces*, and that the *Perſian* horſe-men fought with great furie, though in the end ſcattered; and laſtly, how thoſe *Græcians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themſelues in one body vpon a piece of ground of aduantage, did (after mercy was refuſed them) fight it out to the laſt; how doth it then reſemble truth, that ſuch reſiſtance hauing beene made, yet of *Alexanders* Armie there fell but twelue Foot-men, and two and twenty Horſe-men?

§. III.

A digreſſion concerning the defence of hard paſſages. Of things following the battaile of Granicke.

THe winning of this paſſage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought ſuch terrour vpon all thoſe of the leſſer *Aſia*, as he obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, ſome one or two Townes excepted. Fo in all inuaſions, where the Nations inuaded haue once beene beaten vpon a great aduantage of the place, as in defence of Riuers, Streights, and Mountaines; they will ſoone haue perſwaded themſelues, that ſuch an enemy vpon equall tearmes and euen ground, can hardly be reſiſted. It was therefore *Machiauels* counſell, that he which reſolueth to defend a paſſage, ſhould with his ableſt force oppoſe the Aſſailant. And to ſay truth, few Regions of any great circuit are ſo well fenced, that Armies of ſuch force as may be thought ſufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the wayes. One paſſage or other is commonly left vnguarded: if all be defended, then muſt the forces of the Country be diſtracted, and yet lightly, ſome one place will be found that is defended very weakely. How often haue the *Alpes* giuen way to Armies, breaking into *Italie*? Yea, where ſhall we finde that euer they kept out an inuadour? Yet are they ſuch, as (to ſpeake briefly) afflict with all difficulties thoſe that trauaile ouer them; but they giue no ſecurity to thoſe that lye behinde them: for they are of too large extent. The Townes of *Lombardie* perſwaded themſelues that they might enioy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had vndertaken to hinder *Francis* the *French* King from deſcending into the Duchie of *Milan*: but whileſt theſe Patrons of *Milan*, whom their owne dwelling in thoſe Mountaines had made fitteſt of all other for ſuch a ſeruice, were buſied in cuſtodie of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardie*, to ſo much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the leſſe they had expected his arriuall. What ſhall we ſay of thoſe Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in ſuch ſort, as they leaue but one gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and thoſe of *Thermopylæ*, haue ſeldome beene attempted, perhaps becauſe they were thought impregnable: but how ſeldome (if euer) haue they beene attempted in vaine? *Xerxes* and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of

Thermopylæ; *Cyrus* the yonger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how ſtrongly ſoeuer they had beene locked and barred, yet were thoſe Countries open enough to a fleet that ſhould enter on the backe-ſide. The defence of Riuers how hard a thing it is, we finde examples in all hiſtories that beare good witneſſe. The deepeſt haue many Foords; the ſwifteſt and broadeſt may be paſſed by Boates, in caſe it be found a matter of difficultie to make a bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath alſo enough to beate his enemie; and may therefore doe better to let him come ouer, to his loſſe, than by ſtriuing in vaine to hinder the paſſage, as a matter tending to his owne diſaduantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill caſe, hauing their meanes of ſafeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of ſuch as are too good for them. Certainely, if a Riuer were ſufficient defençe againſt an Armie, the Iſle of *Mona*, now called *Angleſey*, which is diuided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea, had beene ſafe enough againſt the *Romans*; inuading it vnder conduct of *Iulius Agricola*. But he wanting, & not meaning to ſpend the time in making veſſels to tranſport his forces, did aſſay the foords. Wherby he ſo amazed the enemies attending for ſhips and ſuch like prouiſion by Sea, that ſurely beleeuing nothing could be hard ot inuincible to men, which came ſo minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Iland. Yet the *Britaines* were men ſtout enough; the *Perſians* were very daſtards.

It was therefore wiſely done of *Alexander*, to paſſe the Riuer of *Granicke* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to ſeeke an eaſier way, nor labouring to conuey his men ouer it by ſome ſafer meanes. For hauing beaten them vpon their owne ground, he did thereby cut off no leſſe of their reputation, than of their ſtrength, leauing no hope of ſuccour to the partakers and followers of ſuch vnable Protectors.

Soone after this victory he recouered *Sardis*, *Epheſus*, the Cities of the *Trallians* and *Magneſia*, which were rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrie, he receiued with great grace, ſuffering them to be gouerned by their owne lawes. For he obſerued it well; *Nouum Imperium inchoantibus vtilis clementiæ fama*; *It is commodious vnto ſuch as lay the foundations of a new Soueraignty, to haue the fame of being mercifull.* He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, and by force maſtred *Halicarnaſſus*, which becauſe it reſiſted obſtinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queene, who had beene caſt out of all that ſhe held (except the Citie of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, preſented her ſelfe vnto him, and adopted him her ſonne and ſucceſſour; which *Alexander* accepted in ſo gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdome to her diſpoſing. He then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the Sea-coaſts, and ſubiecting vnto him *Piſidia*, he directed himſelfe towards *Darius* (who was ſaid to be aduanced towards him with a maruellous Armie) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Prouince of *Aſia* the leſſe, bordering vpon the Sea, his firſt victory layed vnder his feet.

While he gaue order for the gouernment and ſetling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they ſent *Cleander* to raiſe ſome new Captaines in *Peloponneſus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenas* ſeated on the Riuer *Mæander*, which was abandoned vnto him, the Caſtle onely holding out, which alſo after forty dayes was giuen vp: for ſo long time he gaue them to attend ſuccour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he paſt on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regall-ſeate, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to vndoe, he cut it a ſunder with his ſword. For there was an ancient prophecie did promiſe to him that could vntie it, the Lordſhip of all *Aſia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not reſpecting the manner how, ſo it were done, aſſumed to himſelfe the fulfilling of the propheſie, by hewing it in pieeces.

But before he turned from this part of *Aſia* the leſſe towards the eaſt, he tooke care to cleare the Sea-coaſt on his backe, and to thruſt the *Perſians* out of the Ilands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Coos*: the charge whereof he committed vnto two of his Captaines, giuing them ſuch order as he thought to be moſt conuenient for that ſeruice; and deliuering vnto them fiftie Talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his firſt ſpoyle gotten, he ſent threeſcore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he remoued to *Ancira*, now called *Anguori*, ſtanding on the ſame Riuer of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he muſtered his Armie, and then entred *Paphlagonia,* whoſe people ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, and obtained freedome of tribute: where he left *Catus* Gouernour with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arriued.

Here he vnderſtood of the death of *Memnon,Darius* Lieutenant, which hartned him greatly to paſſe on towards him; for of this onely Captaine he had more reſpect than of all the multitude by *Darius* aſſembled, and of all the Commanders he had beſides. For ſo much hath the ſpirit of ſome one man excelled, as it hath vndertaken and effected the alteration of the greateſt States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conqueſt of Kingdomes and Empires; guided handfuls of men againſt multitudes of equall bodily ſtrength, contriued victories beyond all hope and diſcourſe of reaſon, conuerted the fearefull paſſions of his owne followers into magnanimitie, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; ſuch ſpirits haue beene ſtirred vp in ſundry Ages of the world, and in diuers parts thereof, to erect and caſt downe againe, to eſtabliſh and to deſtroy, and to bring all things, Perſons and States, to the ſame certaine ends, which the infinite Spirit of the *Vniuerſall,* piercing, mouing, and gouerning all things, hath ordained. Certainely the things that this King did were maruellous, and would hardly haue beene vndertaken by any man elſe: and though his Father had determined to haue inuaded the leſſer *Aſia,* it is like enough that he would haue contented himſelfe with ſome part thereof, and not haue diſcouered the Riuer of *Indus*: as this man did. The ſwift courſe of victory, wherewith he ran ouer ſo large a portion of the World, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, may iuſtly be imputed vnto this, that he was neuer encountred by an equall ſpirit, concurring with equall power againſt him. Hereby it came to paſſe that his actions being limited by no greater oppoſition, then deſert places, and the meere length of tedious iournies could make, were like the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*, not ſo much to be admired for the workemanſhip, though therein alſo praiſe-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainely the things performed by *Xenophon,* diſcouer as braue a ſpirit as *Alexanders*, and working no leſſe exquiſitely, though the effects were leſſe materiall, as were alſo the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would finde the exact patterne of a noble Commander, muſt looke vpon ſuch as *Epaminondas*, that encountring worthy Captaines, and thoſe better followed than themſelues, haue by their ſingular vertue ouer-topped their valiant enemies, and ſtill preuailed ouer thoſe, that would not haue yeelded one foot to any other. Such as theſe are, doe ſeldome liue to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to maſter the equall forces of one hardy & well-ordered State, than to tread down and vtterly ſubdue a multitude of ſeruile Nations, compounding the body of a groſſe vnweildie Empire. Wherefore theſe *Paruo Potentes*, men that with little haue done much vpon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choiſe examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the ſubſtance of their actions, than the exquiſite managing: exactneſſe and greatnes concurring ſo ſeldome, that I can finde no inſtance of both in one, ſaue onely that braue *Roman*, *Cæſar*.

Hauing thus farre digreſſed, it is now time that we returne vnto our Eaſterne Conquerour; who is trauailing haſtily towards *Cilicia*, with a deſire to recouer the Streights thereof before *Darius* ſhould arriue there. But firſt making a diſpatch into *Greece*, he ſent to thoſe Cities, in which he repoſed moſt truſt, ſome of the *Perſian* Targets which he had recouered in his firſt battaile; vpon which, by certaine inſcriptions, he made them partakers of his victory. Herein he well aduiſed himſelfe; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaines in the Warres, as he doth of the ſpoiles, ſhall neuer be long followed of thoſe of the better ſort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and haue more of wealth than of reputation, doe as often ſatisfie themſelues with the purchaſe of glory, as the weake in fortune, and ſtrong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and ſiluer.

The Gouernour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander* comming on, left ſome Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defencible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, he began ouer-late to priſe and put in execution the Counſell of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Warres aduiſed him to waſte all the prouiſions for Men and Horſe, that could not be lodged in ſtrong places, & alwayes to giue ground to the Inuader, till he found ſome ſuch notable aduantage as might aſſuredly promiſe him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an inuading Army is beſt broken, by delaies, change of diet, and want, eating ſometimes too little, and ſometimes too much, ſometimes repoſing themſelues in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. Theſe and the like ſuddaine alterations bring many diſeaſes vpon all Nations out of their owne Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and ſleepe, and refuſing to giue or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horſe, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, hee might perchance haue ſaued his owne life, and his eſtate. For it was one of the greateſt incouragements giuen by *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, in the third and laſt fatall battaile, that they were to fight with all the ſtrength of *Perſia* at once.

Xerxes, when he inuaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, loſt onely his men; but *Darius* being inuaded by the *Greekes*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, loſt his Kingdome. *Pericles*, though the *Lacedæmonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawne to hazard a battaile: for the inuaded ought euermore to fight vpon the aduantage of time and place. Becauſe we reade Hiſtories to informe our vnderſtanding by the examples therein found, wee will giue ſome inſtances of thoſe that haue periſhed by aduenturing in their owne countries, to charge an inuading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brinke of their deſtruction.

Pompey was well aduiſed for a while, when he gaue *Cæſar* ground, but when by the importunity of his Captaines he aduentured to fight at *Pharſalia*, he loſt the battaile, loſt the freedome of *Rome*, and his owne life.

Ferdinand, in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, would needs fight a battaile with the *French* to his confuſion, though it was told him by a man of ſound iudgement, that thoſe Counſels which promiſe ſuretie in all things, are honourable enough.

The Conſtable of *France* made fruſtrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fift, when he inuaded *Prouence*, by waſting the Countrie, and forbearing to fight; ſo did the Duke of *Alua* wearie the *French* in *Naples*, and diſſolue the boiſterous Armie of the Prince of *Orange* in the low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrarie to the aduice of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the *Bourgonians*, inuading their Countrie, and could not be perſwaded to linger the time, and ſtay their aduantage; but they loſt eight and twenty thouſand vpon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* ſet vpon King *Edward* at *Cheſſie*; and King *Iohn* (when the *Engliſh* were well-neere tired out, and would in ſhort time by an orderly purſuit haue beene waſted to nothing) conſtrained the blacke Prince with great furie, neere *Poitiers*, to ioyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable ſucceſſe theſe two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fift of *France* made another kinde of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *Engliſh* burnt and waſted many places, yet this King held his reſolution to forbeare blowes, and followed his aduice which told him, That the *Engliſh* could neuer get his inheritance by ſmoake; and it is reported by *Bellay* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to ſay of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchie of *Guien* without euer putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpoſe to deſtroy, wiſe men grow ſhort-liued, and the charge of things is committed vnto ſuch as either cannot ſee what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any ſound aduice. The courſe which *Memnon* had propounded, muſt in all appearance of reaſon haue brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexity, and made him ſtand ſtill a while at the Streights of *Ctlicia*, doubting whether it were more ſhamefull to returne, or dangerous to proceede. For had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* been waſted whileſt *Alexander* was farre off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* beene defended by *Arſenes*, Gouernor of that Prouince, with the beſt of his forces: hunger would not haue ſuffered the enemy, to ſtay the triall of all meanes that might be thought vpon, of forcing that paſſage; or if the place could not haue beene maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leiſure haue beene ſo throughly ſpoiled, that the heart of his Armie ſhould haue beene broken, by ſeeking out miſeries by painfull trauaile.

But *Arſenes* leauing a ſmall number to defend the Streights, tooke the beſt of his Armie with him, to waſte and ſpoile the Countrie; or rather, as may ſeeme, to finde himſelfe ſome worke, by pretence of which he might honeſtly run further away from *Alexander*. He ſhould rather haue aduentured his perſon in cuſtody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps haue ſaued the Prouince; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would haue beene conueighed into ſtrong Townes. So ſhould his Armie, if it were driuen from the place of aduantage, haue found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himſelfe with his horſe-men haue had the leſſe worke in deſtroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gaue the *Cilicians* cauſe to wiſh for *Alexanders* comming, and as great cauſe to the Keepers of the paſſage not to hinder it. For cowards are wiſe in apprehending all formes of danger. Theſe Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arſenes* made all haſte to ioyne himſelfe with *Darius*, burning downe all as he went, like one deſpairing of the defence, began to grow circumſpect, and to thinke that ſurely their Generall, who gaue as loſt the Countrie behinde their backes, had expoſed themſelues vnto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing elſe, but to dull the *Macedonian* ſwords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrie (which honour they ſaw that *Arſenes* himſelfe could well forbeare) they ſpeedily followed the foot-ſteps of their Generall, gleaning after his Harueſt. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardiſe of his Enemies, and the whole Prouince that had beene alienated from the *Perſian* ſide by their indiſcretion.

§. IIII.

Of the vnwarlike Armie leuied by Darius *againſt Alexander. The vnaduiſed courſes which* Darius *took in this Expedition. He is vanquiſhed at Iſſus; where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made priſoners. Of ſome things following the battaile of Iſſus.*

IN the meane ſeaſon *Darius* approched; who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Armie of more than two hundred and ninetie thouſand Souldiers, out of diuers Nations; *Iuſtine* muſters them at three hundred thouſand Foot, and a hundred thouſand Horſe; *Plutarch* at ſixe hundred thouſand.

The manner of his comming on, as *Curtius* deſcribes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to ſet out his glorie and riches, than to prouide for his owne ſafety, perſwading himſelfe, as it ſeemed, to beat *Alexander* with pompe and ſumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire which the *Perſians* worſhipped, attended by their *Prieſts*, and after them three hundred and threeſcore and fiue yong-men, anſwering the number of the daies of the yeere, couered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Iupiter* drawne with white Horſes, with their Riders cloathed in the ſame colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horſe of the *Sunne*: Next after theſe follow ten ſumptuous Chariots, in-laied and garniſht with ſiluer and gold; and then the Vantguard of their horſe, compounded of twelue ſeuerall Nations, which the better to auoid confuſion, did hardly vnderſtand each others language, and theſe marſhalled in the head of the reſt, being beaten, might ſerue very fitly to diſorder all that followed them; in the taile of theſe Horſes the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Perſians* called immortall, becauſe if any died, the number was preſently ſupplied: and theſe were armed with chaines of gold, & their coates with the ſame mettall imbrodered, whereof the ſleeues were garniſhed with pearle; baites, either to catch the hungrie *Macedonians* withall, or to perſwade them that it were great inciuilitie to cut and to deface ſuch glorious garments. But it was well ſaid: *Sumptuosè inductus miles, ſe virtute ſuperiorem alijs non exiſtimet, cum in prælijs oporteat fortitudine animi, & non veſtimentis muniri, quoniam hoſtes veſtibus non debellantur*; *Let no man thinke that hee exceedeth thoſe in valour, whom hee exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of minde, and not by the apparell they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this aduice was borrowed, who when he fought againſt the *Samnites* in that fatall battaile, wherein they all ſware eyther to preuaile or die, thirty thouſand of them hauing apparelled themſelues in white garments, with high creſts and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aſide all feare: *Non enim criſtas vulnera facere, & per picta atque aurata ſcuta tranſire Romanum pilum*; *For theſe plumed creſts would wound no body, and the Romane pile would bore holes in painted and gilded ſhields.*

To ſecond this Court-like company, fifteene thouſand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breede the more terrour) & theſe were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinſmen. Then came *Darius* himſelfe, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was ſupported with the gods of his Nation, caſt and cut in pure gold; theſe the *Macedonians* did not ſerue, but they ſerued their turnes of theſe, by changing their maſſie-bodies into thin portable and currant coyne. The head of this Chariot was ſet with precious ſtones, with two little golden Idols, couered with an open-winged-Eagle of the ſame mettall: The hinder part being raiſed high wheron *Darius* ſate, had a couering of ineſtimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thouſand Horſe-men, their Lances plated with ſiluer, and their heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrew in the *Macedonian* bloud, for feare of marring their beautie. Hee had for the proper Guard of his owne perſon, two hundred of the bloud Royall, bloud too Royall and precious to bee ſpilt by any valorous aduenture, (I am of opinion that two hundred ſturdy fellowes, like the *Switzers*, would haue done him more ſeruice) and theſe were backt with thirtie thouſand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred ſpare horſes for the King, which if he had meant to haue vſed, hee would haue marſhalled ſomewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Reareward, the ſame being led by *Siſygambis* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horſe-backe, with fifteene Wagons of the Kings children, and the wiues of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurſes and *Eunuchs*, moſt ſumptuouſly apparelled. By which it ſhould ſeeme that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had beene *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troope was far fitter to behold thoſe ſports than to be preſent at battailes. Betweene theſe and a company of ſlight-armed ſlaues, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treaſure, charged on ſixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proued, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this ſort came the *Maygame-King* into the field, incumbred with a moſt vnneceſſary traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of diuers Nations, ſpeaking diuers languages, and for their numbers impoſſible to be marſhalled; and for the moſt part ſo effeminate, and ſo rich in gold and in garments, as the ſame could not but haue encouraged the nakedeſt Nation of the world againſt them. Wee finde it in daily experience, that all diſcourſe of magnanimitie, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Libertie, and whatſoeuer elſe hath beene wont to moue and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common-Souldier, in compariſon of ſpoyle and riches. The rich ſhips are boorded vpon all diſaduantages, the rich Townes are furiouſly aſſaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly inuaded. Our *Engliſh* Nation haue attempted many places in the *Indies*, and runne vpon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Piſtolets; which, had they beene put to it vpon the like diſaduantages in *Ireland*, or in any poore Countrie, they would haue turned their Peeces and Pikes againſt their Commanders, conteſting that they had beene brought without reaſon to the Butchery & ſlaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the moſt part with good ſucceſſe, that is ordained againſt the richeſt Nations; for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous, ſo plentie is wont to ſhunne perill, and men that haue well to liue, doe rather ſtudie how to liue well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car ou il ny' a rien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers il ny' va pas. No man makes haſte to the market; where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his conſultation with his Soothſaiers, hee would haue ſatisfied himſelfe by the out-ſides of the *Perſians*, and neuer haue looked into the intrailes of Beaſts for ſucceſſe. For leauing the deſcription of this ſecond battell (which is indeed no-where wel deſcribed, neither for the confuſion & haſtie running away of the *Aſians* could it be) we haue enough by the ſlaughter that was made of them, & by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to informe vs what manner of reſiſtance was made. For if it be true that threeſcore thouſand *Perſian* footmen were ſlaine in this battaile, with ten thouſand of their horſemen: Or (as *Curtius* ſaith) an hundred thouſand footmen, with the ſame number of horſemen, and beſides this ſlaughter, fortie thouſand taken priſoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there miſcarried but two hundred & fourescore of all ſorts, of which numbers *Arianus* and other Hiſtorians cut off almoſt the one halfe: I doe verily beleeue, that this ſmall number rather died with the ouer-trauaile and paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any ſtrokes receiued from them. And ſurely if the *Perſian* Nation (at this time degenerate and the baſeſt of the World) had had any ſauour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers; they would neuer haue ſold ſo good cheape, and at ſo vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings children; had their owne honour beene valued by them at nothing, and the Kings ſafetie and his eſtate at leſſe. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a baniſhed *Græcian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had aſſembled of diuers Nations, richly attired, but poorely armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in paſſing by they would deuoure, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to aſſaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in groſſe ſquadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well couered with Armour for defence, and furniſhed with weapons for offence of great aduantage, would make ſo little accompt of his delicate *Perſians*, louing their eaſe and their palat, being withall ill armed and worſe diſciplined, as except it would pleaſe him to entertain (hauing ſo great aboundance of treaſure to doe it withall) a ſufficient number of the ſame *Græcians*, and ſo to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, he would repent him ouerlate, as taught by the miſerable ſucceſſe like to follow.

But this diſcourſe was ſo vnpleaſing to *Darius* (who had beene accuſtomed to nothing ſo much as to his owne praiſes, and to nothing ſo little as to heare truth;) as he commanded that this poore *Græcian* ſhould be preſently ſlaine: who while hee was a ſundring in the Tormentors hand, vſed this ſpeech to the King, That *Alexander*, againſt whom hee had giuen this good counſell, ſhould aſſuredly reuenge his death, and lay deſerued puniſhment vpon *Darius* for deſpiſing his aduice.

It was the ſaying of a Wiſe man: *Deſperata eius Principis ſalus eſt, cuius aures ita formatæ ſunt, vt aſpera quæ vtilia, nec quicquam niſi iucundum accipiat; That Princes ſafetie is in a deſperate caſe, whoſe eares iudge all that is profitable to be too ſharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is vnpleaſant.*

For libertie in counſell is the life and eſſence of counſell; Libertas conſilij eſt eius vita, & eſſentia, qua erepta conſilium euaneſcit.

Darius did likewiſe value at nothing the Aduice giuen him by the *Græcian* Souldiers that ſerued him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: But had they beene Counſellers and directors in that Warre, as they were vnderlings and commanded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horſe-men beene able to haue oppoſed the furie of *Alexander*, without any aſſiſtance of the *Perſian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was ouerthrowne with all his cowardly and confuſed rabble, thoſe *Græcians*, vnder their Captaine *Amyntas*, held firme, and marched away in order, in deſpight of the vanquiſhers. Old Souldiers are not eaſily diſmayed: wee reade in Hiſtories ancient and moderne, what braue retraits haue beene made by them, though the reſt of the Army in which they haue ſerued, hath beene broken.

At the battaile of *Rauenna*, where the Imperialls were beaten by the *French*, a ſquadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off vnbroken and vndiſmayed; whom when *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemures*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victorie not entire by their eſcape, he was ouer-turned and ſlaine in the place. For it is truely ſaid of thoſe men, who, by being acquainted with dangers feare them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali opus ipſum quantumuis difficile aggrediuntur; They goe about the buſineſſe it ſelfe, how hard ſoeuer it be, not ſtanding to conſider of the danger, which the miſchiefe hanging ouer their heads may bring:* and as truely of thoſe that know the warres but by heare-ſay. *Quòd valentes ſunt & præualentes ante pericula, in ipſis tamen periculis diſcedunt; They haue abilitie enough, and to ſpare, till dangers appeare; but when perill indeed comes, they get them gone.*

Theſe *Græcians* alſo that made the retract, aduiſed *Darius* to retire his Army into the plaine of *Meſopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into thoſe large fields and great Champions, hee might haue inuironed the *Macedonians* on all ſides with his multitude; and withall they counſelled him to diuide that his huge Armie into parts, not committing the whole to one ſtroke of Fortune, whereby hee might haue fought many battailes, and haue brought no greater numbers at once than might haue been well marſhalled & conducted. But this counſell was ſo contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Perſians*, as they perſwaded *Darius* to inuirone the *Græcians* which gaue the aduice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wiſedome of God doth not worke alwaies by one and the ſame way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Eſtates, by taking vnderſtanding from the Gouernours, ſo as they can neither giue nor diſcerne of Counſels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* vpon a ſtreightned piece of ground, neere vnto the Citie of *Iſſus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the aduice of *Parmenio* ſtaied there, as in a place of beſt aduantage) was vtterly ouerthrowne, his Treaſure loſt; his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Græcians* his followers had perſwaded him to leaue in *Babylon*, or elſewhere) taken priſoners, and all their traine of Ladies ſpoiled of their rich Garments, Iewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* preſence, were entertained with all reſpect due vnto their birth, their Honours preſerued, and their Iewels and rich Garments reſtored vnto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a moſt beautifull Lady, and his Daughters of excellent forme, yet *Alexander* maſtred his affections towards them all: onely it is reported out of *Ariſtobulus* the Hiſtorian, that he imbraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damaſcus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wiues and Children of all the Nobility of *Perſia* in effect, fell into captiuitie; at which time alſo *Darius* Treaſure (not loſt at *Iſſus*) was ſeized, amounting to ſixe thouſand and two hundred talents of coine, and of *Bullion* fiue hundred talents, with a world of riches beſides.

Darius himſelfe leauing his brother dead, with diuers other of his chiefe Captaines (caſting the Crowne from his head) hardly eſcaped.

After this ouerthrow giuen vnto *Darius*, all *Phœnicia* (the Citie of *Tyre* excepted) was yeelded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Gouernour.

Aradus, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him ſo faſt that it trod on his heeles; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Aſia* the leſſe, ouerthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately reuolted; *Ariſtodemus*, *Darius* Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly leauied; the *Lacedæmonians* that warred againſt *Antipater* were beaten; foure thouſand of thoſe *Greeks* which made the retrait at the laſt battaile, forſaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Ægypt*, to hold it for themſelues, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to diuide Kingdomes.

Alexander to honour *Epheſtion*, whom he loued moſt, gaue him power to diſpoſe of the Kingdome of *Zidon*. A man of a moſt poore eſtate, that laboured to ſuſtaine his life, being of the Royall bloud, was commended by the people vnto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, ſo as he was beheld both a Begger and a King in one and the ſame houre.

It was a good deſire of this new King, when ſpeaking to *Alexander*, he wiſht that he could beare his proſperity with the ſame moderation, and quietneſſe of heart, that he had done his aduerſitie; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not performe in himſelfe that which he commended in another mans deſire: for it was a ſigne that he did but accompany, and could not gouerne his felicitie.

While he made ſome ſtay in thoſe parts, he receiued a letter from *Darius*, importing the ranſome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with ſome other conditions of peace, but ſuch as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice ſhamefully beaten, not vouchſafing, in his direction, to ſtile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans* after that they had receiued an ouerthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more ſcornefull anſwer vpon the offer of peace, than they did before the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, ſo that of *Darius* had already caſt leafe; the one a reſolued well armed and diſciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* diſdained the offers of *Darius*, and ſent him word that he not onely directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himſelfe.

§. V.

How Alexander *beſieged and wan the Citie of Tyre.*

ALexander comming neere to the Citie of *Tyre*, receiued from them the preſent of a golden Crowne, with great ſtore of victuals, and other preſents, which he tooke very thankefully, returning them anſwere, That he deſired to offer a ſacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their Citie, from whom he was deſcended. But the *Tyrians* like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was ſeated in the old City adioyning, now abandoned and deſolate. To be ſhort, *Alexander* reſolued to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, becauſe the Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, hauing great ſtore of ſtone from the old *Tyre*, and timber ſufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the paſſage of the Sea betweene the Iland and the Maine, which being more then once carried away by the ſtrength of the Sea vpon a ſtorme of winde, ſometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and ſometime torne aſunder; yet with the helpe of his Nauie which arriued (during the ſiege) from *Cyprus*, he ouercame all difficulties and preuailed, after he had ſpent ſeauen moneths in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the ſiege had barbarouſly drowned the meſſengers ſent by *Alexander*, perſwading them to render the City, in reſpect whereof, and of the great loſſe of time and men, he put eight thouſand to the ſword, and cauſed two thouſand of thoſe, that eſcaped the firſt furie, to be hanged on Croſſes on the Sea-ſhore, and reſerued for ſlaues (ſaith *Diodore*) thirteene thouſand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thouſand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that ſerued *Alexander*, conueied great numbers away by ſhipping vnto their owne Citie.

Arrian.

Iuſtin.l.18.

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Towne was taken, for one of the *Tyrians* hauing dreamt, that this god meant to forſake the Citie, they bound him faſt with a golden chaine to the Idoll of *Hercules*; but *Alexander* like a gracious Prince looſened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterpriſe and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonoſor* had taken it before, and filled vp the channell, that lay betweene the Iland and the Maine.

The gouernement of this Territorie he gaue to *Philotas*, the Sonne of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant vnder *Parmenio*; *Epheſtion* had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Ægypt*.

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§. VI.

How Darius *offered conditions of peace to* Alexander. Alexander *wins Gaza; and deales graciouſly with the Iewes.*

IN the meane while *Darius* ſends againe to *Alexander*, ſets before him all the difficulties of paſſing on towards the Eaſt, and laieth the loſſe of the laſt battaile to the ſtreightneſſe of the place: he hoped to terrifie him, by threatning to encompaſſe him in the plaine Countries, he bids him to conſider, how impoſſible it was to paſſe the Riuers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the reſt, with all ſuch other fearefull things: for he that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enough of that nature to preſent vnto another. All the Kingdomes betweene the Riuer of *Alys*, and the *Helleſpont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloued daughter. But *Alexander* anſwered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victory and his own vertue had poſſeſt him of; That he was to giue conditions, and not to receiue any, & that he hauing paſſed the Sea it ſelfe, diſdained to thinke of reſiſtance in tranſporting himſelfe ouer Riuers. It is ſaid, that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, that were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* anſwered, That ſo would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Ægypt*, and comming before *Gaza*, *Betis* a faithfull ſeruant to *Darius*, ſhuts the Gate againſt him, and defends the Towne with an obſtinate reſolution, at the ſiege whereof *Alexander* receiued a wound in the ſhoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a ſtone; He found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left ſo many of his *Macedonians* buried in the ſands of *Gaza*, that he was forſt to ſend for a new ſupply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* firſt began to change condition, and to exerciſe cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by aſſault, and taken *Betis*, (whom *Ioſephus* calleth *Babemeſis*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who neuer gaue ground to the Aſſailants; he bored holes through his feete, and cauſed him to be drawne about the ſtreet, whileſt he was as yet aliue; who being as valiant a man as himſelfe, diſdained to aske him either life or remiſſion of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his Anceſtor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true, that cruelty hath alwayes ſomewhat to couer her deformity.

Lib.11.c.vlt. From *Gaza* (ſaith *Ioſephus*) he led his Army towards *Ieruſalem*, a Citie, for the antiquitie and great fame thereof, well knowne vnto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had ſent for ſome ſupply thither, which *Iaddus* the high Prieſt, being ſubiect and ſworne to *Darius*, had refuſed him. The *Iewes* therefore fearing his reuenge, and vnable to reſiſt, committed the care of their eſtates and ſafetie to *Iaddus*, who, being taught by God, iſſued out of the Citie couered with his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an vpper garment of purple, embrodered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Prieſts and Leuites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner ſo vnuſuall, ſtately and graue, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Ioſephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Prieſt, as reuerencing the name of God, and that *Permenio* reprehended him for it; Howſoeuer it was, I am of opinion, that he became ſo confident in his enterpriſe, and ſo aſſured of the ſucceſſe after the propheſie of *Daniel* had beene read vnto him, wherein he ſaw himſelfe, and the conqueſt of *Perſia* ſo directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could diſcourage him or feare him. He confeſſed to *Parmenio* (ſaith *Ioſephus*) That in *Dio* a Citie of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the conqueſt of *Aſia*, he ſaw in his ſleepe ſuch a perſon as *Iaddus*, and ſo apparelled, profeſſing one and the ſame God, by whom he was incouraged to purſue the purpoſe he had in hand with aſſurance of victorie. This apparition, formerly apprehended onely by the light of his fantaſie, he now beheld with his bodily eies, wherewith he was ſo exceedingly pleaſed and imboldened, as contrarie to the practice of the *Phœnicians*, (who hoped to haue ſackt and deſtroyed *Ieruſalem*) he gaue the *Iewes* all, and more than they deſired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permiſſion to liue vnder their owne lawes, and to exerciſe and enioy their owne Religion.

§. VII.

Alexander *winnes Ægypt: and makes a iournie to the Temple of* Hammon.

FRom *Ieruſalem Alexander* turned againe towards *Ægypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Aſtaces*, receiued him and deliuered into his hand the Citie of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treaſure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we ſee that the King of *Perſia*, who had more of affection than of iudgement, gaue to the valianteſt man he had but the command of one Citie, and to the verieſt coward the gouernment of all *Ægypt*. When hee had ſet things in order in *Ægypt*, he began to trauaile after *God-head*, towards *Iupiter Hammon*, ſo fooliſh had proſperitie made him. He was to paſſe ouer the dangerous and drie ſands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backe was ſpent, he could not but haue periſhed, had not a maruellous ſhowre of raine fallen vpon him, when his Armie was in extreame deſpaire. All men that know *Ægypt*, and haue written thereof, affirm, That it neuer raines there; but the purpoſes of the Almighty God are ſecret, and he bringeth to paſſe what it pleaſeth him; for it is alſo ſaid, That when he had loſt his way in thoſe vaſt deſarts, that a flight of Crowes flew before the Armie; who making faſter wing when they were followed, and fluttering ſlowly when the Army was caſt backe, guided them ouer thoſe pathleſſe ſands to *Iupiters* Temple.

Arrian.l.3. *Arrianus* from the report of *Ptolomie*, the ſonne of *Lagus*, ſaies, That hee was led by two Dragons, both which reports may bee a-like true. But many of thoſe wonders and things prodigious, are fained by thoſe that haue written the Storie of *Alexander*, as that an Eagle lay houering directly ouer his head at the battell of *Iſſus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he ſlept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnaſſeus*, fore-ſhewing the treaſon of *Æropus*, practiſed by *Darius* to haue ſlaine him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrians*, made their defenſiue engines, when *Alexander* beſieged them, there fell drops of bloud; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the ſame time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his ſhoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The *Spaniards* in the conqueſt of the Weſt *Indies* haue many ſuch pretie tales; telling how they haue beene aſſiſted in battaile, by the preſence of our *Lady*, and by *Angels* riding on white horſes, with the like *Romiſh* miracles, which I thinke themſelues doe hardly beleeue. The ſtrangeſt thing that I haue read of in this kinde being certainly true, was, That the night before the battaile at *Nouara*, all the Dogges which followed the *French* Armie, ranne from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning vpon them, as if they had beene bred and fed by them all their liues, and in the morning following, *Triuulzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by theſe *Imperiall Switzers* vtterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idol of *Iupiter Hammon* is ill deſcribed by *Curtius*, for hee bounds it by the *Arabian Troglodites* on the South, betweene whom and the Territorie of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebais*, or the ſuperiour *Ægypt*, with the Mountaines of *Lybia*, and the Riuer of *Nilus*, are interiacent; and on the North hee ioynes it to a Nation, called *Naſſamones*, who bordering the Sea-ſhore, liue (ſaith he) vpon the ſpoyles of ſhipwracke: whereas the Temple or groue of this Idoll hath no Sea neere it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; theſe *Naſſamones* being due Weſt from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*.

Ptol.Af.Tab.3

When *Alexander* came neere the place, hee ſent ſome of his Paraſites before him to practiſe the Prieſts attending the Oracle, That their anſwer might be giuen in all things, agreeable to his madde ambition, who affected the title of *Iupiters* ſonne. And ſo he was ſaluted, *Sonne of Iupiter*, by the Deuils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as ſome thinke) defectiue in the *Greeke* tongue; For whereas hee meant to ſay *O paidion*, he ſaid *O pai dios*, that is; *O ſonne of Iupiter*, in ſtead of, *O deare ſonne*: for which Grammaticall error he was richly rewarded, and a rumour preſently ſpred, that the great *Iupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his owne.

He had heard that *Perſeus* and *Hercules* had formerly conſulted with this Oracle, The one, when he was imployed againſt *Gorgon*, The other, againſt *Anteus* and *Buſiris*; and ſeeing theſe men had deriued themſelues from the gods, why might not hee? By this it ſeemes, that hee hoped to make his followers and the world fooles, though indeed hee made himſelfe one, by thinking to couer from the Worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beleefe of his *Deitie*, he had practized the Prieſts to giue anſwere to ſuch as conſulted with the Oracle, that it ſhould bee pleaſing to *Iupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Sonne.

Curt. li.4.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how repreſented, either by a boſſe carried in a Boat, or by a *Ram*, or a *Rams*-head; I ſee that many wiſe men haue troubled themſelues to finde out; but, as *Arrianus* ſpeakes of *Dionyſius*, or *Liber Pater* (who liued, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, in *Moſes* time) ***Ea quæ de dijs veteres fabulis ſuis conſcripſere, non ſunt nimium curioſè perueſtiganda; Wee muſt not ouer-curiouſly ſearch into the fables, which the Ancients haue written of their gods.***

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Goſpell beganne to bee preached in the world, the Deuill in this and all other Idols became ſpeechleſſe. For that this ***Hammon*** was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæſar*, and in the time of *Traian* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witneſſe.

There is found neere his Temple a Fountaine called *Fons ſolis* (though *Ptolomie* in his third *African* Table ſets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boyling water, and at Noone as cold as any yce: to which I cannot but giue credit, becauſe I haue heard of ſome other Wells of like nature, and becauſe it is reported by S. *Auguſtine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeed our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

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§. VIII.

How Alexander *marching againſt* Darius, *was oppoſed very vnskilfully by the Enemy.*

FRom the Temple of *Hammon* hee returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philoſopher *Pſammones*, who, belike vnderſtanding that he affected the Title of *Iupiters* Sonne, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in generall; and refining the pride of this haughtie King, brought him to ſay, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that he acknowledged none for his children ſaue good men.

Ariſt. Pol. l.5.

He gaue the charge of the ſeuerall Prouinces of *Ægypt* to ſeuerall Gouernours, following the rule of his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, That ***a great Dominion ſhould not be continued in the hands of any one***: whom therein the ***Romane*** Emperours alſo followed, not daring to commit the gouernment of *Ægypt* to any of their *Senators*, but to men of meaner ranke and degree. He then gaue order for the founding of ***Alexandria*** vpon the Weſter-moſt branch of *Nilus*. And hauing now ſetled (as he could) the eſtate of ***Ægypt***, with the Kingdomes of the leſſer *Aſia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, (which being but the pawnes of ***Darius*** his ill fortune, one happie victory would readily haue redeemed,) he led his Army towards *Euphrates*, which paſſage though the ſame was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without reſiſtance paſt it. From thence hee marched towards *Tigris*, a Riuer for the ſwiftneſſe thereof called by the *Perſians* The Arrow. Heere, as

Curt. l.4.

Curtius, and Reaſon it ſelfe tells vs, might *Darius* eaſily haue repelled the inuading *Macedonian*: for the violent courſe of the ſtreame was ſuch, as it draue before it many waighty ſtones, and thoſe that moued not but lay in the bottome, were ſo round and well poliſhed by continuall rolling, that no man was able to fight on ſo ſlipperie a footing; nor the *Macedonian* foot-men to wade the Riuer, otherwiſe then by ioyning their hands and enterlacing their armes together, making one waighty and entire body to reſiſt the ſwift paſſage and furious race of the ſtreame. Beſides this notable helpe, the Channell was ſo deepe towards the Eaſterne ſhore, where *Darius* ſhould haue made head, as the footmen were inforſt to lift their Bowes and Arrowes, and Darts ouer their heads to keepe them from being moiſtned, and made vnſeruiceable by the Waters. But it was truely and vnderſtandingly ſaid of *Homer*,

Talis eſt hominum terreſtrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq; Deorumq;.

The mindes of men are euer ſo affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Eſtates of the World, by the ſurfet of miſgouernement haue beene ſubiect to many grieuous, and ſometimes mortall diſeaſes: So had the Empire of *Perſia* at this time brought it ſelfe into a burning and conſuming Feauer, and thereby become franticke and without vnderſtanding, foreſhewing manifeſtly the diſſolution and death thereof.

But ***Alexander*** hath now recouered the Eaſterne ſhores of *Tygris*, without any other difficultie, than that of the nature of the place; where ***Mazeus*** (who had charge to defend the paſſage both of *Euphrates* and it) preſented himſelfe to the ***Macedonians***, followed with certaine companies of Horſe-men, as if with vneuen forces hee durſt haue charged them on euen ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, hee forſooke the aduantage which no valour of his enemies could eaſily haue ouercome. But it is commonly ſeene, that fearefull and cowardly men doe euer follow thoſe waies and counſels, whereof the opportunity is already loſt.

It is true that he ſet all prouiſions a fire wherewith the ***Macedonians*** might ſerue themſelues ouer *Tygris*, thinking thereby greatly to haue diſtreſſed them; but the execution of good counſell is fruitleſſe, when vnſeaſonable. For now was ***Alexander*** ſo well furniſhed with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competencie of the Armie which hee conducted. Thoſe things alſo which he ſought to waſte, ***Alexander*** being now in ſight, were by his Horſe-men ſaued and recouered. This, ***Mazeus*** might haue done ſome daies before at good leiſure; or at this time with ſo great a ſtrength of horſe-men, as the ***Macedonians*** durſt not haue purſued them, leauing the ſtrength of their foote out of ſight, and far behinde.

§. IX.

The new prouiſions of Darius. *Accidents foregoing the battaile of Arbela.*

D*Arius*, vpon ***Alexanders*** firſt returne out of *Ægypt*, had aſſembled all the forces, which thoſe Regions next him could furniſh, and now alſo were the ***Arians***, ***Scythians***, ***Indians***, and other Nations arriued; Nations (ſaith ***Curtius***) that rather ſerued to make vp the names of men, than to make reſiſtance. ***Arrianus*** hath numbred them with their Leaders; and findes of foot-men of all ſorts ten hundred thouſand, and of horſe foure hundred thouſand, beſides armed Chariots, and ſome few Elephants. *Curtius* who muſters the Armie of *Darius* at two hundred thouſand foote, and neere fiftie thouſand horſe; comes (I thinke) neerer to the true number; and yet ſeeing hee had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vaſſalls, it is like enough that hee had gathered together of all ſorts ſome three or foure hundred thouſand, with which hee hoped in thoſe faire plaines of *Aſſyria*, to haue ouer-borne the few numbers of the inuading Armie. But it is a Rule in the Philoſophie of the Warre: *In omni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quàm ars & exercitium ſolent præſtare victoriam; In euery battaile skill and practice doe more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacitie.* *Veget.*

While *Alexander* gaue reſt to his Armie after the paſſage ouer *Tigris*, there happened an Ecclipſe of the Moone, of which the *Macedonians*, not knowing the cauſe and reaſon, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) tooke it for a certaine preſage of their ouerthrow and deſtruction, in ſo much as they began not only to murmur, but to ſpeake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that diſdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Iupiter*, they ſhould all periſh; For he not onely inforſt them to make warre againſt Worlds of enemies, but againſt Riuers, Mountaines, and the Heauens themſelues.

Hereupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward made a *halt*, and to quiet the mindes of the multitude, he called before him the *Ægyptian Aſtrologers*, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might bee aſſured that this defection of the Moone was a certaine preſage of good ſucceſſe; for that it was naturall they neuer imparted to the common people, but reſerued the knowledge to themſelues, ſo as a ſorry Almanack-maker had beene no ſmall foole in thoſe daies.

Of this kind of ſuperſtitious obſeruation *Cæſar* made good vſe, when he fought againſt *Arioniſtus* and the *Germans*: for they being perſwaded by the caſting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they ſhould certainely loſe the battaile, *Cæſar* forſt them to abide it, though they durſt not giue it; wherein hauing their mindes already beaten by their owne ſuperſtition, and being reſolutely charged by the *Romanes*, the whole armie in effect periſhed.

Theſe *Ægyptians* gaue no other reaſon than this, That the *Græcians* were vnder the aſpect of the *Sunne*, the *Perſians*, of the *Moone*; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the ſtate of *Perſia* was now in danger of falling, and their glory of being obſcured. This iudgement of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts being noyſed through all the Armie, all were ſatisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though deuiſed ſince, was well obſerued then: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captaine leade his Armie to the fight, when it is poſſeſſed with matter of terrour.*

It is truely obſerued by *Curtius*, that the people are ledde by nothing ſo much as by ſuperſtition; yea, wee finde it in all ſtories, and often in our owne, that by ſuch inuentions, deuiſed tales, dreames, and propheſies, the people of this Land haue beene carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and inſurrections, and ſtill to their own loſſe and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neere the *Perſian* Armie, certaine letters were ſurprized, written by *Darius* to the *Græcians*, perſwading them for great ſummes of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But theſe by the aduice of *Parmenio* he ſuppreſſed.

At this time alſo *Darius* his faire Wife, oppreſt with ſorrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident *Alexander* ſeemed no leſſe to bewaile than *Darius*, who vpon the firſt bruit, ſuſpected that ſome diſhonourable violence had beene offered her; but being ſatisfied by an *Eunuch* of his owne that attended her, of *Alexanders* Kingly reſpect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he deſired the immortall Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Maſter of the *Perſian Empire*, then it would pleaſe them to conferre on ſo iuſt and continent an enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once againe before the laſt triall by battell offered theſe conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliuer vp and reſigne all *Aſia* the leſſe, and with *Ægypt* all thoſe Kingdoms between the *Phœnician* Sea, & the Riuer of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the ranſome of his Mother, and his other Daughters 30.

thouſand talents, and that for the performance thereof, hee would leaue his ſon *Occhus* in hoſtage: To this they ſought to perſwade *Alexander* by ſuch arguments as they had. *Alexander* cauſing the Embaſſadors to be remoued, aduiſed with his Counſel, but heard no man ſpeak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perſwaded him to accept of theſe faire conditions. He told him, that the Empire between *Euphrates* and *Helleſpont* was a faire addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Perſian* priſoners was a great cumber, and the treaſure offered for them of farre better vſe then their perſons, with diuers other arguments; all which *Alexander* reiected. And yet it is probable that if he had followed his aduice, and bounded his ambition within thoſe limits, hee might haue liued as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himſelfe a Succeſſor of able age to haue enioyed his eſtate, which afterward, indeede, hee much inlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himſelfe: who to aſſure themſelues of what they had vſurped vpon his iſſues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few yeeres after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going ſo farre into the Eaſt, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a iuſt and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, aduiſed and gratefull: and being taught new leſſons by abundance of proſperitie, became a louer of wine, of his owne flatterie, and of extream cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath obſerued, the taint of one vniuſt ſlaughter, amongſt many, defaced and withered the flouriſhing beauty of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the *Perſian* Embaſſadors ſtay his anſwere, which was to this effect, That whatſoeuer hee had beſtowed on the Wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his owne naturall clemencie and magnanimitie, without all reſpect to their Maſter, but thankes to an enemie was improper; that he made no warres againſt aduerſitie, but againſt thoſe that reſiſted him; not againſt Women and Children, but againſt armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great ſummes of money to perſwade his friends to attempt vpon his perſon, he had reaſon to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not (were it otherwiſe & faithfull) reſolue in haſte to accept the ſame, ſeeing *Darius* had made the Warre againſt him, not as a King with Royall and ouert-force, but as a Traitor by ſecret and baſe practice; That for the Territorie offered him, it was already his owne, and if *Darius* could beat him back againe ouer *Euphrates*, which he had already paſt, he would then beleeue that hee offered him ſomewhat in his owne power: Otherwiſe he propounded to himſelfe for the reward of the Warre which hee had made, all thoſe Kingdomes as yet in *Darius* poſſeſſion; wherein, whether hee were abuſed by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which hee meant to fight in the day following ſhould determine. For in concluſion, he told them, that he came into *Aſia* to giue, and not to receiue; That the Heauens could not hold two Sunnes: and therefore if *Darius* could be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, hee might perchance be perſwaded to giue him conditions fit for a ſecond Perſon, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

The battaile of Arbela: and that it could not bee ſo ſtrongly fought as report hath made it.

WIth this anſwere the Embaſſadors returne; *Darius* prepares to fight, and ſends *Mazeus* to defend a paſſage, which hee neuer yet dared ſo much as to hazard. *Alexander* conſults with his Captaines, *Parmenio* perſwades him to force *Darius* his Campe by night; ſo that the multitude of enemies might not moue terrour in the *Macedonians*, being but few. *Alexander* diſdaines to ſteale the victorie, and reſolues to bring with him the day-light, to witneſſe his valour. But it was the ſucceſſe that made good *Alexanders* reſolution, though the counſell giuen by *Parmenio* was more ſound: For it is a ground in Warre, *Si pauci neceſſariò cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, conſilium eſt noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare.* Notwithſtanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, hee ſtaggers and trenches himſelfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the *Perſian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for feare of ſurpriſe had ſtood with his Armie in armour all the day, and forborne ſleepe all the night; *Alexander* gaue his men reſt and ſtore of foode, for reaſon had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna Milites validiùs reſiſtunt, ſi cibo potuque refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinſecus* *magis pugnat, quàm ferrum exteriùs; Souldiers doe the better ſtand to it in fight, if they haue their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than ſteele without.*

The numbers which *Alexander* had, ſaith *Arrianus*, were fortie thouſand foot, and ſeuen thouſand horſe; theſe belike were of the *Europæan* Armie; for hee had beſides both *Syrians, Indians, Ægyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of thoſe Regions. He vſed but a ſhort ſpeech to his Souldiers to incourage them; and I thinke that hee needed little Rhetoricke; for by the two former battailes vpon the Riuer of *Granick* and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were beſt taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true ſaying, *Victoria Victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, & aduerſarijs aufert; One victorie begets another, and puts courage into thoſe that haue alreadie had the better, taking ſpirit away from thoſe that haue beene beaten.*

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large deſcriptions of this battaile, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined ſometime to the *Perſians*, ſometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being ouerthrowne, who led the left wing; That *Alexanders* Reare-guard was broken, and his carriages loſt; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both ſides, *Fortune* her ſelfe was long vnreſolued on whom to beſtow the Garland: And laſtly, That *Alexander* in perſon wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But, in concluſion, *Curtius* deliuers vs in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible daies worke, ſaying, That *Epheſtion*, *Perdiccas* and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* findes not a third part of this number ſlaine; of the *Perſians* there fell fortie thouſand (ſaith *Curtius*,) thirty thouſand according to *Arrianus*: Ninety thouſand, if wee beleeue *Diodore*. But what can we iudge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the *Perſians* vpon the firſt charge ranne away, and that the *Macedonians* purſued? For if of theſe foure or fiue hundred thouſand *Aſians* brought into the field by *Darius*, euery man had caſt but a Dart, or a Stone, the *Macedonians* could not haue bought the Empire of the Eaſt at ſo eaſie a rate, as ſixe or ſeuen hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainely, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* vpon the bankes of *Euphrates*, & had armed but fiftie or threeſcore thouſand of this great multitude, onelie with Spades (for the moſt of all hee had were fit for no other weapon) it had beene impoſſible for *Alexander* to haue paſt that Riuer ſo eaſily, much leſſe the Riuer of *Tygris*. But as a man whoſe Empire God in his prouidence had *determined*, hee abandoned all places of aduantage, and ſuffered *Alexander* to enter ſo farre into the bowells of his kingdome, as all hope and poſſibilitie of eſcape by retrait being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had preſented vnto them the choiſe, either of death or victorie; to which election *Darius* could no way conſtraine his owne, ſeeing they had many large Regions to runne into from thoſe that inuaded them.

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§. XI.

Of things following the battaile of Arbela. The yeelding of Babylon and Suſa.

Darius after the rout of his Armie recouered *Arbela* the ſame night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpoſe of making a retrait into *Media*, perſwading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of ſpoyle and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon, Suſa*, and other Cities, filled with treaſure, than purſue the vanquiſhed. This miſerable reſolution his Nobilitie rather obeyed than approued.

Alexander ſoone after *Darius* his departure arriues at *Arbela*, which with a great maſſe of treaſure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the feare which conducted *Darius*, tooke nothing with it but ſhame and diſhonour. Hee that had beene twice beaten, ſhould rather haue ſent his treaſure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, ſo neer the place where he abid the comming of his enemies; if he had beene victorious, hee might haue brought it after him at leiſure; but being ouer-come, he knew it vnpoſſible to driue Mules and Camels laden with gold from the purſuing Enemie, ſeeing himſelfe, at the ouerthrow hee had in *Cilicia*, caſt the Crowne from his head, to runne away with the more ſpeed. But errors are then beſt diſcerned when moſt incurable. *Et præterita magis reprehendi poſſunt quàm corrigi; It is eaſier to reprehend than amend what is paſt.*

From *Arbela Alexander* tooke his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus* in whom *Darius* had moſt confidence rendred himſelfe, his children and the Citie. Alſo the Captaine of the Caſtle, who was keeper of the treaſure, ſtrewed the ſtreets with flowres, burnt frankincence vpon Altars of ſiluer as *Alexander* paſſed by, and deliuered vnto him whatſouer was committed to his truſt. The *Magi* (the *Chaldean* Aſtrologers) followed this Captaine in great ſolemnitie to entertaine their new King: after theſe came the *Babylonian* horſemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betweene theſe (though not greatly to be feared) and himſelfe, *Alexander* cauſed his *Macedonian* foote-men to march. When he entred the Caſtle, hee admired the glory thereof, and the aboundance of treaſure therein found, amounting to fiftie thouſand talents of ſiluer vncoyned. The Citie it ſelfe I haue elſewhere deſcribed with the Walles, the Towers, the Gates and Circuite, with the wonderfull place of pleaſure about two miles in Circuite, ſurrounded with a Wall of foureſcore foote high, and on the top thereof (being vnder-borne with Pillars) a Groue of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is ſaid that one of the Kings of *Babylon* cauſed to be built, that the Queene and other Princeſſes might walke priuately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things, but moſt of all in voluptuous pleaſures, the King reſted himſelfe and the whole Army foure and thirty daies, conſuming that time in banqueting and in all ſorts of effeminate exerciſe, which ſo much ſoftned the mindes of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the ſeuere diſcipline of warre which taught them the ſufferances of hunger and thirſt, of painefull trauaile, and hard lodging, began rather to bee forgotten, than neglected.

An. b. Alex.

Heere it was that thoſe bands of a thouſand Soldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed ouer them, who thereupon were ſtiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honor thoſe Captaines which were found by certaine ſelected Iudges to haue deſerued beſt in the late warre. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies conſiſted but of fiue hundred. Certainely the drawing downe of the foot-bands in this latter age hath beene the cauſe (ſaith the *Marſhal Monluct*) that the title and charge of a Captaine hath been beſtowed on euery *Picque Bœuf* or Spurn-Cow; for when the Captaines of foote had a thouſand Souldiers vnder one Enſigne, and after that fiue hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the firſt, the title was honorable, and the Kings were leſſe charged, and farre better ſerued. K. *Henry* the eight of *England* neuer gaue the commandement of any of his good ſhips, but to men of known valour, and of great eſtate, nay ſometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitie Commanders in one ſhip: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great ſupply out of *Europe*, for *Antipater* ſent him ſixe thouſand foote and fiue hundred horſe, out of *Macedon*; of *Thracians* three thouſand foot, and the like number of horſe; and out of *Greece* foure thouſand and foure hundred horſe, by which his Armie was greatly ſtrengthened: for thoſe that were infected with the pleaſures of *Babylon*, could hardly bee brought againe, *De quitter la plume pour dormir ſur la dure*; *To change from ſoft beds to hard boords.*

Hee left the Caſtle and Citie of *Babylon* with the Territories about it in charge with three of his owne Captaines, to wit, *Agathon*, *Minetus*, and *Appolidorus*; to ſupply all wants, a thouſand talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendred the Citie vnto him, hee gaue him the title of his Lieutenant ouer all, and tooke with him *Bagiſtines* that gaue vp the Caſtle, and hauing diſtributed to euery Souldier a part of the Treaſure, he left *Babylon*, and entred into the Prouince *Satrapene*: from thence hee went on towards *Suſa* in *Perſia*, the ſame which *Ptolomie*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, ſituate on the Riuer *Euleus*, a Citie ſometime gouerned by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* alſo, gouernour of this famous Citie, gaue it vp to the Conqueror, with fifty thouſand talents of ſiluer in bullion, and twelue *Elephants* for the warre, with all other the treaſures of *Darius*. In this ſort did thoſe Vaſſalls of fortune, louers of the Kings proſperity, not of his perſon (for ſo all ambitious men are) purchaſe their owne peace and ſafetie with the Kings treaſures. And heerein was *Alexander* well aduiſed, that whatſoeuer titles hee gaue to the *Perſians*, yet hee left all places of importance in truſt with his owne Captaines, to witte, *Babylon*, *Suſa*, and *Perſepolis*, with other Cities and Prouinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet liuing) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of *Perſia* would haue returned vnto their naturall Lord. Thoſe that are Traitors

Diodor ſpeaketh of more than fortie thouſand talents in bullion, and of nine Millions of gold. *ſub dorrica forma excuſi* to their owne Kings, are neuer to be vſed alone in great enterpriſes by thoſe Princes that entertaine them, nor euer to be truſted with the defences of any frontier-Towne, or Fortreſſe of waight, by the rendring whereof they may redeeme their liberty and eſtates loſt. Hereof the *French* had experience, when *Don Pedro de Nauarra*, being baniſhed out of *Spaine*, was truſted with *Fonterabe*, in the yeere 1523.

While *Alexander* ſpoiled *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might haue furniſht the King from *Babylon*; and while he ſtayed foure and thirty daies at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might haue holpen him from *Suſa*: and while he feaſted there, *Tiridates* from *Perſepolis* might haue relieued him; for the great maſſe of treaſure was laied vp in that Citie. But who hath ſought out and friended fearefull aduerſitie? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious, but the honeſt: for thoſe that are but greedy of themſelues, doe in all changes of fortune onely conſult the conſeruation of their owne greatneſſe.

The gouernment of *Suſa*, with the Caſtle and Treaſure, he committed to his own *Macedonians*, making *Abulites* who rendred it vnto him his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giuing them Titles, but neither truſt nor power; for he left three thouſand old Souldiers in Garriſon to aſſure the place; and *Darius* Mother and her children to repoſe themſelues.

It is ſaid, that *Charles* the fift hauing promiſed *Charles* of *Bourbon* the gouernement of *Marſeilles*, if he could haue forſt it, and whereof he made ſure accompt, told ſome of his neereſt Counſellers, that he meant nothing leſſe than the performance of that promiſe, becauſe hee ſhould thereby haue left the Duke (reuolted from his Maſter) very well wherewithall to haue recouered his fauour.

§. XII.

How Alexander *came to Perſepolis, and burnt it.*

FRom *Suſa Alexander* leadeth his Armie toward *Perſepolis*, and when he ſought to paſſe thoſe mountains which ſunder *Suſiana* and *Perſia*, he was ſoundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended againſt him thoſe Steights, called *Pylæ Perſidis*, or *Suſæidæ*, and after the loſſe of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forſt to ſaue himſelfe by retrait, cauſing his foote to march cloſe together, and to couer themſelues with their Targets from the ſtones tumbled on them from the Mountaine top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, liuing in that Countrie, diſcouered vnto him, and came thereby ſuddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being inforſt to fight vpon euen ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Perſepolis*; but (after that they of *Perſepolis* had refuſed to receiue him) he returned and gaue a ſecond charge vpon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was ſlaine. In like manner did King *Francis* the firſt, in the yeere 1515. finde a way ouer the *Alpes*, the *Switzers* vndertaking to defend all the paſſages, who, if their footmanſhip had not ſaued them vpon the Kings deſcent on the other ſide, they had beene ill paied for their hard lodging on thoſe Hils.

Foure thouſand *Greekes*, ſaith *Curtius* (*Iuſtine* numbers them but at eight hundred) hauing beene taken priſoners by the *Perſians*, preſented themſelues to *Alexander* now in ſight of *Perſepolis*. Theſe had the barbarous *Perſians* ſo maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Noſes, Eares, and other Members, as they could no way haue beene knowne to their Countrey-men, but by their voices; to each of theſe *Alexander* gaue three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and ſuch Lands as they liked to liue vpon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his falſe-hearted *Grandes*; hearing of *Alexanders* approach, made him know that *Perſepolis* was ready to receiue him, and prayed him to double his pace, becauſe there was a determination in the people to ſpoyle the Kings treaſure. This Citie was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants vpon *Alexanders* arriuall; and they that ſtaied followed the worſt counſell, for all was left to the liberty of the Souldiers, to ſpoyle and kill at their pleaſure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had beene layed in the ballance with *Perſepolis*, would haue waighed it downe. *Babylon*, indeede, and *Suſa*, were very rich; but in *Perſepolis* lay the bulke and maine ſtore of the *Perſians*. For after the ſpoyle that had beene made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and ſiluer, and other Iewells; there remained to *Alexander* himſelfe one hundred and twenty thouſand talents. Hee left the ſame number of three thouſand

Macedonians in *Perſepolis*, which he had done in *Suſa*, and gaue the ſame formall honour to the Traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the truſt of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his owne. The body of his Armie hee left here for thirtie dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thouſand horſe and certaine troopes of choſen foote, hee would needes view in the Winter-time thoſe parts of *Perſia*, which the Snow had couered, a fruitleſſe and fooliſh enterpriſe, but as *Seneca* ſaies: *Non ille ire vult, ſed non poteſt ſtare*; *He hath not a will to goe, but he is vnable to ſtand ſtill.* It is ſaid and ſpoken in his praiſe: That when his Souldiers cried out againſt him, becauſe they could not endure the extreame froſt, and make way, but with extreame difficulty, through the ſnow, that *Alexander* forſooke his horſe, & led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremitie, thereby to ſhew how well himſelfe can endure it? His walking on foote did no otherwiſe take off their wearineſſe that followed him, than his ſometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirſt, that could leſſe endure it. For mine owne little iudgement I ſhall rather commend that Captaine, that makes carefull prouiſion for thoſe that follow him, and that ſeekes wiſely to preuent extreame neceſſity, than thoſe witleſſe arrogant fooles, that make the vaunt of hauing endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We finde in all the Warres that *Cæſar* made, or the beſt of the *Roman* Commanders, that the prouiſion of victuals was their firſt care. For it was a true ſaying of *Coligni*, Admirall of *France*; *That who ſo will ſhape that beaſt* (meaning Warre) *muſt begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Perſepolis*, where thoſe Hiſtorians, that were moſt amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemencie towards the vanquiſhed, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he ſmothered in carrowſing cups all the reputation of his actions paſt, and that by deſcending, as it were, from the reuerend Throne of the greateſt King, into the company and familiarity of baſe Harlots, he began to be deſpiſed both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perſwaded, when he was enflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he cauſed the moſt ſumptuous and goodly Caſtle and Citie of *Perſepolis*, to be conſumed with fire, notwithſtanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a diſhonour to deſtroy thoſe things by the perſwaſions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a moſt ſtrong perſwaſion to the *Aſians*, to thinke hardly of him, & thereby aliene their hearts: For they might well beleeue that he which demoliſhed the goodlieſt Ornaments they had, meant nothing leſſe than (after ſuch vaſtation) to hold their poſſeſſion. *Per vinolentiam crudelitas ſequitur*; *Crueltie doth commonly follow drunkenneſſe*: For ſo it fell out ſoone after, and often, in *Alexander*.

Curt.l.5.

Sen.Epiſt.84.

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§. XIII.

The Treaſon of Beſſus *againſt* Darius. Darius *his death.*

About this time he receiued a new ſupply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to finde *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and laſt Armie, which he meant to haue increaſed in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexanders* comming on, with whom (truſting to ſuch companies as he had, which was numbred at thirty or forty thouſand) he determined once againe to trie his fortune. He therefore cals together his Captaines and Commanders, and propounds vnto them his reſolution, who being deſperate of good ſucceſſe vſed ſilence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldeſt men of Warre, who had ſometime liued with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the yce, and proteſting that he could neuer be beaten by any aduerſitie of the Kings, from the faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the reſt were of the ſame condition (whereof they likewiſe aſſured *Darius* by the like proteſtation) he approued the Kings reſolution. Two onely, and thoſe the greateſt, to wit, *Naburzanes*, and *Beſſus*, whereof the latter was Gouernour of *Bactria*, had conſpired againſt their Maſter, and therefore aduiſed the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to purſue it by ſome ſuch perſon for the preſent, againſt whom neither the gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themſelues to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* vſed, and in concluſion aduiſed the election of his fellow Traitor *Beſſus*, with promiſe that the warres ended, the Empire ſhould againe be reſtored to *Darius*. The King ſwollen with diſdaine preſt towards *Naburzanes* to haue ſlain him, but *Beſſus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the reſt, with-held him. In the meane while *Naburzanes* with-drew himſelfe, and *Beſſus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the reſt of the Armie. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull ſeruant, perſwaded him to be aduiſed, and ſerue the time, ſeeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at leaſt make ſhew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle diſpoſition, willingly yeelded vnto. *Beſſus* makes his ſubmiſſion and attends the King, who remoues his Armie. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of foure thouſand *Greekes*, which had in all the former Battailes ſerued *Darius* with great fidelity, and alwayes made the retrait in ſpight of the *Macedonians*, offered himſelfe to guard his perſon, proteſting againſt the Treaſon of *Beſſus*; but it was not his deſtinie to follow their aduice who from the beginning of the Warre gaue him faithfull counſell, but he enclined ſtill to *Beſſus*, who told him, that the *Greekes* with *Patron* their Captaine were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practiſed the diuiſion of his faithfull ſeruants. *Beſſus* had drawne vnto him thirtie thouſand of the Armie, promiſing them all thoſe things, by which the louers of the World and themſelues are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, ſafetie, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainely diſcouered the purpoſes of *Beſſus*, and being ouercome with paſſion, as thinking himſelfe vnable to make head againſt theſe vngratefull and vnnaturall Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull ſeruant to depart from him, and to prouide for himſelfe. In like ſort he diſcharged the reſt of his attendants, all ſaue a few of his *Eunuchs*, for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His *Perſians* being moſt baſe Cowards, durſt not vndertake his defence againſt the *Bactrians*, notwithſtanding that they had foure thouſand *Greekes* to ioyne with him, who had beene able to haue beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forſakes himſelfe, no man followes. It had beene farre more Man-like and King-like, to haue dyed in the head of thoſe foure thouſand *Greekes*, which offered him the diſpoſition of their liues, (to which *Artabazus* perſwaded him) than to haue lien bewailing himſelfe on the ground, and ſuffering himſelfe to be bound like a Slaue by thoſe ambitious Monſters that layd hand on him, whom neither the conſideration of his former great eſtate, nor the honour he had giuen them, nor the truſt repoſed in them, nor the world of benefits beſtowed on them, could moue to pittie: no, nor his preſent aduerſitie, which aboue all things ſhould haue moued them, could pierce their viperous and vngratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeede to hope it, for infidelitie hath no compaſſion.

Now *Darius*, thus forſaken, was bound & laid in a Cart, couered with Hides of Beaſts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be diſcouered; and to adde deſpight and deriſion to his aduerſity, they faſtned him with Chaines of Gold, and ſo drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes* perſwaded themſelues to redeeme their liues and the Prouinces they held, either by deliuering him a Priſoner to *Alexander*, or if that hope failed, to make themſelues Kings by his ſlaughter, and then to defend themſelues by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was againſt the nature of God, who is moſt iuſt, to pardon ſo ſtrange villany, yea though againſt a Prince purely Heatheniſh and an Idolater.

Alexander hauing knowledge that *Darius* was retyred towards *Bactria*, and durſt not abide his comming, haſtened after him with a violent ſpeede, and becauſe he would not force his Foote-men beyond their powers, he mounted on horſe backe certaine ſelected Companies of them, and beſt armed, and with ſixe thouſand other Horſe, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treaſon of *Beſſus*, and ſecretly forſooke him, gaue knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Beſſus* tooke, and how neere he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* againe doubled his pace, and his Vant-gard being diſcouered by *Beſſus* his Reare, *Beſſus* brought a Horſe to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perſwading him to mount thereon, and to ſaue himſelfe. But the vnfortunate King refuſing to follow thoſe that had betrayed him, they caſt Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beaſts that drew him, & ſlew two poore Seruants that attended his perſon. This done, they al fled that could, leauing the reſt to the mercy of the *Macedonian* ſwords.

Polyſtratus a *Macedonian*, being by purſuite of the vanquiſhad preſt with thirſt, as he was refreſhing himſelfe with ſome water that he had diſcouered, eſpying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beaſts breathing for life, and not able to moue, ſearched the ſame, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his owne bloud: And by a *Perſian* captiue which followed this *Polyſtratus*, he vnderſtood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of this barbarous Tragedie. *Darius* alſo ſeemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the liuing God can be comforted) that he caſt not out his laſt ſorrowes vnheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on thoſe Traitors, which had dealt no leſſe vnworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their reuenge to *Alexander* by this meſſenger, which he beſought him to purſue, not becauſe *Darius* had deſired it, but for his owne honour, and for the ſafetie of all that did, or ſhould after weare Crownes. He alſo, hauing nothing elſe to preſent, rendred thankes to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace vſed towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, deſiring the immortall gods to ſubmit vnto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus ſpeaking, impatient death preſſing out his few remaining ſpirits, he deſired water, which *Polyſtratus* preſented him, after which he liued but to tell him, that of all the beſt things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his laſt breath, where-with to deſire the gods to reward his compaſſion.

§. XIIII.

How Alexander *purſued* Beſſus, *and tooke into his grace* Darius *his Captaines.*

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their trauels were neere an end, euery man preparing for his returne. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieued; for the bounded earth ſufficed not his boundleſſe ambition. Many arguments he therefore vſed to draw on his Armie farther into the Eaſt, but that which had moſt ſtrength was, that *Beſſus*, a moſt cruell Traitor to his Maſter *Darius*, hauing at his deuotion the *Hyrcanians*, and *Bactrians*, would in ſhort time (if the *Macedonians* ſhould returne) make himſelfe Lord of the *Perſian* Empire, and enioy the fruits of all their former trauailes. In concluſion, he wan their conſents to goe on: which done, leauing *Craterus* with certaine Regiments of foote, and *Amyntas* with ſixe thouſand Horſe in *Parthenia*, he enters not without ſome oppoſition into *Hyrcania*; for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine paſſages for a while. He paſſeth the Riuer of *Zioberis*, which taking beginning in *Parthia*, diſſolues it ſelfe in the *Caſpian* Sea: it runneth vnder the ledge of Mountaines, which bound *Parthia* & *Hyrcania*, where hiding it ſelfe vnder-ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riſeth againe and followeth its former courſe. In *Zadracarta* or *Zendracarta*, the ſame Citie which *Ptolomie* writes *Hyrcania*, the *Metropolis* of that Region, he reſted fifteene dayes, banquetting, and feaſting therein.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greateſt Commanders, with others of his beſt followers, ſubmit themſelues to *Alexander*, and were reſtored to their places and gouernments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* moſt highly for his approued and conſtant faith to his Maſter *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thouſand and fiue hundred *Greekes*, the remainder of all thoſe that had ſerued *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arriued, but in the end they render themſelues ſimply without promiſe or compoſition: he pardons all but the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he impriſoned, their Leader hauing ſlaine himſelfe. He was alſo wrought, (though to his great diſhonor) to receiue *Nabarzanes* that had ioyned with *Beſſus* to murder *Darius*.

§. XV.

Of Thaleſtris *Queene of the Amazons; where, by way of digreſſion it is ſhewed, that ſuch Amazons haue beene, and are.*

HEre it is ſaid, that *Thaleſtris* or *Minothea*, a Queene of the *Amazones*, came to viſite him, and her ſuite was, (which ſhe eaſily obtained) That ſhe might accompanie him till ſhe were made with childe by him: which done (refuſing to follow him into *India*) ſhe returned into her owne Countrie.

Plutarch citeth many Hiſtorians, reporting this meeting of *Thaleſtris* with *Alexander*, and ſome contradicting it: But, indeede, the letters of *Alexander* himſelfe to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in thoſe parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* buſineſſe, may iuſtly breede ſuſpition of the whole matter as forged. Much more iuſtly may we ſuſpect it as a vaine tale, becauſe an Hiſtorian of the ſame time reading one of his bookes to *Lyſimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage; was laught at by the King for inſerting ſuch newes of the *Amazons*; and *Lyſimachus* himſelfe had neuer heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander* tooke vpon him to write his acts; which to amplifie, He told how the King had fought ſingle with an Elephant, and ſlaine it. The King hearing ſuch ſtuffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the Riuer of *Indus*; ſaying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inſerting ſuch fables, diſparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we beleeue and know that there are Elephants, though it were falſe that *Alexander* fought with one; ſo may we giue credit vnto writers, making mention of ſuch *Amazons*, whether it were true or falſe that they met with *Alexander*; as **Plutarch** leaues the matter vndetermined. Therefore I will here take leaue to make digreſſion, as well to ſhew the opinions of the ancient Hiſtorians, Coſmographers, and others, as alſo of ſome moderne diſcouerers touching theſe warlike Women, becauſe not onely *Strabo*, but many others of theſe our times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any ſuch kinde of people. *Iulius Solinus* ſeates them in the North parts of *Aſia* the leſſe. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the Riuer *Thermodoon*; the other, neere the *Caſpian* Sea; *Quas* (ſaith he) *Sauromatidas appellant*; *Which the people call Sauromatidas.* The former of theſe two had the *Cimenians* for their Neighbours; *Certum eſt*, (ſaith *Vadianus*, who hath Commented vpon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuiſſe*; *It is certaine that the Cimmerians were the next Nations to the Amazones.* *Ptolomie* ſets them farther into the Land North-wards, neere the Mountaines *Hippaci*, not farre from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Aſia* it ſelfe toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tels vs; Where they gouerned a people called the *Pandeans*, or *Padeans*, ſo called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the reſt deriue themſelues. *Claudian* affirmes, That they commanded many Nations: For he ſpeakes (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

Sol. c. 27. & 65

Lib. 1.

Pt. l. 6.
Aſiæ Tab. 2.
Plin l. 6. c. 20.

Medis leuibuſq; Sabæis
Imperat hic ſexus: Reginarúmq; ſub armis,
Barbariæ pars magna iacet.

Claud. de cap. Proſerpinæ.

Ouer the Medes, and light Sabæans, raignes
This female ſexe: and vnder armes of Queene,
Great part of the Barbarian Land remaines.

Diodorus Siculus hath hard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (ſaith he) than thoſe which kept the banks of *Thermodoon*, a Riuer falling into the *Euxine* Sea, neere *Heraclium*.

L. 2.

Herodotus doth alſo make report of theſe *Amazons*, whom he tels vs that the *Scythians* call *Æorpatas*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or Men-killers. And that they made incurſion into *Aſia* the leſſe, ſackt *Epheſus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon* & *Auentinus* report, which they performed fortie yeeres after *Troy* was taken. At the ſiege of *Troy* it ſelfe we reade of *Pentheſilea*, That ſhe came to the ſuccour of *Priamus*.

Æneiad. 1. l. 3

Am. Marcellimus giues the cauſe of their inhabiting vpon the Riuer of *Thermodoon*, ſpeaking confidently of the Warres they made with diuers Nations, and of their ouerthrow.

L. 22 c. 7.

Plutarch in the life of *Theſeus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellenicus*, and other ancient Hiſtorians, reports the taking of *Antiopa* Queene of the *Amazons* by *Hercules*, and by him giuen to *Theſeus*, though ſome affirme, That *Theſeus* himſelfe got her by ſtealth, when ſhe came to viſit him aboord his ſhip. But in ſubſtance there is little difference; all confeſſing, That ſuch *Amazons* there were. The ſame Author in the life of *Pompey* ſpeakes of certaine companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aide the *Albanians* againſt the *Romans*, by whom after the battaile, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken vp: and he ſaith farther, That theſe women entertaine the *Gela* and *Lelages* once a yeere, Nations inhabiting betweene them and the *Albanians*.

Hiſtor. Ind. part.1.c.28.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times; *Fran.Lopez* who hath written the nauigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the Riuer of *Amazons* from *Peru*, in the yeere 1542. (vpon which Riuer, for the diuers turnings, he is ſaid to haue ſailed ſixe thouſand miles) reports from the relation of the ſaid *Orellana*, to the Councell of the *Indies*, That he both ſaw thoſe women and fought with them, where they ſought to impeach his paſſage towards the Eaſt-Sea.

It is alſo reported by *Vlricus Schmidel*, that in the yeere 1542. when he ſailed vp the Riuers of *Paragna* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Countrey, called *Scherues*, inhabiting vnder the *Tropick* of *Capricorne*, who gaue his Captaine *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crowne of ſiluer, which he had gotten in fight from a Queene of the *Amazons* in thoſe parts.

Ed.Lopes, in his deſcription of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of ſuch *Amazons*, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right breſts, and liue a-part from men, ſaue at one time of the yeere, when they feaſt and accompany them for one moneth. Theſe (ſaith he) poſſeſſe a part of the Kingdome of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, ninteene degrees to the Southward of the line: and that theſe women are the ſtrongeſt guards of this Emperour, all the Eaſt *Indian Portugals* know.

I haue produced theſe authorities in part, to iuſtifie mine owne relation of theſe *Amazons*, becauſe that which was deliuered me for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how vpon the Riuer of *Papamena* (ſince the *Spaniſh* diſcoueries called *Amazons*) that theſe women ſtill liue and gouerne, was held for a vaine and vnprobable report.

§. XVI.

How Alexander *fell into the Perſian Luxurie: and how he further purſued* Beſſus.

NOw as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Perſepolis*: ſo at this time his proſperity had ſo much ouer-wrought his vertue, as he accompted clemency to be but baſeneſſe, & the temperance which he had vſed all his life time, but a poore and deiected humour, rather becomming the inſtructers of his youth, than the condition and ſtate of ſo mighty a King, as the world could not equall. For he perſwaded himſelfe that he now repreſented the greatneſſe of the gods; he was pleaſed that thoſe that came before him, ſhould fall to the ground, & adore him; he ware the Robes and garments of the *Perſians*, & commanded that his Nobility ſhould doe the like; he entertained in his Court and Campe, the ſame ſhameleſſe rabble of Curtiſans, and *Sodomiticall Eunuches*, that *Darius* had done, & imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, & deteſted manners of the *Perſians*, whom he had vanquiſhed. So licentious is felicity, as notwithſtanding that he was fully perſwaded, that the gods whom he ſerued (deteſting the vices of the inuaded) aſſiſted him in all attempts againſt them, he himſelfe, contrary to the Religion he profeſt (which how Idolatrous ſoeuer it were, could not be but fearfull vnto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, & not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearefull Monſter than *Darius*, from whoſe tyranny he vaunted to haue deliuered ſo many Nations. Yea, thoſe that were deareſt and neereſt vnto him, began to be aſhamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like ſcornefull diſcourſe; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of ſo many trauailes, more impoueriſhed in their vertues, than inriched by their victories; and that it was hard to iudge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the baſer ſlaues. Neither were theſe opinions ſo reſerued, but that the noiſe of them came to his eares. Hee therefore with great gifts ſought to pacifie the better ſort, and thoſe of whoſe iudgements he was moſt iealous; and making it knowne to the Armie, that *Beſſus* had aſſumed the title of a King, and called himſelfe *Artaxerxes*, and that he had compounded a great Armie of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perſwade them to goe on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themſelues (ſo farre ingaged) be caſt away. And becauſe they were peſtered with the ſpoiles of ſo many Cities, as the whole Armie ſeemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much vnlike the warfare of the *French*) hauing commanded euery mans fardels to be brought into the market-place, he together with his owne, cauſed all to be conſumed with fire. Certainely, this could not but haue prooued moſt dangerous vnto him, ſeeing the common-Souldiers had more intereſt in theſe things which they had bought with their painefull trauailes, and with their bloud; than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often obſerued) his happy temeritie ouercome all things. As he was in his way, newes came to him, that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had eſtabliſhed in his former gouernment ouer the *Arrians*, was reuolted; whereupon leauing the way of *Bactria*, he ſought him out; but the Rebell, hearing of his comming, fled to *Beſſus*, with two thouſand Horſe. He then went on towards *Beſſus*, and by ſetting a great pile of wood on fire, with the aduantage of a ſtrong winde, won the paſſage ouer an high and vnacceſſable Rocke, which was defended againſt him, with thirteene thouſand foote. For the extremitie of the Flame and ſmoake, forced them from the place, otherwiſe inuincible. I ſaw in the third ciuill warre of *France*, certaine Caues in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rockes, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at laſt, by certaine bundels of ſtraw, let downe by an yron chaine, and a waighty ſtone in the middeſt, thoſe that defended it, were ſo ſmothered, as they rendred themſelues with their plate, monie, and other goods therein hidden. There were alſo ſome three yeeres before my arriuall in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, ſmothered to death, together with their Horſes, by the Countrie-people, who did ſet the long dry graſſe on fire to the Eaſtward of them, (the winde in thoſe parts being alwayes Eaſt) ſo as notwithſtanding their flying from the ſmoake, there was not any one that eſcaped. Sir *Iohn Borrowes* alſo, with a hundred *Engliſh*, was in great danger of being loſt at *Margarita*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, by hauing the graſſe fired behinde him, but the ſmoake being timefully diſcouered, he recouered the Sea-ſhore with the loſſe of ſixeteene of his men. I remember theſe things, but to giue caution to thoſe that ſhall in times to come inuade any part of thoſe Countries, that they alwayes, before they paſſe into the Land, burne downe the graſſe and ſedge to the Eaſt of them; they may otherwiſe, without any other enemy, than a handfull of ſtraw ſet on fire, dye the death of hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hiue.

§. XVII.

A Conſpiracie againſt Alexander. *The death of* Philotas *and* Parmenio.

ALexander was, after he parted hence, no where reſiſted, till he came into *Aria*, to the Eaſt of *Bactria*, where the chiefe Citie of that Prouince, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended againſt him, by the reuolt of *Satribarzanes*, but in the end he receiued the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new ſupply of fiue thouſand and fiue hundred foote, and neere fiue hundred Horſe, out of *Greece*, *Theſſalie*, and other places. His iournie out of *Perſia* into theſe parts, is very confuſedly deſcribed. For hauing (as all his Hiſtorians tell vs) a determination to finde *Beſſus* in *Bactria*, he leaues it at the very entrance, & takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obſcure *Mardi*, vpon the *Caſpian*-Sea, and thence ouer the Mountaine *Coronus* into *Aria*, and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treaſon of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the ſonne of *Parmenio* was accuſed, as acceſſarie, if not principall. This *Dimnus*, hauing (I know not vpon what ground) conſpired with ſome others againſt the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loued, into the ſame treaſon. The Youth, although he was firſt bound by oath to ſecrecie, when he heard ſo foule a matter vttered, began to proteſt againſt it ſo vehemently, that his friend was like to haue ſlaine him for ſecurity of his owne life. So, conſtrained by feare, he made ſhew as if he had beene won by perſwaſion; and by ſeeming at length to like well of the buſineſſe, he was told more at large what they were, that had vndertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke; whoſe names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterpriſe) reckoned vp to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no ſooner freed himſelfe from the company of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his owne brother *Ceballinus* with the whole Hiſtorie: whereupon it was agreed betweene them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with leaſt ſuſpition) ſhould goe to the Court, and vtter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole buſines; deſiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promiſed to doe, but did not. Two dayes paſſed, and *Philotas* neuer brake with the King about the matter, but ſtill excuſed himſelfe to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leiſure. This his coldneſſe bred ſuſpition, and cauſed *Ceballinus* to addreſſe himſelfe to another,* one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with brought him to *Alexanders* preſence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had paſſed betweene *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perſwade himſelfe that this concealement of the treaſon, argued his hand to haue beene in the buſineſſe. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other queſtion than this: *Wherein haue I ſo offended thee, that thou ſhouldeſt thinke* Philotas *more worthy to be King than I? Dimnus* perceiuing when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had ſo wounded himſelfe, that he liued no longer, than to giue his laſt groane in the Kings preſence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the ſuſpition, which his ſilence might iuſtly breede. His anſwere was, That when the practice was reuealed vnto him by *Nichomachus*, he iudging it to be but friuolous, did forbeare to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, vntill he might haue better information. This errour of his, (if it were onely an errour) although *Alexander*, for the notorious ſeruices of his Father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himſelfe, had freely pardoned and giuen him his hand for aſſurance; yet by the inſtigation of *Craterus*, he againe ſwallowed his Princely promiſe, & made his enemies his Iudges: *Curtius* giues a note of *Craterus* in this buſineſs; How he perſwaded himſelfe, that he could neuer finde a better occaſion to oppreſſe his priuate enemie, than by pretending pietie, and dutie towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our owne hath giuen a note as much better, as it is more generall in his *Philotas*:

> See how theſe great men cloathe their priuate hate,
> In theſe faire colours of the publike good,
> And to effect their ends, pretend the State,
> As if the State by their affection ſtood:
> And arm'd with power and Princes iealouſies,
> Will put the leaſt conceit of diſcontent
> Into the greateſt ranke of treacheries,
> That no one action ſhall ſeeme innocent;
> Yea valour, honour, bountie, ſhall be made
> As acceſſaries vnto ends vniuſt:
> And euen the ſeruice of the State muſt lade
> The needfull'ſt vndertaking with diſtruſt;
> So that baſe vileneſſe, idle Luxurie,
> Seeme ſafer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were ſo, that the King, following the aduice of *Craterus*, had reſolued the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very euening of the ſame night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and diſcourſed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to binde him; he cryed out vpon the King in theſe words: O Alexander, *the malice of mine Enemies hath ſurmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is farre more conſtant than the word of a King*. Many circumſtances were vrged againſt him by *Alexander* himſelfe, (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in perſon examine the accuſations of treaſon) and this was not the leaſt (not the leaſt offence, indeede, againſt the Kings humour, who deſired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote vnto him concerning the title giuen him by *Iupiter Hammon*; He anſwered, That he could not but reioyce that he was admitted into that ſacred Fellowſhip of the gods, and yet he could not but withall grieue for thoſe that ſhould liue vnder ſuch a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (ſaith *Alexander*) a firme perſwaſion vnto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in deſpight. See what a ſtrange Monſter Flatterie is, that can perſwade Kings to kill thoſe that doe not praiſe and allow thoſe things in them, which are of all other moſt to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude, to heare the Kings Oration againſt him: he was brought forth in vilde garments, and bound like a Theefe; where he heard himſelfe, and his abſent Father the greateſt Captaine of the World, accuſed, his two other Brothers, *Hector* and *Nicanor* hauing beene loſt in the preſent Warre. He was ſo greatly oppreſt with griefe, as for a while he could vtter nothing but teares, and ſorrow had ſo waſted his ſpirits, as he ſanke vnder thoſe that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he anſwered, In the ſame wherein it had pleaſed the King to accuſe him, which he did, to the end that the *Perſians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might vnderſtand him. But hereof the King made his aduantage, perſwading the aſſembly, that he diſdained the language of his owne Countrie, and ſo with-drawing himſelfe, left him to his mercileſſe enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, ſeeing the King, who had ſo ſharpely inueyed againſt him, would not vouchſafe to heare his excuſe. For not his enemies onely were imboldened thereby againſt him, but all the reſt, hauing diſcouered the Kings diſpoſition and reſolution, contending among themſelues, which of them ſhould exceede in hatred towards him; Among many other arguments, which he vſed in his owne defence, this was not the weakeſt; That when *Nicomachus*, deſired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of marke and power were his partners in the conſpiracie (as ſeeming vnwilling to aduenture himſelfe with meane and baſe Companions) *Dimnus* named vnto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and ſome others, but ſpake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horſe, would greatly haue valued the party, and haue incouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeede, as *Philotas* ſaid well for himſelfe, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to haue heartned *Nicomachus*, would haue named him, though he had neuer dealt with him in any ſuch practice. And for more certaine proofe, that he knew nothing of their intents that practiſed againſt the King, there was not any one of the Conſpirators, being many, inforc'd by torments, or otherwiſe, that could accuſe him; and it is true, that aduerſity being ſeldome able to beare her owne burden, is for the moſt part found ſo malicious, as ſhe rather deſires to draw others (not alwayes deſeruing it) into the ſame danger, than to ſpare any that it can accuſe. Yet at the laſt, howſoeuer it were, to auoide the extremity of reſiſtleſſe and vnnaturall torments, deuiſed by his profeſt enemies *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Epheſtion*, and others, *Philotas* accuſed his owne ſelfe; being perſwaded that they would haue ſlaine him forthwith. But he failed euen in that miſerable hope; and ſuffering all that could be laid on fleſh and bloud, he was forced to deliuer, not what he knew, but whatſoeuer beſt pleaſed their eares, that were farre more mercileſſe than death it ſelfe.

Of this kinde of iudiciall proceeding S. *Auguſtine* greatly complaineth as a matter to be bewailed, ſaith he, with Fountaines of teares. *Quid cum in ſua cauſa quiſque torquetur: & cum quæritur vtrum ſit nocens, cruciatur: & innocens luit pro incerto ſcelere certiſſimas pœnas: non quia illud commiſiſſe detegitur, ſed quia non commiſiſſe neſcitur? What ſhall we ſay to it, when one is put to torture in his owne caſe; and tormented whileſt yet it is in queſtion whether he be guilty; and being innocent, ſuffers aſſured puniſhment for a fault, of which there is no certaintie; not becauſe he is knowne to haue committed the offence, but becauſe others doe not know that he hath not committed it?*

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, l. 19. c. 6.

It had beene enough for *Alexanders* ſafety, if *Philotas* had beene put to death without torment, the reſt would not much haue grieued thereat, becauſe he was greatly ſuſpected. But *Hemolaus*, who afterward conſpired againſt him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in bloud, the greateſt motiue of his owne ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, ſpeaking of *Alexander*, ſaith thus: *Crudelitas minime humanum malum eſt, indignum tam miti animo; ferina iſta rabies eſt ſanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abiecto homine, in ſilueſtre animal tranſire; Cruelty is not a humane vice; it is vnworthy of ſo milde a ſpirit. It is euen a beaſtly rage to delight in bloud and wounds, and caſting away the nature of man, to become a ſauage Monſter.*

Sen. de Clē. l. 1.

For the concluſion of this Tragedie, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confeſſion that *Philotas* made, were to giue end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the ſame was true indeede; For (ſaith he) in this caſe, they that ſpeake truely, or they that deny falſly, come to one and the ſame end. Now, while the Kings hands were yet wet in bloud, he commanded that *Lynceſtes*, ſonne-in-Law to *Antipater*, who had beene three yeeres in priſon, ſhould be ſlaine: The ſame diſpatch had all thoſe that *Nicomachus* had accuſed: others there were that were ſuſpected, becauſe they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had anſwered for themſelues that they knew no way ſo direct to winne the Kings fauour, as by louing thoſe whom the King fauoured; they were diſmiſt. But *Parmenio* was yet liuing; *Parmenio*, who had ſerued with great fidelitie as well *Philip* of *Macedon* the Kings Father, as himſelfe; *Parmenio* that firſt opened the way into *Aſia*; That had depreſt *Attalus* the Kings enemy; that had alwayes, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no leſſe prudent in counſell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloued of the men of War, and, to ſay the truth, he that had made the purchaſe for the King of the Empire of the Eaſt, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not vpon the King, (for it was vnlikely that he would haue diſhonoured his fidelity in his eldeſt age, hauing now liued threeſcore and ten yeeres) yet vpon thoſe that by the witchcraft of flattery had poſſeſt themſelues of his affection; it was reſolued that he ſhould be diſpatcht. *Polydamas* was imployed in this buſineſſe, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* truſted moſt, and loued beſt, who (to be ſhort) finding him in *Media*, and hauing *Cleander* and other Murderers with him, ſlew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters *Hic exitus* Parmenionis *fuit, militiæ domiq; clari viri; Multa ſine Rege proſperè, Rex ſine illo nihil magnæ rei geſſerat;* *This was the end of* Parmenio (ſaith Curtius) *who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him, did neuer effect any thing worthy of praiſe.*

Lib.7.

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§. XVIII.

How Alexander *ſubdued the Bactrians, Sogdians, and other people. How* Beſſus *was deliuered into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.*

When theſe things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Armie, and brought vnder his obedience the *Araſpians* or *Euergitans*; he made *Amenides* (ſometime *Darius* his Secretarie) their Gouernour, then he ſubdued the *Arachoſians*, and left *Menon* to command ouer them. Here the Armie, ſometimes led by *Parmenio*, findes him, conſiſting of twelue thouſand *Macedons* and *Greekes*, with whom he paſt through ſome cold Regions with difficultie enough. At length he came to the foote of the Mountaine *Taurus* towards the Eaſt, where he built a Citie which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with ſeuen thouſand of his old *Macedons*, worne with age and with trauailes of the warre. The *Arians*, who ſince he left them were reuolted, he ſubdued againe by the induſtry and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*; And now he reſolues to finde out the new King *Beſſus* in *Bactria*. *Beſſus*, hearing of his comming, prepares to paſſe ouer the great Riuer of *Oxus* which diuides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Gouernour of *Bactria* abandoned by *Beſſus*; The *Macedonian* Armie ſuffereth for want of Water, inſomuch as when they came to the Riuer of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, then *Alexander* had loſt in any one battaile againſt the *Perſians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after obiect vnto him) he fought againſt women, not againſt men, and not againſt their perſons, but their ſhadowes. He found on the bankes of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was forſt to ſew together the Hides that couered his carriages, and ſtuffe them with ſtraw, and on them in ſixe daies to paſſe ouer his Armie, which *Beſſus* might eaſily haue diſtreſt, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Armie afarre off. He had formerly complained againſt *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tigris*, and other paſſages, and yet now, when this traiterous ſlaue had ſtyled himſelfe a King, he durſt not performe any thing worthy of a ſlaue. And therefore thoſe that were neereſt vnto him, and whom he moſt truſted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Armie, moued both by the care of their owne ſafety, and by the memory of *Beſſus* his Treaſon and cruelty againſt *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Maſter, but with this difference, that he had the chaine cloſed about his necke like a maſtiffe Cog, and ſo was dragged along to be preſented to his enemie.

Dogg

In the meane while *Alexander* was arriued at a certaine Towne inhabited with *Greekes* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*; whoſe iſſues had well-neere forgotten their Countrey-language. Theſe moſt cruelly (after they had receiued him with great ioy) he put to the ſword, and deſtroyed their Citie. At this place he receiued *Beſſus*, and hauing rewarded *Spitamenes* with the reſt that deliuered him, he gaue the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himſelfe ſecure,ſome twenty thouſand Mountainers aſſaulted his Campe; in repelling whom he receiued a ſhot in the legge,the arrow head ſticking in the fleſh,ſo as he was carried in a Horſe-Lytter,ſometime by the horſe-men,ſometime by the foote.

Soone after he came vnto *Maracanda*,which *Petrus Perondinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regall Citie of the great *Tamerlaine*. It had in compaſſe threeſcore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* ſaith.) Here he receiued the Embaſſadors of the *Scythians* (called *Auians*) who offered to ſerue him.

The *Bactrians* are ſhortly again with the *Sogdians* ſtirred to Rebellion,by the ſame *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*,who had lately deliuered into his hands the Traitor *Beſſus*.Many Cities were reſoluedly defended againſt him, all which, after victory,he defaced and raſed, killing all therein. At one of theſe he receiued a blow on the necke,which ſtrucke him to the ground,and much diſabled him for many dayes after. In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recouered *Maracanda*, againſt whom he imployed *Menedemus* with three thouſand foote and eight hundred horſe.

In the heate of theſe tumults *Alexander* marched on(if we may beleeue *Curtius* and others) till he came to the Riuer of *Tanais*;vpon whoſe banke he built another *Alexandria* threeſcore furlongs in compaſſe,which he beautified with houſes within ſeuenteene daies after the wals built.The building of this Citie is ſaid to haue beene occaſion of a war betweene him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perſwading himſelfe, that this new Towne was fortified of purpoſe to keepe him vnder. I doe not well vnderſtand,why the *Scythians*,offering war in ſuch terrible manner, that *Alexander* was iudged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit ſickneſſe for very feare,ſhould neuertheleſſe make ſuit for peace: neither finde I the reaſon why *Alexander*(not intending the conqueſt of thoſe Northerne deſarts, but onely the defence of his owne banke) ſhould refuſe to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further then they ſhould agree to ſuffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; & a victory deſcribed;in purſuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is,That *Curtius* and *Trogus* haue greatly miſtaken this Riuer which they call *Tanais*. For it was the Riuer of *Iaxartes*, that runs betweene *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* paſt ouer, while *Menedemus* was imployed in the recouery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais* which diuides *Aſia* from *Europe*,is neere two thouſand miles diſtant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way deſart and vnknowne. So that *Alexander* had (beſides *Iaxartes*) the great Riuer of *Volga* and many others to ſwim ouer, ere he could recouer *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly haue diſcouered with the Armie that followed him, if he had imploied all the time that he liued in *Aſia* in that trauaile.

Wherefore it is enough to beleeue,that the *Aſiatique Scythians*, making ſome offer to diſturbe the erection of this new Citie, which was like to giue ſome hindrance to their excurſions,were driuen away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defenſiue Armes, eaſily chaſed ſome ten or twelue miles;which is the ſubſtance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his iournie; like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life time he were as ſober a man,as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that waſte Countrie, where he could finde nothing but trees and ſtones, nor other buſineſſe than to ſet vp a monument.

Threeſcore of the *Macedons* are ſaid to haue beene ſlaine, and one thouſand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might eaſily be in paſſing a great Riuer, defended againſt them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horſes one thouſand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many priſoners. It is forbidden by ſome Hiſtorians, and indeede it is hardly poſſible,to ſet down the numbers of ſuch as periſh in battell: yet *Cæſar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath beene ſo inquiſitiue into the greatneſſe of their owne ſucceſſe, that writers haue beene able to deliuer ſuch particulars by credible report, I hold it not vnlawfull to ſet downe what wee finde; eſpecially when it ſerues to giue light to the buſineſſe in hand. The ſmall number which the *Macedonians* loſt; the omiſſion of the number which they ſlew (a thing not vſuall in *Curtius*,who forbeares nothing that may ſet out the greatnes of *Alexander*)& the little bootie that was gotten;doe make it probable,that this war was no better than the repulſion of a few rouing *Tartars* (the like being yeerely performed by the *Moſcouite*, without any boaſt) and therefore better omitted by ſome Hiſtorians, than ſo highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was aſſuring himſelfe of thoſe *Scythians* bordering vpon *Iaxartes*, he receiued the ill newes that *Menedemus* was ſlaine, by *Spitamenes*, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greateſt numbers ſlaine, to wit, two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. He therefore, to appeaſe the rebellion, and to take reuenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haſte he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kils, burns, and laies waſte all before him; not ſparing the innocent children, and ſo departs, leauing a new Gouernour in that Prouince.

To repaire this loſſe he receiued a great ſupply of nineteene thouſand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, and the old Armie, he returnes towards the South, and paſſeth the Riuer of *Oxus*; on the South-ſide whereof he built ſixe Townes neere each other for mutuall ſuccour, But he findes a new ſtart-vp-Rebell, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thouſand Souldiers that defended againſt him a ſtrong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had ſought in vaine to win by faire words, he made choice of three hundred yong men, and promiſed ten talents to the firſt, nine to the ſecond, and ſo in proportion to the reſt, that could finde a way to creepe vp to the top thereof. This they performed with the loſſe of ſome two and thirty of their men, and then made a ſigne to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he ſent one *Cophes* to perſwade *Arimazes* to yeeld the place; who, being ſhewed by *Cophes* that the Armie of *Macedon* was already mounted vp, yeelded ſimply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his kinred) ſcourged and crucified to death; which puniſhment they well deſerued for neglecting to keepe good watch in ſo dangerous a time. For the place, as ſeemes by the deſcription, might eaſily haue beene defended againſt all the Armies of the World. But, what ſtrength cannot doe, Mans wit, being the moſt forcible engine, hath often effected; Of which I will giue you an example in a place of our owne.

The Iland of *Sarke*, ioyning to *Garnſey* and of that gouernement, was in Queene *Maries* time ſurpriſed by the *French*, and could neuer haue beene recouered againe by ſtrong hand, hauing cattell and corne enough vpon the place to feede ſo many men as will ſerue to defend it, and being euery way ſo inacceſſible, that it might be held againſt the Great *Turke*. Yet by the induſtry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this ſort regained. He anchored in the roade with one Ship of ſmall burden, and, pretending the death of his Merchant, beſought the *French*, being ſome thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Iſle; offering a preſent to the *French* of ſuch Commodities as they had aboord; whereto (with condition that they ſhould not come a-ſhore with any weapon, no not ſo much as with a Knife) the *French men* yeelded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carkaſſe, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebuſſes; The *French* receiued them at their landing; and ſearching euery of them ſo narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gaue them leaue to draw their Coffin vp the Rockes with great difficulty; ſome part of the *French* tooke the *Flemiſh* Boat and rowed aboord their Ship, to fetch the commodities promiſed, and what elſe they pleaſed, but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, ſhut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, ſet vpon the *French*; they run to the Cliffe and cry to their Company aboord the *Fleming* to come to their ſuccour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themſelues and the place. Thus a Fox-taile doth ſometimes helpe well to piece out the Lions-skin, that elſe would be too ſhort.

§. XIX.

How Alexander *ſlew his owne friends.*

AFter theſe *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Warres, we reade of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other friuolous matters, and that he committed the Gouernment of *Maracanda*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he ſlew him ſoone after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the ſon, or rather becauſe he obiected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon*:

for therein hee toucht him to the quicke, the ſame being deliuered in publike, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deſerued as much at the Kings hands, as any man liuing had done, and had in particular ſaued his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himſelfe, and when it was too late. Yet to ſay the truth, *Clytus* his inſolencie was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, ſo the King in his (for neyther of them were themſelues) forgat whom he went about to ſlay, for the griefe whereof hee tare his owne face and ſorrowed ſo inordinately, as, but for the perſwaſions of *Caliſthenes*, it is thought he would haue ſlaine himſelfe.

Wine begat Furie, Furie matter of Repentance: but preceding miſchiefes are not amended by ſucceeding bewailings: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obſtantem malis conatibus verecundiam remouet; vbi poſſedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, ſed protrahit; Drunkenneſſe both kindles and layes open euery vice; it remooues out of the way that ſhame which giues impediment vnto badde attempts; where wine gets the maſtrie, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out: drunkenneſſe indeed rather diſcouers vices, than makes them.*

Soone after this, *Spitamenes*, who ſlew *Beſſus*, and had lately reuolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, and his head preſented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dahans* alſo ſeized vpon his fellow-conſpirator *Datahernes*, and deliuered him vp. So *Alexander* being now freed from all theſe pettie-Rebels, diſpoſed of the Prouinces which he paſt ouer, and went on with his Armie into *Gabaza*, where it ſuffered ſo much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he loſt in one Tempeſt a thouſand of his Traine. From hence he inuaded the *Sacans*, and deſtroyed their Countrie. Then came he into the Territorie of *Cohortanes*, who ſubmitted himſelfe vnto him, feaſted him greatly, & preſented him with thirtie beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterward his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* diſdained, yet none of them durſt vſe any freedome of ſpeech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his courſe towards *India*, hauing ſo increaſed his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand armed men.

In the meane while he would needs be honoured as a God: whereto that hee might allure the *Macedonians*, hee imployed two pernicious Paraſites, *Hagis* and *Cleo*; whom *Caliſthenes* oppoſed: For, among many other honeſt arguments vſed to the aſſembly, he told *Cleo*, That hee thought, that *Alexander* would diſdaine the gift of God-head from his Vaſſalls; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did ſometime follow the death of thoſe, who in their life-time had done the greateſt things, yet it neuer accompanied any one as yet liuing in the world. Hee further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a banquet, and vpon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carowſing feaſt) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they liued, they were in future and ſucceeding Ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* ſtood behinde a partition and heard all that was ſpoken, waiting but an opportunitie, to be reuenged on *Caliſthenes*, who being a man of free ſpeech, honeſt, learned, and a louer of the Kings honour, was yet ſoone after tormented to death; not for that hee had betraied the King to others: but becauſe he neuer would condeſcend to betray the King to himſelfe, as all his deteſtable flatterers did. For in a conſpiracie againſt the King made by one *Hermolaus* and others (which they confeſt) he cauſed *Caliſthenes* without confeſſion, accuſation, or triall, to be torne a-ſunder vpon the racke: This deed, vnworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus cenſureth. *Hoc eſt* Alexandri *crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fœlicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, Occidit Perſarum multa millia: opponitur, &* Caliſtenem: *Quotiens dictum erit, Occidit* Darium: *opponitur, &* Caliſthenem. *Quotiens dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ipſum quoque tentauit nouis claſsibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thraciæ vſque ad Orientis terminos protulit: dicetur, ſed* Caliſthenem *occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla tranſierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit quàm ſcelus* Caliſthenes; *This is the eternall crime of* Alexander, *which no vertue nor felicitie of his in Warre ſhall euer bee able to redeeme. For as often as any man ſhall ſay, Hee ſlew many thouſand Perſians; it ſhall bee replied, Hee did ſo, and hee ſlew* Caliſthenes: *When it ſhall bee ſaid, Hee ſlew* Darius, *it ſhall bee replied, and* Caliſthenes; *When it ſhall be ſaid, Hee wanne all as farre as the very Ocean, thereon alſo hee aduentured with vnuſuall Nauies; and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the vtmoſt bounds of the Orient, It ſhall be ſaid withall; But hee killed* Caliſthenes. *Let him haue out-gone all the ancient* *examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts make ſo much to his glory, as* Calliſthenes *to his reproach.*

§. XX.

Of Alexanders *iourney into India. The battaile betweene him and* Porus.

WIth the Armie before remembred, of one hundred and twenty thouſand foote and horſe, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where ſuch of the Princes, as ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, he entertained louingly, the reſt hee conſtrained; killing Man, Woman, and Childe, where they reſiſted. He then came before *Niſa* built by *Bacchus*, which after a few daies was rendred vnto him. From thence he remoued to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom hee made feaſts for ten daies together. Now when hee had drunke his fill, hee went on towards *Dedala*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countries ſpoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reaſon whereof, victualls failing, hee diuides his Armie: *Ptolomie* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himſelfe the reſt. They take many Townes, whereof that of greateſt fame was *Mazage*, which had in it 3. hundred thouſand men; but after ſome reſiſtance, it was yeelded vnto him by *Cleophe* the Queene, to whom againe he reſtored it; at the ſiege of this Citie he receiued a wound in the legge. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyſperchon*, and a Rocke of great ſtrength by himſelfe: he wanne alſo a paſſage vpon one *Eryx*, who was ſlaine by his companie, and his head preſented to *Alexander*. This is the ſumme of *Alexanders* doings in thoſe parts, before ſuch time as he arriued at the Riuer of *Indus*. Comming to *Indus*, he found there *Epheſtion*, who (being ſent before) had prepared boates for the tranſportation of his Army, and ere *Alexanders* arriuall, had perſwaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country, to ſubmit himſelfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, ſoone vpon *Alexanders* comming, *Omphis* preſented himſelfe with all the ſtrength of his Country, and ſixe and fiftie Elephants, vnto him; offering him his ſeruice and aſſiſtance. He made *Alexander* know, that hee was an Enemie to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abiaſares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleaſed, hoping by this diſ-vnion to make his owne victorie by farre the more eaſie. Hee preſented *Alexander* with a Crowne of gold, ſo did hee the reſt of his Commanders, and withall fourescore talents of ſiluer coyne; which *Alexander* not onely refuſed, but to ſhew that he was couetous of glory, not of gold, hee gaue *Omphis* a thouſand talents of his owne treaſure, beſides other *Perſian* rarities. *Abiaſares*, hauing heard that *Alexander* had receiued his enemie *Omphis* into his protection, reſolued to make his owne peace alſo: For, knowing that his owne ſtrength did but equall that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference betweene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue, hee thought it an ill match when *Alexander*, who had alreadie beaten vnder foote all the greateſt Princes of *Aſia*, ſhould make himſelfe a Party and Head of the quarrell. So had *Alexander* none now to ſtand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he ſent a commandement, that hee ſhould attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from *Porus* he receiued this manly anſwere; That he would ſatisfie him in his firſt demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement hee was reſolued to take counſell of his Sword. To be ſhort, *Alexander* reſolues to paſſe ouer the Riuer *Hydaſpes*, and to finde *Porus* at his owne home. *Porus* attends him on the farther banke with thirtie thouſand foot, fourescore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troope of Horſe. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had ſurely ſtayed ſomewhat longer ere he had ſeene *India*. The Riuer was foure furlongs broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deep and ſwift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well ſhadowed with wood, and of good capacitie. *Alexander* ſent *Ptolomie* vp the Riuer with a great part of the Army, ſhrowding the reſt from the view of *Porus*: who by this deuice being drawne from his firſt incamping, ſets himſelfe downe oppoſite to *Ptolomie*, ſuppoſing that the whole Armie of *Macedon* meant to force their paſſage there. In the meane while *Alexander* recouers the farther ſhore without reſiſtance. Hee orders his troopes and aduanceth towards *Porus*, who at firſt rather beleeues, that *Abiaſares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had bin come ouer *Hydaſpes* to his aide, than that *Alexander* had paſt it.

But he findes it otherwiſe, and ſends his Brother *Hagis* with foure thouſand horſe, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little vſe: for there had fallen ſo much raine, and thereby the fields were ſo moiſtned, as the horſes could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dahans* had the Vantguard, who ſo galled theſe *Indians*, as they brake their reines, & other furniture, ouerturning the waggons, and thoſe in them. *Perdiccas* alſo gaue vp the *Indian* horſe-men, and the one and the other were forſt to recoile. *Porus* moues forward with groſſe of his Armie, that thoſe of his Vantguard ſcattered might recouer his Reare: *Alexander* being followed with *Epheſtion*, *Ptolomie*, and *Perdiccas*, tooke on him to charge the *Indian* horſemen on the left wing, commanding *Cenus* or *Cenon* to inuade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, he directed to breake vpon *Porus* his battaile of foot, ſtrengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himſelfe being carried vpon one of them, of the greateſt ſtature. By theſe beaſts the *Macedonian* foot were moſt offended; but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long & ſtrong Pikes of the *Macedonians*, ſo galled them, as being inraged, they turned head, and ranne ouer the foot that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the aduantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulneſſe of the *Macedonian* Captaines, the victory fell to *Alexander*, who alſo farre exceeded *Porus* in number: for beſides the *Macedonians* and other Eaſterne and Northerne Nations, *Porus* was aſſailed by his owne Confederate and Countrie people. Yet for his owne perſon hee neuer gaue ground otherwiſe than with his ſword towards his enemies, till beeing weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Armie, he became a priſoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe hee receiued his eſtate with a great enlargement.

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§. XXI.

How Alexander *finiſhed his expedition, and returned out of India.*

I Forbeare to trouble my ſelfe and others with a friuolous diſcourſe of Serpents, Apes and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in theſe their trauailes: or of thoſe pettie Warres which *Alexander* made betweene the ouerthrow of *Porus*, and his ſailing downe the Riuer of *Indus*. The deſcriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better knowne vnto vs in this Age, by meanes of our late Nauigations into thoſe parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of thoſe Kings we could in no ſort be perſwaded to beleeue, till our own experience had taught vs, that there were many ſtranger things in the World, than are to be ſeene betweene *London* and *Stanes*.

Our great traueller *Mandeuile*, who died in the yeere 1372. and had ſeene ſo much of the World, and of the Eaſt *India*, we accompted the greateſt fabler of the World; yet had hee another reputation among other Nations, as well able to iudge as we. Witneſſe the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friers *Guillimins* in *Liege*, where the religious of that place keep ſome things of his, *Comme pour honorable memoire de ſon Excellence*; *For an honourable memorie of his Excellencie*, ſaith *Guichardine*.

Guic. in Diſc. of the Low Countries.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where thoſe many Riuers of *Hydaſpes*, *Zaradris*, *Aceſines*, and the reſt, fall into the maine ſtreame, are now poſſeſt by the great *Mogor*, the ninth from *Tamberlane*, who commands all that tract betweene *Perſia* and *Indus* towards the Weſt, as alſo a great extent of Countrie towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Aſcenſion*, a ſhippe of *London*, ſuffered ſhipwracke, in the yeere 1609. and ſome of the company trauelled ouer Land till they came to *Agra*, the ſame great Citie (as I take it) which our later Coſmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionyſopolis*.

Philoſtratus in the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, ſpeaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the Eaſt *India*, tells vs, that thoſe two great Captaines (whom *Alexander* ſought by all means to out-fame) when they indeuoured to ſubiect to them the *Oxydracæ*, a people inhabiting betweene the Riuers of *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the aſſault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be vnderſtood by the great Ordinance that thoſe people had then in vſe. For it is now certainely knowne, that the great Kings of the vttermoſt Eaſt, haue had the vſe of the Canon many hundreds of yeeres ſince, and euen ſince their firſt ciuilitie and greatneſſe, which was long before

Alexanders time. But *Alexander* pierſt not ſo farre into the Eaſt. It ſufficed, that hauing alreadie ouer-wearied his Armie, hee diſcouered the reſt of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had ſubdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the Riuer *Ganges*, was the powerfulleſt King of all thoſe Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thouſand Foot, three thouſand Elephants, twenty thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than euer to proceed in this diſcouery and conqueſt, yet all the art hee had, could not perſwade the Souldiers to wander ouer thoſe great Deſerts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible vnto them than the greateſt Armie that the Eaſt could gather. Yet at the laſt contented they were, after many perſwaſiue Orations, to follow him towards the South, to diſcouer ſuch part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the Riuer of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* ſeeing that it would be no otherwiſe, deuiſed a prettie tricke, wherewith hee hoped to beguile poſteritie, and make himſelfe ſeeme greater than he was. Hee enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for Souldiers, greater Horſe-ſtalles, and higher mangers than Horſes could feede in. Hee cauſed all furniture of Men and Horſes to bee made larger than would ſerue for vſe; and ſcattered theſe Armours and Bridles about his Campe, to be kept as reliques, and wondred at by the Sauages. Proportionable to theſe he raiſed vp twelue great Altars to be the monument of his iournies end. This was a readie way to encreaſe the fame of his bigneſſe; to his greatneſſe it could adde nothing ſaue a ſuſpition, that it was leſſe than is thought, ſeeing he ſtroue ſo earneſtlie to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned againe to the banke of *Aceſines*, and there determined to ſet vp his fleet where *Aceſines* and *Hydaſpis* incounter, where to teſtifie by a ſurer monument, how far he had paſt towards the Eaſt, he built by thoſe riuers two Cities: the one he called *Nicæa*, & the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloued Horſe *Bucephalus*. Here againe he receiued a fourth ſupply of ſixe thouſand *Thracian* Horſe-men, ſeuen thouſand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* fiue and twenty thouſand Armours, garniſhed with ſiluer and gold, which he diſtributed among his Souldiers. About theſe Riuers he wanne many Townes, and committed great ſlaughter on thoſe that reſiſted; It is then written of him, that aſſaulting a Citie of the *Oxidracans*, he lept from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, againſt all the Inhabitants; tales like thoſe of *Beuis* of *Southampton*, friuolous and incredible. Finally, hee paſt downe the Riuer with his fleete, at which time alſo the newes came vnto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arriuall of an hundred Embaſſadours from a King of *India*, who ſubmitted himſelfe vnto him. Hee feaſted theſe Embaſſadours vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all the ſumptuoſity that could bee deuiſed, who ſoone after their diſpatch, returned againe with a preſent of three hundred Horſe, one hundred and thirty Waggons, and to each of them foure Horſes, a thouſand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, hee ſailed towards the South, paſſed through many obſcure Nations, which did all yeeld vnto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among theſe he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he tooke in this paſſage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought againſt him with poyſoned Swords, with one of which *Ptolomie* (afterward King of *Ægypt*) was wounded, and cured by an hearb which *Alexander* dreamt he had ſeene in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neere the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a ſudden ſhuffled one vpon another by the Floud, ſo on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the ſandie bankes of the Riuer, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few daies obſerued well the courſe of the Sea, he paſt out of the riuers mouth ſome few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to informe himſelfe, hee ſent *Nearchus* and *Oneſicritus*, to diſcouer the coaſt towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his ſixt Booke hath written this paſſage downe the Riuer of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Veſſels, in which he tranſported his Army, the Commanders that were vſed therein, and other the maruellous prouiſions made.

Neere the out-lets of this Riuer, he ſpent ſome part of the Winter, and in eighteene daies march from thence recouered *Gedroſia*, in which paſſage his Armie ſuffered ſuch miſerie for want of food, that of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and twelue thouſand horſe, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned aliue.

§. XXII.

Of Alexanders *Riot, Crueltie, and death.*

FRom *Gedroſia*, *Alexander* led his Armie into *Carmania*, and ſo drawing neere to *Perſia*, hee gaue himſelfe wholly to feaſting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swiniſh vice be hatefull enough in it ſelfe, yet it alwaies inflamed this King to Crueltie. *For (ſaith* **Curtius***) the Hang-man followed the feaſt, for* Aſpaſtes *one of his Prouinciall Gouernors he commanded to bee ſlaine, ſo as neither did the exceſſe of voluptuouſneſſe qualifie his crueltie, nor his crueltie hinder in ought his voluptuouſneſſe.*

While he refreſhed his Army in theſe parts, a new ſupply of fiue thouſand foote and a thouſand horſe, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had been imployed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Againſt theſe Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Prouinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were ſo outragious, as *Alexander* was perſwaded, that, had they not altogether deſpaired of his returne out of *India*, they durſt not haue committed them. All men were glad of the occaſion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had ſlaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chiefe, with ſixe hundred Souldiers by them imployed, were deliuered ouer to the Hang-man: euery one reioycing that the Ire of the King was at laſt executed on the miniſters of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Oneſicritus* were now returned from the coaſt, and made report of an Iland rich in gold, and of other ſtrange things; whereupon they were commanded to make ſome farther diſcouerie: which done, that they ſhould enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and finde the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew neere to *Babylon*, he viſited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Paſargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was preſented with many rich gifts by *Orſines*, one of the Princes of *Perſia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But becauſe *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch* in eſpeciall fauour with the King, was neglected, he not onely practiſed certaine looſe fellowes to witneſs againſt *Orſines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* tombe, for which hee was condemned to die; but hee aſſiſted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time alſo *Alexander* cauſed *Phradites* to be ſlaine, ſuſpecting his greatneſſe. *Cœperat* (ſaith *Curtius*) *eſſe præceps ad repræſentanda ſupplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; Hee began head-longly to ſhed bloud, and to beleeue falſe reports.* It is true, that he tooke a way to make all men weary of his gouernement, ſeeing crueltie is more fearefull, than all aduentures that can bee made againſt it.

Arrianus hath a farre different deſcription of *Cyrus* tombe.

At this time it is ſaid, that *Calanus* the Philoſopher burnt himſelfe, when hee had liued threeſcore and thirteene yeeres. Whether herein he followed the cuſtome of his Countrie, being an *Indian*, Or ſought to preuent the griefe and incommoditie of elder age, it is vncertaine: but in this the Hiſtorians agree, that fore-ſeeing and fore-ſhewing *Alexanders* death, he promiſed to meet him ſhortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Paſargada* hee came to *Suſa*, where he married *Statira*, *Darius* his eldeſt Daughter, giuing her younger ſiſter to his beloued *Epheſtion*, and foureſcore other *Perſian* Ladies to his Captaines. There were ſixe thouſand gueſts inuited to the feaſt, to each of which he gaue a cup of gold. Here there came vnto him three thouſand yong ſouldiers, out of his conquered Prouinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured, *Harpalus*, his Treaſurer in *Babylon*, hauing lauiſhly conſumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with fiue thouſand Talents, and ſixe thouſand hired Souldiers, but hee was reiected in *Greece*, and there ſlaine. *Alexander* greatly reioyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with theſe forces and treaſures could not ſtirre: yet hee ſent commandement, that they ſhould againe receiue their baniſhed men, whereunto (fearefull of his indignation) all ſubmitted themſelues (except the *Athenians*) though they reſolued, that it was a manifeſt preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a maruellous diſcontentment in his Army, becauſe he had reſolued to ſend into *Macedon* all thoſe olde Souldiers which could no longer endure the trauell of Warre, and to keepe the reſt in *Aſia*. Hee vſed many Orations to ſatisfie them, but it was in vaine during the tempeſt of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine-threed, when they haue tumbled a while, ſo are the vnconſiderate multitude eaſily conducted when their firſt paſſions are euaporate. With ſuch as were licenced to depart, he ſent *Craterus*, to whom he gaue the Lieutenantſhip of *Macedon*, *Theſſaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his firſt departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greekes* in his abſence, diſcharged the truſt committed vnto him with great fidelitie, and ſent him ſo many ſtrong ſupplies into *Aſia* from time to time. Certainely if *Alexander* had not taken counſell of his cups, hee would haue caſt ſome better colour on this alteration, and giuen *Antipater* a ſtronger reaſon for his remooue, than to haue imployed him in the conduction of a new ſupply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the Warre being now at an end. For *Antipater* ſaw nothing in this remoue, but the Kings diſpoſition to ſend him after *Parmenio*, and the reſt. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithſtanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though iealous, doe not ſtand in doubt of euery man ill affected, though valiant: but there is a kinde of Kingly courage, compounded of hardineſſe and vnderſtanding, which is many times ſo fearefull vnto them, as they take leaue both of Law and Religion, to free themſelues thereof.

After hee had ſent for *Antipater*, hee made a iourney into *Media* to ſettle things there; where *Epheſtion*, whom hee fauoured moſt of all men, dies. The King according to the greatneſſe of his loue, laments his loſſe; hangs his Phyſicion; and beſtowes vpon his Monument twelue thouſand talents: After which he returnes to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but ſent; and not to excuſe himſelfe, but to free himſelfe. For if wee beleeue *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gaine-ſay) *Antipater* by his ſonnes, *Caſſander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gaue him poyſon; *Theſſalus* (who was of the conſpiracie) hauing inuited him to a drinking feaſt of purpoſe. For after hee had taken a carouſe in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drinke ſtronger than *Hercules* himſelfe, hee quitted the World within a few daies.

Certainely the Princes of the World haue ſeldome found good, by making their Miniſters ouer-great, and thereby ſuſpicious to themſelues. For hee that doth not acknowledge fidelitie to be a debt, but is perſwaded, that Kings ought to purchaſe it from their Vaſſalls, will neuer pleaſe himſelfe with the price giuen. The onely reſtoratiue, indeed, that ſtrengthens it, is the goodneſſe and vertue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent; ſo as proportion and diſtance be obſerued. It may bee that *Antipater* hauing commanded two or three Kingdomes ten or twelue yeeres, knew not how to play any other part; no more than *Cæſar* did, after he had ſo long a time gouerned the *Gaules*, where he vtterly forgat the art of obedience. A moſt cruell and vngratefull traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* doe not belie him: For though he feared ſome ill meaſure vpon his remoue (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Calliſthenes*, hauing beene ſo lately acted) yet hee knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had reſolued to haue giuen him ſome other great gouernment in *Aſia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, hauing perchance deſired to be gouerned by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

§. XXIII.

Of Alexanders *perſon and qualities.*

HOwſoeuer it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot be excuſed, no more than his vanitie to be eſteemed the ſonne of *Iupiter*, with his exceſſiue delight in drinke and drunkenneſſe, which others make the cauſe of his feuer and death. In that he lamented his want of enterpriſing, and grieued to conſider what hee ſhould doe when hee had conquered the World, *Auguſtus Cæſar* found iuſt cauſe to deride him, as if the well-gouerning of ſo many Nations and Kingdomes, as he had already conquered, could not haue offered him matter more than aboundant, to buſie his braines withall. That hee was both learned and a louer of learning, it cannot bee doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his firſt booke of the Aduancement of Learning, hath prooued it ſufficiently. His liberalitie I know not how to praiſe, becauſe it exceeded proportion. It is ſaid, That when he gaue a whole Citie to one of his Seruants, He, to whom it was giuen, did out of modeſtie refuſe it, as diſproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to giue: of which *Seneca*;

Animoſa vox videtur & regia, cum ſit ſtultiſsima. Nihil enim per ſe quenquam decet. Refert, quid, cui, quando, quare, vbi, &c. ſine quibus facti ratio non conſtabit; habeatur perſonarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum ſit vbiq; virtutis modus, æquè peccat quod excedit, quàm quod deficit; It ſeemes a braue and royall ſpeech, whereas indeed it is very fooliſh. For nothing ſimply conſidered by it ſelfe beſeemes a man. We muſt regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which conſiderations no act can be approued. Let honours be proportioned vnto the perſons: for whereas vertue is euer limited by meaſure, the exceſſe is as faultie as the defect.

L. 2. de Ben. c. 7

For his Perſon, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man, a diſpoſition taken by it ſelfe, not much to be admired; For I am reſolued that he had ten thouſand in his Armie as daring as himſelfe. Surely, if aduenturous natures were to be commended ſimply, we ſhould confound that vertue with the hardineſſe of Theeues, Ruffians, and maſtiffe Dogges. For certainely it is no way praiſe-worthy but in daring good things, and in the performance of thoſe lawfull enterpriſes, in which wee are imployed for the ſeruice of our Kings and Common-weales.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troublers of the World, who haue bought their glory with ſo great deſtruction, and effuſion of bloud, I thinke him farre inferiour to *Cæſar*, and many other that liued after him, ſeeing hee neuer vndertooke any warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted; nor was euer encountred with any Armie of which he had not a moſt maſtring aduantage, both of weapons & Commanders, euery one of his Fathers old Captaines by far exceeding the beſt of his Enemies. But it ſeemes, Fortune and Deſtinies (if we may vſe thoſe termes) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his owne, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their neckes to the yoke, and Kingdomes, that inuited and called in their owne Conquerours. For concluſion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who ſpeaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Sonne, giues this iudgement of them: *Quod non minores fuere peſtes mortalium quàm inundatio, qua planum omne perfuſum eſt, quàm conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exaruit; They were no leſſe plagues to mankinde, than an ouerflow of Waters, drowning all the leuell; or ſome burning droughth, whereby a great part of liuing creatures are ſcorched vp.*

Natur. quæſt. l. 3. q. 1.

Chap. III.

The reigne of Aridæus.

§. I.

Of the queſtion about ſucceſsion to Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Armie (as *Demades* the *Athenian* then compared it) in ſuch caſe, as was that monſtrous Giant *Polyphemus*, hauing loſt his onely eye. For, that which is reported in fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedonians*: their force was intollerable, but for want of good guidance vneffectuall, and harmefull chiefly to themſelues. The cauſes whereof (vnder the diuine ordinance) were, partly the vncertainty of Title to ſucceſſion in the Kingdome of *Macedon*, partly the ſtubborne pride of *Alexander* himſelfe, who thinking none worthy to bee his Heire, did refuſe to eſtabliſh the right in any one, leauing euery one to his owne fortune: but eſpecially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Maſter to ſuffer no equalls; a leſſon ſoone taught vnto ſpirits reflecting vpon their owne worth, when the reuerence of a greater obiect faileth.

It hath formerly beene ſhewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) gouerning in *Macedon* as Protector, aſſumed vnto himſelfe the Kingdome, not rendring it vnto *Amyntas*, (the Sonne of his elder brother *Perdiccas*) when hee grew to mans eſtate; but onely beſtowing vpon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond, and much more by his owne proper ſtrength, hee aſſured the Crowne vnto himſelfe: *Amyntas* neuer attempting ought againſt *Philip*; though with price of his life) he did

againſt

againſt *Alexander* in the beginning of his reigne. Wherefore *Eurydice* the ſole iſſue of this marriage, ought in reaſon to haue beene acknowledged Queene after *Alexander*; as hauing better Title thereto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they liued, vnleſſe (peraduenture) ſome Law of that Nation forbade the reigne of Women. But the excellent vertue of theſe two Princes had vtterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies: and ſo great were their conqueſts, that *Macedon* it ſelfe was (in regard of them) a very ſmall Appendix, and no way deſeruing to bee laid in ballance againſt the demand of their poſteritie, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall ſeate.

Alexander hauing taken many wiues, had iſſue by none of the principall of them. *Barſine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Perſian* had borne vnto him a yong Sonne: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom hee had more ſolemnly married) was left by him great with childe. But the baſeneſſe of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alleaged in Barre of Plea made for them, by ſome that would (perhaps) haue wrought out their owne ends, vnder the name of *Alexanders* children.

Cleopatra a ſiſter of *Alexander*, widdow to the King of *Epirus*, & *Aridæus* his baſe brother (ſonne to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in courſe. Of *Cleopatra* there was no ſpeech, which may giue ſuſpicion, that either Law or Cuſtome had made that ſexe vncapable of the Soueraignty: *Aridæus* (beſides his baſtardie) was neither for perſon nor qualitie fit to rule as King; yet vpon him the election fell, but ſlowly, and (as happeneth often) for lacke of a better: when the Counſailors hauing ouer-laboured their diſagreeing wits in deuiſing what was beſt, were content for very wearineſſe to take what came next to hand.

Ptolomie (ſoone after King of *Ægypt*) concurring with them who reiected all mention of the halfe-*Perſian* brood, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all ſhould be giuen to the Captaines, that going for law which by the greater part of them ſhould bee decreed: ſo farre was hee from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This *Ptolomie* was called the ſonne of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who hauing vſed the company of *Arſinoë Ptolomeis* mother, deliuered her in marriage to *Lagus* being great with childe. Therefore, whether it were ſo, that hee hoped well to worke his owne fortune out of thoſe diſſenſions, which are incident vnto the conſultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeeme their quiet with ſubiection to one, deſeruing regard by his bloud, and truſt for his euen carriage; or whether he deſired onely to get a ſhare to himſelfe, which could not haue come to paſſe, had all beene giuen to one: plaine enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridæus* before himſelfe; and therefore gaue ſuch counſaile as fitted his owne and other mens purpoſes. Yea, this deuice of his tooke place indeed, though not in forme as hee had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to haue aſſembled at *Alexanders* empty chaire, as *Ptolomie* had conceiued the forme of their conſultations, or to ſet in the chaire ſuch a King as *Aridæus*, no wiſer then the chaire it ſelfe. Alſo the controuerſies ariſing were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puiſſance.

But as theſe counterfait ſhewes of diſſembling aſpirers, doe often take checke by the plaine dealing of them, who dare to go more directly to work: ſo was it like to haue fared with *Ptolomie* & the reſt, when *Ariſtonus*, another of the Captaines, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*; ſaying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthieſt, as deſigning *Perdiccas* to whom (lying at the point of death) he deliuered his ring. It ſeemed good in reaſon, that *Alexander* ſhould bee diſpoſer of his owne purchaſes: and thoſe tokens of *Alexanders* purpoſe appeared plain enough, ſo long as no man would interpoſe anothers conſtruction: euery one being vncertaine how the ſecret affections of the reſt might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their loue, or becauſe they would not bee of the lateſt, vrged *Perdiccas* to take vpon him the eſtate Royall. Hee was no ſtranger to the Royall bloud; yet his birth gaue him not ſuch reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom he had bin very inward, & that eſpecially ſince the death of *Epheſtion* (a powerful Minion) into whoſe place he was choſen. For his own worth he might wel be commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had giuen much proofe of his priuate valour. But very ſurly he was: which quality (ioyned with good fortune) carried a ſhew of

Maieſtie: being checkt with miſaduenture, it was called by a true name *Pride*; and rewarded with death.

In the preſent buſineſſe a fooliſh ouer-weening did him as great harme, as it had been great happineſſe to haue ſucceeded *Alexander*. For not content to haue the acclamation of the Souldiers, approuing the ſentence of *Ariſtonus*, he would needs counterfait modeſtie; thinking that euery one of the Princes would haue intreated him to take the waighty burden of an Empire, which would be the leſſe enuious, the more ſolemnity he vſed in the acceptance. It is truely ſaid, He that faineth himſelfe a ſheepe, may chance to be eaten by a Wolfe. *Meleager*.(a man by nature enuious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) tooke aduantage of his irreſolute behauiour, and very bitterly enueighed againſt him. In concluſion, he pronounced, That whoſoeuer was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treaſure; and therefore he inuited them, who were nothing ſlow, to ſhare it. This diſturbed all the Conſultation. The Captaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to haue brought any concluſion to good effect without conſent of the Souldiers, who greedie of ſpoile thronged about *Meleager*.

§. II.

The Election of Aridæus, *with the troubles there-about ariſing; the firſt diuiſion of the Empire.*

DVring this vp-rore, mention was made of *Aridæus* by ſome one, and entertained with good liking of many, vntill at laſt it grew to the voice of the Armie. *Meleager* hauing withdrawen himſelfe tumultuouſly from the company of the Lords, was glad of ſo faire an occaſion to make himſelfe great: therefore he produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inueſting him in *Alexanders* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withſtood this election, but in vaine: for they could not reſolue what courſe to follow, reiecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed man, tooke vpon him to proclaime the Sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counſaile which *Perdiccas* at firſt had giuen, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But this child was not yet borne, which made that attempt of *Python* vaine. Finally, *Perdiccas* with ſixe hundred men, and *Ptolomie* with the Kings Pages tooke vpon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new king about whither he liſted, eaſily brake in vpon them, and inforced them to accept *Aridæus* for their Soueraigne Lord. Then by the interceſſion of the ancient Captaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither ſide faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of Royall bloud, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, iſſued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horſe, which conſiſted (for the moſt part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but ſtanding vpon his guard) that he might be readie to take the opportunity of any commotion, that ſhould happen among the infantry. The king (who was gouerned by *Meleagar*) commanded or gaue leaue to haue *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt ſucceeded ill, being neither ſecretly carried, nor committed to ſure executioners. Their comming was not vnexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with ſuch grauitie, that they departed honeſter then they came; being ſorry for their bad enterpriſe. Vpon the newes of this attempt the campe was in an vp-rore, which the King ſeeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as hauing newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courteſie. The matter it ſelfe affoorded no good excuſes, and his indiſcretion made them worſe. He ſaid, that no harme was done, for *Perdiccas* was aliue: but their exclamations were againſt the tyrannous enterpriſe, which he imputed to *Meleager*, abandoning the ſureſt of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeaſed, vntill the King by offering to reſigne his eſtate vnto them, renued out of their pittie that fauourable affection, which had mooued them to ſet him vp at the firſt.

Perdiccas hauing now ioyned himſelfe with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all prouiſion of victuals from the City. But after ſundry Embaſſies paſſing betweene the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to haue the Autors of ſedition giuen vp into their handes; the King, that *Meleager* might be ioyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in gouernment of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings deſire. *Meleager* ſhould haue done well to conſider, that ſuch men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to giue him a principall place among them without any new occaſion offered, had not ſome purpoſe of treacherie lurked vnder their great facilitie. Generall peace was renewed, and much loue proteſted where little was intended. The face of the Court was the ſame which it had beene in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the ſame heart giue it life; and windy ſpirits they were which mooued in the arteries. Falſe reports were giuen out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his owne diſgrace, but in ſuch termes as might ſeeme to haue proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, tooke it as an injury done to himſelfe; and (as deſirous of a true friendſhip) deſired of *Perdiccas*, that ſuch authors of diſcord might be puniſhed. *Perdiccas* (as a louer of peace) did well approue the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muſter ſhould be made, at which time the diſturbers of the common quiet ſhould receiue their puniſhment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in preſence of the Army. The plot was miſchieuouſly laied: Had *Meleager* giuen way to ſeditious rumours, he muſt needs haue incurred the generall hatred of al, as a ſower of diſſenſion, & therby with a publike approbation might haue been cut off, as hauing often offended in that kinde: his Prince being too weake a Patron. Now ſeeking redreſſe of theſe diſorders, he haſtened his owne ruine, by a leſſe formall, but more ſpeedie way. This kinde of Muſter was very ſolemne, and practiſed with many ceremonies, as for cleanſing of the Army. The Horſe-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their qualitie ſet in aray, apart from others, as if they had beene of ſundrie ſorts, met at aduenture: which done, the manner was to skirmiſh (as by way of exerciſe) according to direction of their ſeuerall Captaines. But at that time the great battaile of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpoſe beſtowed in a ground of diſaduantage; and the countenance of the horſe and Elephants beginning to giue charge vpon them, was ſuch, as diſcouered no jeſting paſtime nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horſemen: of which cuſtome *Perdiccas* made great vſe that day, to the vtter confuſion of his enemies. For *Aridæus* was alwaies gouerned by him, which for the preſent had him in poſſeſſion. Two or three dayes before he ſought the death of *Perdiccas* at the inſtigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* vp and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliuer vnto the death all ſuch as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were caſt vnto the Elephants, and by them ſlaine, in the preſence of the King, who ſhould haue defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But theſe three hundred were not the men whoſe puniſhment *Meleager* had expected: they were ſuch as ſtad followed him, when he diſturbed the firſt conſultation that was held about the election of a new King, and ſome of them his eſpeciall friends. Hauing therefore kept himſelfe quiet a while, as vnwilling to giue offence to them which had the aduantage; when he ſaw their proceedings tend very manifeſtly to his deſtruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no *Sanctuary*: for thither they ſent and ſlew him.

The Army being thus corrected was led into the City, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what maner of man their King was, diuided all the Prouinces of the Empire among themſelues; leauing to *Aridæus* the office of a *Viſitor*, and yet making *Perdiccas* his *Protector*, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought vpon; whoſe body hauing been ſeuen daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the *Ægrptians*: no ſigne of poiſon appearing, how great ſoeuer the ſuſpition might be. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Aridæus*: one of the Captaines, who was two yeeres preparing of a great and coſtly ſhew, making a ſtately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarſes of his friends being layed in the ground before that of *Alexander* was beſtowed in *Alexandria*, a City of his owne building, in *Ægypt*.

§. III.

The beginning of the Lamian Warre.

WHileſt theſe things were in doing, or preſently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principall Noble-men, and inferiour to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any of the reſt, were buſied in *Greece* with a Warre, which the *Athenians* more brauely than wiſely had begun in *Alexanders* life, but now did proſecute more boldly than before, vpon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the baniſhed *Greekes* (few excepted) ſhould be reſtored vnto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the *Grecian* Eſtates, and therefore thought ſo to prouide, that in euery City he would haue a ſure party. But it fell out otherwiſe: For he loſt the hearts of many more than he wanne by this proud injunction. His pleaſure indeede was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being againſt all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in eſtate, but retainig more than was needfull of their ancient ſpirits, forbade the execution of this decree in their Dominions; ſo did alſo the *Ætolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but ſeemed to beare themſelues, as men that had done no more than they might well iuſtifie by reaſon: neuertheleſſe to preuent the worſt, the *Athenians* gaue ſecret inſtructions to *Leoſthenes* a Captaine of theirs, willing him to leaue an Army, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readineſſe for their vſe. This was no hard thing for *Leoſthenes* to doe: great numbers of *Greeke* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Aſian* Warre in poore eſtate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of theſe he had gathered vp eight thouſand, when the certaine newes were brought of *Alexanders* death: at which the Citie of *Athens* declared it ſelfe, and more honourably than wiſely, proclaimed open War againſt the *Macedonians* for the libertie of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leoſthenes* drew in the *Ætolians*, and ſome other Eſtates, gaue battaile to the *Bœotians*, who ſided with *Antipater*, and ouerthrew them; growing ſo faſt in reputation, and ſo ſtrong in Adherents; That *Antipater* (arming in all haſte, yet ſuſpecting his owne ſtrength) was faine to ſend into *Aſia* to *Craterus* for ſuccour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, ſhunning or purſuing their deſtinies afarre off, which deceiue all mortall wiſedome, euen when they ſeeme neere at hand. One month was ſcarcely paſt, ſince nothing ſo heauily burthened the thoughs of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which he then feared as death, but now deſired as the moſt likly aſſurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of al men the moſt aſſured vnto him, was ſent into *Macedon* to conueigh home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence,) and to ſucceed *Antipater* in the gouernment of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The ſuſpitions were ſtrong that he had a priuy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly publiſhed ſound much better; which was, That *Antipater* ſhould be ſent vnto the King, as Captaine of the yong Souldiers, newly to be leauied in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incenſed againſt him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would ſometimes giue out ſpeeches teſtifying his owne iealouſie and hatred of him; but yet he ſtroue to ſmother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had eſcaped with life: moſt of them indeed were meane perſons in regard of thoſe who followed him in his *Indian* expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) remoued to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was ſuch, as could finde rebellious purpoſes (for ſo he interpreted euen lewd gouernement) in baſe perſons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who hauing ſitten *Viceroy* tenne yeeres in the ſtrongeſt part of the Empire, was called away to the preſence of ſo fell a Maſter, and the enuy of a Court, wherein they had beene his inferiors, which would now repine to ſee him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to preuention, working firſt the kings death by poiſon, giuen by his ſonne *Iolaus*, *Alexandes* cup-bearer; or whether it brake not foorth vntill opportunitie had changed it into the paſſion of reuenge, which was cruell performed by his ſonne *Caſſander*: great cauſe of much feare he had, which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few yeeres.

At the preſent *Craterus* was ſent for, and all the Captains of companies lying neere, ſollicited ſolicited to make haſte. Not without cauſe. For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raiſed more than thirteene thouſand foot, and ſixe hundred horſe; which Muſter was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being emptied into *Aſia*. The *Theſſalians* indeede who had long ſtood firme for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who alſo were the beſt horſe-men of *Greece*, furniſhed him with very braue troupes, that might haue done great ſeruice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of *Greece*. With theſe forces did *Antipater* in *Theſſalie* trie the fortune of a battaile with *Leoſthenes*; rather (as may ſeeme) fearing the increaſe of his enemies power and rebellion of the *Greekes*, (were they not checkt at the firſt) than preſuming on his ſtrength. For *Leoſthenes* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercinaries, two and twenty thouſand foot, beſides the aſſiſtance of many petty Signories, aud of ſome *Illyrians*, and *Thracians*: of horſe he brought into the field about two thouſand and fiue hundred; but ouer-ſtrong he was that way alſo, when once the *Theſſalians* had reuolted vnto him. So *Antipater* loſt the day: and his loſſe was ſuch, that he neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a ſafe retraite into his owne Country: therefore he fled into the Towne of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well prouided of all things neceſſary to beare out a ſiege. Thither did *Leoſthenes* follow him, preſent him battaile againe, and vpon refuſall cloſe vp the Towne with earth-workes, and a wall. There will we leaue him for a while, trauailing in the laſt honourable enterpriſe that euer was vndertaken by that great Citie of *Athens*.

§. IIII.

How Perdiccas emploied his Army.

KIng *Aridæus* liuing vnder the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Prouince, kept a naked Court: all his greatneſſe conſiſting in a bare title, ſupported by the ſtrength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwiſe than to make vſe of him. *Perdiccas* had no Prouince of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he ſhould viſit in his gouernement. A ſtronger Armie then any of the reſt he had, which he might eaſily hope in that vnſettled condition of things to make better worth to him, than many Prouinces could haue been. The better to accompliſh his deſires, he cloſely ſought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the ſiſter of *Alexander*; yet about the ſame time he either married *Nicæa* the Daughter of *Antipater*, or made ſuch loue to her as blinded their eyes, who did not ſomewhat narrowly ſearch into his doings.

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the ſecond of that name, and tenth King of that Country, had continued faithfull to the *Perſian* Empire as long as it ſtood: following the example of his forefathers, euen from *Pharnaces* the firſt that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atoſſa* ſiſter to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Anceſtors had (indeede) beene oppreſſed by the *Perſians*: but what Fortune tooke from them at one time, Vertue reſtored at another, and their faithfull Princes had much increaſed all. But now in the fatall Period of ſo great an Empire, with much wiſdome, and (*Darius* being ſlaine) with ſufficient honour, he might haue acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Perſians* roome. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater buſineſſe wherein to entertaine his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdome, ſurrounded with Prouinces of the *Macedonian* conqueſt, and for his owne particular to haue one opportune place of ſure retrait, vnder the gouernment of a ſtedfaſt friend. Therefore he entred *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirty thouſand foot, and fifteene thouſand horſe (a ſtrong Army, had it not incountred a ſtronger, and better trained) wanne the victorie, and thereby the whole kingdome. But with much crueltie did he vſe the victory: for hauing taken *Ariarathes* priſoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light vpon: and ſo deliuered that Prouince to *Eumenes*, whom of all men liuing he truſted moſt.

Another part of his forces he had committed to *Python*, rather as to the moſt honorable of ſuch as remained about him, than as to the moſt aſſured. *Python* was to ſubdue the *Greekes*, rebelling in the high Countries of *Aſia*. About twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous nations, were ſoon weary of their vnpleaſant habitations, & the rude people, among whom they liued: and therefore tooke aduantage of the preſent troubles to ſeeke vnto themſelues a better fortune. Againſt theſe *Python* went, more deſirous to make them his owne, than to deſtroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* diſcouering, did both giue him in charge to put all thoſe Rebels to the ſword, giuing the ſpoyles of them to his Souldiers, and further enioyned it vnto *Pythons* Captaines (his owne creatures) that they ſhould ſee this commandement executed. Theſe directions for vſe of the victory might haue proued needleſſe; ſo vncertaine was the victorie it ſelfe. A Captaine of the Rebels commanding ouer three thouſand, corrupted by *Python*: did in the heate of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without neceſſitie to a hill not farre off. This diſmaied the reſt, and gaue the day to *Python*: who being farre enough from *Perdiccas*, offered compoſition to the vanquiſhed, granting vnto them their liues and libertie, vnder condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being maſter of theſe companies, he might well haue a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by ſtrength in followers, when as none could vaunt himſelfe as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteene thouſand foot, and eight thouſand eight hundred horſe, beſides theſe new Companions, whom needleſſe feare without great loſſe had cauſed to leaue the field: but in true eſtimation all the greatnes wherof *Python* might thinke himſelfe aſſured, was (and ſoone appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, of thoſe which followed *Python*, leauied; the Rulers of the Prouinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enioyned to giue aſſiſtance to that buſineſſe: and by vertue of the precept giuen vnto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in peeces all thoſe poore men who had yeelded themſelues; leauing *Python* as naked as he came forth to returne vnto his great Maſter.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty aboue the mighty, and had faire leiſure to purſue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himſelfe Lord of all: but this muſt be ſecretly carried for feare of oppoſition. How it ſucceeded will appeare, when the *Lamian* warre taketh ending.

§. V.

The proceſſe of the Lamian warre.

WE left *Antipater* hardly beſieged, wanting meanes to free himſelfe without ſuccours from his friends in *Aſia*. Thoſe helps not appearing ſo ſoone as he expected, hee came to parley with *Leoſthenes*, and would haue yeelded vnto any termes of reaſon, wherewith men poſſeſſed with hope of victorie, doe ſeldome limit their deſires. *Leoſthenes* willed him without further circumſtance to ſubmit himſelfe to diſcretion. This was too much for him, that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him ſuch a diſhonourable compoſition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was farre enough, could bring no worſe with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingring warre, the *Ætolians* (whether weary of ſitting ſtill at a ſiege, or hauing buſineſſe which they pretended at home) tooke their leaue, and returned into their owne Countrey. Their departure left the trenches ſo thinly manned, that *Antipater* found meanes to ſally out vpon his enemies to the great loſſe: for many were ſlaine, and *Leoſthenes* himſelfe among them, ere he could be repulſed into the Towne. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieued, their victuals waſted, and they were not ſtrong enough to deale with the *Greekes* in open fight, *Craterus* was long in comming. *Lyſimachus*, who was neereſt at hand in *Thrace*, had worke too much of his owne, leading no more than foure thouſand foote, and two thouſand horſe, againſt *Seuthas* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field aboue foure times that number; and though *Lyſimachus*, not without loſſe, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow ſo much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earneſtly ſolicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all haſte to the reſcue. He had the gouernment of *Phrygia* the leſſe, and was able to raiſe an Army of more than twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand fiue hundred horſe, whether leauied out of his Prouince, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Armie, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing

ling to take in hand the iourney into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to haue hime come. For *Cleopatra* had written vnto him, deſiring his preſence at *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her ſelfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not ſo cloſe as had beene requiſite, and therefore brought himſelfe into great ſuſpition, that ſoone ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, choſen Generall by the *Athenians* in place of *Leoſthenes*, hearing of his appproch, forſooke the ſiege of *Lamia*, and tooke the ready way to theſe great Conquerers of *Aſia*, with purpoſe to giue them an euill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they ſhould ioyne in one. He had (notwithſtanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the aduantage of *Leonatus* in horſe, by the ods of 2000. *Theſſalians*; in other things he was equall with him; in cauſe he thought himſelfe Superior; in the fortune of that day he proued ſo: for he wan a great victorie (chiefly by vertue of the *Theſſalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himſelfe; who fighting valiantly, was driuen into a mariſh piece of ground, where he found his death, which he deſperatly had ſought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his natiuitie. He was the firſt of *Alexanders* Captaines which died in battaile, but all, or moſt of the reſt, ſhall follow him the ſame way. After this day, the *Athenians* did neuer any thing ſutable to their ancient glory.

The vanquiſhed *Macedonians* were too weake to renew the fight, and too proud to flie. They betooke themſelues to high grounds, vnfit for ſeruice on horſe backe, and ſo abode in the ſight of the enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their campe, and tooke the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiuing their ſtrength to be at the greateſt, and fearing leſt that of the enemy ſhould increaſe, did earneſtly ſeeke to determine the matter quickely by another battaile. But ſtill *Antipater* kept himſelfe on ground of aduantage; which gaue more than reaſonable confidence to the *Greekes*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquiſhed. This retchleſneſſe (incorrigible in an Army of voluntaries) was very inexcuſable; ſeeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by loſſes at Sea, where the *Athenians* labouring to haue made themſelues once againe Maſters, were put to the worſt.

But now the fatall captiuitie of *Greece* came on, of which ſhe neuer could be deliuered vnto this day. *Craterus* with a ſtrong Army hauing made great marches from *Cilicia*, paſſed ouer into *Europe*, and comming into *Theſſalie*, ioyned himſelfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being ioyned in one, contained fortie thouſand waightily armed, three thouſand light-armed men, and fiue thouſand horſe; of which numbers the *Greekes* wanted a thouſand and fiue hundred in horſe, in foot eighteene thouſand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to auoide the neceſſitie of a battaile, vntill ſuch time as the Townes confederate, ſhould returne vnto the campe thoſe bands which had ſtraggled from it. But thoſe companies were ſo ſlow in comming, and *Antipater* ſo vrgent vpon the *Greekes*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more helpe they had carried away the victorie: for the *Theſſalians* had the vpper hand, and held it, vntill ſuch time as they perceiued their battailes (ouer-laid with multitude) retire vnto the higher ground, which cauſed them alſo to fall backe. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, hauing little elſe to boaſt of, conſidering that with the loſſe of an hundred and thirty men, they had onely purchaſed the death of ſome fiue hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great vſe made. For the *Greekes*, as not ſubiect vnto the full command of one Generall, and being euery one deſirous to preſerue his owne eſtate, and City; concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a ſubtile artificer, and well vnderſtanding their aptneſſe to diuiſion, refuſed to harken to any generall compoſition, but willed euery City to deale apart for it ſelfe. The intent of his deuice was ſo apparent, that it was reiected; the *Greekes* chooſing rather to abide the comming of their Aſſiſtants, whoſe vnreaſonable careleſneſſe betraied the cauſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* beſieging & winning ſome townes in *Theſſalie*, which the Army of the Confederates wanted meanes and courage to relieue, wearied that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens vnlikely hopes, with their owne aſſured and preſent calamity.

§. VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. *Of* Demoſthenes *his death.*

THe *Theſſalians* falling off, all the reſt ſoone followed ſeuerally, and ſued for peace; the gentle conditions giuen to the moſt forward, inuiting ſuch as were ſlacke. Onely the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* held out. Little fauour could they hope for, hauing beene Authors of this tumult; and their feare was not great; the ſeate of the warre being farre from them. But the celeritie of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who ſate ſtill at *Athens*, deuiſing vpon courſes of proſecuting the Warre to come, which came to their dores, before their conſultation could finde iſſue. He was ready to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no abilitie to reſiſt, and were as heartleſſe as friendleſſe. All that remained was to ſend Embaſſadors, deſiring peace vpon ſome good termes: neceſſitie enforcing them to haue accepted euen the very worſt. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher, were chiefe of this Embaſſage; *Phocion* as the moſt Honorable; *Demades* a ſtrong Perſwader; (both of them well reſpected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wiſedome, grauitie of manners, and vertue; but all theſe ornaments conſiſting in ſpeculation, and therefore of leſſe regard, when their admiration was to coſt much in reall effects.

Antipater calling to minde the pride of *Leoſthenes*, required of the *Athenians*, that they ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelues to his pleaſure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the warre paſt, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garriſon. Further, he abrogated the popular eſtate, committing the gouernement of the City to thoſe of moſt wealth, depriuing of the right of ſuffrage all ſuch as wanted a conuenient proportion of riches.

About nine thouſand they were, all men of good ſubſtance, to whom the adminiſtration of the Common-wealth was giuen; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a *Democratie*. But the raſcall multitude of beggerly perſons, accuſtomed to get their liuings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giuing their voices, cried out, that this was a meere *Oligarchie*, the violent vſurpation of a few incroaching vpon the publike right. Theſe turbulent fellowes (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to ſay, That warre to them was peace, and peace warre) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gaue them lands to manure; leauing as few of them as he could to moleſt the quiet of *Athens*.

To the ſame end (yet withall for ſatisfying his owne ſuſpitions and hatred) he cauſed *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with ſome others to be ſlaine. Had the death of theſe two, eſpecially of *Demoſthenes*, beene forborne, the reſt of his proceedings in this action might well haue paſſed for very milde: whereas now all ſuch, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demoſthenes*, or haue ſur-rendred their iudgements to Authors iuſtly admiring him, as the moſt eloquent of all that euer did ſpeake and write, condemne him vtterly, calling him a bloudy tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all ciuill Nations, that the euill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemiſh any action, how good ſoeuer otherwiſe it be, or honorably carried.

Demoſthenes had taken Sanctuarie in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Iſle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (ſent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpoſe) finde him, and gently perſwaded him to leaue the place, but not ſo preuailing, he threatned violence. Then *Demoſthenes*, entreating a little reſpit as it had beene to write ſomewhat, ſecretly tooke poiſon, which he had kept for ſuch a neceſſity, and ſo died; rather chooſing to do the laſt execution vpon himſelfe, than to fall into the hands of ſuch as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a Heathen man) argued ſome valour in him; who was otherwiſe too much a coward in battaile, howſoeuer valiant in perſwading to enterpriſes, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through paſſages exceeding dangerous. He loued money well, and had great ſummes giuen him by the *Perſian*, to encourage him, in finding worke for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did hee ill (me thinkes) in taking from the *Perſians* which loued not his Country, great reward, for ſpeaking ſuch things as tended to his Countries good; which hee did not ceaſe to procure, when the *Perſians* were no longer able to giue him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) beleeue *Lucian*, who tells vs, That it was *Antipaters* purpoſe to haue done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a ſtedfaſt enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore diſcretion required that he ſhould be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and louer of his Country, yet applying himſelfe to the neceſſity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grieuous to free-men, yet fauourable to the vanquiſhed) he endeuoured carefully to preſerue.

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§. VII.

How Craterus *and* Antipater *were drawne from their Ætolian warres into Aſia. The grounds of the firſt Ciuill Warre betweene the Macedonian Lords.*

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they ſtrengthned their friendſhip with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went againſt the *Ætolians*, whoſe pouerty was not ſo eaſily danted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of *Athens* had beene. Their Country was rough and mountainous, hauing many places of great faſtneſſe, into which they conueied ſuch of their goods as they moſt eſteemed, and of their people, as were leaſt fit for warre: with the reſt they fortified the ſtrongeſt of their Cities, and ſo abode the comming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully reſiſted. With great obſtinacy did the *Macedonians* contend againſt the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had ſhut vp all paſſages, and vtterly debarred them of reliefe, then were they put to a miſerable choice; either to deſcend from their ſtrong holds, and fight vpon equall ground, with vnequall numbers; or to endure the miſeries of hunger and cold, againſt which they could make no long reſiſtance; or to yeeld themſelues to the *Macedonians*: who incenſed by the loſſe of many good Souldiers, were not like to leaue ſo ſtubborne enemies in places, which might giue confidence to rebellion. In caſes of extremity, much fineneſſe of wit apprehending all circumſtances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt conſideration of that only, which at the preſent is in hand. Theſe *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat; but their enemies dayly moleſted them: wherefore as yet they thought vpon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For ſuch newes came out of *Aſia* into the *Macedonian* campe, as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* thinke euery houre a month, till they had rid their hands of theſe *Ætolians*, giuing them whatſoeuer conditions they would aske: yet with purpoſe to call them to ſeuere account; yea, to roote them out of *Greece* by death, or by captiuity, when once they ſhould haue ſettled the affaires of *Aſia*; as they hoped and deſired. But of mens purpoſes God is diſpoſer: in whoſe high counſell it was ordained, that this poore Nation ſhould continue a troubleſome barre to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into thoſe and other Prouinces. Likewiſe concerning the matters of *Aſia*, the reformation inteuded by *Antipater* & *Craterus*, was ſo far from taking effect, that it ſerued meerely as an introduction to all the ciuill warres enſuing.

The grounds of the *Aſiatique* expedition, which did ſet the world in an vp-rore, were theſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captaines the mightieſt in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedency, and the preſent rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all men the beſt beloued, and moſt reſpected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next vnto theſe had *Perdiccas* been; whom the aduantage of his preſence at the Kings death did make equall, or ſuperior, to either of theſe, if not to both together. The firſt intents of *Perdiccas* were, to haue conſorted with theſe two, and to haue been with them a third partner in the gouernment of all; to which purpoſe he entertained the diſcourſe of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughtets. But feeling in ſhort ſpace the ſtrength of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and ſoare quite another way. *Aridæus* was a very ſimple man, yet ſerued well enough to weare the title of that Maieſtie, whereof *Perdiccas* being Adminiſtrator, and hoping to become proprietarie, the practice was more ſeuere than had beene in the dayes of *Alexander*: the deſire to ſeeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of preſeruing themſelues from contempt, and of giuing ſuch a fiery luſtre to their actions, as may dazell the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poore *Greekes* in the higher *Aſia* were all put to the ſword; and how tyrannouſly the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already beene ſhewed. The *Piſidians* were the next who felt the wrath of theſe counterfait *Alexanders*. One Citie of theirs was vtterly razed, the children ſold for ſlaues, and all the reſt maſſacred. The *Iſaurians* by this example growne deſperate, when after two or three dayes triall they found themſelues vnable to continue the defence, lockt themſelues into their houſes, and ſet the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the yongmen did throw themſelues, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the wals.

Theſe exploits being performed, the Armie had no other worke than to ſift the aſhes of the burnt Citie for gold and ſiluer; but *Perdiccas* had buſineſſe of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to ſit ſtill without imploiment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whileſt others grew great, and tooke deepe roote in their ſeuerall Prouinces. He purpoſed therefore to tranſport his forces into *Europe*, vnder pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the ſeate of his Anceſtors, and head of the Empire. The Kings preſence would make the offices of his *Vice-roies* (during the time) actually voide; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in caſe of priuate men, and onely *Perdiccas* holding authoritie, the match with *Cleopatra* might eaſily be made. So ſhould greatneſſe meete with a good title; and what more could be wiſhed? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomie* might giue, who held *Ægypt* well fortified with men, but much better with loue of the people; yet if the buſineſſe proſpered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomie* would follow of himſelfe, or be driuen to come to reaſon. *Antigonus* likewiſe then gouerning in *Phrygia*, a buſie-headed man, and ill affected to the ſide, was to be looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceiued in ſo thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of warre, of as deepe a iudgement, as high a ſpirit, and as great vndertaking, as any of *Alexanders* Captaines. His imploiments had beene leſſe than ſome of theirs, which made him alſo the leſſe reſpected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for, he valued himſelfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and ſounded the depth of his purpoſes, which it was now high time to diſcouer. For *Perdiccas* hauing with a iealous eye pried into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turne, cauſed him to be charged with ſuch accuſations, as might ſuffice to take away his life, eſpecially by a Iudge that ſought his death. This deuice *Antigonus* would not ſeeme to perceiue, but prepared himſelfe in ſhew to make anſwere, indeede, to make eſcape, which eaſily he did, putting himſelfe and his ſonne *Demetrius* aboord of ſome *Athenian* Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with ſuch tidings, as finiſhed the *Ætolian* warre before mentioned.

As the comming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifeſtly perceiue their owne danger: ſo his flight gaue *Perdiccas* to vnderſtand that his intentions were laied open, and muſt now be iuſtified by the ſword. Therefore he prepared as faſt as he could, not onely for defence, but (as hauing on his ſide the Kings name) to meete with them at home, who were nothing ſlacke in prouiding to encounter him. *Ptolomie* being aduertiſed of theſe proceedings, and conſidering how neerely they concerned him, ſided with *Antipater*. To his gouernment of *Ægypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without conſent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the middeſt of theſe garboiles he celebrated the funerall of *Alexander* with great ſolemnitie, purchaſing thereby to himſelfe much good wil and many partakers, notwithſtanding the terrible report of the Kings Armie comming againſt him.

§. VIII.

Perdiccas *his voyage into Ægypt, and his death.*

PE*rdiccas*, vncertaine which way to bend his maine power, at length reſolued to ſet vpon *Ptolomie*; leauing *Eumenes* to keepe to his vſe, againſt *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Aſia* bordering vpon *Europe*.

It may ſeeme ſtrange, that he did not rather make head againſt thoſe who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomie* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quicke end with *Ptolomie*; or beleeued that *Craterus* would not be ready for him ſoone enough. Sure it is that he tooke a bad courſe, and made it worſe with ill handling.

Ptolomie by his ſweet behauiour allured many to his party, without helpe of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwiſe was full of inſolencie, which neuer failed to be rewarded with hatred; that is truely defined, An affection founded vpon opinion of an vniuſt contempt. The whole ſtorie of his proceedings in *Ægypt* is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and waſted them in hard enterpriſes without ſucceſſe. His moſt forceable attempt was vpon a little Towne, called the *Camels wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haſte than good ſpeede; for *Ptolomie* preuenting him, did put himſelfe into the place, where behauing himſelfe not onely as a good Commander, but as a ſtout Souldier, he gaue the foile to *Perdiccas*, cauſing him to retire with loſſe; after a vehement, but vaine, aſſault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another iournie, (which was his laſt) and came to the diuiſions of *Nilus*, ouer againſt *Memphis*. There with much difficulty he began to paſſe ouer his Armie into an Iland, where he meant to incampe. The current was ſtrong, the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants aboue the paſſage, to breake the violence of the ſtreame, and his horſe-men beneath it; to take vp ſuch as were carried away by ſwiftneſſe of water. A great part of his Armie being arriued on the further banke, the channell began to waxe deepe; ſo, that whereas the former companies had waded vp to the chin, they who ſhould haue followed could finde no footing. Whether this came by riſing of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feete of ſo many Men, Horſe, and Elephants) no remedy there was, but ſuch as had paſſed muſt repaſſe againe, as well as they might: for they were too weake for the enemy, and could not be relieued by their fellowes. With great confuſion therefore they committed themſelues to the Riuer, wherein aboue two thouſand of them periſhed, a thouſand were deuoured by *Crocodiles*; a miſerable ſpectacle euen to ſuch as were out of danger; ſuch as were ſtrong and could ſwim, recouered the Campe; many were carried downe the ſtreame, and driuen to the contrary banke, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exaſperated the Souldiers againſt their Generall, giuing liberty to their tongues, which long time had concealed the euill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, newes came from *Ptolomie*, which did ſet them in an vp-rore. *Ptolomie* had not onely ſhewed much compaſſion on thoſe who fell into his hands aliue, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carcaſes, which the Riuer had caſt vpon his ſide: and finally, ſent their bones and aſhes to be interred by their Kinſmen or Friends. This did not onely moue the common Souldiers, but made the Captaines fall to mutinie, thinking it vnreaſonable to make warre vpon ſo vertuous and honourable a perſon, to fulfill the pleaſure of a Lordly ambitious man, vſing them like ſlaues. The ſedition growing ſtrong wanted onely a head, which it quickly found. *Python* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the diſgrace which he had ſuffered by his procurement, after the victory vpon the rebellious *Greekes*. *Python* had liued in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the diuiſion of the Prouinces made Gouernour of *Media*; he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorſhip excepted) equall to him, had neuertheleſſe beene ſcornefully vſed by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captaines, and a good part of the horſe, which conſiſted of the Gentrie, (the footmen hauing declared themſelues before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumſtance they all ranne vpon him, and ſlew him. Such end had the proud miſ-gouerning authoritie of *Perdiccas*. He might haue liued as great as any, could he haue ſuffered any as great as himſelfe; yea, peraduenture maſter of all, had he not beene too maſterly ouer thoſe which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomie* came into the Campe, where he was ioyfully receiued; hee excuſed himſelfe of things paſt, as not hauing beene Author, or giuen cauſe of the Warre; and was eaſily beleeued: the fauour of the Armie being ſuch toward him, that needes they would haue made him Protector in the roome of *Perdiccas*. But this hee refuſed. It was an Office fit for one that would ſeeke to increaſe his greatneſſe with his trouble. *Ptolomie* was well enough already; wherefore, for his owne quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deſeruing of him, he procured that honourable charge to *Python*, and to *Aridæus* the Captaine, who hauing had ſome companies of Souldiers, to furniſh with their attendance the ſolemnities of *Alexanders* Funerals, did with them adhere to him againſt *Perdiccas*.

In the middeſt of theſe buſineſſes came newes of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which newes, had they arriued two or three daies ſooner, had beene entertained with ioyfull acclamations; and would haue giuen ſuch reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had cauſed both his priuate maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to haue accepted any tolerable compoſition. But theſe good tidings comming in ill time, when death had ſtopped the eares which would haue giuen them wel-come, found bad acceptance, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

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§. IX.

Victories of Eumenes *in the lower Aſia.*

BEfore we proceed in the relation of things, happening about the perſon of the King, it is meete that wee ſpeake of thoſe buſineſſes in the lower *Aſia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexteritie, whileſt *Perdiccas* was occupied in the *Ægyptian* warres. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had receiued command from *Perdiccas* to be aſſiſtant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat anſwere that he would not; alleaging the backwardneſſe of his men to beare Armes againſt ſo great a perſon as *Antipater*, and a man ſo much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make faire ſhew, but inwardly hee repined at the Precedency giuen to *Eumenes*, as thinking himſelfe the better man. *Eumenes* diſcouering, through the counterfaited lookes of *Neoptolemus*, the miſchiefe lurking in his heart, wiſely diſſembled with him, in hope to winne him by gentle behauiour, and ſweete language, that commonly are loſt, when beſtowed vpon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himſelfe, that he might ſtand vpon his owne ſtrength, hee raiſed out of the Countries vnder his iuriſdiction, about ſixe thouſand horſe, giuing many priuiledges to ſuch as were ſeruiceable, and training them well vp. Not without great need. For when vpon aduertiſemnt of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly paſſed the *Helleſpont*) for the inuaſion of his Prouinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) aduance, but in hoſtile manner, though vnprouoked, preſented him battell. *Neoptolemus* had ſecretly couenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the conqueſt of *Aſia*, which now intending to performe, he was ſhamefully diſappointed. For though his foot-men, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and preuailed farre vpon *Eumenes* his battailes; yet were his horſe driuen out of the field, and himſelfe compelled, with a few of them, to runne away, leauing naked the backes of his *Macedonian* foot-men, to bee charged by *Eumenes* who forced them in ſuch wiſe, that caſting downe their Pikes, they cried for mercie, and gladly tooke their oath to doe him faithfull ſeruice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeuoured with many goodly promiſes to draw *Eumenes* into their ſocietie, who contrariwiſe offered himſelfe, as a meane of reconciliation, betweene *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearely loued; profeſſing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and conſtant faith to the cauſe which hee had vndertaken to maintaine.

Whileſt theſe negotiations were on foote, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crue to *Antipater*, and his Aſſociates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a *Scribe* (at which fooliſh railing they laught,) but extolling the vertue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; aſſuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appeare, or that his voyce were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Campe, the victory was wonne; for they would all forth-with reuolt vnto him. Earneſtly therefore he deſired them to giue him aide againſt *Eumenes*, and eſpecially requeſted that *Craterus* might haue the leading of the Armie to be ſent. Their owne affections did eaſily leade them to condeſcend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might preuaile as much, as the force which he drew along. For hee had in the middeſt of *Alexanders* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themſelues to the *Perſian* faſhions of garments and cuſtomes, retained the ancient *Macedonian* forme of behauiour, and apparell; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld theſe new trickes of *Aſia*, with diſcontented eies, as reprochfull and derogatorie to the manners of their natiue countrie. So *Antipater* tooke the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to ioyne with *Ptolomy*. *Craterus* vſed great celeritie, to haue taken *Eumenes* reauelling (as he hoped) according to the common faſhion of Captaines, after a great victory. But he had a warie and well-aduiſed enemy to encounter, who kept good eſpiall vpon him, and with much wiſedome fore-ſaw all that was to be feared, and the meanes of preuention, which his courage did not faile to execute. *Eumenes* was not ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battell, yea without ſtroke; him therefore hee feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Armie following him was ſuch, as much exceeded his own in footmen, but was inferior in horſe-men) & thought it more vneaſie to keepe the *Macedonians* from reuolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a ſtrange peece of worke, which deſperation of all courſes elſe taught him, & wiſe managing, proſperouſly accompliſhed. He gaue out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with ſuch company as he could gather together, & had gotten *Pigres* (a Captaine of no great eſtimation, who lay not far off) to ioyne with him. Hauing animated his men againſt *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be deſpiſed & hated among thẽ, (as hauing bin vanquiſhed by ſome of them, & forſaken others in plain field, whileſt they valiantly fought in his quarrell) he took great care to keep them from receiuing any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he cõmanded, that no Meſſenger nor Trumpeter ſhould be admitted; and not heerewith ſatisfied, he placed againſt *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would haue regarded him had he bin knowne: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Perſians*, vnder the leading of ſuch, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* & himſelfe. To theſe alſo he gaue in charge, that without ſpeaking or hearkning to any word, they ſhould run vpon the enemy, & giue him no leiſure to ſay or do any thing, but fight. The directions which he gaue to others, he did not faile to execute in his own perſon: but placing himſelfe in the right wing of his battaile, oppoſite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he vnderſtood) conducted the left wing on the contrary ſide, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, & ready to charge the enemy as ſoon as the diſtance would giue leaue. A riſing piece of ground lay between them, which hauing aſcended, the Armies diſcouered each other: but that of *Eumenes* euery way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long iournies, which ouer-haſtily they had made, ſeeking the deceitfull iſſue of friuolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (hauing failed in ſurpriſing them as enemies) to diſcouer himſelfe to his old friends & fellow-ſouldiers, of whom he could ſee none. *Phœnix* a *Tenidian*, and *Artabazus* a *Perſian*, had the leading of that ſide, who mindefull of their inſtructions, began to giue vpon him, with ſuch countenance as told him his error; which to redeem, he bad his men fight & redeem the day, and take the ſpoyle to thẽſelues. But the Beare whoſe skin he ſels is not yet caught. The groũd whereon the battaile was fought gaue moſt aduantage to the horſe, who encountred very roughly on all parts: eſpecially about *Eumenes* & *Neoptolemus*; who as ſoone as they had diſcouered one another, could not containe themſelues, but with great rage met body to body, and letting looſe their bridles, grappled ſo violently together, that their horſes ran from vnder them, leauing both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* roſe firſt vp, but *Eumenes* had his ſword firſt drawne, wherewith he houghed the other, cauſing him to fall downe and fight vpon one knee. In this conflict they receiued many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giuing ſlight ones tooke ſuch as were deadly, by which hee died in the place, and was there (being halfe-dead halfe-aliue) ſtripped by his mortall enemie, whoſe reuilings he requited, lying euen at the laſt gaſpe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* cauſed his followers to runne away vpon the ſpurre, and ſeeke ſhelter behinde the battailes of their foote. They were nothing hotly purſued. For *Eumenes* pained himſelfe to carrie ſuccour to his left wing, which he ſuſpected much to be diſtreſſed; but found accompanied with the ſame fortune, that had aſſiſted him when he fought in perſon. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himſelfe a while, and ſuſtained the impreſſion of *Artabazus* and *Phœnix*, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little eſtimation or note. Otherwiſe it is not vnlikely, that he might haue either carried the day, or preſerued himſelfe to a better aduenture by giuing ground, as the reſt (when he and *Neoptolemus* were ſlaine) did. But whileſt hee ſought to preſerue his reputation, hee loſt his life by the fall of his horſe, or his falling from his horſe, through force of a wound receiued; vpon which accident hee was trampled vnder foote by many that knew him not, and ſo periſhed vnknowne, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* comming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as hauing alwaies loued and honoured *Craterus*, of whoſe death hee was now become the inſtrument. The vanquiſhed Armie entertained a Treatie of peace with *Eumenes*, making ſhew of willingneſſe to become his followers; but their intent was onely to refreſh themſelues, which (by his permiſſion) hauing done, they ſtole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This battaile fought within ten daies of the former, wanne to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his owne Souldiers tooke the death of *Craterus* heauily; and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incenſed men againſt him, beſides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifeſtly appeared, that he was as ſorry as any that pretended greater heauineſſe. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wiſely amended, by giuing to them the ſpoyle of ſuch Townes as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the loue of his own men, who of their meere motion appointed vnto him a guard for defence of his perſon. Others were not ſo eaſie to be reconciled. They who had beene Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulneſſe, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their falſhood; neither found they any fairer way of excuſing their late reuolt, than by accuſing and condemning the ſide which they had forſaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to die: but it was an eaſier matter to giue that ſentence, than to put it in execution.

§. X.

Quarrels betweene Eurydice *the Queene, and* Python *the Protector.* Python *reſignes his office, into which* Antipater *is choſen.*

Python and *Aridæus* being choſen Protectors of King *Aridæus* and the children of *Alexander*, tooke the way to *Aſia* the leſſe, conducting the Armie through *Syria*. Of theſe two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weake to ſuſtaine ſo important a charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Aridæus*, was come to her huſband, a Ladie of a maſculine ſpirit, well vnderſtanding what ſhe was or ſhould be, and thinking her ſelfe able to ſupport the waight which Fortune laied vpon her fooliſh huſband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother *Cyna*, ſiſter to *Alexander* by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath beene ſhewed) to *Amyntas*, who was the right Heire to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, being the onely ſonne of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; ſhe had led Armies, and (as a true ſiſter of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Cæria* Queene of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago* like vnto her ſelfe, had ſlaine her. Shee brought vp this *Eurydice* in the ſame vnwomanly Art of Warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the ſmall contentment of *Python*, that could not brooke her too curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were ſo, that *Python* had ſome purpoſe to aduance the ſonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdome; (as once he had ſought to doe) or whether the Queene did ſuſpect him of ſome ſuch intent; or whether only deſire of rule cauſed her to quarrell with him; quarrell ſhee did, which diſturbed the proceeding againſt *Eumenes*. The Armie hauing ſhaken off ſuch a ranke-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward bee reined with a twined thred. *Python* bearing himſelfe vpon his office, tooke vpon him to giue directions in the Kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controll, vſing the ſame name, with more authoritie, and better liking of the Souldiers.

Python, ſeeing this, would needs reſigne his office, whether vpon wearineſſe of the contentions daily growing, or on purpoſe to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps he thought, that now being the farre worthieſt man in the Campe, hee ſhould be intreated to retaine the place, and haue his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be) increaſed, were it but for want of a fit Succeſſor. *Eurydice* was nothing ſorrie at this courſe; for now ſhe thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne will, being freed from the troubleſome aſſiſtance of a Protector. But the Souldiers diſappointed both her and *Python*, of their contrarie expectations: chooſing *Antipater*, the onely powerfull man of *Alexanders* Captaines, then liuing, into the roome of *Python*. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and began to deale earneſtly with the *Macedonians*, that they ſhould acknowledge no Lord ſaue onely the King their Soueraigne. Yet ſhee failed of her purpoſe, being hindred (as may ſeeme) by three things: the apparent weakeneſſe of her huſband: the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though borne of out-landiſh women) were bred in the *Macedonian* Campe; and the mightineſſe of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Armie neere at hand, arriued in few daies at the Campe, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her ſelfe content. *Antipater* was of ſuch power, that he needed not to worke by any cloſe deuices, as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Gouernours of Prouinces that remained aliue, acknowledged him their better: yea, many of them he diſplaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, hee tooke the King, Queene, and Princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leauing *Antigonus* Generall of the Royall Armie: to whom for his good ſeruices done, and to be done againſt *Eumenes*, he gaue the rule of *Suſiana*, beſides his former Prouinces, and committed into his hands the gouernment of *Aſia* during that warre.

§. XI.

Antigonus *Lieutenant of Aſia, winnes a battell of* Eumenes, *and beſiegeth him in Nora: Hee vanquiſheth other followers of* Perdiccas.

HEre begins the greatneſſe of *Antigonus*, whoſe power in few yeeres ouer-growing the reſt, wanted little of ſpreading it ſelfe ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre vpon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother in-law to *Perdiccas*: worke enough to keepe his Armie imployed in the publike ſeruice, till ſuch time as he might finde occaſion to make vſe of it in his owne buſineſſe. The firſt of theſe which he vndertooke was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refuſed to ioyne, hauing vnſeaſonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chiefe place. *Eumenes* had an Army ſtrong in number, courage, and all needfull prouiſions; but obedient onely at diſcretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all waies of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting firſt the whole Armie with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made ſhew as if hee himſelfe had ſcattered abroad thoſe letters, to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with ſuch Captaines, as he thought moſt eaſie to be wonne. Of theſe Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too haſtily before anie helpe was neere him, yet looking ſo careleſly to himſelfe, that he and his were ſurpriſed, when hee thought his enemies farre off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which hee thought now to bee in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery ſecret, reſeruing it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treaſon which this falſe man *Apollonides* had vndertaken, *Antigonus* preſented battaile to *Eumenes*; in the heate whereof *Apollonides*, Generall of the Horſe to *Eumenes*, fled ouer to the contrarie ſide, with ſuch as he could get to follow him: but was cloſely followed by ſome, whoſe company he deſired not. *Eumenes*, perceiuing the irrecouerable miſchiefe which this traiterous practice had brought vpon him, purſued the villain, and cut him off before he could thruſt himſelfe into the troops of *Antigonus*, and boaſt of his treachery. This was ſome comfort to *Eumenes* in the loſſe of that battel, which diſabled him vtterly to keep the field, and left it very hard for him to make a ſafe retrait. Yet one thing hee did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of ſmall importance) cauſed *Antigonus* himſelfe to admire his high reſolution. It was held no ſmall part of the victorie to get poſſeſſion of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whileſt *Antigonus* held him in chaſe, turned out of the way, and fetching a compaſſe, returned to the place where the battaile had beene fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his owne men, and interred the bones and aſhes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart, raiſing vp heapes of earth as Mountaines ouer them, and ſo went his way. As this bold aduenture bred in the *Macedonians*, (returned to their camp) great admiration of his braue ſpirit: ſo the newes which *Menander* (who was ſet to looke vnto their carriages) brought and publiſhed among them, enticed them to loue him as their honourable friend. Hee had found *Menander* in an open Plaine, careleſſe, as after an aſſured victory, and loaden with the ſpoyles of many Nations, the rewards of their long ſeruice; all which he might haue taken: but fearing leaſt ſuch a purchaſe ſhould proue a heauie burthen to him, whoſe chiefe hope conſiſted in ſwift expedition, hee gaue ſecret warning to *Menander* to flie to the mountaines, whileſt he detained his men (whom authority could not haue reſtrained) by this ſleight, ſetting them to bait their horſes. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courteſie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to ſtrip them out of all their wealth, and make their children ſlaues, and to rauiſh their wiues: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborne to doe this out of any good will to them; but out of meere ſubtiltie had auoyded thoſe precious fetters, which would haue hindred his ſpeedie flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not onely thinke all cariages to bee ouer-burdenſome, but the number of his men to be more troubleſome than auaileable in his intended courſe. Wherefore he ſent them from him as faſt as he could, wiſhing them to ſhift for themſelues; and retaining onely fiue hundred horſe, and two hundred foote. When hee had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him vp and downe, hee came to *Nora*: where againe, keeping no more about him, than neceſſity required to make good the place, he louingly diſmiſſed all the reſt. *Nora* was a little Fortreſſe in the borders of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, ſo ſtrongly ſituated that it ſeemed impregnable, and ſo well victualed and ſtored with all neceſſaries, that it might hold out for many yeeres. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more deſire to make him his friend, than to vanquiſh him in warre. To this purpoſe hee entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon, and his loue; *Eumenes* required reſtitution of his Prouinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* conſent. Then was *Nora* cloſed vp; where *Antigonus* leauing ſufficient ſtrength for continuance of the ſiege, tooke his iournie into *Piſidia* againſt *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made ſhort worke. He came vpon them vnexpected, and ſeized on paſſages, which wanted not men, but ſuch a Captaine as *Eumenes*, to haue defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had beene too ſecure before his comming, ſo were they too aduenturous, in fighting at the firſt ſight, vpon all diſaduantages: and their folly was attended with ſutable euent. *Attalus* with many principall Captaines was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the Citie of *Termeſus*, where the loue of the yonger ſort toward him was ſo vehement, that ſtopping their eares againſt all perſwaſions of the ancient men, they needs would hazard their liues and their Countrie in his defence. Yet this auailed him nothing: For the Gouernours of the Towne hauing ſecretly compounded with *Antigonus*, cauſed the yong men to ſally out; and vſing the time of aduantage, they with their ſeruants did ſet vpon *Alcetus*, who vnable to reſiſt ſlew himſelfe. His dead body was conueied to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarouſly torne, was caſt forth without buriall. When *Antigonus* was gone, the yong men interred the carcaſſe with ſolemne funeralls, hauing once beene minded to ſet on fire their owne towne in reuenge of his death. Such fauor had he purchaſed with courteous liberalitie: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, how great ſoeuer, is inſufficient.

§. XII.

Ptolomie *winnes Syria and Phœnicia. The death of* Antipater.

WHileſt theſe things were in doing, the reſt of the Princes lay idle, rather ſeeking to enioy their Gouernments for the preſent, than to confirme or enlarge them. Onely *Ptolomie* looking abroad, wan all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkeable for any circumſtance in the managing. He ſent a Lieutenant with an Armie, who quickly took *Laomedon* priſoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may ſeeme) without any great ſtrength of Souldiers, farre from aſſiſtants, and vainely relying vpon the authority which had giuen him that Prouince, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with ſeeking to maintaine him in his Office.

Antipater was old and ſickly, deſirous of reſt, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* purſue the diſpatch of thoſe buſineſſes in *Aſia*. He had with him *Polyſperchon*, one of the moſt ancient of *Alexanders* Captaines, that had lately ſuppreſſed a dangerous inſurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had ſtirred in the quarrell of *Perdiccas*, preuailing farre at the firſt, but ſoone loſing all that they had gained, whileſt *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* expedition. In this *Polyſperchon*, *Antipater* did repoſe great confidence; ſo farre foorth, that (ſuſpecting the youth of his own Sonne *Caſſander* of inſufficiencie in ſo great a charge) hee bequeathed vnto him on his death-bed the Gouernment of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his Office of *Protectorſhip*. So *Antipater* died, beeing foure-ſcore yeeres old, hauing alwaies trauelled in the great affaires of mighty Princes, with ſuch reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatneſſe was iealous of him, and the ſucceſſours of *Alexander* did either quietly giue place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppoſitions. In his priuate qualities he was a ſubtile man, temperate, frugall, and of a Philoſophicall behauiour, not vnlearned, as hauing beene Scholler to *Ariſtotle*, and written ſome Hiſtories. He had beene much moleſted by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother, whom after the death of her Sonne, he compelled to abſtaine from comming into *Macedonia*, or entermedling in matters of Eſtate: yea, at his owne death hee gaue eſpeciall direction, that no woman ſhould be permitted to deale in the adminiſtration of the Empire. But this precept was ſoone forgotten; and yet ere long, by ſorrowfull experience approoued to haue beene ſound and good.

§. XIII.

Of Polyſperchon *who ſucceeded vnto* Antipater *in the Protectorſhip. The inſurrection of* Caſſander *againſt him.*

P*olyſperchon* was very skilfull in the Art of Warre, hauing long time beene Apprentiſe in that occupation; other qualities, requiſite in ſo high an Office as hee vnder-went, either Nature had not giuen to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his buſineſſe more formally than wiſely, as a man of a ſecond witte, fitter to aſſiſt, than command in chiefe. At the firſt entrance vpon the ſtage, he called to counſaile all his friends, wherein, for waighty conſiderations (as they who waighed not the contrary reaſons held them) the Queene *Olympias* was reuoked out of *Epyrus* into *Macedon*, that the preſence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and ſtrengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Gouernours of Prouinces abroad ſhould keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or eaſie to be retained about the perſon of the King in *Macedonia*; it ſeemed expedient, that the face of the Court ſhould bee filled with all Maieſtie, that might giue authoritie to the Iniunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the limited bounds of dutie ſuch as could not by force haue beene kept in order, being ſtrong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for preuention of imaginarie dangers and out of ſight, whileſt preſent miſchiefe lay vnregarded in their boſomes. *Caſſander*, the Sonne of *Antipater*, was not able to diſcouer that great ſufficiencie in *Polyſperchon*, for which his father had repoſed in him ſo much confidence: neither could he diſcerne ſuch oddes in the qualitie of himſelfe and *Polyſperchon*, as was in their fortune. He was left Captaine of one thouſand; which Office by practice of thoſe times was of more importance, than the title now ſeemes to implie. Hee ſhould thereby haue beene as Campe-maſter, or Lieutenant generall to the other: a place no way ſatiſfying his ambition, that thought himſelfe the better man. Therefore he began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppoſe him. All that had relied on his Father, were his owne aſſured, eſpecially ſuch as commanded the Garriſons beſtowed in the principall Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magiſtrates, and others of principall authoritie, in thoſe Common-weales, whoſe formes had beene corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the ſide, and draw in many partakers: it concerned theſe men in their owne particular to adhere vnto the Captaines, by whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the raſcall multitude, couetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exerciſed ouer rhe principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Beſides all theſe helpes, *Caſſander* had the ſecret loue of Queene

Eurydice, who had in priuate rendred him ſuch curteſie, as was due onely to her husband. But neither the Queenes fauour, nor all his other poſſibilities, gaue him confidence to breake out into open rebellion; becauſe he ſaw *Polyſperchon* much reuerenced among the *Macedonians*, and ſtrong enough to ſuppreſſe him, before he could haue made head. Therefore he made ſhew of following his pleaſures in the Countrie, and calling many of his friends about him, vnder pretence of hunting, aduiſed with them vpon the ſafeſt courſe, and moſt free from all ſuſpition. The neceſſitie was apparant of raiſing an Armie, before the buſineſſe was ſet on foote; and to doe this, opportunitie preſented him with faire meanes. *Ptolomie* had by fine force, without any commiſſion, annexed *Syria* to his gouernment of *Ægypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to truſt him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* vpon the firſt newes of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold vpon all that he could get, in ſuch ſort, that he manifeſtly diſcouered his intent of making himſelfe Lord of all *Aſia*. Theſe two therefore ſtood in neede of a ciuill Warre; which *Caſſander* well noted, and preſumed withall, That the friendſhip which had paſſed betweene his Father and them, would auaile him ſomewhat. Whereupon he ſecretly diſpatched meſſengers to them both; and within a little while conueied himſelfe on a ſudden ouer the *Helleſpont*, that he might in perſon aduance the buſineſſe with greater ſpeede. Much perſwaſion is needeleſſe in winning a man to what he deſireth. *Antigonus* coueted nothing more, than to finde *Polyſperchon* worke, by raiſing ſome commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities muſt not be neglected) *Caſſander* did very earneſtly preſſe him, by the memory of his Father, and all requiſite coniurations, to aſſiſt him in this enterpriſe; telling him, that *Ptolomie* was ready to declare for them, and vrging him to a ſpeedy diſpatch. *Antigonus* on the other ſide repaied him with the ſame coine; ſaying, That for his owne ſake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very deerely loued, he would not faile to giue him all manner of ſuccour. Hauing thus feaſted one another with words, they were nothing ſlacke in perparing the common meanes, leading to their ſeuerall ends.

§. XIIII.

The vnworthy courſes held by Polyſperchon, *for the keeping downe of* Caſſander.

GReat neceſſity there was of timely prouiſion. For *Polyſperchon* needed no other inſtructions to informe him of *Caſſanders* drift, than the newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready diſpoſition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomie*, to the ſtrengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principall hope of *Caſſander* was repoſed in the confidence of ſuch as ruled in the *Grecian* Eſtate. Therefore (louing to worke circumſpectly) he called another Councell, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular forme of Gouernment ſhould be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garriſons withdrawne; and that all Magiſtrates and principall Men, into whoſe hands *Antipater* had committed the ſupreme authority, ſhould forthwith be either ſlaine or baniſhed. This was a ſure way to diminiſh the number of *Caſſanders* friends, and to raiſe vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was diſcloſed both an vnthankefull nature in *Polyſperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could he be excuſed of extreame ingratitude, that for hatred of the Son went about to diſhonour the Fathers actions, whoſe onely bountie had inabled him to doe it? Or what could be ſaid in their defence, who ſought to deſtroy many worthy men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greekes* were held reſtrained from ſtirring againſt the *Macedonians*? and in oppoſition to their priuate Enemie, gaue the rule of things to baſe Companions, and ſuch as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans body, through ſinnewes newly iſſuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any diſtemper in the contrary hand: ſo in bodies politique, the humours of men, ſubdiuided in faction, are more inraged by the diſagreeable qualities of ſuch as curbe them in their neereſt purpoſes, than they are exaſperated by the generall oppoſition of ſuch as are diuided from them in the maine trunke. Hereby it comes to paſſe, that contrary religions are inuited to helpe againſt Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawne in, to the part in ciuill warres; and ancient hatred called to counſaile againſt iniurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; ſhe hath taught the arme to offer it ſelfe vnto manifeſt loſſe in defence of the head: They are depraued affections, which render men ſenſible of their owne particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greekes* were preſented with a vaine ſhew of liberty, ran vnder the Kings name; but ſo, as one might eaſily diſcerne, that *Polyſperchon* had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they ſhould follow ſuch directions, as *Polyſperchon* gaue, and treate with him about all difficulties. In the reſt it contained ſuch a deale of kindeneſſe, as proceeding on a ſudden from thoſe who had kept them in hard ſubiection, might well appeare to haue ſome other root than the pretended good will; and was of it ſelfe too baſe and vnfit for a King to vſe toward his conquered Subiects, and often-ſubdued Rebels.

§. XV.

Of the great commotions raiſed in Athens by Polyſperchons *decree. The death of* Phocion.

NEuertheleſſe the *Athenians* with immoderate ioy entertained this happy-ſeeming Proclamation, and ſought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captaine of the Garriſon, which kept one of their Hauens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Towne, would needes take longer time of deliberation, than was pleaſing to their haſtie deſires.

Nicanor, as a truſty follower of *Caſſander*, was by him ſhifted into the place, and *Menillus* (that was Captaine there before) diſcharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His comming to *Athens* was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who ſoone after hearing the newes of *Antipaters* death, cried out vpon *Phocion*, ſaying, That he had ſufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by aduertiſing them in due time, haue put into their hands a faire opportunity of thruſting out the *Macedonians*. But theſe exclamations argued no more than a deſire to ſhake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Far more grieuouſly would they haue beene offended, had they knowne the inſtructions which *Caſſander* had giuen to *Nicanor*, and his reſolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he ſhould not onely retaine *Munychia*, any iniunction to the contrary notwithſtanding; but that he ſhould finde meanes to thruſt ſome Companies into *Piræus*, and fortifie that alſo, which was the principall Hauen, againſt the high-Towne. How to accompliſh this, he rather wanted ſome reaſonable pretence, than good ability. But the *Athenians* were not long in giuing him ſufficient cauſe to do that, which he would haue done without any cauſe giuen. They deſired him to come vnto their Councell, aſſembled in the *Piræus*, there to conſider of the Kings Proclamation: whither vpon *Phocions* word and ſafe conduct he came, and earneſtly preſſed them to hold with *Caſſander* in the warre which was ready to break forth. Contrariwiſe they vrged him firſt of all, to make them Maſters of their own, which how to vſe, they might conſult afterwards. Each of them refuſing to condeſcend vnto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did alwaies meaſure iuſtice by profit, yet ſeldome thriued by that courſe) practiſed with *Dercyllus*, a Captaine following *Polyſperchon*, and then lying neere at hand, that he ſhould enter into the Towne, and take *Nicanor* priſoner. But *Phocion*, who then gouerned in *Athens*, a man very vnlikly to the reſt of the Citizens, being nothing pleaſed with ſuch a tricke of politique diſhoneſty, did quietly ſuffer him to depart and ſaue himſelfe.

Nicanor hereupon began to deuiſe vpon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the proiect of *Caſſander*, but proſecuting his owne iuſt reuenge. He leauied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them cloſely into *Munychia*; which done, he iſſued into *Piræus*, tooke it, and intrenched himſelfe therein, to the exceeding diſcomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Hauen, ſaw him now Maſter of both. *Alexander*, the ſonne of *Polyſperchon*, came thither ſhortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouering all, and addreſſed themſelues vnto him; who made faire ſhewes, intending meere miſchiefe, which they perceiued not, being blinded with the vaine Epiſtles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queene. *Olympias* taking vpon her to command, before ſhe durſt well aduenture to returne into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to reſtore to the *Athenians* the places which he held: but he would firſt conſider more of the matter. *Polyſperchon* had further ordained, that the Iſle of *Samos* ſhould be rendred vnto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeede) ſo farre from purpoſing to let them haue *Samos*, that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them haue themſelues. The commoditie of their Hauens was ſuch, as he would rather get into his owne hands, than leaue in theirs; yet rather wiſhed in theirs, than in *Caſſanders*. His ſon *Alexander* not ignorant of this, made faire ſhew to the *Athenians*, and ſpent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but ſuffered not them, for whom he ſeemed to labor, to intermeddle with the buſineſſe. Hereupon the Citizens grew iealous, and the diſpleaſure they conceiued againſt him, they powred out vpon *Phocion*, depriuing him of his office. This was done with much tumult: baniſhed men and ſtrangers, thruſting themſelues into the aſſembly of the Citizens, who diſtracted with ſundry paſſions, growing out of their preſent misfortunes, thought euery one that beſt could inueigh againſt things paſt, a moſt likely man to finde ſome remedy for the euill threatning them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* deuiſing how he might come to ſome good point of compoſition with *Nicanor*, and held much priuie conference with him; which he could not ſo ſecretly carry, but that his negotiation was diſcouered, whereby the vp-rore in the Towne was ſo farre increaſed, that *Phocion* with many of his friends, were accuſed, and driuen to ſeeke ſaueguard of their liues by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commendation to his Father, deſiring him to take them into his protection.

Polyſperchon was in the Countrie of *Phocis*, ready to enter with an Armie into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his Companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their owne deſerts, (hauing alwaies beene friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Countrie gaue leaue) ſhould be enough to get patronage to their innocency. Beſides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polyſperchons* familiar friend, went along with them (in an euill houre) who promiſed to himſelfe and them great fauour, by meanes of his acquaintance. But *Polyſperchon*, was an vnſtable man, very earneſt in what he tooke in hand, yet, either for want of iudgement in following them, or of honeſty in holding the beſt of them, eaſily changing his intended courſes, and doing things by the halues, which made him commonly faile of good ſucceſſe. For feare of *Caſſander*, he had offered wonderfull kindneſſe to the *Athenians*; this had cauſed them to loue him: out of their loue he gathered hope of deceiuing them, which made him to change his minde, and ſeeke how to get into his owne hands thoſe keyes, with which *Caſſander* held them faſt lockt vp: finding himſelfe diſappointed of this purpoſe, and ſuſpected as a falſe diſhonourable man, he ſtood wauering betweene the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the *Athenians* perforce at his deuotion, would indeede haue done well: but the effecting of this beganne to grow deſperate; and many Townes of importance in *Greece* began to caſt their eyes vpon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore he thought it the wiſeſt way to redeeme their good opinion, by giuing all contentment vnto the popular faction, which was then growne to be Maſter of that Citie. And in good time for this purpoſe were the *Athenian* Embaſſadours come, treading (as one may ſay) vpon *Phocions* heeles, whom they were ſent to accuſe. Theſe had ſolemne audience giuen to them in the Kings preſence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for oſtentations ſake was glorified with all exteriour ſhewes of maieſtie; yet all too little to change *Aridæus* into *Alexander*: for hee did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he ſaw others doe. For beginning of the buſineſſe *Polyſperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* ſhould be tortured and ſlaine. This was enough to teſtifie his hearty affection to the Commonaltie of *Athens*, in that he ſpared not his old acquaintance for their ſake; whoſe Embaſſadours he then bad to ſpeake. When their errand was done, and anſwere to it made by the accuſed, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the reſt were pronounced guiltie of treaſon; but to giue ſentence, and doe the execution vpon them, was (for Honours ſake) referred vnto the Citie of *Athens*, becauſe they were Burgeſſes. Then were they ſent away to *Athens*, where the raſcall multitude, not ſuffering them to ſpeake for themſelues, condemned them to dye. So they periſhed being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conſpicuous, made the fortune of the reſt to be of the leſſe regard. Fiue and fortie times had he beene choſen Gouernour of the Citie, neuer ſuing for the place, but ſent for when he was abſent: ſo well was his integritie knowne, and ſo highly valued, euen of ſuch as were no pretenders to the ſame vertue. He was a good Commander in Warre, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and neuer vnfortunate. Neuer did the Citie repent of hauing followed his counſaile: nor any priuate man of hauing truſted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly eſteemed him; ſo, and much more did *Alexander*, who (beſides other ſignes of his loue) ſent him two hundred talents of ſiluer, and offered to beſtow vpon him of foure Cities in *Aſia* any one which he would chooſe. But *Phocion* refuſed theſe and other gifts, howſoeuer importunately thruſt vpon him; reſting well contented with his honeſt pouerty: wherein he liued aboue foureſcore yeeres, and then was compelled by the vniuſt iudgement of wicked men to drink that poyſon, which by iuſt iudgement of the righteous God, ſo infected the Citie of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it neuer brought forth any worthy man reſembling the vertue of their Anceſtors.

§. XVI.

Of Polyſperchon *his vaine expedition againſt* Caſſander.

NOt long after theſe things were done, *Caſſander* with ſuch forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which newes drew *Polyſperchon* head-long into *Attica*, with a great Army, but ſo ill victualed, that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Onely he had giuen ſome impediment to the enemy; who not contented with defending what he held, began to looke out, and make new purchaſes abroad. Finding therefore himſelfe vnable to driue *Caſſander* out of *Athens*, he left his ſonne *Alexander*, with ſuch number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withſtand his further incroaching. The greateſt part of his Armie he carried into *Peloponneſus*, to make the Countrey ſure to himſelfe, wherein *Caſſander* had many Friends.

His doings in *Peloponneſus* were ſuch, as they had beene in other parts of *Greece*. Firſt, he began to fight with Edicts, reſtoring the *Democratie*, or Popular forme of gouernement. Hee commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* beene made Rulers, ſhould be either ſlaine, or driuen into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in moſt places: The vulgar ſort being very ready to ſeale the Charter of their freedome and authoritie, with the bloud of thoſe who had kept them in ſubiection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which wiſhed well to *Caſſander*, eſpecially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyſperchon* meant to inflict an exemplarie puniſhment of diſobedience to him, which he tearmed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteene thouſand ſeruiceable men, well furniſhed of neceſſaries, and reſolued to endure the worſt. And neede there was of ſuch reſolution. For *Polyſperchon* comming thither with all his power, did ſo much, that he ouerthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the ſpace of wall betweene them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came vp to the breach; and at the ſame time with great labour they raiſed vp an inner wall, to beare out the next aſſault. The Aſſailants hauing failed to carry the Towne at the firſt attempt, tooke much paine to cleare the ground, and make faire way for their Elephants, whoſe violence was likely to ouerthrow all that came in their way. But the Towns-men perceiuing their drift, prepared boords driuen through with long nailes, which they vſed as gall-throps, beſtowing them ſleightly, couered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beaſts were to paſſe. Neither did they ſet any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beate vpon their ſides with Arrowes and Darts, as they were inſtructed by ſome that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Aſian* Warres. Of theſe prouiſions they made happy vſe in the next aſſault. For by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly truſted) either ſorely hurt, or driuen backe vpon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled vnder feet. *Polyſperchon* came as ill furniſht for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to *Athens*. Therfore being neither able to diſpatch the buſineſſe quickly, nor to take ſuch leiſure as was requiſite, he forſooke the ſiege, with ſome loſſe, and much diſhonour; leauing ſome part of his Armie to lye before the Towne for his credit.

After this he ſent *Clitus*, his Admirall, to Sea, to ioyne with *Aridæus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all ſuccour which might come to the enemy out of *Aſia*. *Caſſander* alſo ſent his whole Fleet vnder *Nicanor*, who taking along with him ſome ſhips of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the ouer-throw, gathered together the ſhips that were eſcaped, and manning them very well, ſent out *Nicanor* againe, aſſuring him of the victory, as well he might. For he ſent out ſufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he cauſed to be wafted ouer the Streights in ſmall Veſſels by night; theſe before day-light ſetting vpon *Clitus*, draue his men, that lay ſecurely on the land, head-long into their ſhips; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriuing did aſſaile them ſo luſtily, that few or none eſcaped him.

This loſſe at Sea, together with his bad ſucceſſe by Land, brought *Polyſperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facility in penning bloudy decrees, but when the execution was referred to his owne ſword, he could finde the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiuing that he had left them to ſhift for themſelues, and was not able to giue them Protection againſt the enemy which lay in their boſomes, came to agreement with *Caſſander*; accepting a Gouernour of his appointment; and reſtoring all things to the ſame ſtate wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Caſſander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly reuolted vnto him; as to an induſtrious man, and likely to preuaile in the end. Thus was the whole Country ſet in a combuſtion, vneaſie to be quenched; which preſented vnto *Antigonus* an opportunity, that he neglected not, of making himſelfe Lord of *Aſia*.

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§. XVII.

Antigonus *ſeekes to make himſelfe an abſolute Lord: and thereupon treates with* Eumenes, *who diſappointeth him. Phrygia and Lydia wonne by* Antigonus.

A*Ntigonus* had in *Antipaters* life time a firme reſolution, to make vnto himſelfe the vtmoſt benefit that he might of the Army committed to his charge. And in faire ſeaſon for aduancement of his purpoſes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; euen then, when all the buſineſſe in *Piſidia* was diſpatched, and no more imployment for the Army remaining, ſaue onely the continuance of the ſiege of *Nora*, a ſmall thing of it ſelfe, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was moſt precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutability, to which the preſent eſtate was manifeſtly ſubiect, would in continuance of ſome yeres (which he might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that ſpace could worke againſt him. His moſt feare was, that for want of exerciſe in that narrow Caſtle, his men & horſes might grow ſickly and vnſeruiceable: which made him to practiſe many deuices of keeping them in health and luſtie. But when he had continued ſhut vp in this manner about a yeere, his hopes came to good paſſe, and he was eaſed of his cares by *Antigonus* himſelfe, whoſe forces held him beſieged.

Antigonus knowing the great ſufficiencie of *Eumenes*, and conſidering his fidelity ſhewed vnto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not finde in all the world a fitter man than him, to imploy in managing thoſe high deſignes, wherein he doubted not that he ſhould be withſtood by the mightieſt Princes of the empire. He ſent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with ſome part of his intent, and promiſing to make him a better Lord than euer hee had beene, and the next man to himſelfe, if things fell out as he deſired: in regard whereof hee required onely his friendſhip, and thereupon ſent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleaſure iſſue ſafely out of *Nora*, and enioy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* peruſing the forme of the oath, did perceiue the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the bloud, rather to keepe the *Decorum*, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding words and ſumme of all were ſuch, as tied him faſt onely to *Antigonus*, omitting all reſeruation of duety to the King or any other. This hee liked not, holding it vnſeemely to become a ſworne man to him, with whom he had fought for the maſterie; and being aſſured that his voluntary aſſiſtance, which way ſoeuer he gaue, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the courſe propounded. Yet would he not therefore breake off for the negotiation, and waite for ſome better occaſion of inlargement, which might perhaps be long in comming: but ſeeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to giue vp his Hold and depart. As for the oath it ſelfe, when he came to take it, he made ſhew of diſlike, in that it was not ſolemne enough for ſuch perſonages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in teſtifying their Allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gaue him leaue to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himſelfe to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and ſo he departed.

Antigonus had taken vpon him, as ſoone as he came downe to the Sea-ſide, to remoue ſome of the Gouernours of the Prouinces, behauing himſelfe according to the authoritie which he had receiued of *Antipater*, to exerciſe in the time of warre. Neither did he want ſufficient pretence whereby to iuſtifie his proceedings. For if *Polyſperchon* might lawfully hold the *Protector-ſhip*, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed vnto him, as a legacie, without conſent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not he himſelfe aſwell retaine the *Lieutenantſhip* of *Aſia*, that was granted vnto him for the generall good of the State, in preſence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordaine what ſhould ſeeme conuenient whileſt he liued, not to diſpoſe of things that ſhould happen after his death? To giue a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith ſatisfied, he had threeſcore thouſand footmen, ten thouſand horſe, and thirtie Elephants in a readineſſe to anſwere them.

The firſt that perceiued his drift, and prouided to reſiſt him, was *Aridæus* Gouernour of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Townes of his owne Prouince, and ſought to haue won *Cyzicus*, a faire Hauen Towne, and ſeated very conueniently for him, but was faine to goe away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* tooke occaſion to command him out of the Countrie. *Aridæus* was ſo farre from obeying him, that he ſent forces to relieue *Eumenes*. Neuertheleſſe finding that he was vnable of himſelfe to make long reſiſtance, he tooke ſuch companies as he could draw along with him, and ſo paſſed ouer into *Europe*, to complaine at the Court. The like fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and ſought the like remedy of his fortune, with ſome hope at the firſt (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vaniſhed, and grew deſperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already beene declared.

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§. XVIII.

Antigonus *purſues* Eumenes. Eumenes *hauing authoritie from the Court, raiſeth great war againſt* Antigonus *in defence of the Royall houſe.*

ANtigonus hauing thus gotten into his hands all, or moſt of all *Aſia* the leſſe, was able to haue entred *Macedon*, and ſeized vpon the Court; which that he forbare to doe, it proceeded (as may ſeeme) for ſome of theſe reaſons. It would haue bred as much iealouſie in *Caſſander*, as feare in *Poloſperchon*, which might haue brought them to tearmes of reconciliation; It would aske more time than he could ſpare; and the enuie which followed the *Protector-ſhip* was ſuch, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to ſhun, than to purſue. Beſides all this, it was manifeſt that *Eumenes* would not onely refuſe to take his part, but would make warre vpon him in defence of the Royall houſe, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not ſtand wel-affected. Againſt him therefore he bent his courſe and with an Army of twenty thouſand foot, and foure thouſand Horſe, made great haſte toward *Cilicia*, hoping to ſuppreſſe him before he ſhould be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of thoſe few that continued faithfull to their dead maſter, which being well knowne in the Court, he had commiſſion ſent vnto him from thence to raiſe an Armie, and make warre vpon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treaſure as much as he ſhould neede. Other letters alſo there were directed to all the Gouernours of Prouinces, requiring them to giue aſſiſtance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: eſpecially to the Captaines of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyraſpides*, or ſiluer-ſheelded bands, commandement was giuen to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe, before this authority was giuen him: but now he purpoſed with all the ſtrength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royall bloud. *Olympias* had written to him, deſiring him to bring helpe to her and to her Nephew the ſonne of *Alexander*; and in the meane time to giue her his aduice in that which *Polyſperchon* required of her: for ſhee was deſirous to returne into *Macedon*, but ſuſpected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counſelled her to remaine in *Epirus*, till ſuch time as he could bring the warre to a good iſſue; which done, he promiſed that his faith and care ſhould not be wanting to the ſeede of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to conſider, that in all the Empire, ſcarce any one could be found among the Noble-men, in whom *Alexanders* mother, wiues, and children, might repoſe firme confidence, ſauing onely this *Eumenes*, a ſtranger to the *Macedonian* bloud, borne at *Cardia*, a Citie of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne diſcretion; and compelled he was to trauaile as farre as *Perſia*, to gather together an Armie ſufficient, to reſiſt the enemies that purſued his heeles.

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§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon ſtood affected mutually. Olympias *takes* Aridæus *and* Eurydice, *whom ſhe cruelly puts to death.*

NOW, foraſmuch as in this preſent warre all the Rulers of the Prouinces did entermeddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of *Aſia*, but *Macedon* it ſelfe, which brought a new face vnto the State, by the extirpation of the royall houſe of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it conuenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the warre it ſelfe, to ſhew briefely how the great ones did mutually ſtand affected; and by what paſſions they were drawne into thoſe courſes, which ouer-threw moſt of them, and out of their ruines built the greatneſſe of a few: as likewiſe to what extremitie the faction brake out in *Macedon* it ſelfe, about the maine controuerſie of the title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or ſhould haue beene depending.

Aridæus the King, beeing ſimple and fearefull, did onely what hee was bidden.

Polyſperchon, deſirous to continue long in Office, had a purpoſe to aduance the ſonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the kingdome, and become Gouernour to a King of his owne making.

Eurydice the Queene diſcouering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing leſſe than to let her husband ſerue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne old enough to ſit in it, grew acquainted with *Caſſander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

Caſſander held freſh in minde the danger wherein his family had beene through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignitie offered to himſelfe by *Alexander*, who knocked his head againſt a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Perſian* manner. The diſpleaſure hereof, and the pleaſure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him to reſolue, both to ſuppreſſe the linage which he hated, and to maintaine his beloued miſtreſſe, either by ſupporting her weake husband, or by taking her to be his owne wife.

The reſt of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned ouer all, ſo as they might reigne in their ſeuerall Countries, and eſtabliſh their authority in ſuch wiſe, that it might not be taken from them.

Among theſe, *Ptolomie* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would haue ſuffered them to ſee it.

Pitho and *Seleucus* lying farre off, and being ſtrong, had ſome good hope to encroach vpon their neighbours. Againſt theſe, *Peuceſtes* and ſome others with much adoe hardly made reſiſtance, vntill ſuch time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himſelfe great matters, which he liued not to accompliſh.

Olympias the old Queene (as it is common with ſtep-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wiues. It was thought that ſhe had giuen poyſon to *Aridæus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now ſhe conſidering, that *Eumenes* was too full of buſineſſe to come home ſo ſoone as ſhe wiſhed that he ſhould; and that *Caſſander* daily preuailed in *Greece*: thought it the beſt way to ioyne with *Polyſperchon*, and ſet vp, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the ſon of *Roxane*, remouing *Aridæus* before *Caſſander* were able to defend him. To this intent ſhe procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and ſo tooke her way towards *Polyſperchon*, who ioyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing theſe newes, wrote very earneſtly to *Caſſander*, praying him to ſet aſide all other buſineſſe, and come to ſuccour her. She her ſelfe by entreatie, gifts and promiſes, drew to her partie as many of the *Macedonians* as ſhe could, vntill ſhe thought her owne ſide ſtrong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth againſt *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polyſperchon*.

Theſe two Queens met armed, as if the matter ſhould haue beene determined by their own hands, which ended without any ſtroke ſtricken, by the reuolt of thoſe who followed *Eurydice*. For as ſoone as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to minde her former Eſtate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and ſonne, they refuſed to lift any weapon againſt her. *Eurydice* finding her ſelfe thus forſaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted and made priſoner with her husband.

Olympias hauing obtained this victory without bloud, thought that all things would ſucceed as eaſily, and that vpon the ſame conſiderations for which they had refuſed to beare Armes againſt her, the *Macedonians* would not ſticke to maintaine her, whatſoeuer her proceedings were. Hauing therefore ſhut vp *Aridæus* and his wife in a cloſe roome, where they could ſcarce turne round, ſhe fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for feare leſt the people ſhould haue commiſeration of him, that had reigned almoſt ſixe yeeres and a halfe) to put them to death. So ſhe deliuered *Aridæus* to ſome barbarous *Thracians*, who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to *Eurydice* ſhe ſent a ſword, a halter, and a cup of poyſon, willing her to chooſe the inſtrument of her owne death; who praying that the like preſents might one day be ſent to *Olympias*, yeelded her necke to the halter, hauing ſpent her laſt curſes not in vaine. *Nicanor* the brother of *Caſſander*, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did *Olympias* then chooſe out, all whom ſhe commanded to be ſlaine. His brother *Iolaus* that was already dead and buried, ſhe accuſed of poyſon giuen to *Alexander*, & thereupon cauſed his Tomb to be throwne downe, and his bones to be ſcattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this furie, began to condemne themſelues, and the folly of *Polyſperchon*, who had, quite contrarie to *Antipaters* charge giuen on his death-bed, called this outragious woman to the gouernement of the Empire.

§. XX.

How Caſſander *was reuenged vpon* Olympias.

†. I.

The great expedition of Caſſander. Olympias *ſhuts her ſelfe into Pydna, where* Caſſander *beſieged her.* Æacides *King of Epirus, comming to ſuccour* Olympias, *is forſaken, and baniſhed by his owne Subiects.*

CAſſander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponneſus*; whither when all theſe ill tidings were brought to him, he neuer ſtaied to take the Citie, nor to giue order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though *Alexander* the ſonne of *Polyſperchon* were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his aſſociates to looke to themſelues as well as they could, till his returne; and ſo in all haſte he tooke his iourney toward *Maceden*, carried headlong with the greedie deſire of iuſt reuenge. The *Ætolians* had taken the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, in fauour of the Queene and *Polyſperchon*, to hinder his paſſage; but he, not willing to miſ-ſpend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ſhippes as he could, great and ſmall, with which he tranſported his Army into *Theſſaly*. There he diuided his companies, appointing ſome vnder *Callas*, a ſubtile Captaine, to hold *Polyſperchon* buſied, who then lay incamped neere to *Perbæbia*; with the reſt he marched directly againſt *Olympias*. She, hauing once preuailed by the reſpect giuen to her dignitie, tooke more care how to appeare Maieſticall, than to make her ſelfe ſtrong. To this end ſhe made a ſolemne progreſſe to *Pydna*, a Sea-towne, and well fenced, hauing in her companie all the flowre of the Court, eſpecially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxame*, and her yong ſon *Alexander*, heire to the great *Alexander*, by his grandmothers deſignement: who, during his minority kept the Soueraigne power in her owne hands. But all this pompe ſerued to little vſe, againſt the violence of the enemy, that ſoone preſented himſelfe before the wals; onely it fed the beſieged with a vaine hope of ſuccour, that would from all parts arriue, to reſcue perſons of their quality. And hereof there ſoone appeared faire likelihood, which as ſoone vaniſhed, and went away in ſmoke.

For *Æacides* King of *Epirus*, made great haſte to bring ſuccour to *Olympias*, his coſen, with whom *Deodamia* his daughter was alſo ſhut vp. Neuertheleſſe, his Subiects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine paſſages taken in the way by *Caſſanders* men, they called vpon him to retire, and quit the enterpriſe. The Kings importunitie vrging them to proceede, and the obſtinate refuſall of the Armie, brake out at length into ſuch termes, that when he had raged in vaine againſt the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to haue preuailed vpon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forſake his Kingdome, and to wander vp and downe in forraine Countries a baniſhed man, his people ioyning with the enemy, againſt whom he had led them forth to warre.

Pydna in the meane time was cloſed vp ſtreightly, both by Sea and Land, ſo that neither any could iſſue out of the Citie, nor any reliefe be conueyed into it; but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable ſeruice being done there, whilſt great actions were mannaged abroad.

†. II.

A continuation of Olympias *her ſtorie.* Polyſperchon *defeated. Extreame famine in Pydna.* Olympias *yeeldes to* Caſſander.

NOw, though order of time require it, that we ſhould rehearſe the doings of *Eumenes* and *Antigonus* in this place, leauing *Olympias* yet a while to the howre of her deſtiny, which growes the faſter vpon her, becauſe ſhe may diſcerne it comming; yet that wee may not be compelled to interrupt the courſe of our narration, by inſerting her Tragedie in the midſt of things, not manifeſtly coherent with it; we will here (as elſewhere we haue done, and elſewhere muſt) continue to an end one Hiſtory, that we may not be therewith diſtracted, when we ſhall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the beſieged, remaining in *Polyſperchon*, was in like manner diſappointed, as their former truſt had beene, which was repoſed in the ſuccours of the *Epirot*. For *Callas*, who was ſent againſt him, found the meanes to corrupt the greateſt part of his Armie with money, leauing him within a little while ſo ſlenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other buſineſſe of warre, than a ſwift retrait. When famine had ſo farre preuailed in the Citie, that the horſes were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carcaſſes of their fellowes, and ſawduſt being giuen to the Elephants for prouender; ſome of the Souldiers obtaining the Queenes leaue, (who could not denie it) others, without asking leaue, yeelded themſelues to the enemie, and were by him gently relieued, and ſent abroad into the Countrey. The newes of the Queenes affaires, diſperſed by theſe men, did ſo affright her wel-willers, that ſuch as had reſerued themſelues to the euent, came in apace, and ſubmitted them to *Caſſander*. At length, when the mortalitie was ſo great in the Towne, that the liuing were euen poyſoned with the noyſome ſent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her ſelfe of ſtealing away by Sea in a Galley that ſhe had: wherewith her ſucceſſe was as bad as in the reſt. For God had appointed this Towne, by her choſen as a place of refuge, to be vnto her as a houſe of torment, and a Iaile, out of which ſhe ſhould not be deliuered,, but vnto an euill death. Being therefore vtterly broken with miſeries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, vnaccuſtomed to ſo wretched a kind of life, ſhe offered compoſition, & with much labor hardly obtained of *Caſſander* (who hauing fetcht her Gally out of the Hauen, accounted himſelfe as good as maſter of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately vpon her apprehenſion, *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, was yeelded to *Caſſander*. *Amphipolis* did ſtand out: for *Ariſtonus* (to whom *Olympias* had giuen charge of ſuch forces as were left abroad in the Countrey, taking courage from the ſucceſſe of ſome petty ſeruices wherein he had preuailed) began to promiſe himſelfe great vnlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Caſſanders* fauour, very earneſtly required him vpon his faith to her, that he ſhould giue it vp. He did ſo, and preſently after was killed by his priuate enemies, that were ſet on by *Caſſander*, who partly hated him vpon old reſpects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to ſeeke innouation.

†. III.

The death of Olympias, *and her conditions.*

WHen *Olympias* had now heard ſorrowfull tidings of all her friends, ſhee her ſelfe was called into queſtion, and accuſed in an aſſembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murthers (they were ſo ſtiled in her affliction, which in time of proſperitie ſhe called iuſtice) by her committed. There was ſhe (being not heard nor called to ſpeake) condemned to die. The ſuite was commenced and proſecuted againſt her, by the kindred of thoſe whom ſhe had ſlaine. But it was at *Caſſanders* inſtigation; who (to haſten the execution) ſent her word, that he would furniſh her with a ſhip, and other neceſſaries, to ſaue her ſelfe by flight: which when ſhe refuſed, ſaying, that ſhe would plead for her ſelfe, and tell her owne tale; he diſſembled no longer, but ſent vnto her ſuch men as hated her moſt, who tooke away her miſerable life. She was daughter, and ſiſter, vnto two Kings of *Epirus*; wife, and mother, vnto two the mightieſt Kings, of that, or many other ages; a ſtout Lady, and of vnreproueable chaſtitie; but her ambition was boundleſſe, her hatred vnappeaſable, and her furie in reuenge, moſt vnwomanly. Her peruerſe conditions made her husband ſeeke other wiues and Concubines, which cauſed her to hate both him, and them. She was thought priuie to her husbands death; after which, very cruelly ſhe ſlew his late wife *Cleopatra*, hauing firſt murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beaſtly fury broiled the other aliue in fire, in a copper baſon. For theſe things, her ſonne *Alexander* (otherwiſe louing her well) forbad her to meddle in the gouernement of *Macedon*. But God more ſeuere vnto cruell Tyrants, than onely to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to liue and fulfill the reſt of her wickedneſſe, (which was his iuſtice vpon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppreſſion done by him and others;) after all which, He rewarded her malice, by returning it vpon her owne head.

†. IIII.

Caſſander *celebrates the funerall of* Aridæus *and* Eurydice; *and ſeekes to make himſelfe King of Macedon.*

AFter her death, *Caſſander* gaue honourable buriall to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his owne poſſibilities of greatneſſe, he married the Lady *Theſſalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his wiues; that by her he might haue ſome title to the Crowne. For the ſame end he committed *Roxane*, and her yong ſonne, to cloſe priſon, remouing thereby ſome part of his impediment. And, the better to encreaſe his fame, and purchaſe loue, built a Citie, called by his owne name *Caſſandria*, that ſoone grew to be very great and powerfull. He reædified likewiſe *Thebes* in *Greece*, and reſtored it vnto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twenty yeeres waſte, being vtterly razed by *Alexander*. By theſe meanes, eſpecially by the reſtauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* volontarily contributed, he grew ſo ſtrong, that few remained enemies vnto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could reſiſt him. Leauing him therefore daily preuailing in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in *Aſia*, for leſſe titles, but larger Prouinces, with greater forces.

Chap. IIII.

Of the great Lordſhip which Antigonvs *got in Aſia.*

§. I.

The iourney of Eumenes *into Perſia. His wiſe dealing with thoſe that ioyned with him.*

Evmenes, hauing ioyned vnto his company the *Argyraſpides*, made haſte into the Eaſterne parts. to take poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries, according to his commiſſion, and ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt *Antigonus*. He tooke his iourney through *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, hoping to reclaime thoſe Prouinces, vſurped with the reſt of *Syria* (as hath beene ſhewed) by *Ptolomie*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haſte of his paſſing forward was too great, his Armie too litle; and the readineſſe of the people, to returne to their due obedience, none at all. Beſides all which impediments, one inconuenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the leſſe effectuall. The Captaines of the *Argyraſpides* were ſo froward, that they ſcorned to repaire to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was ſo vnſteady, that he might more eaſily haue dealt with open traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, ſhould weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by compulſion. Therefore he fained, that *Alexander* had appointed vnto him in a dreame, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pauilion, wherein an emptie throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himſelfe had beene preſent at their conſultations. Thus he freed himſelfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could haue no aſſurance. Yet when *Ptolomie* requeſted them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forſake him, they continued (though not without conſidering of the matter) to take his part. So hee marched on, ſending before him the Kings warrant; which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refuſed to obey; not as reiecting the Kings authority, but excepting the perſon of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Armie, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that hee was not to relye vpon their aſſiſtance, who ſtood otherwiſe affected then his affaires required, and were not to be dealt with by perſwaſion, ſought paſſage by ſtrong hand, through the Countrie of *Babylon*, in ſuch wiſe that *Seleucus*, hauing in vaine aſſailed to hinder him, by opening the ſluces of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as deſirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peuceſtes* and the reſt of the Eaſterne Lords, who were glad of his companie, becauſe of the differences betweene *Pytho, Seleucus*, and themſelues. Yet the contention about ſuperiority, grew very hot among them; euery one finding matter enough, to feede his owne humour of ſelfe-worthineſſe. But the former deuice of aſſembling in one pauilion, made all quiet; the concluſion euer being ſure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wiſeſt in giuing aduice, and beſt able to reward, by meanes of the authority giuen him, to take what he pleaſed of the Kings treaſures. By theſe meanes he won to himſelfe many of thoſe, who had moſt power to doe good or hurt.

§. II.

How Antigonus, *comming to ſet vpon* Eumenes, *was driuen off with loſſe.*

Antigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Prouince of *Suſa*, had an earneſt deſire to follow him, and driue him further from the Kings treaſures, which were kept there. To which end, as ſoone as he had made himſelfe ſtrong enough, he remoued out of *Meſopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly againſt the enemies, with intent to giue them battaile. *Eumenes* had fortified the Caſtle of *Suſa*, & was retired back toward *Perſia*, keeping the Riuer of *Tygris* betweene him and his purſuers. The paſſages of the Riuer were well guarded, and good eſpiall kept vpon *Antigonus*, to obſerue which way he took. Before he came to *Tygris* it ſelfe, he was to paſſe ouer *Coprates*, a great Riuer, and not foordable, which he ſought to doe by ſmall veſſels, whereof he had no great ſtore. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge vpon *Tygris*, came with a thouſand horſe, and foure thouſand foot, to ſee their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and draue them headlong backe into *Coprates*, wherein moſt of them were drowned; very few eſcaping with life, except foure thouſand that yeelded themſelues priſoners, in ſight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieue them. This loſſe made *Antigonus* glad to fall off, and the heate of that Countrie in the dog dayes, breeding diſeaſes in his Armie, by which many periſhed, cauſed him to remoue as farre as into *Media*. So he tooke *Python* with him, (leauing *Seleucus* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Suſa*) and ſeeking to goe the neereſt way, paſſed through ſauage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmiſhes, ſlew great numbers of his men, before he could arriue in *Media*, with his troupes that were quite heart-broken.

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§. III.

Of Eumenes *his cunning. A battaile betweene him and* Antigonus.

AFter his departure, *Eumenes* with his aſſociates fell into conſultation, about the remainder of their buſineſſe. Faine he would haue had them to enter vpon thoſe Prouinces, which *Antigonus* had left behinde him; to which alſo the Captaines of the *Argyraſpides* or *Siluer-ſhields* were very inclinable, as deſiring to draw neerer to *Greece*. But *Peuceſtes*, and the reſt, whoſe dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their owne particular Eſtates, and would needes march Eaſtward. Theſe carried it; for the Armie was not ſtrong enough to diuide it ſelfe into parts.

When they came into *Perſia*, *Peuceſtes*, ruling there, feaſted them royally, and ſought by all meanes to win the Souldiers loue to himſelfe. *Eumenes* perceiuing whereunto thoſe doings tended, ſuffred him a while to keepe good cheare, till the time of war drew neere. Then did he faine an Epiſtle, directed, as from *Orontes* Gouernor of *Armenia*, to *Peuceſtes* himſelfe: The purport whereof was, that *Olympias* had vanquiſhed *Caſſander*, and ſent ouer a great Armie vnder *Polyſperchon*, to ioyne with *Eumenes*. Theſe newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine ioy, ſo they wrought in all mens mindes a great willingneſſe to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likelieſt apparance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wiſely, he being farre the moſt ſufficient Commander, as they found ſoone after. For when *Antigonus*, comming out of *Media*, drew neere vnto them, *Eumenes* by ſome miſchance was fallen ſicke, and faine to be carried in a Litter; the Armie marched in very bad array, and was likely to haue beene forced to take battaile in that diſorder. But *Eumenes*, when the reſt of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his Litter, and vpon the ſodaine did caſt his men into ſo good forme, that *Antigonus*, perceiuing him a farre off, could not refraine from giuing him deſerued commendations. Yet he did not ceaſe to promiſe great rewards to the Captaines, and all ſorts of men, if they would forſake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiuing him, he came to the triall of a battaile. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*, otherwiſe, he was inferiour in number both of horſe and foote by a third part. The battaile was fought with variable ſucceſſe, and great loſſe on both ſides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victory was vncertaine. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye farre from their carriages: by which meanes *Antigonus* (who had a more abſolute command ouer his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the ſigne of victory; for he buried his owne, and gaue leaue to his enemies crauing it, to doe the like. But a greater ſigne of victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode ſtill in the ſame place, and not onely buried his men very honourably, at great leiſure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (hauing tarried but one day) to ſteale away by night, and returne into *Media*, from whence he came.

§. IIII.

Of diuers ſtratagems practiſed by Antigonus, *and* Eumenes, *one againſt the other.*

THus did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part hauing ſtout Souldiers, and skilfull Generals: but the ſide which had hitherto preuailed, being hindred by the equall authoritie of many, from purſuing all aduantages to the beſt. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, ſo that to repaire himſelfe he could finde no way ſafer, than to put all to aduenture. Hee knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered farre aſunder, ſo that if hee could ſuddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great diſtreſſe. Between him & them, the way was not long, being only nine daies iourney, but very bad, through a rough drie wilderneſſe, hardly paſſable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Countrie well peopled, but requiring 25. daies iourny, he forſooke, partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, becauſe he would come vndiſcouered. So therfore taking his iourney in the dead of winter, he forbade vnto his men the vſe of fire by night, becauſe hee would not haue them deſcried a farre off. This commandement had beene well obſerued foure or fiue daies, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cheriſh themſelues, being neere to their waies end. The light of theſe fires gaue notice of their comming; which being reported to *Peuceſtes*, and other Captaines, they were ſo aſtoniſhed with the ſodaine danger, that in all haſte they betooke themſelues to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promiſing to make *Antigonus* march leiſurely, and willing them to abide, and draw vp their men together. They could ſcarce beleeue him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He tooke with him ſome companies of the readieſt men, wherewith he occupied certaine tops of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of *Antigonus*: there hee choſe a conuenient ground to incampe vpon, and made great ſtore of fires in ſundry places, as if the whole Armie had beene preſent. This was a ſorrowfull ſpectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himſelfe preuented of his purpoſe; and began to feare leſt he ſhould be compelled to fight, whileſt his men were tired with a long & painfull iourney. Therefore he reſolued to turne aſide, and take the way to ſuch places, as might better ſerue to refreſh his Armie. This he did with great care and circumſpection, at the firſt, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be vpon all aduantages. But after a while, conſidering that no enemy ſtirred about him, he began to pauſe, and thinke in himſelfe, that ſomewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he cauſed ſome Inhabitants of that Deſert to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had ſeene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hil-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that hee had beene ſo deluded. Therefore he went againſt theſe troupes with great furie, meaning to take ſharpe vengeance on them, for hauing ſo deceiued him. But by this time, ſufficient ſtrength was arriued there, which could not bee forced without much buſineſſe, and long ſtay. All the Armie was come, ſaue onely *Eudamus*, Captaine of the Elephants, who, beſides thoſe beaſts, had no more than foure hundred horſemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this ſupply comming to his enemies, ſent aboue two thouſand horſe, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* beeing fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and ſo to defend himſelfe as well as he could; for his horſemen, ouerlaied with multitudes, were quickely broken, and driuen to runne away vpon the ſpurre. Neither knew they, who ſate vpon the Elephants, which way to turne them; for on all ſides they receiued wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troupes of horſe and foot, that came vnexpected to the reſcue; and charging the aſſailants vpon the backe, draue them to ſeeke their owne ſafety by ſpeedy flight. Theſe were ſent by *Eumenes*; who though he knew not what his aduerſarie meant to doe, yet he knew very well what was fitteſt for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himſelfe, prouided the remedie.

§. V.

The conſpiracie of Peuceſtes *and others, againſt* Eumenes *his life.*

BY theſe meanes *Eumenes* wanne great honour, and was by the whole Armie acknowledged a moſt expert Generall, and well worthy of the chiefe command. But *Peuceſtes*, and the other Captaines, guilty of their owne much inſufficiency, were ſo tranſported with enuie, that they could no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held communication, as vpon a neceſſary point, how they might finde meanes to murder him.

Surely, it is great injuſtice to impute the miſchiefe contriued againſt worthy men, to their owne proud carriage, or ſome other ill deſeruing: For, though it often happen, that ſmall vices do ſerue to counterpoyſe great vertues; (the ſenſe of euill being more quicke and laſting than of good) yet hee ſhall bewray a very fooliſh malice, that, wanting other teſtimonie, will thinke it a part of wiſedome, to finde good reaſon of the euills, done to vertuous men, which oftentimes haue no other cauſe than vertue it ſelfe. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to bee of ſingular courteſie, of a very ſweet conuerſation among his friends, and carefull by all gentle meanes to winne their loue, that ſeemed to beare him any ſecret ill affection. It was his meere vertue that ouerthrew him, which euen they that ſought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that hee ſhould not be ſlaine, before the battaile were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confeſſed that it ſtood beſt with their ſafety, to be gouerned by his direction. Of this treaſon he was quickly aduertiſed by *Eudamus*, to whom hee had done many pleaſures, and by ſome others of whom hee vſed to borrow money when hee needed not, to the end that they ſhould be carefull of his good, for feare of loſing their owne. Conſidering therefore, and diſcourſing with himſelfe of the villany intended againſt him, he made his laſt Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of ſecret: which done, hee reuolued many things in his minde; being doubtfull what courſe he were beſt to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire ſtood ill affected to the Royall bloud, excepting thoſe which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time ſtood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might incourage him to ſeeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with *Antigonus*, had beene againſt his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cauſe alſo it may be thought, that he forbare either to loſe the battaile willingly, or to flie into *Cappadocia*, and make ſhift for himſelfe among his old friends. At length he reſolued to do his beſt againſt the common enemy, and afterwards to looke to himſelfe as well as he might.

§. VI.

The laſt battaile betweene Antigonus *and* Eumenes.

THe Souldiers, eſpecially thoſe olde bands of the *Siluer-ſhields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cauſe, entreated him not to doubt of the victorie, but onely to bring them into the field, and ſet them in array; for the reſt, they alone would take ſufficient order. The like alacritie was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chiefe Commanders were ſo miſchieuouſly bent againſt him, that they could not endure to thinke of beeing beholding to him for the victorie. Yet hee ordered the battaile ſo well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armies came to ioyning, a horſe-man from the ſide of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice vnto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickedneſſe in fighting againſt their owne Fathers, would now be puniſhed, as it well deſerued. This was not ſpoken in vaine. For the *Siuer-ſhields* were men of threeſcore or ſeuenty yeeres olde, and ſtrengthened more by continuall exerciſe than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as hauing paſſed through greater dangers, than any like to bee preſented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often beene beaten by them, and were now to trie their laſt hope with theſe reſolute warriours, the moſt Ancient and beſt regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very penſiue, and aduanced heauily, ſuſpecting their owne cauſe, and fearing that the threatnings vttered would proue true.

Antigonus was now againe farre the ſtronger in horſe; which gaue him cauſe of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, beeing a plaine leuelled field. Placing therfore himſelfe and his ſonne *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Pithon*, hee did ſet forward couragiouſly againſt the enemies, that were ready to giue him a ſharpe entertainment.

Eumenes tooke vnto him *Peuceſtes*, with the reſt of the Lords, and ſtood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to preuent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head againſt him on the ſodaine; and (withall) to giue proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he ſhould no more doe, in the face of all his enemies. In the right wing, oppoſite vnto *Pithon*, he beſtowed the weakeſt of his Horſe and Elephants, vnder one *Philip*, an honeſt man, and (which was enough at ſuch a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reaſonable retrait, expecting the euent of the other ſide.

So they ioyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himſelfe maſter of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to winne ſuch a victorie vpon his open enemies, as might giue him leiſure and opportunitie to deale with his falſe friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being euen in their owne opinions, farre inferiour to thoſe whom they muſt encounter, were at the firſt brunt preſently defeated by the *Siluer-ſhields*, who ſlew aboue fiue thouſand of them, loſing of their owne not one man. But in horſe, *Eumenes* was ſo ouer-matched, that hee could not repell *Antigonus*, who preſſed him very hard, but was faine to ſtand wholly vpon defence. Yet his courage wrought ſo well by example, among his followers, that the enemie could not winne one foot of ground vpon him, vntill ſuch time as *Peuceſtes*, with one thouſand fiue hundred horſe, withdrew himſelfe out of the battell, leauing his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did *Eumenes* deſperately ruſh amongſt his enemies, labouring to breake open the way vnto *Antigonus* himſelfe. And though he failed of his purpoſe; yet with great ſlaughter he did ſo beat vpon them which came in his way, that the victorie hung a long time in ſuſpence, vncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a ſlight ſandie mould, through the trampling of horſes, men, and Elephants, did caſt vp ſuch a cloud of duſt, as hindred the proſpect, ſo that no man could ſee what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this aduantage, diſpatched away ſome companies of horſe, that paſſed vndiſcouered beyond *Eumenes* his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, ſlenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay betweene them and danger) and therefore eaſily taken. Had *Peuceſtes* retired himſelfe no further than vnto the carriages, he might not onely haue defended them, but peraduenture haue ſurpriſed thoſe which came to ſurpriſe them, and ſo haue done as good a piece of ſeruice as a better man. But he was gotten ſomewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the euent: and *Eumenes* was ſo ouer-laboured both in body and minde, that hee could not poſſibly giue an eye to euery place, beeing not well able to continue where he was.

It happened ſo, that the Elephants meeting together, thoſe of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himſelfe euery way ouer-charged, beganne to giue backe, and withdrew himſelfe and his companies in good order, to the other ſide of the battaile, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loſſe. The *Antigonians* had felt ſo much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wiſhed not to ſee him come againe; as faine he would haue done.

The loſſe of the carriages was reported vnto him, as ſoon as he had any leiſure to heare how things went: whereupon he preſently ordered his men for a freſh charge, and ſent for *Peuceſtes* that was not far off, requeſting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he truſted, not only to recouer their owne goods, but to enrich themſelues with the ſpoyles of the enemies. *Peuceſtes* not onely refuſed to ioyne with him, but immediately withdrew himſelfe into a ſafer place, where hee might be further from ſuch dangerous temptations.

By this, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were deſirous to returne into their Campes. Yet *Antigonus* conceiued hope of doing ſomewhat more; and therefore taking halfe his horſemen, he waited vpon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other halfe he committed to *Pithon*, willing him to ſet vpon the *Siluer-ſhields* in their retrait; which yet he forbare to doe, becauſe it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not ſo much the better in horſe, as the worſe in foot: but the ſpoyle which he got, by ſurpriſing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other loſſes.

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§. VII.

How Eumenes *was betrayed to* Antigonus, *and ſlaine.*

EVmenes, comming into his Campe, and finding the *Siluer-ſhields* extreamely diſcontented with their misfortune, began to cheere them vp, and put them in hope of recouering all with aduantage. For their braue demeanor that day had ſo cruſhed the enemy, that hee had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much leſſe able to draw their Carts after him, through that great Wilderneſſe, ouer the high mountaines.

But theſe perſwaſions auailed nothing. *Peuceſtes* was gone; the other Captains would needs returne into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no deſire either to flie or to fight, but onely to recouer their goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of the two Captaines of the *Siluer-ſhields*, (who had in former times readily conſented vnto traiterous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as hee thought, a fit occaſion of making himſelfe great, and winning the loue of thoſe bands, dealt ſecretly with *Antigonus*, requeſting him to reſtore vnto thoſe olde Souldiers their goods, which hee had taken, being the onely reward of their ſeruices, in the warres of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a ſubtile man, knew very well, that they which requeſted more than they had reaſon to expect, would alſo with little entreaty, performe a great deale more than they promiſed; and therefore he louingly entertained the meſſengers, filling them with hopes of farre greater matter than they deſired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were ſeduced to make warre againſt him. This anſwere pleaſed them ſo well, that they forthwith deuiſed how to deliuer him aliue. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, and pretending more ioy of their victorie, than ſorrow of their loſſe, which they ſaid they would redeem by another fight; in the middeſt of this goodly talke, they leapt vpon him, caught hold of his ſword, and bound him faſt. So they haled him away; and ſtopping their eares againſt all perſwaſions, would not yeeld ſo farre, as to looſen one of his hands and let him kill himſelfe, but brought him aliue (that was their owne Generall, vnder whom they had obtained many victories) as it had beene in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The preſſe of men, running out of the Campe to ſee him, was ſo great, that *Antigonus* was faine, to ſend a guard of horſemen and Elephants, to keepe him from being ſmothered; whom hee could not ſodainely reſolue, either to kill or ſaue. Very few they were that ſued for his life; but of theſe, *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus* was one; the reſt were deſirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were ſaued, hee would ſoone be the chiefe in reputation, for his great abilitie. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the ſafeſt way, to put him to death; which intending to haue done by famine (perhaps becauſe he would keepe it a while in his owne power, to reuerſe the ſentence, as deſiring, if it might be, to haue him liue his friend) haſte of other buſines made him doe it by the ſword.

To this end came all the trauailes of that worthy Generall *Eumenes*; who had with great wiſedome, fidelitie, and patience laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purpoſed to caſt downe. Hee is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie; but more notable was his gouernment of himſelfe, in all her changes. Aduerſitie neuer leſſened his courage, nor Proſperitie his circumſpection. But all his vertue, induſtrie, and wit, were caſt away, in leading an Armie, without full power, to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill anſwered, by *Gaſpar de Collignie*, Admirall of *France* in our daies, to one that foretold his death, which enſued ſoone after in the maſſacre of *Paris*; That rather than to leade againe an Armie of Voluntaries, he would die a thouſand times.

Antigonus himſelfe gaue to the body of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treaſon, wrought againſt him, with deſerued vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the *Siluer-ſhields* he burnt aliue; many of the other Captaines he ſlew; and to the whole multitude of the *Siluer-ſhields*, that had betraied ſo worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that ſhould carry them into farre Countries, vnder pretence of warres; but with a priuy charge, to conſume them all, as periured wretches, letting none of them returne aliue vnto his friends and kindred, or ſo much as once behold the Seas that beat vpon the ſhores of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

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§. VIII.

How Antigonus *ſlew* Pithon, *and occupied Media. How he remoued Gouernours of Prouinces, and made himſelfe Lord of Perſia, carrying away* Peuceſtes.

THe two Armies being ioyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they ſpent the reſt of the Winter; the common Souldier idly; the principall men intentiuely bent vnto the buſineſſe enſuing. *Pithon* began to conſider his owne deſeruings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefly maintained by the ſtrength and riches of his Prouince. Beſides, he thought himſelfe as good a man as *Antigonus*, vnleſſe it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he iudged eaſie to be purchaſed with gifts, and therefore ſpared not to aſſay them with great liberality. But in follwing this courſe, hee was driuen by neceſſitie to truſt many, of whom hee ſtumbled vpon ſome, that were vnſecret, and others, bearing him no ſincere affection. Thus was his purpoſe diſcouered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Pithon*) diſſembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of diſſention betweene him, and his honourable friend, vnto whom he meant to commit the Gouernment of all thoſe Countries: his owne buſineſſe calling him into the lower *Aſia*. Theſe reports, comming daily to his eares, did finelie delude *Pithon*. By his greatneſſe with *Alexander*; his authority in that Prouince where they lay, whereof he was Gouernor; and the loue of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; hee was ſtrong enough to maintaine, euen an offenſiue warre. But what need had he to vſe the ſword, when hee was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as ſoone as he was ſent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to diuide the Prouinces with him, that meant nothing leſſe than to yeeld to any ſuch diuiſion. As ſoone as he came, he was taken, and accuſed, condemned to die, and ſlaine out of hand. For *Antigonus*, hauing begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward reſtrained by any conſideration of olde acquaintance, from cutting downe indifferently all that ſtood in his way: but ſwamme careleſly through the bloud, wherein at the firſt he doubtfully waded.

When this buſineſſe was ended, hee appointed a new Gouernour in *Media*, to order the Prouince, and a Captaine, to ſuppreſſe all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authoritie, ſo diuided, would hardly agree in one againſt him, from whom both were deriued.

After this hee marched into *Perſia*, where hee was entertained, as abſolute Lord of *Aſia*. There began hee to ſhew how well hee vnderſtood his owne mightineſſe. For he placed and diſplaced at his owne pleaſure, Gouernours in all Prouinces, leauing none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, excepting ſuch as lay too farre off to bee diſlodged eaſily.

Peuceſtes, who ruled in *Perſia*, thought with good cheere to redeeme olde offences, but was deceiued, hauing to doe with one that could not bee taken with ſuch baites: hee was caried away, and feaſted with goodly words of promiſe, that neuer after tooke effect. Thus hee, that enuied the vertue of his friend, was driuen to flatter (in vaine) the fortune of his enemie, after which he led a moſt contemptible life, till he died obſcurely a man forgotten.

§. IX.

How Seleucus *was chaſed out of Babylon by* Antigonus. *The great riches of* Antigonus.

Seleucus was the next in this viſitation; one that had from time to time continued in the ſame tenor of good will to *Antigonus*, & now gaue proofe of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captaine of the Caſtle of *Suſa* to meete him on the way, rendring vnto him that ſtrong Peece, and all the treaſures therein beſtowed. This offer was ſo great, that *Antigonus* (though hauing in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleeue it; but vſed him with exceſſiue kindneſſe, for feare ſo good a mood ſhould change. In that Caſtle he found all the treaſures of *Alexander*, with the Iewels of the *Perſian* Kings, which added to his former ſtore of money, made vp 25. thouſand talents. Hauing all this, he might well account himſelfe a happy man, if riches were ſufficient to happineſſe. But large dominion was the marke at which hee aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leaue no Country behinde his backe, that ſhould not acknowledge him for Soueraigne Lord. Comming to *Babylon*, hee was entertained by *Seleucus* with all poſſible demonſtration of loue, and honoured with preſents, beſeeming the Maieſtie of a King. All this he accepted with great grauitie, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the reuenues of that Prouince. This demand *Seleucus* held vnreaſonable; ſaying, That it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of that Prouince, which was giuen vnto him, in reſpect of his many good ſeruices to the State. But whether he ſpake reaſon or no, it ſufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerfull; who vrged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifeſt it was, that neither want of money, nor any other neceſſity, moued *Antigonus* to preſſe him thus, but onely the deſire to picke matter of quarrell againſt him, whereof it was likely that hee ſhould finde ſuch iſſue, as *Pithon* and *Peuceſtes* had done. Therefore taking with him onely fifty horſe, he conueied himſelfe away, and fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; deſiring him to protect him from ſuch a man as went about to oppreſſe all, that in former times had beene his betters, or at leaſt his equalls. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all thoſe Countries were yeelded vnto him without battaile, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his deſire, hauing receiued many benefits of him, and thoſe not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any iniuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldæans* brought a ſtrange Propheſie to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himſelfe, and know, that if *Seleucus* did eſcape his hands, he ſhould recouer *Babylon*, yea, winne all *Aſia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battaile. Eaſie beleeuers may giue credit to this tale. Had it beene true, me thinkes, *Antigonus* rather ſhould haue hanged thoſe *Chaldæans*, for giuing him no warning till it was too late, than ſent purſuers (as they ſay that he did) after him, whom the deſtinies preſerued for ſo great purpoſes. When he had ſetled things at *Babylon*, he tooke his iournie into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There hee took vp ten thouſand talents more of the Kings treaſures, and caſting his accounts, found his yeerely income to amount vnto eleuen thouſand Talents.

CHAP. V.

Of the great Warre betweene ALEXANDERS *Captaines: and how they aſſumed the name and ſtate of Kings.*

§. I.

The combination of Ptolomie, Caſſander, *and others againſt* Antigonus. *Their demands and his anſwere.*

THis great riches, and the reſt of his power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, enuied, and ſuſpected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new Warre. *Ptolomie*, *Caſſander*, and *Lyſimachus*, had priuily combined themſelues together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reaſon, than of his owne accord he ſeemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their practices hee had ſome notice; the good entertainment giuen vnto *Seleucus*, giuing him ſufficient cauſe of miſtruſt. Therefore he ſent Embaſſadors to them ſeuerally, entreating them to continue firme in their loue toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold anſweres which they made, occaſioned his haſty preparation againſt the moſt forward of them, which was *Ptolomie*, it being likely that a good armie ſhould preuaile more than a faire meſſage. Therefore, as ſoone as the ſeaſon of the yeere would permit, he tooke the way toward *Syria*, & was encountred by Embaſſage from them all. Theſe told him, that their Lords did much reioyce at his victorie, obtained againſt *Eumenes* their common enemie, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which warre, foraſmuch as they being his Confederates, muſt haue endured great loſſe, with hazard of their whole Eſtates, if the contrary faction had preuailed; they held it very iuſt, that all ſhould bee partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had beene all aduenturers. Wherefore they deſired him, that making betweene them all an equall diuiſion of the treaſures that were in his hands, (a thing eaſie to be done) he would alſo take ſome conuenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchaſes. This might beſt be to euerie ones liking, if he would make ouer *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Caſſander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering vpon the *Helleſpont*, to *Lyſimachus*; for whereas his owne Dominions were ſo much extended Eaſtward by his late victory, he might well ſpare ſome of thoſe weſterne Prouinces, to thoſe that were ſeated in the Weſt. As for *Ptolomie*, he would not craue any new addition, but reſt contented within his owne Territories. Prouided alwaies, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be reſtored to his owne, out of which hee had beene driuen ſo iniuriouſly, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly conſent vnto their demands, which otherwiſe they muſt labour to obtaine with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many loſſes receiued, hee ſhould yet bee able to redeeme peace whenſoeuer he liſted, with theſe, or perhaps with eaſier conditions. Neither was hee ſo weake, to giue away quietly any part of his ſtrength into the hands of ſuch bad friends, for feare onely, leſt it ſhould be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he ſhould be able to finde them worke, more then enough to defend their owne. Therefore he roundly anſwered the Embaſſadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victorie, which he alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeed they had already ſufficiently gained by him, if they could ſee it, hauing by his meanes kept their gouernments, whereof they were like to be diſpoſſeſſed by *Polyſperchon*, and the councell of eſtate in *Macedon*. But what maruell was it, if they conſidered not how he had ſaued them, ſeeing one of them had forgotten the time, when comming to him as a fugitiue, and begging ſuccour, he was by his meere bountie relieued, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Caſſander* did not (ſaid hee) in thoſe daies command mee to ſurrender Prouinces, and giue him his equall ſhare of my treaſures; but (for his Fathers ſake) deſired mee to pittie him, and helpe him againſt his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Armie, and Fleet, on confidence whereof he now preſumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can hee complaine of wrong, that durſt not ſtay to plead his right? I did vſe him well; but his conſcience told him that he had deſerued ill: elſe he would not haue fled. Let them that ſo curiouſly ſearch into my doings, conſider well their owne, which ſome of them can hardly iuſtifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings, and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

§. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the Warres.

WHen the Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed with this anſwere, nothing was thought vpon but warre. *Antigonus* perceiuing that he ſhould be inuaded from *Europe*, as ſoone as he were entred into *Syria*; left his Nephew *Ptolomie* to guard the Sea-coaſts, and hinder *Caſſander* from landing in *Aſia*: giuing him alſo in charge, to driue out of *Cappadocia* ſome that were already ſent ouer to moleſt him. Likewiſe he diſpatched Meſſengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not vnfurniſhed of mony, to draw friends to his ſide, and raiſe vp troubles to his enemies. Eſpecially, hee laboured to make himſelfe the ſtrongeſt by Sea; to which purpoſe he rather haſtened, than foreſlowed his iourney into *Syria*, that he might get poſſeſſion of Mount *Libanus*, which affoorded many excellent commodities for building of a Nauie. Therefore, hauing erected Beacons, and laid poſt-horſes throughout all *Aſia*, to giue ſwift aduertiſement of all occurrences, hee inuaded *Syria*, that was not held againſt him by any power ſufficient to maintaine the field.

Ptolomie lay in *Ægypt*, the ſtrength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloued and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Prouinces hee kept with a few Garriſons, better ſeruing to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraine enemie. So *Antigonus* tooke many Cities, and Places, of that Countrie, and began to ſet great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ſhips, which was one of his moſt earneſt cares. In theſe buſineſſes he conſumed a yeere and three moneths; not idly. For he tooke *Ioppe*, and *Gaza*, which were yeelded vnto his diſcretion, and well vſed. The ſtrong Citie of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it ſelfe vpon compoſition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Armes; which was permitted.

Ptolomie was not aſleepe, whileſt theſe things were in doing, though hee kept himſelfe within the bounds of *Ægypt*, as indeed it behoued him to doe. His forces were not able to ſtand againſt *Antigonus* in plaine field, but likely they were to increaſe, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuertheleſſe by Sea (where his enemie was as yet vnready) he ſent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chiefe command.

Seleucus paſſed with an hundred ſaile along the coaſt of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Armie, to their no little diſcomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then gouerned by many pettie Lords; of whom the greateſt adhered to *Ptolomie*; the reſt were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Ægyptian* with ſharpe ſteele.

The ſame commoditie of aide by Sea encouraged the Preſident of *Caria* (called alſo *Caſſander*, but not the ſonne of *Antipater*, howſoeuer by the painefull and learned writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is by ſome ouerſight, counted for the ſame) to declare for *Ptolomie* and his Confederates, and buſily imploy in their quarrell all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutralitie, and thereby enioyed reſt; but now he threw himſelfe into dangerous warre, chooſing rather to vndergoe trouble at hand, than to fall vnder certaine ruine, though ſomewhat further diſtant, which would haue ouerwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the reſt.

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§. III.

How each partie ſought to winne the aſſiſtance of Greece. Antigonus *his declaration againſt* Caſſander. Alexander *the ſonne of* Polyſperchon *reuolteth from* Antigonus *who had ſet him vp.*

IN the meane ſeaſon all care poſſible was taken on both ſides, to aſſure vnto them the people of *Greece*, whoſe aide which way ſoeuer it inclined was of great importance. Herein at the firſt, *Antigonus* ſped ſo well by large effuſion of his treaſure, that he drew to him the *Lacedæmonians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, of whom hee waged eight thouſand, and cauſed *Polyſperchon* (who had a good while made hard ſhifts) to rowſe himſelfe againe, and taking vpon him the title of Captaine of *Peloponneſus*, to make head againſt *Caſſander*.

Theſe hopefull beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the ſame kinde. Wherefore to make *Caſſander* the more odious, hee called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the *Greekes* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To theſe he declared, that *Caſſander* had very cruelly ſlaine *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had ſhut vp in cloſe priſon the poore Lady *Roxane*, *Alexanders* wife, and his ſonne begotten on her bodie. That all this proceeded from a deſire to make himſelfe King ouer the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Ladie *Theſſalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match vnfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to ioyne with him in marriage. That in meere deſpight of thoſe dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new Citie by him built, and called by his owne name *Caſſandria*; and had reedified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great treaſon of the inhabitants, was leuelled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For theſe reaſons hee required them to make a decree, that *Caſſander* ſhould reſtore to abſolute libertie the Ladie *Roxane*, and her ſon; and ſhould yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Empire, (by which name *Antigonus* himſelfe was vnderſtood) or elſe ſhould be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemie to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould be reſtored into freedome; this he did, not becauſe he was carefull of their good, but for the need which he had of their aſſiſtance.

Theſe things beeing decreed, *Antigonus* was perſwaded, that not onely the *Greekes* would adhere vnto him, as to their louing Patron, and fall off from *Caſſander*; but that the Rulers of Prouinces, who had hitherto ſuſpected him as a man regardfull of nothing but his owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and thinke him the moſt faithfull of all others to the Royall bloud. But concerning his loyaltie to the yong Prince, the world was too wiſe to be deceiued with vaine ſhewes. His vndertaking for the libertie of the *Greekes* was more effectuall, and got eaſie beleefe, in regard of his preſent hatred to *Caſſander*. Yet heerein alſo *Ptolomie* ſtroue to be as earneſt as he, making the like decree, in hope to winne to himſelfe that valiant Nation, which afforded men farre more ſeruiceable in warre, than were to be found in any Prouince of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point, at which both ſides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all ſure, deceiued himſelfe, not without great coſt. For he gaue to *Alexander* the ſonne of *Polyſperchon* fiue hundred talents, willing him to ſet the warre on foot in *Peloponneſus*, whereby it might appeare, that on his ſide was meant nothing elſe, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponneſus*, *Caſſanders* men had with much bloud-ſhed, grieuouſly afflicted the contrarie faction; and he himſelfe perceiuing, that they were more eaſily ſpoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the beſt way, to make what vſe he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiuing that *Alexander* came furniſhed with plentie of gold, wherewith he was able, not only to winne the doubtfull, but to corrupt ſuch as might ſeeme beſt aſſured: he thought it a part of wiſedome, to ſurrender vpon faire conditions, that which hee could not aſſure himſelfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore he ſent one to deale with *Alexander*, about the matters in controuerſie; telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skilfull in ſetting men together by the eares, not caring who preuailed, but onely deſiring haue them to weary themſelues, whileſt he was buſied elſwhere; that ſo at length he might find opportunity to ſet vpon the ſtronger. If therefore *Alexander* were ſo wiſe, as to keepe in his purſe the fiue hundred Talents which he had, and without ſtroke ſtricken, to receiue the whole Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*; it ſhould bee freely put into his hands by *Caſſander*. Prouided, that hee ſhould from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a ſure & faithfull league with *Ptolomie*, *Caſſander*, & the reſt of the Confederates. Otherwiſe, he might well perſwade himſelfe, that the Countrie which his Father could not keepe, when hee was indeede the Lieutenant of the Empire, ſhould not in haſte bee wonne by him, that was onely the Factor of a proud iniurious man, ſo ſtiling himſelfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had liued a while with *Antigonus* ſince the beginning of theſe wars; among whoſe followers it was not hard to diſcouer the intent, (which he did not carrie very ſecret) of making himſelfe abſolute Lord of all. Therefore he was ſoone entreated to accept ſo good an offer; and did not ſticke to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and ſubiect vnto no mans controll.

Howbeit this his honour continued not long, ere he loſt both it and his life together, by treaſon of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to haue made themſelues free, were ſoone after vanquiſhed in battaile by *Crateſipolis*, *Alexanders* wife, a diſcreet and valiant Ladie. Shee in reuenge of her husbands death, crucified thirtie of the Citizens taken in fight; and hauing by ſeueritie taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Armie in good order, and gouerned thoſe places that ſhee held, with the commendation of her Subiects and Neighbours.

§. IIII.

The Ætolians riſe againſt Caſſander *in fauour of* Antigonus*, and are beaten. A fleet and land-armie of* Antigonus*, vtterly defeated by* Ptolomies *Lieutenant. In what termes the warre ſtood at this time.* Antigonus *drawes neerer to Greece.*

A*Ntigonus*, when he found, that with ſo much money he had only bought an enemie, began to raiſe troubles to *Caſſander* and his other aduerſaries in *Greece*, by ſtirring vp the *Ætolians* againſt them; Likewiſe he laboured to winne to his partie the Ilands in the *Greeke* Seas, by whoſe aſſiſtance hee might be the better able to deale with *Ptolomie*, that greatly preuailed by reaſon of his ſtrong fleet. But neither of theſe attempts had the ſucceſſe which he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, & alwaies enuying the greatneſſe of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but ſo, that commonly their gaines equalled not their loſſes. *Caſſander* wanne ſome of their own Countrie; fortified the *Acarnanians* againſt them, and compelled *Glaucias*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom hee vanquiſhed in battaile, to forſake their ſide, and binde himſelfe to beare no Armes againſt *Caſſanders* friends.

On the other ſide, as many pettie Ilands were drawne to ioyne with *Antigonus*: ſo the fleet of the *Rhodians* vnder *Theodatus*, who was Admirall to *Antigonus*, paſſing along the coaſt of *Aſia* towards *Cyprus*, with an Armie vnder conduct of *Perilaus* marching on the ſhore for mutuall aſſiſtance, was quite ouerthrowne by *Ptolomies* Nauie. *Polyclytus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalfe had beene ſent into *Peloponneſus* againſt *Alexander*, finding no need of his ſeruice in that Countrie, becauſe *Alexander* was come ouer to their ſide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the courſe which theſe *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly ſurpriſed. Hee rode with his Fleet behinde a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambuſh, whereinto *Perilaus* falling was taken priſoner, with many of his men, and many were ſlaine, making little reſiſtance. *Theodatus* the Admirall perceiuing this, made all haſte to help his fellowes that were on Land; but whileſt he with all his Fleet were intentiue onely to that buſineſſe, *Polyclytus* appeared at their backs; who as ſoone as he perceiued their diſorder, haſtened about the Cape, and charging them behinde, ſuffered not one of them to eſcape him. Theſe ill tidings cauſed *Antigonus* to deale with *Ptolomie* about ſome compoſition. Firſt, he ſent Embaſſadors; afterwards they met in perſon. But *Antigonus* would not yeeld vnto the demands of *Ptolomie*: ſo the parlie was vaine.

Hitherto each part ſeemed to haue indifferently ſped in the warre, and thereby to haue equall cauſe of hope and feare. This late victorie with the good ſucceſſe of his affaires in *Cyprus*, did ſeem to make amends to *Ptolomie* for his loſſes in *Syria*. Likewiſe the reuolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the Confederacy, made betweene the *Ætolians* and him; as alſo thoſe pettie skirmiſhes, that had beene in *Aſia* the leſſe, to *Antigonus* his aduantage, were ſufficiently recompenſed by others of like regard, but aduerſe to him, and by the troubles brought vpon his eſtates in thoſe parts by the two *Caſſanders*.

Contrariwiſe, *Antigonus* valued the loſſe of his men, monie, and ſhippes, no otherwiſe than as the paring of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would eaſily grow againe; but the enlargment of his Territorie by addition of *Syria*, hee prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed vpon a limbe of *Ptolomie* his enemie, and ſtrengthened the body of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto ſufficient to counterpoyze the bad, he meant to proceed as occaſion ſhould direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no monie.

That which moſt moleſted him, was the attempts of his enemies vpon *Aſia* the leſſe; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cauſe to feare, leſt the people being tied vnto him by no bond of allegeance, might vpon ſmall occaſion reuolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himſelfe. To preuent this, and to be neerer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in perſon, where his affaires did ſeeme to proſper the worſe, by reaſon of his abſence. Therefore he left part of his Armie in *Syria* vnder his ſonne *Demetrius*, to whom being then but two and twenty yeeres old, hee appointed many ancient Captaines or aſſiſtants, or rather as Directors: the reſt hee carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to winter.

§.V.

§. V.

How Lyſimachus *and* Caſſander *vanquiſhed ſome enemies, raiſed againſt them by* Antigonus. *The good ſucceſſe of* Antigonus *in Aſia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities againſt* Caſſander.

THe comming of *Antigonus* into thoſe parts, wrought a great alteration in the proceſſe of his buſineſſe thereabouts. For his enemies had ſhort leiſure to thinke vpon moleſting him in *Aſia*: they themſelues were held ouer-hardly to their owne worke on *Europe* ſide. *Seuthes* a King of the *Thracians*, ioyning with ſome Townes that rebelled againſt *Lyſimachus*, brought alſo the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrell. All theſe relyed vpon *Antigonus*, who was to helpe them with mony and other aide. The *Ætolians* likewiſe tooke courage, and roſe againſt *Caſſander*, hauing *Æacides*, lately reſtored to the Kingdome of *Epirus*, their aſſiſtant. But *Lyſimachus* gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themſelues. Hee ſodainely preſented himſelfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne vnto their former dutie. Hee fought a battaile with the *Scythians*, and wilde *Thracians*, and draue them out of the Countrie. Finally, hee ouercame *Seuthes*; and following the heate of his victorie, ſlew *Pauſanias* in battaile, whom *Antigonus* had ſent ouer with an Armie; and all his men hee did either put to ranſome, or fill vp with them his owne Bands. The like ſucceſſe had *Philip*, *Caſſanders* Lieutenant, againſt the *Ætolians*. For hee waſted their Countrie; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to helpe them; and after the victory, fought againe with their forces ioyned in one, ouerthrowing them, and killing *Æacides* that vnfortunate King. Finally, hee draue the *Ætolians* out of moſt of their Countrie, and forced them to ſeeke their ſafety among the wilde Mountaines. Of the *Epirotes* hee ſent as priſoners to *Caſſander*, the principall authors of the Kings reſtitution, and of the preſent Warre.

Yet theſe actions required ſome time, and wearied *Antigonus* his aduerſaries with painefull trauaile; after which they remained onely ſauers. *Antigonus* himſelfe at faire leiſure, wanne all *Caria* the whileſt, and ſent Armies into *Peloponneſus*, and other parts of *Greece*, beſtowing liberty vpon all the Cities hee tooke out of *Caſſanders* hands. The whole Countrie of *Peloponneſus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Iſle of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firme Land, were by thoſe meanes wonne to be his in true and vehement affection, readie to doe or ſuffer any thing for him that had made ſo euident a demonſtration of his readineſſe, to giue them the libertie in deede, which others had promiſed in idle words. Many States deſirous of the ſame benefite, would faine haue ſhewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Caſſanders* Garriſons, who was too wiſe to truſt them looſe. Therefore *Antigonus* made ſhew as if hee would paſſe ouer into *Macedon*: by which terror hee forced *Caſſander* to repaire thither in all haſte, with the beſt of his ſtrength, leauing many good Townes of *Greece* ſo weakelie guarded, that well they might take courage to helpe themſelues, if any forraine ſuccour appeared. The aide which they deſired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the aduantage of *Caſſanders* departure, entred the Countrie; draue his Garriſons out of diuers Cities; forced the Gouernour of *Athens* to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of *Thebes*, and ſet the people at libertie. This laſt action was ſomewhat remarkeable. For *Thebes* had not long before beene raiſed out of her olde ruines by the meere power of *Caſſander*; of which act he was accuſed by *Antigonus*, as if it had beene ſome hainous crime. Yet now the ſame *Antigonus* winneth the Citie, and the loue of the Inhabitants, onely by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaſer, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon thoſe hopes, which vainely they extend beyond all meaſure, than backeward vpon their miſerable nullitie, that held them vncapable of being any thing.

§. VI.

Victories of Ptolomie *by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which* Ptolomie *and* Seleucus *wan, againſt* Demetrius *the ſonne of* Antigonus.

AS the preſence or neereneſſe of *Antigonus* gaue life to his affaires in the lower *Aſia*, and *Greece*; ſo the deſignes of his enemies, taking aduantage of his abſence, ruined the very foundations of thoſe great workes in the Eaſterne parts, wherewith in the yeere preceding he had ouer-topped them. The Iſle of *Cyprus*, whoſe Princes wauered betweene contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their couenant with *Ptolomie*, was viſited by an *Ægyptian* fleete, wherewith *Ptolomie*, in his owne perſon eaſily reduced them to a more ſetled order, putting ſome to death, carrying others away priſoners, and leauing a Lieutenant of his owne appointment, Gouernour of the whole Countrie. With the ſame fleet hee ranne alongſt the Sea-coaſts, waſting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the ſpoyles of which he enriched his followers, and returned loden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miſeries, wherewith his Fathers ſubiects were oppreſſed, made all haſte out of *Syria* to the reſcue, taking onely his Horſe and light-armed foote with him, becauſe the buſineſſe required expedition. But in vaine did hee tire himſelfe and his followers, in haſtie ſeeking of one, that by lanching out into the deepe, could in a few minutes delude the labour of ſo many daies, if need had ſo required. Anſwerable to the vanitie of this expedition was the ſucceſſe. For *Ptolomie* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certaine, whether hauing lightned his ſhips of their burthen in *Cyprus*, he would return vpon thoſe maritime Countries; or make towards *Syria*, where his comming was expected. He was indeed gone into *Ægypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was deſcribing a royall Army, which he leuied with all conuenient ſpeed, for the recouerie of *Syria*. This was more then *Demetrius* knew. Therefore hee was faine to chooſe out of vncertainties the moſt likelihood, and returne the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for ſeruice in the open field, than to be beſtowed in Garriſons among the *Cilicians*. Hee had ſcarce refreſhed his Men and Horſes in *Syria*, when the newes arriued of *Ptolomies* comming with a puiſſant Armie, to giue him battaile. Heereupon hee called to counſaile his principall friends, who aduiſed him to giue way to the time, and expect ſome better opportunity in the future: being a yong man, and weakely furniſhed with meanes to reſiſt ſuch ancient and famous Generalls, as *Ptolomie* & *Seleucus*. This counſaile ſeemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of thoſe aged men that gaue it, than from any neceſſity growing out of the preſent buſineſſe. For *Demetrius* conſidering himſelfe to be the ſon of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Armie, thought his own title waighty enough to be laid in ballance againſt the bare names of thoſe two great Commanders. Neither found he much reaſon that ſhuld moue him to diſtruſt his forces, as inſufficient. His men were better exerciſed than the enemies, and promiſed as much as could be required. Therefore perſwading himſelfe, that ſuch oddes of number, and of great fame, would rather ſerue to adorne his victorie, than hinder him in obtaining it, he reſolued to put the matter to triall, without expecting the aduantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of ſpoyle and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at *Gaza*, with purpoſe to encounter them, as ſoone as they had finiſhed their weariſome iournie ouer the Deſerts of *Arabia*.

Ptolomie and *Seleucus* iſſuing out of ſo rich a Prouince, as *Ægypt*, came ſo well prouided of all neceſſaries, that their Armie felt not any great grieuance of the euill way, when battaile was preſented them, which confidently they vndertooke. In all things elſe they had the ods of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were vtterly vnprouided. But how to deale with thoſe beaſts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Paliſado, faſtened ſtrongly together with chaines, and ſharpened in ſuch a manner, that the Elephants could not ſeeke to breake vpon it, without receiuing much hurt. The reſt of their forces, (which (beſides that they had aduantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate ſeruices, by them performed that yeere, whileſt the enemies had wearied themſelues, either with vaine iournies, or long and dulling expectation,) they diſpoſed in ſuch order, as beſt anſwered to the forme, wherein *Demetrius* was embattailed. The fight beganne, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part ſtriuing more to win honour, than to ſatisfie any other paſſion, as hauing little cauſe of hatred, or reuenge. But after ſome continuance, the greater number holding better out, the errour of *Demetrius*, who vpon no neceſſitie would needes fight a battaile with diſaduantage, began to appeare by his loſſes. Hee had committed himſelfe to Fortune, hauing more to loſe by her than he could get: but in this fight ſhe was idle, and left all to be decided by ſtrong hands; vnleſſe it may be ſaid, that the terror brought vpon his men, by the loſſe of his Elephants, was bad lucke. Thoſe beaſts were in that kinde of warre hardly to be reſiſted on plaine ground, and therefore at the firſt they made great ſpoile amongſt *Ptolomies* men. Afterward ſeeking to breake through the Paliſado, they were ſorely hurt, and euery one of them taken. This diſaſter cauſed the Horſemen of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and preuailed little, till now perceiuing that all muſt lye vpon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they began to ſhrinke, and many of them to prouide for their ſafetie by timely flight, which example the reſt quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had ſtrouen ſo long in vaine to make his men abide, that he himſelfe was likely to be loſt; he was faine to giue place to the ſtronger, making a violent retrait as farre as to *Azotus*, which was about thirtie miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither ſome of his company turned aſide, hoping to ſaue ſuch goods, as in haſte they could pack vp. This fooliſh couetouſneſſe was their deſtruction, and the loſſe of the Towne. For whileſt they forgetfull of the danger, had filled the ſtreets with ſumpter Horſes, and cloyed vp the gates, thronging, ſome to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already loden; *Ptolomies* Armie brake in without reſiſtance, taking them with their goods and the Citie altogether.

This victory reſtored vnto *Ptolomie* the beſt part of *Syria*, a Prouince more eaſie in thoſe times to get, than to keepe; and opened the way vnto all the greatneſſe of *Seleucus*. For betweene *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no place offered reſiſtance. In *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, ſome Townes held out a while, but were ſoone taken in by *Ptolomie*. Among theſe were the great Cities of *Tyrus* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was giuen vp by the Inhabitants; *Tyrus* by the Garriſon, falling to mutinie againſt their Captaine; who truſting to the ſtrength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomie*, and honourably entertained, in reſpect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

How Seleucus *recouered Babylon, and made himſelfe Lord of many Countries, in the higheſt Aſia. The* Æra *of* the Kingdome of the Greekes, *which began with the Dominion of* Seleucus.

WHile *Ptolomie* followed his buſineſſe with ſuch proſperity, *Seleucus* tooke leaue of him, and went vp to *Babylon*, to trie his owne fortune; which he found ſo fauourable, that recouering firſt his owne Prouince, he became at length maſter of the better part of *Alexanders* purchaſes.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very ſtrange, and full of vnlikelihoods. His traine conſiſted of no more than eight hundred foote, and two hundred horſe, a number too ſmall to haue beene placed as Garriſon, in ſome one of thoſe maine great Cities, againſt which he carried it into the higher *Aſia*. But little force is needefull, to make way into ſtrong places, for him that already ſtands poſſeſſed of their hearts which dwell within the wals. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found ſo good a Gouernour, that none of them would finde courage to reſiſt him; but left that worke to *Antigonus* his owne men, wiſhing them ill to ſpeede. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in thoſe Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by eaſie compulſion they left off, and followed new Enſignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and ſubmitted themſelues ioyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection ſo generall, it was not a ſafe courſe for the *Antigonians*, to thruſt themſelues into the Townes of moſt importance: for euery man of them ſhould haue beene troubled with daily enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they ſhould iſſue forth into the field, and trie the matter by fight. But the treaſon of one principall man, who reuolted to the enemie, with more than a thouſand Souldiers following him, ſo diſmaied the reſt, that they did no more than ſeeke to make good one ſtrong place, wherein were kept the Hoſtages and Priſoners, that *Antigonus* held for his ſecurity in thoſe quarters. This Caſtle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leiſure, againſt dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly tooke it; and ſo got the entire poſſeſſion of *Meſopotamia* and *Babylon*.

Antigonus had beſtowed in *Media* and *Perſia*, forces conuenient for defence of thoſe Prouinces, that were the vtmoſt of his Dominion. In the Countries about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his owne great Armie lay betweene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victorie at *Gaza* had opened vnto *Seleucus* the way into thoſe parts; hee found little impediment in the reſt of his buſineſſe. Hauing now gotten what he ſought; it behooued him to ſeeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too ſmall, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Armie in *Media*, ioyning vnto himſelfe, out of *Perſia* and other Countries, all needefull helpe came, with ten thouſand foote, and ſeauen thouſand horſe, either to ſaue all from being loſt, or to driue *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Againſt this power, *Seleucus* had onely foure hundred horſe, and ſomewhat aboue three thouſand foote, wherewith to oppoſe himſelfe: his large conqueſt of vnwarlike Nations hauing yeelded him many louing Subiects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neere to the Riuer of *Tigris*, hee withdrew himſelfe from the place where his reſiſtance was expected, into certaine mariſhes not farre off; where he lay ſecretly waiting for ſome aduantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had beene fled, and was the leſſe carefull in fortifying his campe. In recompence of this vaine ſecuritie, his campe was taken by ſurpriſe, the firſt night of his arriuall; the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Perſia*, together with ſundry of the Captaines, were ſlaine, hee himſelfe was driuen to flee for his life into the Deſarts; and the whole Armie yeelded vnto *Seleucus*: whoſe gentle demeanour, after the victory, drew all *Media*, *Suſiana*, and the Neighbour Prouinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further ſtroke ſtricken.

Ptol. Almag. l.11.c.7.& 8.

L. Gauric. in annotat. ad locum citatum.

This victory of *Seleucus* gaue beginning vnto the new ſtile, of *The Kingdome of the Greekes*, an accompt much vſed by the *Iewes*, *Chaldæans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in thoſe parts. I will not make any long diſputation about the firſt yeere of this *Æra*. The authoritie of that great Aſtrologer *Ptolomie*, from which there is no appeale, makes it plaine, that *the fiue hundred and nineteenth yeere of* Nabonaſſar, *was the fourescore and two yeere of this accompt*. Other inference hereupon is needeleſſe, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, *That the firſt of theſe yeeres was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together with the end of foure hundred thirtie and eight yeeres after* Nabonaſſar. With the obſeruation of the *Saturne*, recorded by *Ptolomie*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the ſame Planet to haue beene ſo placed in the ſigne of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldæans* had obſerued it, in the ſame yeere; which was from *Nabonaſſar* the fiue hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourescore and two yeere; and the laſt of the hundred thirtie and ſeauenth *Olympiad*. Theſe obſeruations of the Celeſtiall bodies, are the ſureſt markes of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcuſable. As for ſuch occurrences in Hiſtorie, and the yeeres of ſucceeding Princes (that are not ſeldome ambiguous, by reaſon of vnremembred fractions) if they ſeeme to be here-againſt, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that theſe yeeres of the *Greekes* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainely appeares in the difference of one yeere, that is found betweene actions, related by the ſeuerall Authors of the two Bookes of the *Machabees*, who follow diuers accompts. He that ſhall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomie*, may apply the other ſupputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a yeeres diſtance.

§. VIII.

How Ptolomie *loſt all he wonne in Syria. What the cauſes were of the quiet obedience, performed vnto the Macedonians, by thoſe that had beene ſubiect vnto the Perſian Empire. Of diuers pettie enterprizes, taken in hand by* Antigonus *and* Demetrius, *with ill ſucceſſe.*

IN a happy houre did *Seleucus* aduenture, to goe vp to *Babylon*, with ſo few men as his friend could then well ſpare: for had he ſtaied longer vpon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomie* could haue ſpared him none at all. *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus*, hauing loſt the battaile at *Gaza*, receiued from *Ptolomie* all his owne goods, his Pages, and Seruants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous meſſage, to this effect: That no perſonall hatred was the ground of this Warre, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but onely tearmes of honour, wherein they would ſeeke to right themſelues after ſuch manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, ſhould not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomie*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earneſt deſire of requiting him, with ſome as braue liberalitie. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troupes; drew as many as could be ſpared, out of the Garriſons in *Cilicia*, or other Prouinces thereabouts, and aduertiſing his Father of his misfortune, beſought him to ſend a new ſupply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour loſt. *Antigonus* vpon the firſt newes of this ouerthrow, had ſaid, That the victory which *Ptolomie* wan vpon a beardleſſe Boy, ſhould be taken from him by bearded men: yet vpon deſire that his ſonne, whom he tenderly loued, ſhould amend his owne reputation, he was content to make a ſtand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomie* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did neuertheleſſe follow his owne buſineſſe in *Cœloſyria*; thinking it enough to ſpend part of his Armie vnder *Cilles* his Lieutenant, againſt the remnant of thoſe, that had beene already vanquiſhed, when *Cilles* too much vnderualued the power of ſuch an Enemie. Hee thought that this young Gallant, hauing lately ſaued his life by flight, would now be more carefull of hauing a faire way at his backe, than aduenturous in ſetting further forward, then vrgent reaſon ſhould prouoke him. In this confidence he paſſed on without all feare; as one that were already Maſter of the field, and ſhould meete with none, that would iſſue out of their places of ſtrength, to make reſiſtance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careleſſe march; he tooke the lighteſt of his Armie, and made his iournie with ſuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came vpon *Cilles* vnexpected, and was on the ſuddaine, without any battaile, Maſter of his Campe: taking him aliue, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit ſerued not onely to repaire the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loſſe at *Gaza* had almoſt ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bountie of *Ptolomie*, with equall fauour, in reſtoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich preſents. But neither was *Ptolomie* ſo weakened by this loſſe, nor *Demetrius* ſo emboldened by his victory, that any matter of conſequence therupon enſued. For *Demetrius* feared the comming of *Ptolomie*; and therefore he fortified himſelfe in places of aduantage: *Ptolomie* on the other ſide was loth to engage himſelfe in an enterpriſe, wherein he might perceiue, that if the comming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he ſhould either be driuen to make a ſhamefull retrait, or a dangerous aduenture of his whole eſtate, in hope of not much more than already he poſſeſſed.

Antigonus, indeede, was nothing ſlow in his way towards *Syria*; whither hee made all haſte, not ſo much to relieue his ſonne, as to embrace him. For he reioyced exceedingly, that the young man had ſo well acquitted himſelfe, and being left to his owne aduice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increaſe the reputation of this late victorie, he brought ſuch forces, as might ſerue to re-conquer all *Syria*: meaning, that the honour of all, ſhould be referred vnto the good foundation, layed by his ſonne; whom from this time forwards, he imployed in matters of greateſt importance.

Ptolomie had now leſſe reaſon to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his comming to haue aſſailed the Campe of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of conſultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines aduiſed him to retire into *Ægypt*; alleaging many good arguments to that purpoſe: which they might well perceiue to be agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that courſe; not without remembrance of the good ſucceſſe againſt *Perdiccas*, in the like defenſiue warre. So he departed out of *Syria*, preſeruing his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any ſuddaine paſſion of feare: and he departed at faire leiſure, not onely carrying his treaſures along with him, but ſtaying to diſmantle ſome principall Cities, that he thought moſt likely to trouble him in the future. All the Countrie that he left at his backe, fell preſently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: ſo eaſie was it in thoſe times, for the Captain of a ſtrong Armie, to make himſelfe Lord of a great Prouince.

We may iuſtly wonder, that theſe Kingdomes of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations, (which the victory of *Alexander* had ouer-run, with ſo haſtie a courſe, as gaue him not leiſure to take any good view of them) were ſo eaſily held not onely by himſelfe, but by the Captaines of his Armie after him. The hot contentions for ſuperioritie betweene the King of *Iſrael*, and thoſe of *Damaſcus*; betweene *Ægypt*, and *Babylon*; *Babylon*, and *Nineue*; the *Perſians*, and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to haue once beene in thoſe people; which are now ſo patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they ſuffer themſelues to be diſtributed, fought for, won, loſt, and againe recouered, by contentious Maſters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appeare the more ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider, how the ſeuerall States of *Greece* (many of which had neuer poſſeſſed ſo large Dominion, as might cauſe their Spirits to ſwell beyond their abilitie) did greedily embrace all occaſions of libertie: and how theſe proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, deſiring to haue them rather friends than ſeruants, for feare of further inconuenience.

It muſt therefore be noted, that moſt of theſe Countries had alwayes beene ſubiect vnto the rule of Kings, or pettie Lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Perſians* long ſince had rooted out, and held them in ſuch bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Maſters. This had vtterly taken from them all remembrance of home-borne Princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Perſian* Empire: ſo that wanting within themſelues all ſoueraigne power, or high authoritie, the life and ſpirit of euery Eſtate; they lay as dead, and were bereaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had beene members.

Why the *Perſian Satrapæ*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captaines, after the death of *Alexander*, ſtriue to lay hold vpon thoſe Prouinces, which had many ages been ſubiect vnto them, & ſcarce foure yeers in quiet poſſeſſion of their enemies; or why at leaſt they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did ceaſe to affright them) to get their ſhares among his followers, if not wholly to diſpoſſeſſe them of their new purchaſes: it is a queſtion, wherein, who is not ſatisfied, may finde no leſſe reaſon to ſuſpect the Hiſtorie, than authoritie to confirme it. For we ſeldome reade, that any ſmall Kingdome, preuailing againſt a farre greater, hath made ſo entire a conqueſt, in the compaſſe of ten yeeres, as left vnto the vanquiſhed no hope of recouerie, nor meanes to rebell; eſpecially when ſuch diſorders, or rather vtter confuſion hath enſued, by the furie of ciuill warre among the Victors.

The cauſe why the *Macedonians* held ſo quietly the *Perſian* Empire, is well ſet downe by *Machiauell*; and concernes all other Kingdomes, that are ſubiect vnto the like forme of Gouernment: the ſumme whereof is this; Whereſoeuer the Prince doth hold all his Subiects vnder the condition of ſlaues, there is the conqueſt eaſie, and ſoone aſſured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is wonne. Examples of this are the *Turkiſh* Empire, and the Kingdome of *France*. If any Inuader ſhould preuaile ſo farre vpon *Turkie*, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for brethren he vſeth not to ſuffer aliue) were taken or ſlaine: the whole Empire would quickely be wonne, and eaſily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the *Baſſaes*, how great ſoeuer they may ſeeme, are meere ſlaues; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whoſe perſonall regard could get the people to follow him in ſuch an attempt, where in hope of priuate gaine, ſhould not counteruaile all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwiſe, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conqueſt, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Countrie, and were by farre the ſtrongeſt in the field. For, beſides the Princes of the Royall bloud, there are in that Kingdome ſtore of great men; who are mightie in their ſeuerall Countries, and hauing certaine Royalties and Principalities of their owne, are able to raiſe Warre, in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobilitie, will alwayes ſtirre vp and inflame them: ſo that vntill euery one piece were won, and euery one (an endleſſe worke) of the chiefe Nobilitie, brought vnder or deſtroyed, the victorie were not compleat, nor well aſſured. It is true, that ſuch power of the Nobilitie, doth often-times make way for an Inuader; to whom the diſcontentments of a few can eaſily make a faire entrance. But ſuch aſſiſtants are not ſo eaſily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to be ſatisfied at full, in all their demands; and hauing what they would, they ſoone returne to their old allegeance, vpon condition to keepe what they haue, vnleſſe they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to pleaſe one man, without offending another as good as himſelfe. The *Turke*, on the other ſide, needs not to feare any perill, that might ariſe from the diſcontented ſpirits of his principall men. The greateſt miſchiefe, that any of them could worke againſt him, were the betraying of ſome frontier Towne, or the wilfull loſſe of a battaile: which done, the Traitor hath ſpent his ſting, and muſt either flye to the enemie, whereby he loſeth all that he formerly did hold; or elſe, in hope of doing ſome further harme, he muſt aduenture to excuſe himſelfe vnto his Maſter, who ſeldome forgiues the Captaine, that hath not ſtriuen by deſperate valour againſt miſfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers againſt the great *Sultan*, and ſo ioyning themſelues vnto any Inuader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them haue any followers or dependants at all, other than ſuch, as are ſubiect vnto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commiſſions. Now as this baſe condition of the principall men, doth leaue vnto them no meanes, whereby to oppoſe themſelues againſt the flouriſhing eſtate of their Prince; ſo would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him aſſiſtance, if aduerſitie ſhould make him ſtand in neede of them. For there is ſcarce any one among the *Turkes Baſſaes*, or prouinciall Gouernours, that knowes either from whence he was brought, or from whom deſcended, nor any one among them, that by the loſſe and vtter ruine of the *Turkiſh* Empire, can loſe any foote of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the ſubiect, which is alſo a Kingdome vnto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart againſt the Conquerer, who hath no other deuice painted on his Enſigne, than the picture of ſlauery.

As is the *Turkiſh* Empire, ſo was the *Perſian*, voide of libertie in the Subiects, and vtterly deſtitute of other Nobilitie, than ſuch as depended vpon meere fauour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall bloud, and others, deſcended from the Princes that ioyned with *Darius*, the Sonne of *Hyſtaſpes*, in oppreſſing the *Magi*: theſe were men of reputation in *Perſia*; but their reputation conſiſted onely in their Pedigree, and their ſafetie in not medling with affaires of State, which made them little eſteemed. In what ſmall account theſe *Perſian* Princes were held, it may appeare by this, that the Kings Vncles, Couſin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaues*, and ſo did ſtile themſelues, in ſpeaking vnto theſe great Monarchs. That vpon euery light occaſion of diſpleaſure they were handled as Slaues; it is eaſie to be diſcerned, in that example of crueltie, practiſed by *Xerxes* vpon his owne brother *Maſiſtes*, which hath beene formerly noted, in place more conuenient. As for the *Satrapæ*, or Gouernours of the Prouinces, it is needeleſſe to cite examples, prouing them to haue beene meere ſlaues: it may ſuffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of thoſe Women and Eunuches, by whom the King was gouerned.

To this want of Nobilitie in *Perſia*, may be added the generall want of libertie conuenient among the people: a matter no leſſe auaileable, in making eaſie and ſure the conqueſt of a Nation, then is the cauſe aſſigned by *Machiauel*. For as *Æſope* his Aſſe did not care to run from the enemies, becauſe it was not poſſible, that they ſhould loade him with heauier burthens, then his Maſter cauſed him daily to beare: ſo the Nations, that endure the worſt vnder their owne Princes, are not greatly fearefull of a forraigne yoke;

Nor will be haſtie to ſhake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, than was that whereunto they had beene long accuſtomed. This was it that made the *Gaſcoignes* beare ſuch faithfull affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they gouerned more mildely than the *French*: this enlarged the *Venetian* iuriſdiction in *Lombardie*; for the Townes that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppreſſours: and this did cauſe the *Macedonians*, with other Nations, that had beene ſubiect vnto the poſteritie of *Alexanders* followers, to ſerue the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eaſed of many burthens, which had beene impoſed vpon them by their owne Kings.

So that of this tameneſſe, which we finde in thoſe that had beene ſubiects of the *Perſian* Kings, the reaſons are apparent. Yet ſome of theſe there were, that could not ſo eaſily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeede beene abſolutely conquered by the *Perſian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caſpian* Sea. Such alſo were the *Arabians* bordering vpon *Syria*: againſt whom *Antigonus* ſent part of his Armie; thinking therewith to bring them vnder; or rather to get a rich bootie. The Captaines that he ſent, fell vpon the *Nabathæans*, at ſuch time as they were buſied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians*, for *Myrre*, *Frankincenſe*, and other ſuch commodities. All or moſt of theſe rich wares, together with fiue hundred talents of ſiluer, and many priſoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold vpon: for their comming was ſuddaine and vnexpected. But ere they could recouer *Syria*, the *Nabathæans* ouertook them, & finding them wearie with long marches, made ſuch a ſlaughter, that of foure thouſand foote, and ſixe hundred horſe, onely fiftie horſe eſcaped. To reuenge this loſſe, *Demetrius* was ſet out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not reſiſted by any Armie, but by the naturall defence of a vaſte Wilderneſſe, lacke of water, and of all things neceſſary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he loſt not much honour: for they craued it, and gaue him preſents. Returning from the *Nabathæans*, he viewed the Lake *Aſphaltites*, whence he conceiued hope of great profit that might be raiſed, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandrie of his ſonne, *Antigonus* was well pleaſed, and appointed men to the worke: but they were ſlaine by the *Arabians*, and ſo that hope vaniſhed.

Theſe pettie enterpriſes, with the ill ſucceſſe accompanying them, had much impaired the good aduantage againſt *Ptolomie*: when the newes of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loſſe of thoſe great and wealthy Prouinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it ſafe to tranſport the warre into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria* and the lower *Aſia* ſhould haue beene expoſed, to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle courſe was thought the beſt; and *Demetrius*, with fifteene thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, was ſent againſt *Seleucus*. Theſe forces being ſent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his ſonne did leſſe. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themſelues from neceſſitie of fight; ſome places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without ſetting in Garriſon more men than he could ſpare, neither did he get much; and therefore was faine to ſet out the brauery of his expedition, by burning and ſpoiling the Countrie; which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemie, who thenceforth held it as his owne aſſured.

Antigonus had laid vpon his ſonne a peremptorie commandement, to returne vnto him at a time prefixed: reaſonably thinking (as may ſeeme) that in ſuch an vnſetled ſtate of things, either the Warre might be ended, by the furie of the firſt brunt; or elſe it would be vaine to ſtriue againſt all difficulties likely to ariſe, where want of neceſſaries ſhould fruſtrate the valour, that by ſtrength of time was like to become leſſe terrible to the Enemie. *Demetrius* therefore leauing behinde him fiue thouſand foote, and a thouſand horſe, rather to make ſhew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himſelfe, with greater forces could doe little more then nothing, forſooke the enterpriſe, and went backe to his Father.

§. IX.

A generall peace made and broken. How all the houſe of Alexander *was deſtroyed.*

These ambitious heads, hauing thus wearied themſelues with vneffectuall trauaile, in ſeeking to get more then any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them ſhould hold quietly, that which at the preſent he had in poſſeſſion. As no priuate hatred, but meere deſire of Empire had moued them to enter into the warre; ſo was it no friendly reconciliation, but onely a dulneſſe growing vpon the ſlow aduancement of their ſeuerall hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occaſion might better ſerue to fight againe.

Beſides that maine point, *Of retaining the Prouinces which euery man held,* there were two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a falſe colour, to the buſineſſe; *That the ſonne of* Alexander *by* Roxane, *ſhould be made King, when he came to full age*; and, *That all the Eſtates of Greece ſhould be ſet at liberty.* The aduancement of yong *Alexander* to his Fathers Kingdome, ſeemes to haue beene a matter, forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was diſcouered a purpoſe, to make himſelfe Lord of all. But this, indeede, more neerely touched *Caſſander.* For in his cuſtody was the yong Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in ſort anſwerable to their degree; but as cloſe priſoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had ſeene the old Queene *Olympias* taken and murdered, that ſought to put them in poſſeſſion of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betweene them, rooted in theſe grounds, of iniuries done, and reuenge expected; vpon this concluſion of peace, grew vp faſter than any time before, in the heart of *Caſſander*: who ſaw the *Macedonians* turne their fauourable expectation, towards the ſonne of their late renowned King.

All this, either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The yong Prince muſt firſt haue poſſeſſion of *Macedon*: whereby *Caſſander* ſhould be reduced to his poore office, *of Captaine ouer a thouſand men,* if not left in worſe caſe. As for them that held Prouinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder *Aridæus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne ſtrength. He in the meane time, by his readineſſe to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himſelfe from that ill-fauoured imputation, of ſeeking to make himſelfe Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like aduantage had he in that Article, of *reſtoring the Greeks to their liberty.* This libertie had hitherto beene the ſubiect of much idle diſcourſe: but it neuer tooke effect. *Antigonus* held ſcarſe any Towne of theirs, *Caſſander* occupied moſt of the Countrie: which if he ſhould ſet free, he muſt be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell againſt him, as againſt a Diſturber of the common peace.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Countries lying betweene *Euphrates* and the *Greeke* ſeas, together with a great Armie, and money enough to entertaine a greater, might ſerue to hold vp the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raiſe his hopes, as high as euer they had beene.

With much diſaduantage doe many men contend, againſt one that is equall to them all in puiſſance, *Caſſanders* friends had left him in an ill caſe; but he could not doe withall: for where euery one mans helpe is neceſſary to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can ſtand out alone, when all the reſt are weary. The beſt was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no ſuch end as the becomming Subiects vnto any man; much leſſe to the ſonne of an *Aſiatique* woman, of whom they had long ſince refuſed to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a ſhort courſe, and cauſed both the childe and his Mother to be ſlaine: freeing thereby himſelfe in a trice, from the dangerous neceſſity of yeelding vp his gouernment, which he muſt haue done when the childe had come to age. *Roxane* was a Lady of ſingular beauty, which was perhaps the cauſe, why *Perdiccas* deſired to haue her ſonne, being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great *Alexander.* Immediatly vpon the death of *Alexander,* ſhe had vſed the fauour (if it were not loue) of *Perdiccas*, to the ſatisfying of her owne bloudy malice, vpon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*; whom *Alexander* had likewiſe married according to the cuſtome of thoſe Countries, wherein pluralitie of wiues is held no crime. For hauing by a counterfait letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poore Lady into her hands, ſhe did, by aſſiſtance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Siſter, and threw their bodies into a Well, cauſing it to be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods iuſt vengeance, were ſhe & her ſonne made away, in the like ſecret faſhion; euen at ſuch time, as the neere approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a weariſome impriſonment, grow dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of *Caſſander* was not ſo much deteſted in outward ſhew; as inwardly it was pleaſing vnto all the reſt of the Princes. For now they held themſelues free Lords, of all that they had vnder them; fearing none other change of their eſtates, than ſuch as might ariſe by chance of warre; wherein euery one perſwaded himſelfe of ſucceſſe, rather better than worſe. Hereupon all of them (except *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had worke enough at home) began to rowze themſelues: as if now the time were come, for each man to improue his owne ſtocke. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were buſie in *Peloponneſus*, and about *Helleſpont*: while their Maſter was carefull in following other, and ſome greater matters that were more ſecretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of *Greece*: yet did the ſame argument miniſter vnto *Ptolomie*, matter of quarrell, againſt both him and *Caſſander*; *Ptolomie* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deepely to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garriſons into ſome Townes, which ought, in faire dealing to be ſet at liberty. Vnder colour of redreſſing this enormitie, he ſent an Armie into *Cilicia*; where he wan foure Townes, and ſoone after loſt them, without much labour of his owne or his enemies.

After this putting to Sea with a ſtrong Fleet, he ran along the coaſt of *Aſia*, winning many places: and in that voyage allured vnto him a nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but diſcontented with the ill requitall of his ſeruices) whom finding ſhortly, as falſe to himſelfe as he had beene to his owne Vncle, he was faine to put to death. But in doing theſe things, his deſire to ſet the *Greekes* at liberty, appeared not ſo plaine, as he wiſhed that it ſhould: for their caſe was no way bettered, by his moleſting *Antigonus* in *Aſia*. Therefore to get the loue of that valiant Nation, He made at the laſt an expedition into *Greece* it ſelfe: where hauing ſet free ſome little Ilands, and landed in *Peloponneſus*, he raiſed ſo great an expectation of finiſhing the long deſired worke, that *Crateſipolis*, the Widdow of *Alexander*, *Polyſperchons* ſonne, gaue vp into his hands the Townes of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomie had conceiued a vaine beliefe, that the *Greeks* emboldened by his countenance and aſſiſtance, would all of them take heart, and riſe vp in armes: whereby with little labour, their liberty might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortall benefit. But long ſeruitude had wel-neere extinguiſhed the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recouer freedome, had ſo tired their ſpirits, that they would no more ſtirre in purſuit thereof; but ſate idly ſtill, as wiſhing it to fall into their mouthes.

The *Lacedæmonians*, about theſe times, began to fortifie their Towne with wals; truſting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the diſcipline that vpheld it were too much impaired) that had beene a wall to their Towne and Territorie.

The *Athenians* were become as humble ſeruants, as they had beene, in times paſt, inſolent Maſters: erecting as many ſtatuaes in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were daies in the yeere. This *Demetrius* was now their Gouernor; and he gouerned them with much moderation: but in ſpight of their hearts, as being ſet ouer them by *Caſſander*. By this baſe temper of the principall Cities, it is eaſie to gather, how the reſt of the Countrie ſtood affected. *Ptolomie* could not get them to ſet their helping hands to their owne good, and to furniſh him with the promiſed ſupplies of monie and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliuer them from thraldome; as iudging the commoditie that would ariſe by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight, than the loſſe that *Caſſander* ſhould receiue thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once *Antigonus* tooke the worke in hand. But when he found ſuch difficulty in the buſineſſe, he changed his purpoſe: and renewing his former friendſhip with *Caſſander*, he retained *Sicyon*, and *Corinth* in his owne poſſeſſion.

Before the comming of *Ptolomie* into *Greece*, *Caſſander* had beene held occupied with very much worke. For (beſides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee found meanes to allure vnto himſelfe, the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponneſus*, and about *Helleſpont*: making his owne aduantage, of their diſcontentments. By the like skilfull practice, Hee freed himſelfe from a greater danger, & made thoſe murders which he had committed ſeeme the leſſe odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old *Polyſperchon*, that had made ſo great a ſtirre in the reigne of *Aridæus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her Childe, enter againe vpon the Stage: leading in his hand another ſonne of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this yong Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barſine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Perſian*; but had beene leſſe eſteemed than the ſonne of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or elſe perhaps, in regard of the fauour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did beare vnto *Roxane*. At this time, the death of his brother had moued ſuch compaſſion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* onely liuing childe, had procured vnto him ſuch good will, that the demand which *Polyſperchon* made in his behalfe, was deemed very iuſt and honourable. There were indeed more hearts then hands, that ioyned with this yong Prince: yet wanted he not ſufficient ſtrength of hands, if the heart of him that leaſt ought, had not beene moſt falſe. *Caſſander* had raiſed an Armie, to withſtand his entrie into *Macedon*: but little truſt could he repoſe in that Armie, whoſe wiſhes he perceiued to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he aſſailed *Polyſperchon* himſelfe, with gifts and promiſes; wherewith at length he preuailed ſo far, that the old Vilaine was contented to murder his Pupill; chooſing rather with many curſes, and foule diſhonour, to take the offered Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*, and Commander of an Armie; than to purchaſe a Noble fame with dangerous trauaile, in maintaining his faith, vnto both his dead and liuing Soueraignes.

Antigonus had not all this while been aſleepe; though his loſſes were hitherto the chiefe witneſſes, of his hauing beene a ſtirrer in theſe commotions, He thought it enough for him at the preſent, to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for the recouerie of thoſe places, which *Ptolomie* had taken paines to winne. As for the reſt, it no way grieued him, to ſee *Caſſander* incur the generall hatred of men by committing thoſe murders, of which the profit was like to redound vnto him that was the moſt powerfull: or to ſee *Polyſperchon* and *Ptolomie* ſweat, in a buſie warre againſt *Caſſander*. If they would haue continued their quarrels, he could well haue affoorded them leiſure, and haue thought the time well ſpent, in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perſwaded, that when the reſt had wearied themſelues in vaine with long ſtrife, his armies and treaſures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all vnder. According to theſe haughtie conceipts, he demeaned himſelfe among his followers; looking big vpon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that cauſed ſo many of them to reuolt from him: but it was no great loſſe to be forſaken by thoſe that looked with enuious eyes vpon that fortune whereon their owne ſhould haue depended. Againſt this enuie of his owne men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* buſily ſought a remedy, ſuch as was like to giue him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Siſter vnto the great *Alexander*, lay for the moſt part in *Sardes*; whom he had a great deſire to take to wife. This his deſire was not without good hope: for howſoeuer ſhe diſcouered much vnwillingneſſe thereunto, yet was ſhe in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it onely for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpoſe, to get her by compulſiue meanes: either becauſe his fancie being an old man, was not ouer-violent; or rather becauſe his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could haue made ſmall vſe of her, by doing ſuch apparent wrong. She had beene married vnto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whoſe death ſhe came to her brother in *Aſia*; hoping belike, to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of thoſe braue Captaines, that were, in times following, ſo hot in loue with her, durſt then aſpire vnto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himſelfe with prouiding her of an husband. She therefore, being a luſtie widow, ſuffered her bloud, ſo farre to preuaile againſt her honour, that ſhe ſupplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a ieſt: ſaying, that ſhe was his ſiſter, and muſt be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empire lay in a manner, voide, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had beene: then did many ſeeke to obtaine her, while ſhe her ſelfe deſired onely a proper man, with whom ſhee might leade a merry life. To this purpoſe did ſhe inuite *Leonatus* vnto her; who made great haſte; but was cut off by death, ere he came to her preſence. Now at the laſt, after long tarrying, ſhe had her choiſe of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomie*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander*, being all her earneſt wooers. All theſe (*Antigonus* excepted) had wiues already; *Ptolomie* had many wiues, and many Concubines, whom he reſpected as much as his wiues, being noted of too much dotage in that kinde. This hindred not his ſuite: peraduenture it aduanced it, by giuing to *Cleopatra*, ſome hope of mutuall toleration. To him therefore ſhe bequeathed her ſelfe, and was taking her iournie from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to ſtay, vntill his Maſters further pleaſure ſhould be knowne. *Antigonus* had now a Wolfe by the eares: he neither could well hold her, nor durſt let her goe. Shee would not be his wife; hee had none honeſt pretence to force her; and to keepe her priſoner, had been the way, by which he might haue incurred a generall hatred, laſting perhaps beyond her life; as the courſe taken by *Caſſander* againſt *Roxane* (a Lady leſſe reſpected than *Alexanders* owne ſiſter) did well teſtifie. Therefore he thought it the wiſeſt way to procure her death: for to let any other enioy the commoditie of ſo faire a title to the Kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpoſe he ſent inſtructions to the Gouernour of *Sardes*, willing him in any caſe to doe it ſecretly. So the fact was committed, and certaine women about her put in truſt with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as miſchieuous conſpirers againſt the life of that good Lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the leaſt, in his owne opinion: but the world was leſſe fooliſh, than to be ſo deluded. How the murther was detected, we neede not aske: for ſeldome is that bloody crime vnreuealed, and neuer ſo ill ſmothered, as when great perſons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great extinguiſhed, and it was extinguiſhed by the hands of ſuch as thought vpon nothing leſſe than the execution of Gods iuſtice, due vnto the cruelty of theſe powerfull, but mercileſſe Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by theſe Tyrants, vpon ſo wicked foundations of innocent bloud, were ſoone after caſt downe, ouer-whelming themſelues or their children, with the ruines, as the ſequele will declare.

§. X.

How Demetrius, *the ſonne of* Antigonus, *gaue liberty to Athens, expelling the Garriſons of* Caſſander *out of thoſe parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the Athenians to* Antigonus *and* Demetrius.

None being left aliue, that had any title to the Kingdome; it ſtood with good reaſon, that they which were Lords of the Prouinces, acknowledging no Superiour, ſhould freely profeſſe themſelues Kings in name, as they were already in ſubſtance. Yet had this name ill beſeemed the weaker, while the ſtrongeſt of all did forbeare it: neither ſeemed it conuenient in the iudgement of *Antigonus*, to crowne his laſt action with ſuch a title, as if he had attained vnto greatneſſe by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to diſcharge from his owne head. He purpoſed therefore to vndertake a plauſible enterpriſe, euen the liberty of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get ſuch honour as would not onely drowne all bad reports, but make him be thought equall to any name of royalty, whereof in ſeeming modeſtie, hee was not couetous. To this purpoſe, he deliuered a ſtrong Armie, with a Nauie of two hundred and fiftie ſaile, and fiue thouſand talents of ſiluer, vnto *Demetrius* his ſonne: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceede, in ſetting all the Countrie free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: ſo that without reſiſtance hee entred the Hauen; it beeing thought that a fleete of *Ptolomie*, *Caſſanders* good friend, had beene arriued. But when it was knowne, both who hee was, and what was the cauſe of his comming; the ioy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; *Demetrius Phalereus* forſooke the Towne, and withdrew himſelfe to *Thebes*, vnder ſafe conduct; onely the Garriſon in *Munychia* ſtroue to make good that piece, which after a while was wonne vpon them by force. During the ſiege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garriſon of *Caſſander*, and ſo reſtored the Citie to libertie.

I thinke it not impertinent, ſometimes to relate ſuch accidents, as may ſeeme no better than meere trifles: for euen by trifles, are the qualities of great Perſons as well diſcloſed, as by their great actions; becauſe in matters of importance, they commonly ſtraine themſelues, to the obſeruance of generall commended rules; in leſſer things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Lady *Crateſipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great deſire to ſee *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that ſhe might, by his meanes, better her eſtate, and recouer her Townes of *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomie*; to whoſe Lieutenant, in thoſe places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered money for the ſurrender of them. Yet the onely buſineſſe pretended was loue. He being aduertiſed hereof, left his forces in the Countrie of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lighteſt armed, for guard of his perſon, made a long iournie to meete with her. This troupe alſo, he cauſed to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might ſee her when ſhee came. As cloſely as the buſineſſe was carried, ſome of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceiued good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might ouerthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any tearmes of reaſon, by taking his deare ſonne priſoner. Their proiect fell but a little ſhort of the effect. For they came ſo ſuddenly vpon him, that he had no better ſhift, than to muffle himſelfe in an old cloake, and creepe away diſguiſed, leauing them to ranſacke his Tent. There was in this Prince a ſtrange medly of conditions; eſpecially an extreame diſſoluteneſſe in wanton pleaſures, and a painefull induſtry in matter of warre. He was of a moſt amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deuiſing Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, then how to rule his good. For aduerſitie made his valour more actiue: proſperity puffed him with ouerweening, wherein he thought, that he might doe what he liſted. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till ſhe had wound vp the threed of his life, in ſuch manner as followeth to be ſhewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finiſhing his buſineſſe at *Megara*; he reſolued no longer to attend the iſſue of a ſiege, to aſſaile *Munychia* by force, that ſo he might accompliſh the liberty of *Athens*: which, vntill it was fully wrought out, he refuſed to enter into the Citie. *Munychia* was ſtrongly fortified: yet by continuance of the aſſault, the multitude without, through helpe of their Engines that ſcoured the wals, preuailed vpon the reſolution of thoſe that lay within it, and wan the place in two dayes. The wals, and all the defences of that piece againſt the Citie, were leuelled with the ground, and ſo was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was giuen their liberty, with promiſe to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and induſtry. For the *Athenians*, hauing forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make vp that defect with their tongues: conuerting to baſe flattery, that eloquence of theirs, which the vertues of their Anceſtors had ſuted vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the name of Kings; they conſecrated the place, in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius the a-lighter*; they called them by the Names of the *gods their Sauiours*, ordaining that euery yeere, there ſhould be choſen a Prieſt of theſe gods; and further, that ſuch as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of theſe two Princes, ſhould not be called Embaſſadours, but *Theori*, or *Conſulters with the gods*; like as were they, whom they ſent vnto the Oracle of *Iupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a friuolous diligence, to rehearſe all their flatteries; theſe being ſo groſſe. Hereby they not onely corrupted the yong Prince; but made that acclamation, which beſt would haue pleaſed the old man, to be of no vſe. For he could not handſomely take vpon him the name of King, as impoſed by the *Athenians*; vnleſſe he would ſeeme to approue their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he ſo tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori*, or *Conſulters* came ſhortly after, deſiring him to relieue them with Corne, and Timber to build ſhips, he gaue them almoſt a hundred thouſand quarters of wheat, and matter ſufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his firſt Oracle: or rather, ſo weake is great power in reſiſting the aſſaults of flatterie.

§. XI.

The great victory of Demetrius *againſt* Ptolomy *in Cyprus. How* Antigonus *and* Demetrius *tooke vpon them the ſtile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.*

FRom this glorious worke, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, vnto a buſineſſe of greater difficulty; meaning to imploy his ſeruice againſt *Ptolomy* in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to eſtabliſh a generall Counſail, that ſhould treate of matters concerning the common good of the Countrie. About the ſame time, *Antigonus* withdrew his owne Garriſon out of *Imbros*, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appeare, that as hee would not permit any other to oppreſſe the Greekes, ſo would he be farre from doing it himſelfe. This was enough, to holde his reputation high, among theſe new purchaſed Friends: it followed, that hee ſhould conuert his forces, to the winning of ground vpon his Enemies.

A pittifull Tragedy had lately hapned in *Cyprus*; through the indiſcretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Iſle. *Nicocles*, king of *Paphos*, was entred into ſome practice with *Antigonus*: yet not ſo farre that he thought himſelfe paſt excuſe; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more eaſily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the falſe-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was ſent thither: who ſurrounding *Nicocles* his houſe with Souldiers, required in *Ptolomies* name, to haue him yeelded to the death. *Nicocles* offered to cleare himſelfe; but *Menelaus* tolde him, that dye he muſt, and bad him come forth quietly. This deſperate neceſſity, cauſed the vnhappie King to rid himſelfe of life: and his death ſtrooke ſuch an impreſſion into his wife, that ſhe not onely ſlew her ſelfe, but perſwaded the wiues of her husbands brethren to do the like. Alſo thoſe Brethren of *Nicocles*, vnto whom *Ptolomie* had intended no ill, being amazed with the ſodainneſſe of this calamity, did ſhut vp the Palace, and ſetting it on fire, conſumed it, with all that was in it, and themſelues together.

Whatſoeuer the crime obiected was; *Nicocles* periſhed as a man innocent, becauſe he was not ſuffered to make his anſwer. Of this ſad accident, though *Menelaus* deſerued the blame, for his rigorous proceeding: yet is it to be thought, that much diſlike fell alſo vpon *Ptolomie*: as men that are greeued, caſt an ill affection, euen vpon thoſe, that gaue the fartheſt remoued occaſion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power ſufficient, againſt any oppoſition that *Ptolomie* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing againſt him: either becauſe they had ſmall ſtrength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being ſure that they ſhould not themſelues haue the rule of their owne Country. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garriſons, drew foorth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driuen to ſaue himſelfe within the wals of *Salamis*, where he was ſo hardly beſieged, that without ſtrong ſuccour, he had no likelihood to make good the place, much leſſe to retaine poſſeſſion of the whole Iland. His greateſt helpe at the preſent, was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good vſage (when any of them were taken priſoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the firſt opportunitie. Moſt of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Ægypt*, which was enough to keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this their reſolution haue ſtoode long, againſt the ods of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as reſolute, and againſt his terrible Engines of battery, if *Ptolomie* had not haſted to the reſcue.

Ptolomie brought with him, a hundred and forty Gallies, beſides two hundred ſhips of burden, for tranſporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleete made a terrible ſhew, when it was deſcried afarre; though more then halfe of it was vnfit for ſeruice, in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadfull, *Ptolomie* ſent vnto *Demetrius*, a threatning meſſage: willing him to be gone, vnleſſe he would be ouerwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this yong Gallant repaied him with words of as much brauery, promiſing to let him eſcape, vpon condition, that he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more then one hundred and eighteene Gallies; but they were, for the moſt part, greater than thoſe of *Ptolomy*; better ſtored with weapons fit for that ſeruice;

uice; and very well furniſhed with Engines in the prowes, to beate vpon the enemy. Neuertheleſſe he ſtood in great doubt of threeſcore gallies that lay in the Hauen of *Salamis*, leſt *Menelaus* with them ſhould ſet vpon his backe: in which caſe, it was very likely that all ſhould go very ill with him. Againſt this miſchiefe, he beſtowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Hauen, to keepe *Menelaus* from iſſuing foorth, and ſetting his horſemen on the ſhore, to giue what aſſiſtance they could, he with the reſt of his Fleete, puts to Sea againſt *Ptolomy*.

The fight beganne early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull ſucceſſe. The Generals were not ranged oppoſite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his owne fleete. Each of them preuailed againſt the ſquadron wherewith hee encountred; but the ſucceſſe of *Demetrius* was to better purpoſe. For his victorie in one part was ſuch, as cauſed others to fall out of order, and finally draue all to betake themſelues vnto ſpeedy flight. As for *Ptolomy*, hee was faine to leaue his aduantage vpon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might releeue and animate thoſe of his own which needed him in another. Wherein he found his loſſe ouer-great to be repaired, by contending any longer againſt the fortune of that day; and therefore he labored only to ſaue himſelfe, in hope of better euent, that might follow ſome other time.

There fell out in this battaile no vnuſuall accident; yet was the victorie greater then could haue bene expected. The occaſions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-ſeruices, which the *Greekes* and *Phœnicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had, aboue thoſe which followed *Ptolomie*: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein conſiſted no leſſe, than in the quality of thoſe with whom they were manned. Further, wee may reaſonably iudge, that the two hundred ſhips of burthen, carrying the ſtrength of *Ptolomies* Army, did not more encourage his owne men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight; than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and ſtood aloofe. For though it were fitting, that they ſhould ſo doe; yet a multitude, prepoſſeſſed with vaine conceits, will commonly apprehend very ſlight occaſions, to thinke themſelues abandoned. Beſides all this, the expectation, that *Menelaus* iſſuing with his fleet out of *Salamis*, ſhould charge the enemies in ſterne, was vtterly fruſtrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ſhips appointed to barre vp the mouth of the Hauen: which they manfully performed, as great neceſſity required.

Such diſappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in Fight; eſpecially of the aſſailants: whereas on the contrary, they that finde ſome part of their feares vaine, do eaſily gather hopefull ſpirits, and conceiue an opinion of their own ability, to do more than they thought vpon, out of their not ſuffering the harme that they had imagined.

Whatſoeuer the cauſes of this victory were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomy* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: al the reſt of his fleet was either taken, or ſunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer ſtriue againſt the violence of Fortune; but yeelded vp all that hee held in *Cyprus*, together with his Army, conſiſting of twelue thouſand foote, and a thouſand and two hundred horſe, and thoſe Gallies in the Hauen of *Salamis*. The ſame deiection of ſpirit was found in the common Souldiour, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had ſerued the *Egyptian* by Land: none of them repoſing any more confidence in *Ptolomie*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whoſe Armie they now increaſed.

It was generally beleeued, that much more depended on the euent of this fight, than the Iſle of *Cyprus*; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; eſpecially *Antigonus*, whom it moſt concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking euery day a yeare, till he were aduertiſed of the iſſue. In this mood *Ariſtodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Meſſage of theſe good newes. *Ariſtodemus* had bethought himſelfe of a tricke, whereby to double the welcome of his ioyfull errand: Hee cauſed his ſhips to ride at Anchor, a good diſtance from the ſhore; he himſelfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he ſent immediately backe to the ſhip; and ſo all alone, he went forward, looking very ſadly that no part of his tydings might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arriuall (for it was not knowne where he had bene) came preſently to *Antigonus*, who ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger, to meet him on the way, and bring ſpeedy word how all went. But neither any anſwer, nor ſo much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be wonne from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched hee faire and ſoftly forward with a great throng at his heeles (that ſerued well to ſet out his Pageant) vntill he came in ſight of *Antigonus*; who could not containe himſelfe, but went downe to meete him at the Gate, and heare the newes. Then did *Ariſtodemus*, vpon the ſuddaine, with a high voyce ſalute *Antigonus* by the name of King; vttering the greatneſſe of the victorie (with as much pomp, as before hee had couered it with ſilence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loude acclamations, gaue that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his ſonne *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requitall of the long ſuſpence, wherein *Ariſtodemus* had helde him, ſayd, that it ſhould alſo bee long ere hee receyued his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did ſet on his head, hee could not wiſh a fayrer occaſion to aſſume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and ſent the like to his ſonne.

When it was once noyſed abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themſelues Kings; it was not long ere their fellowes were ready to follow the good example. *Ptolomie* his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord ſhould be thought a man deiected for the loſſe of a fleet; therefore they ſaluted him alſo King. *Lyſimachus* in *Thrace* had boldneſſe enough, to put the Diademe about his owne head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken vpon him as King: but now hee vſed the ſtile indifferently, as well among the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Caſſander* held himſelfe contented with his owne name: whereby howſoeuer he might ſhadow his pride, hee no way leſſened the fame of his cruelty againſt his Maſters houſe. But the name which he forbore, his ſonnes after him, were bold to vſurpe, though with ill ſucceſſe, as will appeare, when they ſhall enter vpon the Stage; whereon theſe old Tragedians, vnder new habits, as no longer now the ſame perſons, begin to play their parts, with bigger lookes, and more boiſterous actions, not with greater grace and iudgement, than in the Scenes already paſt.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Warres betweene the Kings of Ægypt, Aſia, Macedon, Thrace, and others: vntill all Alexanders *Princes were conſumed.*

§. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus *againſt Ægypt, with ill ſucceſſe.*

ALL the reſt of theſe Kings had taken that name vpon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himſelfe, as beſeeming his greatnes: which was ſuch as gaue him hope to ſwallow them vp, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his owne ſtrength, he reſolued to ſingle out *Ptolomie*, and make him an example to others: who ſhould hardly be able to ſtand, when the greateſt of them was fallen. To this purpoſe hee prepared an Armie of eighteene thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, with fourſcore and three Elephants: as likewiſe a fleet of a hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred ſhips of burthen. The Land-forces he commanded in perſon: of the Nauy *Demetrius* was Admiral.

When all was ready for the iourney, the Sea-men aduiſed him to ſtay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the ſetting of the *Pleiades*. But his haſtie deſire to preuent all preparations for reſiſtance that *Ptolomie* ſhould make, reiected this counſaile; imputing it rather to their feare than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Towne which hee had built in *Syria*, and called after his owne name, that was ſoone changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortall enemie) and came to *Gaza*, where hee met with his Fleet. The neerer that he drew to *Ægypt*, the more haſte he made: thinking by celeritie to preuaile more then by his great power. Hee cauſed his Souldiers to carrie tenne dayes prouiſion of Victualles; and had manie Camels loaden with all neceſſaries for paſſing the Deſarts, ouer which he marched with no ſmall toile, though he met with no reſiſtance. At Mount *Caſsius*, which is neere adioyning to *Nilus*, he ſaw his Fleete riding at Anchor, not farre from the ſhore; in ill caſe, and many ſhippes wanting. It had beene ſorely beaten with foule weather, wherein ſome were loſt, others driuen backe to *Gaza*, or ſcattered elſewhere into ſuch creekes, as they could recouer: *Demetrius* himſelfe, with the beſt and ſtrongeſt veſſels, did ſo long beat it vp againſt the wind, that all his freſh water was ſpent; in which extremity, he and all his muſt haue periſhed, had not the tempeſt ceaſed when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in ſight, from whom theſe ouer-wearied, thirſty and Sea-beaten Souldiers receyued reliefe. After theſe painfull trauailes, there followed a warre no leſſe painfull than to little purpoſe; for *Ptolomie* had ſo fortified all the paſſages vpon the Riuer of *Nilus*, as he aſſured himſelfe either to end the warre there, or if his guardes ſhould happen to be forſt, yet could it not be done, but ſo much to the weakning of the Aſſailants, as he ſhould afterward, with a ſecond Armie (which he held entire) entertain the Inuader vpon aduantage enough. All that *Antigonus* ſought, was to come to blowes ſpeedily: *Ptolomie* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gaue him water enough, but wood he had none to warme it, and while *Antigonus* aſſaulted the Rampiers raiſed vpon the Riuer in vaine, *Ptolomie* aſſaied the faith of his ſouldiers with good ſucceſſe, for with great gifts and greater promiſes, he ferried them ouer ſo faſt, as had not *Antigonus* thruſt ſome aſſured Regiments, vpon the paſſages next the enemy, and in the meane while taken a reſolution to returne, *Ptolomie* had turned him out of *Ægypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their eſcape, and thoſe he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the ſame ill ſucceſſe that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he inuaded *Ægypt*: had he not readily remoued his armie further off, from the noiſe of their entertainment, that had already bene won from him. To preuent therefore as wel the preſent danger of his ſtay, as the ſhame following a forſt retrait, he ſecretly practiſed the aduice of his Councell, vpon whom the burthen muſt be laid of his entrance, and leauing *Ægypt*.

It is indeede leſſe preiudiciall in ſuch like caſes, that errors, diſhonours, and loſſes, bee laid on Counſellors & Captaines, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious, than that of a Vaſſall. *Charles* the fift, as many other Princes haue done, laide the loſſe and diſhonour he receiued in the inuaſion of *France*, by the way of *Prouence*, to *Antonie de Leua*, whether iuſtly or no, I know not; but howſoeuer, all the Hiſtorians of that time agree, that the ſorrow thereof coſt that braue Captaine his life. Certainly to giue any violent aduice in doubtfull enterpriſes, is rather a teſtimony of loue, than of wiſedome, in the giuer; for the il ſucceſſe is alwaies caſt vpon the Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a falſe one, to acknowledge it. Yet I haue ſometime knowne it, that great Commanders, who are for the preſent in place of Kings, haue not onely bene diſſwaded, but held in a kind by ſtrong hand, from hazarding their owne perſons, and yet haue thoſe kinde of Mutiners neuer bene called to a Marſhals Court.

§. II.

How the Citie of Rhodes was beſieged by Demetrius.

THis departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead carcaſſes, and a great deale of ioy in *Ægypt*. *Ptolomie* held a ſolemne Feaſt, and ſent Meſſengers abroad, loaden with glad newes, to *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander* his Confederates: ſtrongly encouraging all that ſide, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defenſiue Warre. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himſelfe with another interpretation, calling the ioyes of his enemies for witneſſes of his owne greatneſſe, ſeeing they aroſe but from ſo little things: his enemies being but bare ſauers by the laſt bargaine, and himſelfe, as he ſuppoſed, hauing loſt but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retraite. Howſoeuer it were, yet he meant to follow his affayres hencefoorth in another faſhion, for that which hee could not cleaue a-ſunder by great blowes, he purpoſed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches firſt, to fell the Tree it ſelfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, he reſolued (leauing the great ones to grow a while) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the forenamed Confederates ſhould be forſt, either to relieue, or to loſe; and heereby hee doubted not, to draw them into the field, where the aduantage of power, and of all other warlike prouiſions, promiſed him victorie.

At this time the Citie of *Rhodes* was very mightie, being well gouerned, and hauing long held it ſelfe in good Neutralitie, it drew the better part of all the trade of thoſe parts, and there a great deale of riches to it ſelfe, to maintaine which, and to increaſe it, it furniſhed and kept on the Seas a Fleete of well armed ſhippes, by which it not onely beate off all Pyrates and pettie Theeues, but the reputation of their ſtrength was thereby ſo much increaſed, as all the neighbour Princes ſought their alliance and confederacie.

In this ſo dangerous a time (in which they muſt either refuſe all that ſought them, and ſo ſtand friendleſſe and apart, or ioyne themſelues to ſome one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatneſſe had growne) their affections carried them to the *Ægyptian*: both becauſe the greateſt part of their trade lay that way, as alſo for that *Antigonus* his diſpoſition, greatnes, and neighbourhood was fearefull vnto them. This affection of theirs, with ſome other paſſages, more apparent; gaue argument of quarrell to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himſelf againſt them by pettie iniuries, of taking ſome of their ſhips, with ſuch other grieuances, while hee made a more waighty preparation, to purſue the warre againſt them, openly and ſtrongly. All things ſoon after ordered according to the greatneſſe of the enterpriſe, hee employed his ſonne *Demetrius* againſt them in their owne Iland, who brought ſuch terror vpon the Citizens, that laying aſide all reſpect of friendſhip and honor, they offered him their aſſiſtance, and ſeruice againſt whomſoeuer. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perſwaded by feare, & not by loue; raiſed his demands to an intollerable height, requiring a hundred Hoſtages to be deliuered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ſhips of warre as himſelfe pleaſed. Theſe conditions more properly to bee impoſed vpon a State already conquered, then on thoſe who as yet had heard of nothing but a conſtrained aſſiſtance, reſtored vnto the *Rhodians* their loſt courage, and made them reſolue to defend their libertie to the laſt man: this taught them to infranchiſe all their able bondmen, and wiſely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themſelues fellow-ſlaues with them.

Demetrius hauing refuſed the faire conditions offered, (as the *Rhodians* the fearefull ones propounded vnto them) makes preparation for a long ſiege, and finding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, hee ſet in hand with his Engines of batterie; in the inuention and vſe of which, hee did neuer ſhew himſelfe a greater *Artiſan*, than in this warre. But in concluſion, after the Citizens had ſuſtained all the aſſaults giuen them for a whole yeere, after many braue ſallies out of the Towne, and the famine which they endured within the Towne, which had proued farre more extreame, if *Ptolomie* had not with many hazards relieued them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embaſſadors, gaue ouer the ſiege; a hundred Hoſtages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the Citie.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the vſuall policie of warre, and ſtate: for while with the flowre of all his fathers forces, he lay before *Rhodes*, *Caſſander* recouered many of thoſe places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Caſſander* make the warre as in former times, by practice and ſurpriſe, but by a ſtrong and well compounded armie, which he himſelfe ledde as farre as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly diſtreſſed & indangered *Athens* it ſelfe. On the other ſide (though with leſſe ſucceſſe) did *Polyſperchon* inuade *Peloponneſus*. Theſe dangerous vndertakings vppon *Greece*, aduiſed the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to diſpatch their Embaſſadours towards *Demetrius*, and aduiſed *Demetrius*, rather to abandon the enterpriſe of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which hee had formerlie gotten, by ſetting all *Greece* at libertie.

Demetrius was no ſooner out of the Iland, then that the *Rhodians* erected ſtatues in honour of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander*, but for *Ptolomie*, whom they moſt affected, and from whom they receiued their moſt reliefe, they cōſulted with the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a *god*. The Prieſts which attended in the Temple of *Hammon*, gaue the ſame faire anſwer for *Ptolomy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Maſter, for as *Alexander* conſulted the *Oracle* with an Armie at his heeles; ſo was *Ptolomie* at this time Lord of the ſoile: and yet was this a farre more cleanly creation, than that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, by decree of the people. A madde age it was, when ſo many of *Alexanders* Captaines could not content themſelues with the ſtile of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

§. III.

How Demetrius *preuailed in Greece.* Caſſander *deſires peace of* Antigonus, *and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of warre againſt* Antigonus.

Demetrius comming with a ſtrong Fleet and Armie into *Greece*, quickely draue *Caſſander* out of *Attica*; and purſuing his fortune, chaſed him beyond the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*. Herein his reputation did much auaile him; which was ſo great, that ſixe thouſand of his enemies Souldiers reuolted vnto him. So partly by the greatneſſe of his name, partly by force, hee recouered in ſhort ſpace all that *Caſſander* held in thoſe ſtraits, and giuing libertie vnto the people, hee beſtowed vpon the *Athenians* thoſe peeces, which had beene fortified againſt them, to blocke them vp. Then went hee into *Peloponneſus*, where hee found the like, or more eaſie ſucceſſe: for hee ſuddenly tooke *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the moſt of the Countrie, beſtowing libertie vpon ſuch as needed it. The Towne of *Sicyon* he tranſlated by conſent of the Citizens, from the old ſeat into another place, and called it after his owne name *Demetrias*. This done, hee betooke himſelfe to his pleaſure. At the *Iſthmian* games, he cauſed himſelfe to be proclaimed Captaine Generall of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had beene in former times: whereupon (as if hee were now become as great as *Alexander*) hee deſpiſed all others, making it a matter of ieſt, that any, ſaue himſelfe or his father, ſhould vſurpe the name of King. But in his behauiour he was ſo farre vnlike to a King, that in all the time of his leiſure, he deſerued none other name then of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as readie as euer to deuiſe new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, that whatſoeuer King *Demetrius* ſhould command, ought to be held ſacred with the gods, and iuſt with men.

All *Greece* being now at the diſpoſition of *Antigonus*, *Caſſander* ſtood in great feare, leſt the warre ſhould fall heauily vpon him in *Macedon*: which to auoid, he knew no better way then to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors; but had no better anſwere from *Antigonus*, then that hee ſhould ſubmit his whole eſtate to his diſcretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in ſolliciting his friends, both to aſſiſt him, and take heed to themſelues; neither found he them ſlow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lyſimachus* knew that if once *Caſſander* had loſt *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would ſoone be maſter of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that, which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were ſuffered to put himſelfe in quiet poſſeſſion of thoſe Prouinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with ioynt forces they ſhould all together ſet vpon the common Enemie.

Heereof *Antigonus* had notice: but ſcorned all their preparations, ſaying, That hee would as eaſily ſcatter them, as a flocke of birds are driuen away with a ſtone. With theſe conceipts he pleaſed himſelfe, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of *Antigonia* (a name that it muſt ſhortly looſe) where he was carefully prouiding to ſet out ſome ſtately game and Pageants, in oſtentation of his glorie. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of *Lyſimachus* his victories about *Helleſpont*. For *Caſſander* had committed vnto *Lyſimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to paſſe ouer into *Aſia*, while hee himſefle with the reſt ſhould oppoſe *Demetrius* on *Europe* ſide. So *Lyſimachus* paſſing the *Helleſpont*, began to make hot Warre vpon the ſubiects of *Antigonus*; getting ſome of the Cities in thoſe parts, to ioyne with him, by faire meanes: winning others by force, and waſting the Country round about.

To repreſſe this vnexpected boldneſſe, *Antigonus* made haſtie iournies, and came ſoone enough to recouer his loſſes, but not ſtrong enough to driue *Lyſimachus* home, or compell him to come to battaile. *Lyſimachus* waited for the comming of *Seleucus*; keeping

ping himſelfe the whileſt from neceſſity of fighting. But *Babylon* was farre off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to bee ſoone in a readineſſe. The Winter alſo did hinder his iourney: which inforced them on both ſides to reſt in ſome quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all thoſe Nations in a great ſuſpence, & bred much expectation. Yet might all haue come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been ſo forward, that he refuſed to yeeld vpon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neere with a mighty Armie of his owne (for hee had gathered ſtrength in that long time of leyſure, which *Antigonus* had giuen him) and with great aid from *Ptolomie*, that was ioyned with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull caſe, *Demetrius* was called ouer into *Aſia* by his Fathers letters: which hee readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Caſſander*, vpon reaſonable termes: to the end hee might not bee driuen to leaue any part of his Army for defence of the Countrie; and that his iournie might bee without any ſuch blemiſh of reputation, as if hee had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould bee at libertie. *Caſſander* was glad to be ſo ridde of an Enemy that was too ſtrong for him. Yet would this league haue done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwiſe then they did in *Aſia*; ſeeing the ratification thereof was referred vnto *Antigonus*. It ſufficed, that for the preſent, euery one found meanes to cleere himſelfe of all incumbrances elſe-where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himſelfe to the triall of the maine controuerſie in *Aſia*.

§. IIII.

How Antigonus *was ſlaine in a great battaile at Ipſus, neer vnto Epheſus; wherein his whole eſtate was loſt.*

SEleucus, with his ſonne *Antiochus*, ioyning with *Lyſimachus*, compounded a great Armie, which was (all conſidered) not inferiour to that of the Enemie. In greatneſſe of name (that helpeth much in all warres, but eſpecially in the Ciuill) they were rather vnanſwerable, than vnequall to their aduerſaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them vnder with a maſtering ſpirit, and had beene reputed a King indeed, when the reſt were held but Vſurpers of the title. Likewiſe *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a braue Commander, hauing giuen proofe of his worth in many great ſeruices of all kinds, and inriched the Art of war with many inuentions, which euen his enemies, and particularly *Lyſimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had ſometimes flattered *Antigonus*, & fearefully ſtolen away from him to ſaue his life; with yong *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this iournie; and *Lyſimachus*; that had liued long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde *Tracians*; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeelded to their oppoſites: yet ſo, that as ancient Captaines vnder *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough, to receiue any benefit that fortune might giue, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both ſides, were for the moſt part hardy & well exerciſed: many of them hauing ſerued vnder *Alexander*; though of thoſe old Companies, the long ſpace of two and twenty yeeres had conſumed the greateſt number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were eaſily perſwaded, that in this battaile they muſt either get the vpper hand, or put in extreame danger all that belonged vnto the Confederate Princes: whereas *Antigonus* his men could diſcerne no other neceſſitie of fighting, than the obſtinate qualitie of their Lord, that needes would be Maſter of all. *Antigonus* had about three-ſcore and ten thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and threeſcore and fifteene Elephants. His enemies were ſixe thouſand ſhort of him in number of their foot; in horſe they had the oddes of fiue hundred; of Elephants they had foure hundred, and a hundred and twenty armed Chariots of warre; which helpes, though they little had auailed the *Perſians*, yet were they not to be deſpiſed, in the hands of a good Captaine.

Antigonus himſelfe, either troubled with the vnexpected greatneſſe of his enemies forces, or preſaging little good like to enſue, grew very penſiue, communing much in priuate with his ſonne whom he commended to the Armie as his ſucceſſor: whereas in former times he had neuer been ſo iocund, as towards the houre of battaile, nor had been accuſtomed to make his ſonne, or any other, priuate to his counſaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad lucke, either foegoing the fight, or afterwards deuiſed, I hold it needleſſe to recount: *Diana* of *Epheſus* dwelt neere to the place of battaile, a buſie goddeſſe in many great fights, and therefore likely to haue beene thruſt into the fable, if any matter, neerely reſembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is eaſie to beleeue, that theſe two ſo gallant Armies, containing well-neere all the ſtrength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by ſuch worthy Commanders, and whom the iſſue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an eaſie loſſe in regard of the much variety, wherewith euery ſtory aboundeth in this kinde. The moſt memorable things in the battaile, were theſe: *Demetrius* with his beſt force of horſe, charged valiantly vpon yong *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was ſo tranſported with the heat of his good ſucceſſe, that he neuer gaue ouer his purſuit, but left his Father naked, and loſt thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceiued this aduantage, he enterpoſed his Elephants, betweene *Demetrius* and the *Phalanx* of *Antigonus*: and with many troupes of horſe offering to breake vpon the enemies battaile, whereſoeuer it lay moſt open, he did ſo terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather choſe to reuolt from their Lord, whilſt they were fairely inuited, than to ſuſtaine the furie of ſo dangerous an impreſſion. This cowardize or rather treaſon of ſome, diſcouraged others; and finally, caſt them all into flight; expoſing their Generall to the laſt end of his deſtinies. *Antigonus* was then foure-ſcore yeeres old, very fat and vnweildy, ſo that he was vnapt for flight, if his high ſpirit could haue entertained any thought thereof. He had about him ſome of his moſt truſty followers, and as many others as hee could hold together. When one that perceiued a great troupe making towards his perſon, told him, *Sir King, yonder company meanes to charge you*; hee anſwered, *Well may they; for who defends me? but anone* Demetrius *will relieue vs.* Thus expecting, to the very laſt, that his ſonne ſhould come to the reſcue, he receiued ſo many Darts into his body, as tooke away his lately ambitious, but then fearfull hopes, together with his troubleſome life.

His great ability in matter of Armes, together with his vnſatiable deſire of Empire, haue ſufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loued by his friends; as one that could not moderate his fortune, but vſed inſolence towards all alike, as if it had been ſome vertue neereſt repreſenting a Kingly Maieſtie. This was the cauſe that ſo many of his followers reuolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Armie forſooke him in his laſt neceſſity. For thoſe Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeuours of their Vaſſals, onely dutie and debt; and are more apt to puniſh the leaſt offences, than to reward the greateſt ſeruices: ſhall finde themſelues vpon the firſt change of fortune, (ſeeing it is loue onely that ſtaies by aduerſitie) not onely the moſt friendleſſe, but euen the moſt contemptible, and deſpiſed of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he liued; in part he left it to be verified vpon his ſonne.

§. V.

How Demetrius *forſaken by the Athenians after his ouerthrow, was reconciled to* Seleucus *and* Ptolomie, *beginning a new fortune, and ſhortly entring into quarrels.*

For *Demetrius*, at his returne, from the idle purſuit of yong *Antiochus*, finding all quite loſt, was glad to ſaue himſelfe, with foure thouſand horſe and fiue thouſand foot, by a ſpeedy retrait vnto *Epheſus*, whence he made great haſte vnto *Athens*, as to the place, that for his ſake would ſuffer any extremity. But whileſt he was in the middeſt of his courſe thither, the *Athenian* Embaſſadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings ſhould be admitted into their Citie. Theſe were Embaſſadours, not *Theori*, or *Conſulters* with the *Oracle*. It was a ſhameleſſe ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his miſerie, with ſuch a decree: neither did any part of his calamitie more afflict the vnfortunate Prince, than to ſee his aduerſity deſpiſed by thoſe whom he had thought his ſureſt friends.

Yet was he faine to giue good words. For he had left many of his ſhips in their Hauen, of which he now ſtood in great neede, and therefore was faine to ſpeake them faire, that ſometimes had groſly flattered him. But he ſhall liue to teach them their old language, and ſpeak vnto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ſhips, he ſailed to the *Iſthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of diſcomfort. His Garriſons were euery where broken vp; the Souldiers hauing betaken themſelues to his enemies pay. So that he was King onely of a ſmall Armie and Fleet, without money or meanes wherewith to ſuſtaine him and his followers any long time. All the reſt, or the greateſt part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in diuiding among the Conquerers, and thoſe few places which as yet held for him (hauing not perchance heard the worſt of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieue: for to put himſelfe into the field on that ſide of the Sea, he had no power; and to incloſe himſelfe in any of them, how ſtrong ſoeuer, were but to impriſon his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to burie himſelfe and his eſtate: He therefore creeping thorow thoſe buſhes that had feweſt briers, fell vpon a corner of *Lyſimachus* his Kingdome, whereof he gaue all the ſpoyle that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne loſſes hauing beene too great to be repaied againe by ſmall prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to buſie themſelues, in the partition of thoſe Prouinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords, wherein *Seleucus* had a notable aduantage by being preſent, and Maſter of the field; for neither *Ptolomie* nor *Caſſander* were at the ouerthrow giuen, hauing onely ſent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Armie which *Seleucus* led, who tooke hold of a part of *Aſia* the leſſe, and all *Syria*, being no otherwiſe deuided from his owne Territorie, than by the Riuer of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order beene taken by the Confederates, for the diuiſion of all thoſe Lands: becauſe they did not expect ſo proſperous an iſſue of that warre, which they made onely in their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the beſt benefit that he could of the victory, at which, neuertheleſſe others did repine; and though they neither could nor durſt accuſe him of ill dealing for the preſent, yet ſeeing the ouer-greatneſſe of *Seleucus* brought no leſſe danger to the reſt of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they conſulted vpon the ſame reaſon of State as before, how to oppoſe it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined, for he read it in the Law vniuerſall of Kingdomes and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendſhip on all ſides, and cure themſelues of all vnprofitable paſſion, the hatred of each to other, and their loues being laid on the one ſide, againſt their profits on the other, were found ſo farre too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day ſlain *Antigonus* the father, and driuen *Demetrius* the ſonne out of *Aſia*, ſought to morrow how to match himſelfe with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his daughter, and ſo by *Demetrius* to ſerue his turne againſt *Lyſimachus*.

The ſtorie of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the ſonne of *Seleucus* fell ſo paſſionately in loue, and ſo diſtempered, as *Seleucus* his father, to ſaue his ſonnes life, gaue her (though ſhe were his wife) vnto him, and how his paſſion was diſcouered by his pulſe, is generally noted by all Writers But neither did this aliance betweene *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; betweene *Ptolomie* and *Lyſimachus*; betweene *Demetrius* and *Caſſander*; betweene *Demetrius* and *Ptolomie*; though for the preſent it brought him againe into the ranke of Kings; otherwiſe tye any of them to each other, than the marriages betweene Chriſtian Kings haue done in later times, namely betweene the *Auſtrians*, the *Aragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither haue the Leagues of thoſe elder times beene found more faithfull, then thoſe of the ſame later times haue beene; as in the ſtories of *Charles* the eighth of *France*, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of *Francis* the firſt, and of the Kings of *Naples*, Dukes of *Millan* and others, the Reader may obſerue: betweene whom from the yeere of our Lord, *One thouſand, foure hundred, ninetie and fiue*, when *Charles* the eighth vndertooke the Conqueſt of *Naples*, to the yere one thouſand fiue hundren fiftie and eight, when *Henrie* the ſecond died; the Hiſtories of thoſe times tell vs, that all the bonds, either by the bed or by the booke, either by weddings, or Sacramentall Oathes, had neither faithfull purpoſe nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reape this profit by giuing his daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recouered *Cilicia* from *Pliſtarchus*, the brother of *Caſſander*; who had gotten it as his ſhare in the diuiſion of *Antigonus* his poſſeſſions: for the Intruder was not ſtrong enough to hold it by his proper forces from him, that entred vpon it as a lawfull Heire, neither would *Seleucus* lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacie he ſhould haue done againſt the common enemy. So *Pliſtarchus* with very angry complaint, as well againſt *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went vnto *Caſſander*; whither *Phila*, their ſiſter, followed him ſhortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being ſent for that purpoſe by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not ſtrong enough to deale with *Caſſander*, and therefore glad to make vſe of that bond of aliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne proſperitie, he neuer tooke notice to the others good. About the ſame time hee tooke to wife a daughter of *Ptolomie* (plurality of wiues being familiar with theſe *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Eaſterne conqueſts) and ſo was hee by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, then ſtrengthened with two friends, for neither of them wiſhed him any good, otherwiſe then might ſeeme to aduance their owne ambitious deſires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomie* could both of them haue beene contented better, that *Demetrius*, with helpe of their countenance, ſhould ſeeke his fortune ſomewhat farther off, than ſettle his eſtate vnder their noſes. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himſelfe: and *Ptolomie* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were ſo, that *Seleucus* would faine haue ſet his new father in law vpon the necke of *Lyſimachus*; or whether he were indeede greedie of the bargaine, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchaſe of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not harken, but meant to keepe as much Land as he could, hauing already found in *Cilicia* twelue thouſand talents of his fathers treaſure, that would ſerue him to make ſport a while. This refuſall ſo diſpleaſed *Seleucus*, that in angry termes hee demanded the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be ſurrendred vnto him; which were the onely places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. Inſtead of giuing them vp, *Demetrius* tooke preſent order to haue them better manned; and ſpake it ſtoutly, That were hee ouer-come a thouſand times, yet would hee not hire *Seleucus* to become his ſonne in law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant diſpoſition, that would breake friendſhip with his father in law for two Townes, from whom hee had already taken more then well he knew how to gouerne. But the fire conſumed it ſelfe in words, which had it faſtned vpon armes, like it is that the weaker ſhould haue found friends out of enuie to the ſtronger.

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§. VI.

How Demetrius *wan the Citie of Athens, and preuailed in Greece: but loſt in Aſia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of* Caſſander.

IN the meane while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to vſe the liberty, which *Demetrius* had beſtowed on them, were fallen by ſedition, vnder the tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their diſtempered Citie was ſo weakened, that it ſeemed ill able to keep off the puniſhment due to their late ingratitude. This aduantage haſtened him, whom they had once called their *God and Sauiour*, to preſent himſelfe vnto them, in the habit of a reuenging furie. He brought againſt them all the force that he could well ſpare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, becauſe his doubtfull Eaſterne friends, were vnwilling to giue impediment to any buſineſſe, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His firſt enterpriſe in *Athens* had ill ſucceſſe; a great part of his fleet periſhing in a tempeſt. But he ſoone repaired the loſſe; and (after ſome victories in *Peloponneſus*, where he wan diuers Townes that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, waſted the Countrie of *Attica*, and cut off all reliefe from the Citie, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feede the great multitude within it, any long time: for it ſtood in a barren ſoile, and wanted now the command of thoſe Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be ſtored with victuals, being alſo deſtitute of meanes to keep ſuch a Nauie, as might bring in ſupply, or dare to doe any thing at Sea, againſt that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there ſome hope of ſuccour from *Ptolomie*, who (truſting thereby to win the loue of *Greece*) had loaden a hundred and fiftie ſhips with corne, and ſent them to releeue the

the hungry Citie. But theſe hundred and fiftie were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting ſhips, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore haſted them away betimes, as hauing done enough, in aduenturing to come ſo neere, that they might be diſcried. This brake the heart of the people; among whom the famine was ſo extreame, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouſe, which dropped downe betweene them from the houſe top. Wherefore they ſent Embaſſadors to yeelde vp the Towne, and craue pardon, hauing ſo farre offended, that out of deſperation, they made it a capitall offence, to propoſe any motion of peace. Yet were they faine to aboliſh this decree: rather becauſe they knew not what elſe to doe, then becauſe they hoped to be forgiuen.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victory, did not onely forbeare to take away the liues of theſe vnthankefull men; which they had ſubmitted vnto his mercy; but out of his liberality gaue them foode, and placed in Office amongſt them ſuch as were moſt acceptable to the people. Neuertheleſſe he was growne wiſer then to truſt them ſo farre as he had done in times paſt. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Hauens, & diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure; he was ready to lay hold vpon the word, and leaue a ſure Garriſon within their wals, to keepe them honeſt perforce. After this he went into *Peloponneſus*, vanquiſhed the *Lacedamonians* in two battailes, and was in very faire poſſibilitie to take their Citie: when the dangerous newes called him in all haſte, of *Lyſimachus* and *Ptolomie*; that preuailed faſter vpon him elſewhere, than himſelfe did vpon his enemies in *Greece*. *Lyſimachus* had wonne many Towns in *Aſia*; *Ptolomie* had gotten all the Iſle of *Cyprus*, except the Citie of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children & Mother, that were ſtraightly beſieged. Whilſt he was bethinking himſelfe which way to turne his face, a notable piece of buſineſſe offered it ſelfe, which thruſt all other cares out of his head.

Caſſander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and ſoone after him, *Philip* his eldeſt ſon, whoſe two yonger brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, ſought for the Kingdome. In this quarrell *Theſſalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Caſſander* had married, ſeemed better affected to *Alexander*, then to her elder ſonne: who thereupon grew ſo enraged, that moſt barbarouſly he ſlew his owne Mother. The odiouſneſſe of this fact gaue a faire luſtre to *Alexanders* cauſe: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in reuenge of the Queens death, vpon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was ſo ſtrongly backed by *Lyſimachus*, whoſe daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without ſome forreigne aide. For which cauſe he called in both *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it wil ſoone appeare in the following Tragedy, of him and his brother. Their Father *Caſſander* had beene one that ſhifted well for himſelfe, at ſuch time as euery man ſought how to get ſomewhat, in the ill ordered diuiſion of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing then were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing thoſe, whom others would more wiſely haue made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head againſt a wall, vpon ſome opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrell, deriued from his Father, whom ſhe could not abide. Her feminine malice did ſo exaſperate him, by cruelty, that ſhe vſed againſt his friends, both aliue and dead; as it made him aduenture vpon ſhedding the Royall bloud; wherewith, when once he had ſtained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that courſe of murder. His carefulneſſe to deſtroy thoſe women and children, whoſe liues hindred his purpoſe, argues him to haue beene rather ſkilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: ſuch cruelty being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a-far off the dangers, that may quietly paſſe away: and ſeekes to auoide them by baſe and wicked meanes, as neuer thinking it ſelfe ſafe enough, vntill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may be ſaid, that they had well deſerued the bloudy end which ouer-tooke them; yet ill beſeemed it *Caſſander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no law of men, deſerued to dye for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Caſſander* died in his bed, yet the diuine Iuſtice, brought ſwords vpon his wife and children, that well reuenged the cruelty of this bloudy man, by deſtroying his whole houſe, as he had done his Maſters.

§. VII.

Of Pyrrhus *and his doings in Macedon. The death of* Caſſanders *children.* Demetrius *gets the Kingdome of Macedon; preuailes in warre againſt the Greekes; Loſeth reputation in his warre againſt* Pyrrhus, *and in his ciuill Gouernment, and prepares to win Aſia. How all conſpire againſt* Demetrius. Pyrrhus *and* Lyſimachus *inuade him, his Armie yeeldes to* Pyrrhus, *who ſhares the Kingdome of Macedon with* Lyſimachus.

Pyrrhus, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince *Æacides*, which periſhed in warre againſt *Caſſander*, was hardly preſerued, being a ſuckling Infant, from the furie of his Fathers enemies. When his Foſterers had conueighed him to *Glaucias*, King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Caſſander* would haue bought his life with the price of two hundred talents. But no man can kill him that ſhall be his Heire. *Glaucias* was ſo farre from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he reſtored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelue yeeres of age. Within the compaſſe of ſixe yeeres, either the indiſcretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subiects, draue him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his ſiſter) became his Page; followed him awhile in his warres; was with him in the great battaile of *Ipſus*, whence he fled with him to *Epheſus*; and was content to be hoſtage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomie*. In *Ægypt* he ſo behaued himſelfe, that he got the fauour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principall wife; ſo that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon ſent home, with monie and men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomie*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recouered the Kingdome of *Epirus*, and was ſetled in it, then fell out that buſineſſe betweene the children of *Caſſander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Caſſanders* ſonnes, was ſo farre too weake for *Pyrrhus*, that he had no deſire to attend the comming of *Demetrius*, but made an haſtie agreement, and diuided the Kingdome with his yonger brother *Alexander*; who likewiſe felt the aide of *Pyrrhus* ſo troubleſome, that he was more willing to ſend him away, than to call in ſuch another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacitie to requeſt, or take as granted, by ſtrong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Countrie, as the reward of his pains: leauing the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the reſt. Neceſſitie enforced the brethren to compoſition: but their compoſition would not ſatisfie *Demetrius*, who tooke the matter hainouſly, that he was ſent for, and made a foole, to come ſo farre with an Armie, and finde no worke for it. This was a friuolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpoſe to doe as *Pyrrhus* had done, and ſo much more, by how much he was ſtronger. Hereupon it ſeemed to *Alexander* a wiſe courſe, to remoue this ouer-diligent friend, by murdering him vpon ſome aduantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the ſtorie, and it might be true; though the greateſt part, and perhaps the wiſeſt, beleeued it not. But the iſſue was, that *Alexander* himſelfe was feaſted and ſlaine by *Demetrius*; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; excuſing the fact ſo well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughtie man *Caſſander* had beene, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the ſame time *Lyſimachus* was buſied in warre with a King of the wilde *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to ſeeke peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtaine, he cauſed the remainder of *Macedon* to be giuen vp; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his ſonne in law. At this ill bargaine *Antipater* grieuouſly ſtormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet ſtill he ſtormed; vntill his Father in law, to ſaue the labour of making many excuſes, tooke away his troubleſome life. Thus in haſte, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to auoide moleſtation, were ſlaine the children of *Caſſander*: of *Caſſander* that had ſlaine his owne Maſters children, in a wiſe courſe of policy, with carefull meditation (ſo much the more wicked as the more long) ſtudying how to erect his owne houſe, that fell downe vpon his graue, ere the earth on it was throughly ſetled.

It might be thought, that ſuch an acceſſe of Dominion, added much to the greatneſſe of *Demetrius*. But indeede it ſhewed his infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of ciuill Gouernment: but thought (or ſhewed by his actions that he thought) the vſe and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none other, than to doe what a King liſted. Hee gaue himſelfe ouer to Women and Wine, laughing openly at thoſe which offered to trouble him with ſupplications, and the tedious diſcourſe of doing iuſtice. Hee had more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it: warre being his recreation, and luxurie his nature. By long reſt (as ſixe yeeres reigne is long to him, that knowes not how to reigne one yeere) hee diſcouered ſo much of his worſt conditions, as made the people both weary of his idleneſſe; and the Souldiers, of his vanitie. He was freed from care of matters in *Aſia*, by hearing that all was loſt: though more eſpecially, by hearing that *Ptolomie* had with great honour, entertained and diſmiſſed his mother and children. This affoorded him the better leiſure, of making warre in *Greeee*: where he vanquiſhed the *Thebans*, and won their Citie twice in ſhort ſpace, but vſed his victorie with mercy. Againſt *Lyſimachus* hee would faine haue done ſomewhat (the peace betweene them notwithſtanding) at ſuch time as hee was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lyſimachus* was freely diſmiſſed, and in good caſe to make reſiſtance ere *Demetrius* came; ſo as this iourney purchaſed nothing but enmitie. Another expedition he tooke in hand againſt *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worſe euent. *Pyrrhus* held ſomewhat belonging to *Macedon*, which he had indeede as honeſtly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdome; he had alſo made excurſions into *Theſſalie*. But there needed not any handſome pretence of quarrell, ſeeing *Demetrius* thought himſelfe ſtrong enough, to ouer-runne his enemies Countrie, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to deſpiſe the vertue of thoſe, whom they haue knowne raw Nouices in that facultie, wherein themſelues are noted as extraordinarie. *Pyrrhus* was a Captaine, whom later ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the ranke of Generals, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, hee miſſed that part of the Armie, which *Demetrius* led, and fell vpon the other halfe: which hee ouerthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his priuate valour, ſhewed in ſingle combat againſt *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a ſtrong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was vtterly beaten. The loſſe of this battaile did not ſo much offend the *Macedenians*, as the gallant behauiour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they ſeemed to behold the liuely figure of *Alexander* in his beſt qualitie. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, ſome of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely veſtures: but (ſaid they) none, ſaue *Pyrrhus*, is like him in deede, in performing the office of a Captaine.

Theſe rumours were not more nouriſhed by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by diſlike of their owne King; whom they began to diſ-eſteeme, not ſo much in regard of his vnprofitable iourney into *Epirus* (for hee had waſted much of the Countrie, and brought home his Armie in good caſe) as of his inſolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparell ſeemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not onely too ſumptuous and new-fangled, but very vnmanly; and ſeruing chiefly to be a daily witneſſe, how much he contemned them and their good opinion. Of his Souldiers liues hee was retchleſſe: and ſuffered vnwiſely this vn-princely ſentence to eſcape out of his mouth; That *the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay*. Hee made a mockerie of iuſtice; and (as it were, to publiſh vnto all his Subiects, how little he eſteemed it or them) hauing by a ſhew of popularitie inuited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, hee led the poore ſuters after him in great hope, till comming to a bridge, hee threw all their writings into a Riuer; pleaſing himſelfe, in that hee could ſo eaſily and ſo boldly delude the cares of other men. By theſe courſes hee grew ſo odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacitie, and inuading *Macedon*, had almoſt wonne it all with little reſiſtance. *Demetrius* lay then ſicke in his bed: who recouering health, and taking the field, had ſuch great oddes of ſtrength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forſake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to haue ſome feeling of the generall hate; which to redreſſe, hee did not (for hee could not) alter his owne conditions; but purpoſed to alter their idle diſcourſes of him, by ſetting them on worke in ſuch an action, wherein his beſt qualities might appeare; that is, in a great warre. His intent was to inuade *Aſia*, with a Royall Armie: wherein the fortune of one battaile might giue him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he firſt made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that ſo hee might leaue all ſafe and quiet at home. Then did he compoſe a mighty Armie, of almoſt a hundred thouſand foot, and twelue thouſand horſes with a Nauie of fiue hundred ſaile, wherein were many ſhips, farre exceeding the greatneſſe of any that had beene ſeene before; yet ſo ſwift and vſefull withall, that the greatneſſe was leaſt part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of theſe preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomie* ſuſpect their owne forces, and labour hard with *Lyſimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to ioyne againſt this ambitious ſon of *Antigonus*; that was like to proue more dangerous to them all, than euer was his Father. It was eaſily diſcerned, that if *Demetrius* once preuailed in *Aſia*, there could be no ſecurity for his friends in *Europe*, what league ſoeuer were of old concluded. Therefore they reſolued to begin with him betimes, and each to inuade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his owne Kingdome. *Lyſimachus* came firſt, and againſt him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Armie: but whilſt he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Campe, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berrhæa*. The matter was not ouer-great: were it not, that mindes prepared with long diſcontent, are ready to lay hold vpon ſmall occaſions of diſlike. All the campe was in vprore: ſome wept, others raged, few or none did forbeare to vtter ſeditious words; and many deſired leaue of *Demetrius*, to goe to their owne houſes, meaning indeede to haue gone to *Lyſimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceiued the bad affection of his Armie, he thought it the wiſeſt way, to leade the *Macedonians* further off from *Lyſimachus* their own countriman, againſt *Pyrrhus* that was a ſtranger: hoping by victory againſt the *Epirot*, to recouer the loue of his followers, in ſuch ſort that he might afterwards at leiſure deale with the other. But herein his wiſedome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as haſtie as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to ſee that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some ſpake of his valour; ſome enquired, others anſwered, of his perſon, his armour, and other tokens whereby he might be knowne; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his creſt. It was not likely, that theſe men ſhould hurt him. Diuers of them ſtole away, and ranne ouer into *Pyrrhus* his campe: where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their perſons. For they ſaid, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get ſight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all ſalute him King. To trie this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and preſented himſelfe bareheaded in view of the campe, whither ſome were ſent before to prepare his welcome. The newes of his arriuall found a generall applauſe, and euery one began to looke out, with deſire to ſet eye on him. His face was not ſo well knowne as his Helmet; therefore he was admoniſhed to put it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their ſeruice; neither were there any, that ſpake for *Demetrius*; onely ſome (and they the moſt moderate of tongue) bad him be gone betimes, and ſhift for himſelfe. So *Demetrius* threw aſide his maskers habit, and attyring himſelfe poorely, did fearefully ſteale away out of his owne Campe, deſeruing well this calamitie: whether it were ſo, that he would not hearken to the good counſaile of his friends, or whether his behauiour depriued him of ſuch friends, as would dare to let him heare the vnpleaſant ſound of neceſſary truth.

Whileſt *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdome of *Macedon*; *Lyſimachus* came vpon him very vnſeaſonably, and would needes haue halfe: ſaying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the warre, and therefore had reaſon to challenge his part of the gaines. The bargaine was quickly made, and the diuiſion agreed vpon: each of them being rather deſirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all, vpon better opportunitie.

§. VIII.

How Demetrius *gathering forces, enterpriſed many things with ill ſucceſſe, in Greece and Aſia. How he was driuen vpon* Seleucus, *and compelled to yeelde himſelfe. His impriſonment and death.*

THe *Athenians*, were as vnthankefull to *Demetrius* in this his aduerſitie, as they had beene in former times. For they preſently forſooke his friendſhip, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when he went againſt *Lyſimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, vnder his ſonne *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had ſoone gotten an Armie, though *Phila* his wife (who is highly commended for a wiſe and vertuous Ladie) did poyſon her ſelfe, vpon deſperate greefe for his misfortune. The firſt, vpon whom hee attempted to ſhew his anger, were the *Athenians* that had well deſerued it. He began to lay ſiege to their Town: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philoſopher, whom they had made their ſpokeſman; and taking faire words in ſtead of ſatisfaction, paſſed ouer into *Aſia*, with eleuen thouſand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune againſt *Lyſimachus*, for the Prouinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his firſt comming into thoſe parts, fortune ſeemed to ſmile vpon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulſion, yeelded to his obedience. There were alſo ſome Captaines that fell from *Lyſimachus* to him, with their companies and treaſures. But it was not long, ere *Agathocles* the ſonne of *Lyſimachus*, came vpon him with an Armie ſo ſtrong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his laſt ſtocke againſt it. Wherefore, he reſolued to paſſe through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Prouinces of the higher *Aſia*; truſting to finde a Kingdome ſomewhere in thoſe remote quarters. The execution of this counſaile was grieuouſly impeached by *Agathocles*: who purſued him cloſe, and cut off all his prouiſions, driuing him to take which waies hee could, without following his intended courſe. In many skirmiſhes *Demetrius* vanquiſhed this troubleſome enemie: neuertheleſſe, he could not be ſhaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titularie King, with extreame famine. At length, in paſſing the riuer *Lycus*, ſo many of *Demetrius* his men were loſt, that the reſt could no longer make reſiſtance: but were driuen to trauaile with ſuch ſpeed as might well be called a plaine flight. So that with famine, peſtilent diſeaſes following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thouſand of them were conſumed: the reſt, with their Captaine, eſcaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten poſſeſſion of *Cilicia*, whileſt *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claime to the Countrie; but with vehement and humble letters he beſought his ſon in law, to call to minde their alliance, and to pitty him in his great miſery. Theſe letters, at the firſt wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condeſcended to the requeſt: yet conſidering further how *Demetrius* had carried himſelfe, when he recouered ſtrength after the battaile at *Ipſus*, he changed his purpoſe, and went againſt him with an Armie.

Many treaties were held betweene them; of which none tooke effect, through the ielouſie of *Seleucus*. Therefore, meere deſperation enforced *Demetrius*, to fight like a mad man; and his furies got him ſome victories, though of ſmall importance. At length ſickneſſe tooke and held him fortie dayes, in which time, a great number of his few men, ran to the enemie. This notwithſtanding he ſtill held out, and once had like to haue taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his comming beene diſcouered by fugitiues, that gaue alarme. Finally, when all his Armie had forſaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to ſhift for himſelfe, he was compelled by the laſt of thoſe adherents (for euen ſome of thoſe few forſooke him) to yeelde vnto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and ſent him very comfortable meſſages. But the approbation of his owne humanitie, by his followers, was ſuch, as renewed his iealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his preſence, though otherwiſe he vſed him with as much fauour, as any priſoner could wiſh. He was kept vnder ſure guard in a demie-Iland, wherein were goodly walkes, Orchards, and Parkes for hunting. Hee had all that he asked royally, and friends allowed to viſit him, at his, and their pleaſure. Onely his libertie was reſerued vnto the comming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high Countries. In this ſort he ſpent three yeeres, liuing merily all the while (as one that now enioyed the happineſſe, which with ſo much trauaile and bloud-ſhed, hee had ſought in vaine) and then dyed, leauing to his ſonne *Antigonus*, the ſame which his father had left vnto himſelfe; that is, friends and hope. His aſhes were honourably buried in *Corinth*: his qualities haue appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his houſe will ſhew it ſelfe hereafter, in times and places conuenient.

§. VIII.

§. IX.

The death of Ptolomie, *of* Lyſimachus, *and of* Seleucus, *that was laſt of* Alexanders *Captaines: with other occurrences.*

ABout the ſame time that *Demetrius* died, did alſo *Ptolomie* King of *Ægypt*, a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in thoſe times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wiues and Concubines, many children, out of whom hee ſelected *Ptolomie Philadelphus*, and cauſed him to reigne together with himſelfe, two or three yeeres before he died, that ſo hee might confirme him in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, *Ptolomie Ceraunus* (for all of that houſe aſſumed the name of *Ptolomie*) was grieuouſly incenſed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now onely two of *Alexanders* Captaines left, *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus*. Theſe two needs would fight for it, who ſhould be the longeſt liuer of that braue Companie. The true ground of their quarrell was, their neere equalitie of ſtrength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lyſimachus* had committed vpon many of his Nobles, together with his poyſoning *Agathocles* his eldeſt ſonne: whoſe wife and children fled vnto *Seleucus* for aide.

The *Macedons* after ſeuen Moneths pauſe, hauing ſpent their firſt heate of admiration, began to harken ſo well to *Lyſimachus*, their naturall Countrie-man, that they forſooke *Pyrrhus*, vpon none other ground than becauſe he was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gaue him. *Lyſimachus* had reigned about fiue yeares alone, when the Citie of *Lyſimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by euents, to haue foreſhewed the fall of his houſe. His owne iealouſie, and the inſtigation of a mother in law, cauſed him to poyſon his Sonne *Agathocles*, which drew vpon him that Warre, wherein (after the loſſe of all his fifteene children that were taken away by diuers accidents) he periſhed himſelfe.

Seleucus was encountred by *Lyſimachus* on *Aſia* ſide, where one battaile concluded the warre, with *Lyſimachus* his death. It pleaſed *Seleucus* more than the victorie, that he was the laſt of all the great Heröes that followed *Alexander*. For now he ſeemed to himſelfe as Lord and Heire of all the conquered world. So hee paſſed ouer into *Macedon*, to take poſſeſſion of *Europe*, where there was none to withſtand him. But there hee ended his daies, and within ſeauen moneths followed *Lyſimachus*, and other of his fellowes, by a bloudie death, being treacherouſly ſlaine by *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, whoſe friend and Patron he had beene. Seuentie and ſeuen yeere old he was, when hee fought with *Lyſimachus*, and *Lyſimachus* was ſeuenty and foure. With them ended the generation of olde Captaines, that had ſeene the daies as it were of another world vnder the *Perſian*: yet was there left one equall to any of them in the Art of Warre: euen *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, of whom we ſpake before; that is now ready to enter into warre with the *Romanes*, a more warlike people, than *Alexander* himſelfe did euer encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we heere make mention, as of a ſtorie more important, than any likely to enſue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdomes that were held by *Alexanders* Succeſſors, with leſſe (and ſtill decreaſing) vertue, than was that, by which they were firſt purchaſed.

Chap. VII.

The growth of Rome: and ſetling of the Eaſterne Kingdomes.

§. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italie, from the death of Tullus Hoſtilius, *vnto ſuch time as they were aſſailed by* Pyrrhus.

How *Rome* was founded by *Romulus*; ſetled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many, though ſmall, victories, it gathered ſtrength; vnto ſuch time as it became the head of *Latium*, by the conqueſt of *Alba*, in the reigne of *Tullus Hoſtilius*: it hath beene already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatnes beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*; and extending it ſelfe out of *Italie*, to ouerwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it conuenient (as in like caſes I haue done) briefly to ſet downe the growth of this mightie Citie, in a compendious relation, of thoſe many actions, which could not haue beene deliuered in the ages, wherein they were ſeuerally performed, without much interruption of the Hiſtorie, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hoſtilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirtie yeares, was burnt together with his houſe by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grandchilde to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much vnlike him in diſpoſition, ſucceeded in the Kingdome of *Rome*. Hee walled the Citie about; enlarged it with the hill *Auentine*, which he encloſed; built a bridge ouer *Tybris*, & the Citie of *Oſtia* vpon the Sea, ſixteene miles diſtant from *Rome*. Finally, hauing reigned foure and twenty yeeres, he died, and by his laſt Will he left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the ſonne of *Damaratus* a *Corinthian*, who auoyding *Cypſelus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquinij*, by the name of which Town he was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that Citie in *Hetruria* comming to *Rome*, and encouraged by ſome ominous occurrents, together with his wife *Tanaquils* prophecie, he grew a fauorite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Græcian* wit humouring the factions of the *Roman* Court, inſomuch that after his deceaſe, he became not onely Protector to the children, but Gouernour to the Citie. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centurions of Horſemen: neither was he leſſe eminent in warre, than in peace: for he preuailed often againſt the *Tuſcans*, and from his victories, the chiefeſt ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned eight and thirty yeeres, he was ſlaine by the ſonnes of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had beene left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiuing what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and ſicke, but not dangerouſly. And withall ſignified vnto them, that in the *interim* of his ſickneſſe, one *Seruius Tullius*, whom from his birth ſhee alwaies prophecied to be borne to great hopes, (the ſonne of *P. Corniculanus* and *Ocriſia*, a well deſcended, but captiue woman) brought vp in her houſe, and husband vnto her daughter, ſhould ſupply her husbands place, in gouerning the State, vntill his recouerie: which gouernement, being thus at firſt obtained by cunning, he afterwards vſurped as his right. He firſt ordained Ratements, Subſidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, foureſcore thouſand were muſtered, of which number conſiſted their whole corporation; and by diſtinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, hee managed the Kingdome in as good ſort, as if it had beene a priuate houſehold. At length, hauing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding alſo that the two ſonnes of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had beene committed vnto his tuition, were of different diſpoſitions, proportionably anſwering to his daughters; hee (willing to adde water, not oyle, to fire) gaue the middle daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed ſonne; and the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courſes, or by accident, it hapned; the two milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily ioyned in marriage: who ſoone concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claime to the Kingdome. Vpon this tumult, *Seruius Tullius* haſtning to the Senate, (where he thought by authority to haue bridled inſolencie) was throwne downe the ſtaires, and going home ſore bruiſed, was ſlain by the way, when he had reigned fortie and foure yeres. Then *Tullia* his daughter, firſt proclaiming her husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to driue his Chariot ouer her fathers corpes; whereupon the ſtreet had the denomination of wicked ſtreet. This *Tarquine*, exerciſing cruelty without iuſtice, and tyrannie without mercie, vpon the people and Senators; hauing tired himſelfe and them at home, vſed the ſame rage of treacherie vpon his borders. He tooke *Ocriculum*, *Sueſſa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabij*. The iſſue of beſieging *Ardea*, a towne eighteene miles diſtant from *Rome*, was of bad ſucceſſe. In the heat of which warre, his ſonne *Sextus Tarquinius* violently rauiſhed that chaſte Ladie *Lucretia*, his kinſman *Collatines* wife: who in way of expiation for ſo vnchaſte a deed, thought good to waſh out thoſe ſpots of infamie with her owne bloud; ſo (hauing firſt bequeathed the reuenge vnto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatine*, & *Iunius Brutus*) ſhe kil'd her ſelfe: whereupon (chiefly by *Iunius Brutus* his reſolution) *Taquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was depoſed and baniſhed; and fledde to *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria* for ſuccour, in the fiue and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and the two hundred fortie and fourth from the building of their Citie: in which ſpace *Rome* had ſcarce gotten poſſeſſion of fifteene miles round about her.

Iunius Brutus by the helpe of *Collatine*, hauing expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his Countrey from that heauy yoke of bondage, inforced the people by ſolemne oath, neuer to admit any gouernment by Kings amongſt them: whereupon they ranſacked their Kings goods, conſecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the gouernment of the State vpon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But becauſe the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their gouernment, from perpetuall to annuall, and from a ſingle gouernour to a double; leſt perpetuall or ſole dominion might be ſome motiue to vſurpation; and in ſtead of Kings they called them *Conſuls*, ſignifying, as it may be interpreted, *Prouiders*: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwaies mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it ſo hard ſetling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innouation of State, ſcarce daring to aſſure themſelues of their owne ſecuritie, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to reſigne vp his authoritie, fearing that tyrannie would bee hereditarie, and ſuppoſing that the very name and affinitie with the houſe of *Tarquine*, ſauoured alreadie of their condition. In his roome was ſubſtituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that hee might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eies, gaue liberty, in matters of controuerſie, to appeale from the *Conſuls* to the people: and that hee might as well in goods as in perſon, auoyde occaſion of ſuſpition, cauſed his owne houſe to bee pulled downe, becauſe it was built in a place defenſible, as if it had beene a *Cittadell*. Neither was *Brutus* any waies deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples ſafetie, as their fauour: for hauing got intelligence, that ſome greener wits, and in the firſt ranke his owne ſonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to reſtore the baniſhed Kings; hee cauſed them, publikely in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to bee brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

Hitherto the *Romanes*, hauing by the vnblemiſhed integritie of *Brutus*, wel appeaſed all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imploy their military deſignements, againſt Forrainers; firſt, for their liberty; ſecondly, for enlarging of their poſſeſſions; and laſtly, for defending their confederate Prouinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, ſituated as it were in the mid-way betweene *Latium* and the *Tuſcans*, hauing as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minoritie, could not but giue occaſion of offence to her neighbors; vntill by maine oppoſition, hauing preuailed againſt her borderers, ſhe vſed them as inſtruments, whereby to obtaine the reſt.

Their firſt warre, in the firſt yeere of *Conſuls*, was againſt *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria*: who being ouer-perſwaded by *Tarquines* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the baniſhed King, and with great forces, to ſeate him againe in his Kingdome.

In the firſt conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, hauing long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge ouer *Tibris*; at length, feeling himſelfe too faint to ſtand againſt ſo many, cauſed the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into the Riuer, like a hunted Stagge, refreſhed his hot ſpirits, and returned ſafe to his fellowes, with the like reſolution to ſuſtaine a new charge. *Porſenna* although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Ianiculus*, which is the verie entrance into the Citie, and found the victorie, in a manner, aſſuredly his owne: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the conſtant reſolution of *Mutius Scæuola* (who hauing by errour ſlaine *Porſenna* his Secretarie, in ſtead of the King himſelfe, did in ſcorne of torments threatned, burne off his owne hand) he thought it not any whit preiudiciall, either to his ſafetie, or credit, to enter league with them at the worſt hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his ſpleene, was not quite abated, though *Aruns* his ſonne, and *Brutus* his enemie, in ſingle combat, had ſlaine each other. And here the *Romans*, although they loſt *Brutus*, got the field; and their Ladies, whoſe Champion he was, for their chaſtitie, not for beauty, mourned the loſſe of him one whole yeere. Into his place, for the reſidue of his yere, was ſubrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his roome (deceaſing naturally before the yeere expired) *Horatius Puluillus*.

Tarquine, vpon his ouerthrow, feeling the fates diſaſtrous, thought it no boot to ſtriue againſt the ſtreame, and ſpent the reſidue of his time; which was about fourteene yeeres, priuately at *Tuſculum*. Yet his ſonne-in-law *Mamilius Tuſculanus*, ſtomaching a-freſh at thoſe olde repulſes, becauſe *Porſenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further ſuccor vnto the *Tarquines*, muſtered vp his *Latines*, and gaue battaile to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the iſſue vncertaine, vntill *Aulus Poſthumus*, the *Roman Dictator*, (for they had created this Magiſtracy greater than Conſulls, purpoſely for this Warre, when firſt it was expected) to exaſperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Enſignes amidſt the Enemies; and *Coſſus* or *Spurius Caſſius* (maſter of the Horſe-men, an aſſiſtant Officer to the *Dictator*) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might runne with free violence, to recouer againe their Enſignes. This fight was ſo well performed, that a report went of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, two *gods*, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye-witneſſes of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their victorie; for the Generall conſecrated a Temple to them, as a ſtipend for their paines. After this the *Romans* fierce ſpirits, hauing no obiect of valour abroad, reflected vpon themſelues at home; and the ſixteenth yeere after the Kings expulſion, vpon inſtigation of ſome deſperate banckrouts, thinking themſelues wrongfully oppreſſed by the Senate and Conſulls, they made an vprore in the holy Mount; vntill by *Meuenius Agrippa*, his diſcreet alluſion, of the inconuenience in the head and bellies diſcord, to that preſent occaſion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might haue ſome new Magiſtrates created, to whom they might appeale in caſes of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controuerſies, the Conſuls authoritie notwithſtanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement among themſelues, they had continuall War with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Amongſt theſe, the *Volſci* and *Æqui* held them longeſt; who made Warre, of themſelues, vpon the *Romans*: whereby they loſt the beſt Citie in their whole iuriſdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conqueſt, *T. Martius* got the ſirname of *Coriolanus*: a name honorable then, as deriued from a great victory: although, by reaſon of the pouerty of the Town, a *Roman* Generall, in after times, would haue been aſhamed of that title. But yet theſe graces had bin no occaſion of diſparagement, had he not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, aduiſed to ſell corne, which they procured from *Sicil*, at too high a rate, to the people: whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accuſed him, & after iudgement baniſhed him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volſci*, whom lately before he had vanquiſhed, incenſed them to renue their forces againe; which being committed vnto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he preuailed in field, ſo far forth, that he was come within foure or fiue miles of the City. Incamping there, he made ſo ſharpe warre, and was at ſuch defiance, with his Country, that he would not relent by any ſupplication of Embaſſadors, vntill his Mother *Veturia*, & *Volumnia* his Wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, ſhewing themſelues better Subiects to their Countrie, then friends to their ſonne and husband, were more auaileable to *Rome*, then was any force of Armes. Heereupon *Coriolanus* diſmiſſing his Armie, was after put to death among the *Volſci*,, as a Traitor, for neglecting ſuch opportunitie: or (as others ſurmiſe) liuing with them vntill old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this, the *Veij* in *Hetruria*, prouoked the *Romans*; againſt whom the *Fabij*, three hundred and ſixe in number, all of one Familie, intreated and obtained, that they only might be imployed, as it had bin in a priuate quarrell. Theſe *Fabij*, after ſome good ſeruices, lying incamped at *Cremera*, were circumuented, and all ſlaine: one only of that whole houſe, had been left, by reaſon of infancie, at home; from whom afterward ſprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquiſhed *Hannibal.*

In proceſſe of time, the *Romans* were alſo troubled with the *Volſci*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minutius* their Conſull, with his whole Army, had beene diſcomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinatus* choſen *Dictator*, and taken from the plough to the higheſt honor in *Rome*, with ſucceſſe anſwerable to his expedition, diſperſed his enemies, and freed his Countrie in the ſpace of ſixteene daies. In the continuance of this *Volſcian* warre it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeeres before choſen Gouernours of the State, and inactors of *Solons* lawes amongſt them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the meane while the Conſuls, and all other Magiſtrates) would haue rauiſhed *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginius*, Captaine of a Companie, and lying then in campe at *Algidum.* Heereupon the people, in an vproare, tooke the Hill *Auentine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to reſigne vp their authoritie againe, to new Conſuls.

After this, either new quarrells, or deſire to reuenge old loſſes, drew the *Romans* into a new war, againſt the *Veientes*, and their adherents, vpon whom hauing tried their forces, with diuerſitie of Captaines, and varietie of euent, they vanquiſhed the *Faliſci*, and the *Fidenates*, and vtterly ſubdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Faliſci*, *Furius Camillus* ſhewed no leſſe integritie then fortitude. For when a Schoolemaſter, by trayning forth into the *Roman* campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yeelding them all vp as Hoſtages: *Camillus* deliuered this Traitor bound vnto his Schollers, willing them to whip him backe into the Citie; which forthwith yeelded vnto him in reuerence of his iuſtice. The ſiege of *Veij* was ten yeres, and ſo troubleſome, that the *Romans* were there firſt enforced to winter abroad vnder beaſts skinnes (to which they were the more eaſily induced, becauſe then firſt they receiued pay) and to make vowes neuer to returne without victorie.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got ſo large ſpoyls, that they conſecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: & the whole people in generall, were called to the ranſacking of the Citie. But yet they were no leſſe vnthankfull to *Camillus* for his ſeruice, then before they had beene to *Coriolanus*; For they biniſhed him the Citie, vpon ſome occcaſion of inequality in diuiding the ſpoyles: yet he requited their vnkindneſſe with a new peece of ſeruice, againſt the furie of the *Gaules*: who being a populous Countrie, and very healthfull, the fathers (as ſometimes nov) liued ſo long, that the ſonnes, deſtitute of meanes, were enforced to roaue abroad, ſeeking ſome place, where to ſet vp their reſt: and withall being a Nation vaſte in boly, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rouers ouer many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italie*, ſet vpon *Cluſium*, a Towne in *Hetruria*: whereof *Rome* hauing information, (and being carefull of her Confederate Townes) ſent Embaſſadours, warning them to deſiſt from ſuch iniurious enterpriſes. But the barbarous people, not regarding the meſſage, vpon ſome iniurie offered by the *Roman* Embaſſadours, conuerted their forces from *Cluſium* towards *Rome*; and giuing a grat ouerthrow vnto the *Romans*, by the Riuer *Allia*, vpon the ſixteenth day before the *Calends* of *Auguſt* (which day was after branded for vnlucky, and called *Allienſis* in the *Romane Kalendar*) they haſtened towards the Citie. Then was *Rome* the true map of miſerie and deſolation. For ſome leauing the Citie, ſome creeping into holes; Prieſts hiding their reliques; and euery one ſhifting for himſelf, ere the enemie came; *Rome* vas abandoned, as indefenſible. The Veſtall Virgins, in this tumult, were ſafely conuaied avay; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldneſſe out of deſperate feare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leaue of the world, did ſeat themſelues in Thrones, in thir ſeuerall houſes, hourely expecting the meſſengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had liued, in State. The yonger ſort, with *M. Manlius* their Captaine, tooke vpon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this, the *Gaules* were entred the Citie, who ſeeing all quiet, at firſt ſuſpected ſome ambuſh; afterward finding all ſecure, they fel to the ſpoyle, committing all to the fire and ſword. As for the old Senators, they ſat in their Maieſty, with a graue reſolution:

hauing firſt reuerenced them as *gods*, anon they tried whether they would die like men. When the Citie was throughly rifled, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them worke for the ſpace of ſeuen Moneths. Once they were like to haue ſurpriſed it by night, but being deſcried by the gagling of *Geeſe*, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a compoſition was agreed vpon: the *Gaules* being weary, and the *Romans* hungrie. The bargaine was, that the *Gaules* ſhould take a thouſand pound waight in gold, to deſiſt from their ſiege. Whileſt the gold was in waighing, the *Gaules*, with open inſolencie, made their waights too heauie: *Brennus*, their Captaine, caſting his ſword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, ſaying, that the vanquiſhed muſt be patient perforce. But in the midſt of this cauilling came *Furius Camillus*, with an Armie, from *Ardea*, (where he had liued in his baniſhment) and fell vpon the *Gaules*, with ſuch violence, that hee diſperſed their troups, quenched the fire of the Citie with their bloud, forcing them to reſtore the ſpoyles with aduantage, and forbeare the gold, in accepting which, they had lately beene ſo nice. Further, hauing rid the Citie of them, he ſo hotly purſued them, through a great part of *Italie*, that the remainder of their Armie, which eſcaped from him, was very ſmall. Other Armies of the *Gaules*, which followed this firſt, had the like ill ſucceſſe. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; eſpecially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Coruinus* (each of which in ſingle fight ſlew a ſeuerall Champion of the *Gaules*) abated their preſumption, and reſtored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable ſeruice, was aftrwards accompted a ſecond *Romulus*.

The people, after this deſtruction of their Citie, were earneſtly bent to goe to the *Veij* to inhabite; but *Camillus* diſſwaded them.

About the ſame time, ſomewhat before the ſiege of *Veij*, they changed their gouernment from Conſuls to militarie Tribunes. The gouernment of theſe alſo, after ſome yeares, was by ciuill diſſenſion interrupted: ſo that one while Conſulls ruled, another while there was an Anarchie: Then the Tribunes were reſtored and ruled againe, till after many yeres expired, the Conſular authoritie was eſtabliſhed; it being enacted, that one of the Conſuls ſhould alwaies be a *Plebeian*. This was after the building of the City 365. yeeres. And now *Rome* by ſuppreſſion of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minoritie, dares ſet forth againſt the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almoſt one hundred and thirtie miles off: ſituated betweene *Campania* and *Apulia*. Theſe did ſo ſtrongly inuade the *Campanians* their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeeld themſelues ſubiects to *Rome*, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatſoeuer elſe to obtaine protection: which the *Ronans*, although both Countries had beene their Confederates, yet not willing that the geater, like fiſh, ſhould deuoure the leſſe, eaſily allowed of; aiming themſelues at the good ſituation of *Campania*, the aboundance of Corne and Wine, pleaſant Cities and Tovnes, but eſpecially *Capua* it ſelfe, the faireſt Citie then in all *Italie*.

The families of the *Papyrij* and *Fabij* were moſt imployed in the managing of this warre, which endured the ſpace of fiftie yeers. And in this ſeaſon were the *Romans* oftentimes dangerouſly encountred by the *Samites*, as when *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius* were Conſulls, and diſcomfited by *Pontus* at *Caudium*, with no ſmall ignominie: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* loſt the field with three thouſand men. But for thoſe loſſes, many great victories made large amends: The greateſt whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the **Hetrurians** into their quarrell. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the **Hetrurians** (the grater and richer, but leſſe warlike Nation) began to ſtir. So the one and the other of thee two Countries, became at length, tributary to *Rome*. In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce betweene the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latines* beganne to challenge equall freedome in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, ſo that they required to haue one of the Conſuls yeerely choſen out of them.

This demand of the *Latines*, was not vneaſonable. For the *Romans* themſelues were a *Latine* Colonie; beſides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to bee all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud, to admit any ſuch capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betweene them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* preuailed, by the vertue of the Conſulls.

Manlius Torquatus, and the elder *Decius*, were then Conſuls, whom the Soothſayers aduertiſed, that the ſide ſhould be victorious which loſt the Generall in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Conſull, expoſed his life to the Enemie, and purchaſed victorie (as was beleeued) by his death. In which kinde of deuoting himſelfe for his Armie, the ſonne of this *Decius* being after Conſull, did imitate his father, in the *Hetrurian* warre. But (as *Tullie* well notes) it was rather the deſperate reſolution of theſe *Decij*, that purchaſed victorie, by ruſhing into the midſt of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of ſuch a religion, as required the liues of ſo worthy Citizens, to be ſacrificed for their Countrie. The diſcipline of *Manlius* was no leſſe reſolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbad any one to forſake his place, and fight ſingle with an enemie. For breach of which order he cauſed his owne ſonne to be put to death, who had ſlaine a Captaine of the *Latines*, being challenged in ſingle fight.

When the *Latines*, the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with ſome other people, were brought vnder obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of *Italie*, to contend againſt the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* aduentured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Conſull, waſting all their Countrie with fire and ſword, from the Riuer *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriatique Sea*, brought them into quiet ſubiection.

The laſt of the *Italians*, that made triall of the *Roman* Armes, were the *Tarentines*, and their adherents. Theſe had interpoſed themſelues as Mediatours, between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptorie denunciation of Warre, vnto that partie, which ſhould dare to refuſe peace, by them tendred. Theſe threats which diſcouered their bad affection vnto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were vtterlie ſubdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their abilitie of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certaine ſhips of theirs were robbed, and ſent Embaſſadours vnto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Vpon ſome wrong done to theſe Embaſſadours, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the *Lucans*, *Meſſapians*, *Brutians*, and *Appulians*, ioyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subiects of *Rome*, to rebell, and take their part. But ſome experience of the *Roman* ſtrength, taught all theſe people to know their owne weakneſſe. Wherefore they agreed to ſend for *Pyrrhus*, by whoſe aide (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* alſo were) great hope was conceiued, that the Dominion of *Rome* ſhould be confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all *Italie*, which alreadie, in a manner it did ouer-ſpread.

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§. II.

How Pyrrhus *warred vpon the Romans, and vanquiſhed them in two battailes.*

Pyrrhus, forſaken by the *Macedonians*, and vnable to deale with *Lyſimachus*, was compelled a while to liue in reſt: which hee abhorred no leſſe than a wiſer Prince would haue deſired. Hee had a ſtrong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that vnſetled eſtate of things, was enough to purchaſe a Kingdome: but the fall of *Demetrius* had ſo encreaſed the power of *Lyſimachus*, that it was no point of wiſedome, to make an offenſiue warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. *Antigonus*, the ſonne of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the ſame time, and ſome other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treaſures, left in his hand. Vpon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might haue wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that he might ſerue to giue ſome hinderance to *Lyſimachus*.

In this want of imploiment, and couetous deſire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embaſſadours came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with braue offers, as needing no other aide then his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would caſt themſelues vnder his protection. They had in their company, ſome of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, and others; which promiſed, in behalfe of their ſeuerall Nations, as much as could be deſired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conqueſts; that hee might enlarge his Empire to the Weſt, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eaſtward; and ſtill by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is ſaid, that once hee anſwered *Cyneas* his chiefe Counſailour, aſking what hee meant to doe after euerie of the victories which he hoped to get: that hauing wonne *Rome*, hee would ſoone bee Maſter of all *Italie*; that, after *Italie* hee would quickly get the Ile of *Sicil*; that, out

out of *Sicill*, he would paſſe ouer into *Africk*, and winne *Carthage*, with all the reſt of the Countrie; and being ſtrengthened with the force of all theſe Prouinces, he would be too hard, for any of thoſe, that were now ſo proud and troubleſome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further, what they ſhould doe, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) anſwered pleaſantly, that they would liue merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they preſently might doe, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his owne.

Neuertheleſſe, this *Italian* expedition ſeemed vnto *Pyrrhus*, a matter of ſuch conſequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any ſcholaſticall diſputation. Wherefore he prepared his Armie, of almoſt thirty thouſand men, well ſorted, and well trained Souldiers: part of which he ſent ouer before him vnder *Cyneas*, with the reſt he followed in perſon. At his comming, he found the *Tarentines* very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, vtterly careleſſe to prouide for the War. Wherfore he was faine to ſhut vp their Theater, and other places of pleaſure and reſort; enforcing them to take Arms, and making ſuch a ſtrict muſter, as was to them very vnpleaſing, though greatly behoouing to their eſtate.

Whileſt hee was occupied with theſe cares, *Læuinus* the *Romane* Conſull drew neere, and began to waſte *Lucania*, a Prouince confederate with the *Tarentines* in this Warre.

The *Lucanians* were not readie to defend their own Countrie; the *Samnites* were careleſſe of the harme, that fell not (as yet) vpon themſelues; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would haue beene, but their valour was little: all of theſe had beene accuſtomed to ſhrinke, for feare of the *Roman* fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more vpon his owne forces, than the iſſue of their vanting promiſes. Hee was now driuen, either to ſet forward, with thoſe that himſelfe had brought into *Italy*, and the aſſiſtance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to bee repoſed; or elſe to weaken the reputation of his owne ſufficiencie, which by all meanes hee was carefull to vp hold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had beene ſcattered by foule weather at Sea, were ſafely come to him: with which hee reſolued to aſſay the valour of the *Romans*, againſt whom he proudly marched.

Læuinus the Conſull was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and giue him battaile, ere all his adherents ſhould bee ready to ioyne with him. This boldneſſe of the *Roman*, and the ſlackeneſſe of the *Meſſapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger moſt concerned, cauſed *Pyrrhus* to offer a treatie of peace: requiring to haue the quarrell betweene the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to winne time, that the *Samnites* and their fellowes might arriue at his Campe; or whether, conſidering better at neere diſtance, the weight of the buſineſſe, which he had taken in hand, hee were deſirous to quit it with his honour; the ſhort anſwere that was returned to his propoſition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* ſent him this word, that *they had neither choſen him their Iudge, nor feared him their enemie.*

Hereeupon, both Armies haſtened their march vnto the Riuer of *Siris*: *Læuinus* intending to fight before the arriuall of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from paſſing that Riuer, vntill his owne Armie were full. Vpon the firſt view of the *Roman* Campe, it was readily conceiued by *Pyrrhus*, that hee had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue diſcipline of warre: which cauſed him to ſet a ſtrong *Corps de garde*, vpon the paſſage of the riuer, that hee might not bee compelled to fight, vntill hee ſaw his beſt aduantage. But hee quickly found, that this new enemie was not onely skilfull in the Art of war, but couragious in execution. For the *Roman* Armie entred the Foord, in face of his *Corps de garde*; and their horſe, at the ſame time, began to paſſe the Riuer, in ſundry places: which cauſed the *Greekes* to forſake the defence of their banke, and ſpeedily retire vnto their Campe.

This audacitie forced *Pyrrhus* to battaile; wherewith hee thought it beſt to preſent them, ere the whole Armie had recouered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marſhall his battailes; himſelfe with the horſe, charged vpon the *Romans*: who ſtoutly receiued him, as men well exerciſed in ſuſtaining furious impreſſions. In this fight, neither did his courage tranſport him beyond the duetie of a carefull Generall; nor his prouidence in directing others, hinder the manifeſtation of his perſonall valour. It behoued him indeed to do his beſt; for he neuer met with better oppoſers. Once, and ſhortly after the fight began, his horſe was ſlaine vnder him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the vſe of his Kings armour, which was torne from his backe. This accident had almoſt loſt him the battaile: but hee perceiuing it, diſcouered his face, and thereby reſtored courage to his men, and tooke from the *Romanes* their vaine ioy. The fight was obſtinate, and with the greater loſſe (at leaſt of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his ſide, as long as onely ſpeare and ſword were vſed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whoſe vnuſuall forme and terrible aſpect, the horſes of the *Romans* (vnaccuſtomed to the like) were not able to ſuſtaine; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battailes, perceiuing their horſe put to rout, and driuen out of the field; finding alſo themſelues both charged in flanke, and ouer-borne, by the force, and huge bulke, of thoſe ſtrange beaſts; gaue way to neceſſity, and ſaued themſelues, as well as they could, by haſty flight: in which conſternation, they were ſo forgetfull of their diſcipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but ranne quite beyond it, leauing both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victory was ſoone ſpread ouer *Italie*; and the reputation was no leſſe than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Conſull, with a ſelect Armie, ſhould loſe in plaine battaile, not onely the field, but the Campe it ſelfe, being ſo notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more brauely wonne by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, ſaue the vnwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well diſſemble his content that he tooke, in hauing the glory of this action peculiarly his owne, at ſuch times as he blamed the *Lucans* & *Samnites*, for comming (as wee ſay) a day after the faire. Neuertheleſſe, he wiſely conſidered the ſtrength of the *Romans*, which was ſuch, as would better endure many ſuch loſſes, than he could many ſuch victories. Therefore hee thought it good to compound with them, whileſt with his honour he might; and to that purpoſe he ſent vnto them *Cyneas* his Embaſſadour; demanding onely to haue the *Tarentines* permitted to liue at reſt, and himſelfe accepted as their eſpeciall friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberall gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could bee found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their deſire of recouering their captiues, or their danger, by the riſing of many States in *Italie* againſt them, ſo incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an olde and blinde Senator, did ſtirre them vp to make good their honour by warre. So they returned anſwere, that whileſt *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italie*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report, that *Cyneas* made at his returne, of the *Roman* puiſſance and vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus*, a great deſire of confederacie, with that gallant Citie. Heereupon many kinde Offices paſſed betweene them: but ſtill when he vrged his motion of peace, the anſwere was, *He muſt firſt depart out of Italie, and then treat of peace.*

In the meane ſeaſon, each part made prouiſion for warre; the *Romans* leauing a more mighty army than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being ſtrengthened with acceſſe vnto his forces, of all the Eaſt parts of *Italie*. So they came to triall of a ſecond battaile, wherein (though after long and cruell fight) the boiſterous violence of the Elephants gaue to *Pyrrhus* a ſecond victorie. But this was not altogether ſo ioyfull as the former had beene: rather it gaue him cauſe to ſay, that ſuch another victorie would be his vtter vndoing. For he had loſt the flower of his Armie in this battaile: and though he draue the *Romans* into their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor ſaw any likelihood of preuailing againſt them, that were like to be relieued with daily ſupplies, whileſt hee ſhould be driuen to ſpend vpon his old ſtocke. Neither could hee expect, that his Elephants ſhould alwaies ſtand him in ſtead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would ſoone teach the *Romans*, that were apt Schollers in ſuch learning, how to make them vnſeruiceable. Wherefore hee deſired nothing more, than how to carry his honour ſafe out of *Italie*: which to doe (ſeeing the *Romans* would not helpe him, by offering or accepting any faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a ſlight occaſion, preſented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

§. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How Pyrrhus, *being inuited into Sicill, forſooke Italie; wanne the moſt of the iſle; and loſt it in ſhort ſpace.* Pyrrhus *returnes into Italie; where he is beaten by the Romans, and ſo goes backe to his owne Kingdome.*

WHen *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had traiterouſly murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Seleucus*, hee preſently ſeized vpon all the Dominions of *Lyſimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had been the due reward vnto him, that had ſlaine the Conquerour. The houſes of *Caſſander* and *Lyſimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of ſtrength & reputation enough, to aduance himſelfe againſt *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lyſimachus* were rather pleaſed to haue him their King, that had (as hee profeſſed) reuenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiouſnes of his fact, by which they were freed from ſubiection, to one, againſt whom they had ſtood in oppoſition. Many there were, that vpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perſwading themſelues that his raigne might proue good, though his entrance had been wicked. Theſe affections of the *Macedonians* did ſerue to defeat *Antigonus* the ſonne of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt vpon the Kingdome. As for *Antigonus*, the ſonne of *Seleucus*, he was farre off, & might be queſtioned about ſome part of *Aſia*, ere he ſhould be able to bring an Armie neere vnto *Europe*. Yet he made great ſhew of meaning to reuenge his Fathers death: but being ſtronger in monie then in Armes, he was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murtherer. While theſe three ſtroue about the Kingdome, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made vſe of their diſſention: threatning warre, or promiſing his aſſiſtance, to euery one of them. By theſe meanes hee ſtrengthened himſelfe, and greatly aduantaged his *Italian* voyage, which he had then in hand: requeſting monie of *Antiochus*, ſhips of *Antigonus*, and ſouldiers of *Ptolomie*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a ſtrong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (couenanting to haue them reſtored at two yeeres end) more for feare than for loue: that ſo he might free himſelfe from trouble, and quietly enioy his Kingdome.

Thus *Ptolomie* grew mighty on the ſuddaine; and the power that by wicked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he increaſed.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the ſtrong Citie of *Caſſandria* was held by *Arſinoe* his ſiſter, the widow of *Lyſimachus*, who lay therein with her yong children. Her he circumuented by making loue to her, and (according to the faſhion of thoſe times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of conſanguinitie) taking her to wife, with promiſe to adopt her children: a promiſe that hee meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere he ſlew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good ſucceſſe, which his villanie found, vengeance came vpon him from a farre, by the furie of a Nation, that hee had neuer heard of. *Belgius* a Captaine of the *Gaules*, hauing forced his paſſage through many Countries, vnto the confines of *Macedon*, ſent a proud meſſage to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with monie, or otherwiſe, to looke for all the miſeries of warre. Theſe *Gaules* were the race of thoſe, that iſſued out of their Countrie, to ſeeke new ſeates in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* tooke and burnt the Citie of *Rome*. They had diuided themſelues, at their ſetting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell vpon *Italie*; the other paſſing through the Countries that lie on the Northerne ſide of the *Adriatick Sea*, made long abode in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adioyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeeme peace with tribute, as now they would haue compelled *Ceraunus* to doe; vnto whoſe borders they came about an hundred and eight yeeres after ſuch time as their fellowes had taken *Rome*.

When their Embaſſadors came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would giue: His anſwere was, that he would be contented to giue them peace, but it muſt be with condition, that they ſhould put into their hands their Princes as hoſtages, and yeeld vp their armes; for otherwiſe, he would neither pardon their boldneſſe, nor giue any credit to their words. At this anſwere, when it was returned, the *Gaules* did laugh; ſaying, that they would ſoone confute with deedes, the vanity of ſuch proud words. It may ſeeme ſtrange, that he, who had giuen away part of his Armie vnto *Pyrrhus*, for very feare; ſhould be ſo confident in vndertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the *Dardanians* offred to lend him twenty thouſand men againſt the *Gaules*; but he ſcorned the offer; ſaying, that he had the children of thoſe, which vnder the conduct of *Alexander*, had ſubdued all the Eaſt. Thus hee iſſued forth againſt the barbarous people, with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the victory muſt needes haue followed the reputation of a great name. But he ſoone found his great errour, when it was too late. For the enemies were not onely equall in ſtrength of body, and fierceneſſe of courage, but ſo farre ſuperiour to the *Macedonians* in numbers, that few or none eſcaped their furie. *Ptolomie* himſelfe grieuouſly wounded, fell into their hands, whileſt the battaile continued; and they preſently ſtrooke off his head, which they ſhewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vtter aſtoniſhment.

The report of this great ouerthrow filled all *Macedon* with ſuch deſperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Countrie as loſt. Onely *Soſthenes*, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a ſmall Armie, with which he many times got the vpper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from vſing the victory at his whole pleaſure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would haue made him King; which title he refuſed, and was contented with the name of a Generall. But (as miſchiefes doe ſeldome come alone) the good ſucceſſe of *Belgius*, drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus*, another Captain of the *Gaules*, with an hundred and fiftie thouſand foot, and fifteene thouſand horſe; againſt which mighty Armie, when *Soſthenes* with his weake troupes made oppoſition, he was eaſily beaten, and the *Macedonians* againe compelled to hide themſelues within their wals, leauing all their Countrie to the ſpoile of the Barbarians.

Thus were the *Macedonians* deſtitute of a King, and troden downe by a Nation, that they had not heard of; in leſſe then fiftie yeeres after the death of *Alexander*, who ſought to diſcouer and ſubdue vnknown Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Perſia*, had beene too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very ſeaſonably had theſe newes beene carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italie*, who ſought a faire pretext of relinquiſhing his warre with the *Romanes*; had not other tidings out of *Sicil* diſtracted him, and carried him away in purſute of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned ouer the whole Iland, the *Carthaginians* ſent an Armie to conquer *Sicil*, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This Armie did ſo faſt preuaile, that the *Sicilians* had no other hope to auoide ſlauery, than in ſubmitting themſelues to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, then to liue vnder the well knowne heauy yoke of *Carthage*. To him therefore, the *Syracuſans*, *Leontines*, and *Agragentines*, principall Eſtates of the Iſle, ſent Embaſſadours, earneſtly deſiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieued *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two ſuch notable occaſions, of enlarging his Dominions, ſhould fall out ſo vnluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the buſineſſe of *Sicil* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he beleeued (as came after to paſſe) that his aduantage vpon *Macedon* would not ſo haſtily paſſe away, but that he might finde ſome occaſion to lay hold on it, at better leiſure, ouer into *Sicil* he tranſported his Armie, leauing the *Tarentines* to ſhift for themſelues; yet not leauing them free as he found them, but with a Garriſon in their Towne, to hold them in ſubiection.

As his departure out of *Italie*, was rather grounded on head-long paſſion, than mature aduice; ſo were his actions following, vntill his returne vnto *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, then well ordered, or note-worthy. The Armie which he carried into that Iſle, conſiſted of thirtie thouſand foot, and two thouſand fiue hundred horſe: with which, ſoone after his deſcent in *Sicill*, he forc't the *Carthaginians*, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He alſo won the ſtrong Citie of *Eryx*, and hauing beaten the *Mamertines* in battaile, he began to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For he draue *Soſtratus* (to whom his cruelty was ſuſpect) out of the Iland, & put *Thenon* of *Syracuſe* to death, being iealous of his greatneſſe; which two perſons had faithfully ſerued him, and deliuered the great and rich Citie of *Syracuſe* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined ſo faſt, as he ſerued himſelfe, and ſalued the diſ-reputation of his leauing *Sicill*, by an Embaſſage ſent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, imploring his preſent helpe againſt the *Romans*, who ſince his leauing *Italie*, had well-neere diſpoſſeſt them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occaſion, he imbarked for *Italie*; but was firſt beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies, in his paſſage, and ſecondly aſſailed in *Italie* it ſelfe, by eighteene hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the ſtraits of the Countrie. Laſtly, after he had recouered *Tarentum*, he fought a third battaile with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious ouer him, and forc't him out of *Italie*, into his owne *Epirus*.

A Prince he was farre more valiant then conſtant, and had he beene but a Generall of an Armie, for ſome other great King or State, and had beene directed to haue conquered any one Countrey or Kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would haue purchaſed no leſſe honour than any man of warre, either preceding or ſucceeding him; for a greater Captaine, or a valianter man, hath beene no where found. But he neuer ſtaid vpon any enterpriſe; which was, indeede, the diſeaſe he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

§. IIII.

How Antigonus, *the ſonne of* Demetrius, *deliuered Macedon from the Gaules. How* Pyrrhus *wonne the Kingdome of Macedon from* Antigonus.

THe vertue of *Soſthenes* being too weake, to defend the Kingdome of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him againſt *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts againſt *Brennus*: the *Macedonians* were no leſſe glad to ſubmit themſelues vnto the gouernment of *Antigonus*, than they had formerly beene deſirous to free themſelues from the impotent rule of his father *Demetrius*. His comming into the Countrie, with an Armie, Nauie, and treaſure beſeeming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driuen to vſe againſt the *Barbarians*, onely thoſe forces, which he brought with him, hauing none other than good wiſhes of the *Macedons*, to take his part. *Brennus*, with the maine ſtrength of his Armie, was gone to ſpoile the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, hauing left no more behinde him, than he thought neceſſary to guard the borders of *Macedon*, and *Pannonia*; which were about fifteene thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Theſe could not be idle, but thought to get ſomewhat for themſelues, in the abſence of their fellowes: and therefore ſent vnto *Antigonus*, offering to ſell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraunus*, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuſe. *Antigonus* was vnwilling to weaken his reputation, by condeſcending to their proud demands: yet he iudged it vnfit to exaſperate their furious choler, by vncurteous words or vſage, as *Ceraunus* had ouer-fondly done. Wherefore he entertained their Embaſſadours in very louing and ſumptuous manner, with a royall feaſt: wherein he expoſed to their view, ſuch abundance of maſſie gold and ſiluer, that they were not ſo much delighted with the meat, as with ſight of the veſſels, wherein it was ſerued. He thought hereby, to make them vnderſtand, how great a Prince he was, and how able, if neede required, to wage a mightie Armie.

To which end, he likewiſe did ſhew vnto them, his Campe and Nauie, but eſpecially his Elephants. But all this brauery ſerued onely to kindle their greedy appetites; who ſeeing his ſhips heauy loaden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified, himſelfe (as it ſeemed) ſecure, and his men, both in ſtrength and courage inferiour vnto the *Gaules*, thought all time loſt, wherein they ſuffered the preſent poſſeſſours, to ſpend the riches which they accompted aſſuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouthes, than of ſpoyle and purchaſe: which tale, carried the *Gaules* head-long, to *Antigonus* his campe, where they expected a greater bootie, then the victory ouer *Ceraunus* had giuen to *Belgius*. Their comming was terrible and ſuddaine; yet not ſo ſuddaine, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who diſtruſting the courage of his owne men, diſlodged ſomewhat before their arriuall, and conueighed himſelfe, with his whole armie and carriage, into certaine woods adioyning, where he lay cloſe.

The *Gaules*, finding his Campe forſaken, were not haſtie to purſue him, but fell to ranſacking the emptie Cabbines of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either loſt or hidden. At length, when they had ſearched euery place in vaine, angrie at their loſt labour, they marched with all ſpeede towards the Sea-ſide; that they might fall vpon him, whileſt he was buſie in getting his men and carriages a ſhip-board. But the ſucceſſe was no way anſwerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought vpon *Antigonus*, they were ſo careleſſe of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the ſpoyle of what they found on the ſhore, and in ſuch ſhips as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in couert; and had ſaued it ſelfe by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were ſome well experienced men of war: who diſcouering the much aduantage offred vnto them, by the deſperate preſumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manly hold vpon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great reſolution, gaue ſo braue a charge vpon the diſordered *Gaules*, that their contemptuous boldneſſe was thereby changed into ſuddaine feare, and they, after a great ſlaughter, driuen to caſt themſelues into the ſeruice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this victory, cauſed all the barbarous Nations in thoſe quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient beliefe of the *Macedonian* valour: by which, the terrible and reſiſtleſſe oppreſſors of ſo many Countries, were ouerthrowne.

To ſpeake more of the *Gaules* in this place; and to ſhew how, about theſe times, three Tribes of them paſſed ouer into *Aſia* the leſſe, with their warres and conqueſts there; I hold it needeleſſe: the victorious armes of the *Romans*, taming them hereafter, in the Countries which now they wanne, ſhall giue better occaſion, to rehearſe theſe matters briefly.

Howſoeuer the good ſucceſſe of *Antigonus* got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had won this victory, could not thereupon be perſwaded to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no intereſt in the honour of the ſeruice, wherein his conduct was no better, then creeping into a wood.

This (as preſently will appeare) was greatly helpefull vnto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not ſo much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affaires in *Italie* ſtood vpon hard tearmes, had ſent vnto *Antigonus* for helpe: not without threats, in caſe it were denied. So was he ſure to get, either a ſupply, wherewith to continue his warre againſt the *Romans*, or ſome ſeeming honourable pretence, to forſake *Italie*, vnder colour of making his word good, in ſeeking reuenge. The threats which he had vſed in brauery, meere neceſſitie forced him, at his returne into *Epirus*, to put in practiſe.

He brought home with him, eight thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe: an armie too little to be employed, by his reſtleſſe nature, in any action of importance; yet greater then he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell vpon *Macedon*; intending to take what ſpoile he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his firſt entrance into this buſineſſe, two thouſand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers reuolted vnto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, receiued him. Such faire beginnings, eaſily perſwaded the courage of this daring Prince, to ſet vpon *Antigonus* himſelfe, and to hazard his fortune, in triall of a battaile, for the whole Kingdome of *Macedon*.

It appeares, that *Antigonus* had no deſire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wiſeſt way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the Country. For *Pyrrhus* ouertooke him in a ſtreight paſſage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the *Gaules*, and the Elephants, which were thought the beſt of his ſtrength: a manifeſt proofe that he was in retrait. The *Gaules* very brauely ſuſtained *Pyrrhus* his impreſſion; yet were broken at length (when moſt of them were ſlaine) after a ſharpe fight: wherein it ſeemes that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the ſtreight, and not aduancing to their ſuccour, tooke away their courage by deceiuing their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken ſoone after; who finding themſelues expoſed to the ſame violence that had conſumed ſo many of the *Gaules*, yeelded themſelues and the beaſts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus*, and his *Macedonians*, to their great diſcomfort; which emboldened *Pyrrhus*, to charge them where they lay in their ſtrength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged onely in a front, it was a matter of extreame difficultie (if not impoſſible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had ſeene ſo much, that they had no deſire to fight againſt *Pyrrhus*; who diſcouered ſo well their affections, that he aduentured to draw neere in perſon, and exhort them to yeelde. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refuſed to become his follower. All forſooke *Antigonus*, a few horſe-men excepted, that fled along with him to *Theſſalonica*; where he had ſome ſmall forces left, and money enough to entertaine a greater power, had he knowne where to leuie it. But whileſt he was thinking how to allure a ſufficient number of the *Gaules* into his ſeruice; whereby he might repaire his loſſe: *Ptolomie*, the ſonne of *Pyrrhus*, came vpon him, and eaſily defeating his weake forces, draue him to flye from the parts about *Macedon*, to thoſe Townes a farre off in *Peloponneſus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before ſuch time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himſelfe a King.

This good ſucceſſe reuiued the ſpirits of the *Epirot*, and cauſed him to forget all ſorrow, of his late miſ-fortunes in the *Roman* warre: ſo that he ſent for his ſonne *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garriſon, in the Caſtle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come ouer into *Greece*, where was more matter of conqueſt, and let the *Italians* ſhift for themſelues.

§. V.

How Pyrrhus *aſſailed Sparta without ſucceſſe. His enterpriſe vpon Argos, and his death.*

Pyrrhus had now conceiued a great hope, that nothing ſhold be able to withſtand him; ſeeing, that in open fight, he had vanquiſhed the *Gaules*, beaten *Antigonus*, and wonne the Kingdome of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeede, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had wonne, any Leader of ſuch name and worth, as deſerued to be ſet vp againſt him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what he pleaſed. He raiſed therefore an Armie, conſiſting of fiue and twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warre againſt *Antigonus*, and the giuing liberty to thoſe Townes in *Peloponneſus*, which the ſame *Antigonus* held in ſubiection; though it was eaſily diſcouered, that ſuch great preparations were made, for accompliſhment of ſome deſigne more important, then warre againſt a Prince already vanquiſhed, and almoſt vtterly deiected. Eſpecially the *Lacedæmonians* feared this expedition, as made againſt their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrie, had betaken himſelfe to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promiſed to reſtore him to his Kingdome. This promiſe was made in ſecret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make ſhew of any diſpleaſure that he bare vnto *Sparta*; but contrariwiſe profeſſed, that it was his intent, to haue two of his owne yonger ſonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a place of noble diſcipline. With ſuch colours he deluded men, euen till he entred vpon *Laconia*; where preſently he demeaned himſelfe as an open enemy: excuſing himſelfe and his former diſſembling words, with a ieſt; *That he followed herein the Lacedæmonian cuſtome, of concealing what was truely purpoſed.* It had beene, indeede, the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to deale in like ſort with others, whom, in the time of their greatneſſe, they ſought to oppreſſe: but now they complained of that, as falſhood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwaies practiſed in wiſedome, till it made them diſtruſted, forſaken, and almoſt contemptible. Neuertheleſſe, they were not wanting to themſelues in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; cauſing ſuch as could beare armes, to reſerue themſelues freſh againſt the aſſault: which *Pyrrhus* had vnwiſely deferred, vpon aſſurance of preuailing.

Sparta was neuer fortified, before this time, otherwiſe then with armed Citizens, ſoone after this (it being built vpon vneuen ground, and for the moſt part, hard to approach) the lower and more acceſſible places, were fenced with wals; at the preſent, only trenches were caſt, and *barricadoes* made with Carts, where the entrance ſeemed moſt eaſie. Three dayes together it was aſſailed by *Pyrrhus*, exceeding fiercely; and no leſſe ſtoutly defended. The deſperate courage of the Citizens preſerued the Towne the firſt day, whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the ſecond day, but that his wounded horſe threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindefull of ſauing the perſon of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though already they had torne in ſunder the *barricadoes*. Preſently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captaines got into *Sparta* with a good ſtrength of men; and *Areus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had beene helping his friends in warre) with two thouſand men, little knowing the danger, in which his owne countrie ſtood, vntill he was almoſt at home. Theſe ſuccours did not more animate the *Spartans*, then kindle in *Pyrrhus* a deſire to preuaile againſt all impediments. But the third dayes worke ſhewed, how great his error had beene, in forbearing to aſſault the Towne at his firſt comming. For he was ſo manfully repelled, that he ſaw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwiſe than by a long ſiege: in which tedious courſe he had no deſire to ſpend his time.

Antigonus had now raiſed an Armie, though not ſtrong enough to meete the enemie in plaine field, yet able to hinder all his purpoſes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtfull what way to take; being diuerſly affected, by the difficultie of his enterpriſe in hand, and the ſhame of taking a repulſe in his firſt attempt. Whileſt he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inuiting him thither; with promiſe, to deliuer that Citie into his hands.

Ciuill diſſenſion raging then hotly in *Argos*, cauſed the heads of ſeueral factions to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the comming of theſe two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them deſirous to rid their hand of ſuch powerfull Aſſiſtants, as each of the two Kings pretended himſelfe to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argiues*, that he came to ſaue them from the tyrannie of *Pyrrhus*: and that he would be gone if they needed not his helpe. On the other ſide, *Pyrrhus* would needes perſwade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them ſafe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they ſo deſired.

The *Argiues* tooke ſmall pleaſure, in hearing the Foxe and Kite at ſtrife, which of them ſhould keepe the Chickins from his enemie: and therefore prayed them both, to diuert their powers ſome other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condeſcended, and gaue Hoſtages to aſſure his word: for he was the weaker, and ſtood in neede of good-will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promiſe: Hoſtages he would giue none, to his inferiours: eſpecially, meaning deceipt. This made them ſuſpect his purpoſe to be ſuch, as, indeede, it was. Yet he leſſe regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of aſſurance, by giuing ſuch a bond, as he intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie ſhould be opened by night vnto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie, without any tumult, entred the Citie: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backes, cloyed the way, being too high to paſſe the Gate. The taking off, and ſetting on againe, of thoſe Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both giue alarme to the Citie, and ſome leiſure to take order for defence, before ſo many were entred, as could fully maſter it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gaules* (that had the *Vantgarde*) being ignorant of the wayes, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other ſide, had much aduantage, by their knowledge of euery by-paſſage: and ſetting vpon the enemies on all ſides, did put them to great loſſe, and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore, vnderſtanding by the confuſed noiſe, and vnequall ſhoutings of his owne men, that they were in diſtreſſe, entred the Citie in perſon, to take order for their reliefe, and aſſurance of the place. But the darkeneſſe, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, vntill breake of day. Then began he to make his paſſage by force, and ſo farre preuailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is ſaid, that ſeeing in that place, the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in ſuch poſiture as if they had beene combattant, he called to minde an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he ſhould behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retrait.

Indeede, the comming of *Antigonus* to the reſcue, the diſorder and confuſion of his owne men; with diuers ill accidents, gaue him reaſonable cauſe to haue retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had beene away. The tumult was ſuch, that no directions could be heard; but as ſome gaue backe, ſo did others thruſt forward, and the *Argiues* preſſing hard vpon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retrait, with his owne ſword. The tops of the houſes were couered with women, that ſtood looking on the fight. Among theſe was one, that ſaw her owne ſonne in dangerous caſe, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore, ſhe tooke a tile-ſtone, or ſlate, and threw it ſo violently downe on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to ground aſtoniſhed with the blow; and lying in that caſe, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the reſtleſſe ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith poſſeſſed the armie, the body, and the children of his enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable funerall, and was giuen by *Antigonus* vnto *Helenus* his ſonne; which yong Prince he graciouſly ſent home, into his Fathers Kingdome of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the poſterity of *Seleucus* reigned ouer *Aſia* and *Syria*; and the houſe of *Ptolomie* had quiet poſſeſſion of *Ægypt*: vntill ſuch time, as the Citie of *Rome*, ſwallowing all vp, digeſted theſe, among other Countries, into the body of her owne Empire.

Finis Libri Quarti.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the ſetled rule of ALEXANDERS Succeſſors in the *Eaſt, vntill the* ROMANS, *preuailing ouer all,* made Conqueſt of ASIA and MACEDON.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt Punicke Warre.

§. I.

A diſcuſſion of that probleme of Liuie; Whether the Romans could haue reſiſted the great Alexander. *That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to the Engliſh.*

THAT queſtion handled by *Liuie, whether the great* Alexander *could haue preuailed againſt the Romans, if after his Eaſterne conqueſt, he had bent all his forces againſt them,* hath beene, and is, the ſubiect of much diſpute; which (as it ſeemes to me) the arguments on both ſides doe not ſo well explaine, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath giuen, of the *Roman* power, in his dayes. For, if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* iudgement) inferior to *Alexander*, though to none elſe, could with ſmall ſtrength of men, and little ſtore of money, or of other needefull helpes in warre, vanquiſh them in two battailes, and endanger their Eſtate, when it was well ſetled, and held the beſt part of *Italie*, vnder a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* haue done, that was aboundantly prouided of all which is needfull to a Conquerour, wanting onely matter of emploiment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halfe ſo well ſetled? It is eaſie to ſay, that *Alexander* had no more, than thirty thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe (as indeede, at his firſt paſſage into *Aſia,* he carried ouer, not many more,) and that the reſt of his followers were no better than baſe effeminate *Aſiatiques.* But he that conſiders the Armies of *Perdiccas, Antipater, Craterus, Eumenes, Ptolomie, Antigonus,* and *Lyſimachus,* with the actions by them performed, euery one of which (to omit others) commanded onely ſome fragment of this dead Emperours power; ſhall eaſily finde, that ſuch a reckoning is farre ſhort of the truth.

It were needeleſſe to ſpeake of Treaſure, Horſes, Elephants, Engines of batterie, and the like: of all which, the *Macedonian* had aboundance; the *Roman* hauing nought, ſaue men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that ſhall conſider after what ſort the *Romans*, in their firſt *Punick* warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Nauigation; ſitting vpon the ſhoare, and beating the ſand with poles, to practiſe the ſtroke of the Oare, as not daring to lanch their ill-built veſſels into the Sea; will eaſily conceiue, how farre too weake they would haue proued in ſuch ſeruices.

Now for helpers in warre; I doe not ſee, why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being abſolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deſerue to be laid in ballance, againſt thoſe parts of *Italie*, which the *Romans* held in ill-aſſured ſubiection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the Eaſterne world, more wealthy, indeede, than valiant, could haue affoorded vnto the *Macedonian*: let vs onely coniecture, how the States of *Sicill* and *Carthage*, neereſt neighbours to ſuch a quarrell (had it happened) would haue ſtood affected. The *Sicilians* were, for the moſt part, *Græcians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily haue ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, that ruled all *Greece* beſides them. In what termes they commonly ſtood, and how ill they were able to defend themſelues, it ſhall appeare anon. Sure it is, that *Alexanders* comming into thoſe parts, would haue brought exceſſiue ioy, to them that were faine to get the helpe of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his ſubiects. As for the *Carthaginians*; if *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Syracuſe*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne beſieged Citie, could, by aduenturing to ſaile into *Africke*, put their Dominion, yea and *Carthage* it ſelfe, in extreme hazard; ſhall we thinke that they would haue beene able to withſtand *Alexander?* But, why doe I queſtion their abilitie, ſeeing that they ſent Embaſſadours, with their ſubmiſſion, as farre as *Babylon*, ere the warre drew neare them? Wherefore it is manifeſt, that the *Romans* muſt, without other ſuccour, than perhaps of ſome other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none, that forſooke them not, at ſome time, both before and after this) haue oppoſed their valour, and good militarie diſcipline, againſt the power of all Countries, to them knowne, if they would haue made reſiſtance. How they could haue ſped well, in vndertaking ſuch a match; it is vneaſie to finde in diſcourſe of humane reaſon. It is true; that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is againſt cowardly fooles, and the vnfortunate: for whoſoeuer contends with one too mightie for him; either muſt excell in theſe, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or elſe muſt looke, both to be ouer-come, and to be caſt downe ſo much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him ſuſpected, as likely to make head another time againſt the vanquiſher. Whether the *Roman*, or the *Macedonian*, were in thoſe dayes the better Souldier, I will not take vpon me to determine: though I might, without partialitie, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Armie, which followed not onely *Philip* and *Alexander*, but alſo *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greateſt dangers of all ſorts of warre; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did ſend forth. Concerning fortune; who can giue a rule that ſhall alwayes hold? *Alexander* was victorious in euery battaile that he fought: and the *Romans* in the iſſue of euery warre. But foraſmuch as *Liuie* hath iudged this a matter worthy of conſideration; I thinke it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italie*: where in three yeares after his death, the two *Roman* Conſuls, together with all the power of that State, were ſurprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yeeld vp their armes. We may therefore permit *Liuie* to admire his owne *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* thoſe Captaines of theirs, which were honoured ſufficiently, in being thought equall to his followers: that the ſame conceit ſhould blind our iudgement, we cannot permit without much vanitie.

Now in deciding ſuch a controuerſie, me thinkes it were not amiſſe, for an *Engliſhman*, to giue ſuch a ſentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being choſen Arbitrators) betweene the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that ſtroue about a piece of land; ſaying, That it belonged vnto neither of them, but vnto the *Romans* themſelues.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman*, were the beſt Warriour? I will anſwere: The *Engliſhmen*. For it will ſoone appeare, to any that ſhall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no aduantage of weapon; againſt no ſauage or vnmanly people; the enemy being farre ſuperiour vnto vs in number, and all needefull prouiſions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exerciſe of warre.

In what ſort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Perſians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquiſhed; as likewiſe of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, againſt ſuch armes as it commonly encountred: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing ſtorie of them, doth ſufficiently vnderſtand. Yet was this *Phalanx* neuer, or very ſeldome, able to ſtand, againſt the *Roman* Armies: which were embattailed in ſo excellent a forme, as I know not, whether any Nation beſides them haue vſed, either before or ſince. The *Roman* weapons likewiſe, both offenſiue and defenſiue, were of greater vſe, than thoſe with which any other Nation hath ſerued, before the fiery inſtruments of Gun-powder were knowne. As for the enemies, with which *Rome* had to doe: we finde, that they, which did ouer-match her in numbers, were as farre ouer-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom ſhe had little aduantage in armes, had as little aduantage of her in multitude. This alſo (as *Plutarch* well obſerueth) was a part of her happineſſe; that ſhe was neuer ouer-laied with too great warres at once.

Hereby it came to paſſe, that hauing at firſt increaſed her ſtrength, by acceſſion of the *Sabines*; hauing won the State of *Alba*, againſt which ſhe aduentured her owne ſelfe, as it were in wager, vpon the heads of three Champions: and hauing thereby made her ſelfe Princeſſe of *Latium*: ſhe did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion ouer all *Italie*, The *Carthaginians* had well-neare oppreſſed her: but her Souldiers were Mercinarie; ſo that for want of proper ſtrength, they were eaſily beaten at their owne doores. The *Ætolians*, and with them all, or the moſt of *Greece*, aſſiſted her againſt *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his helpe, to beat the ſame *Ætolians*. The warres againſt *Antiochus*, and other *Aſiatiques*, were ſuch as gaue to *Rome* ſmall cauſe of boaſt, though much of ioy: for thoſe oppoſites were as baſe of courage, as the lands which they held were aboundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spaine*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands by vſing her aide, to protect them againſt the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I ſhall not neede to ſpeake of her other conqueſts: it was eaſie to get more when ſhe had gotten all this. It is not my purpoſe to diſgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemiſh the reputation of ſo many famous victories: I am not ſo idle. This I ſay; that among all their wars, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared, comparable to the *Engliſh*. If my iudgement ſeeme ouer-partiall; our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

Firſt, therefore it is well knowne; that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world beſides) had neuer any ſo braue a Commander in warre, as *Iulius Cæſar*: and that no *Roman* armie was comparable vnto that, which ſerued vnder the ſame *Cæſar*. Likewiſe, it is apparent, that this gallant Armie, which had giuen faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Heluetian* warre, when it firſt entred into *Gaule*; was neuertheleſſe vtterly diſheartned, when *Cæſar* led it againſt the *Germans*. So that we may iuſtly impute, all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cæſars* men, to their long exerciſe, vnder ſo good a Leader, in ſo great a warre. Now let vs in generall, compare with the deedes done by theſe beſt of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall ſeruice; the things performed in the ſame Countrie, by our common *Engliſh* Souldiers, leauied in haſte, from following the Cart, or ſitting on the ſhop-ſtall: ſo ſhall we ſee the difference. Herein will wee deale fairely, and beleeue *Cæſar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Hiſtorians to witneſſe, what actions were performed by the *Engliſh*. In *Cæſars* time, *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules*, a ſtout people, but inferiour to the *French*, by whom they were ſubdued; euen when the *Romans* gaue them aſſiſtance. The Countrie of *Gaule* was rent in ſunder (as *Cæſar* witneſſeth) into many Lordſhips: ſome of which were gouerned by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in ſuch ſort as might make it appliable to the neareſt Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not onely in generall through the whole Countrie, but betweene the pettie States, yea in euery Citie, and almoſt in euery houſe. What greater aduantage could a Conquerour deſire? Yet there was a greater. *Ariouiſtus*, with his *Germans*, had ouer-run the Countrie, and held much part of it in ſubiection, little different from meere ſlauery: yea, ſo often had the *Germans* preuailed in warre vpon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules* (who had ſometimes beene the better Souldiers) did hold themſelues no way equall to thoſe daily Inuaders. Had *France* beene ſo prepared vnto our *Engliſh* Kings, *Rome* it ſelfe, by this time, and long ere this time, would haue beene ours. But when King *Edward* the third beganne his warre vpon *France*, he found the whole Countrie ſetled in obedience to one mightie King; a King whoſe reputation abroad, was no leſſe than his puiſſance at home; vnder whoſe Enſigne, the King of *Bohemia* did ſerue in perſon; at whoſe call, the *Genowayes*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take armes: finally, a King, vnto whom one [a] Prince gaue away his Dominion, for loue; [b] another ſold away a goodly Citie and Territorie for money. The Countrie lying ſo open to the *Roman*, and being ſo well fenced againſt the *Engliſh*; it is note-worthy, not who preuailed moſt therein (for it were meere vanitie, to match the *Engliſh* purchaſes, with the *Roman* conqueſt) but whether of the two gaue the greater proofe of militarie vertue. *Cæſar* himſelfe doth witneſſe, that the *Gaules* complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their owne hardineſſe was ouer-maiſtered, by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of batterie, raiſed and planted againſt their wals, as more than humane workes. What greater wonder is it, that ſuch a people was beaten by the *Roman*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant, as any vnder the skie, are commonly put to the worſe, by ſmall numbers of *Spaniards*? Beſides all this, we are to haue regard, of the great difficultie that was found, in drawing all the *Gaules*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with ioynt forces they might oppoſe their aſſailants: as alſo the much more difficultie, of holding them long together. For hereby it came to paſſe, that they were neuer able to make vſe of opportunitie: but ſometimes compelled to ſtay for their fellowes; and ſometimes driuen, to giue or take battaile, vpon extreame diſaduantages, for feare, leaſt their Companies ſhould fall aſunder: as indeede, vpon any little diſaſter, they were ready to beake, and returne euery one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (which was little leſſe than all this) great oddes in weapon, gaue to the *Romans*, the honour of many gallant victories. What ſuch helpe? or what other worldly helpe, than the golden mettall of their Souldiers, had our *Engliſh* Kings againſt the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of Warre? Yea, did they not thinke themſelues therein our ſuperiours? Were they not in armes, in horſe, and in all prouiſion, exceedingly beyond vs? Let vs heare, what a *French* writer ſaith, of the inequalitie that was betweene the *French* and *Engliſh*, when their King *Iohn* was ready to giue the on-ſet, vpon the *Blacke Prince*, at the battaile of *Poitiers*. Iohn *had all aduantages ouer* Edward, *both of number, force, ſhew, Countrie, and conceit, (the which is commonly a conſideration of no ſmall importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choiſe of all his horſe-men (eſteemed then the beſt in Europe) with the greateſt and wiſeſt Captaines of his whole Realme.* And what could he more?

Iohn de Serres.

IEAN *auoit tout l'auantage par deſſus* EDOVARD, *le numbre, la force, le luſtre, le pays, le preiuge (qui n'eſt pas communement vne conſideratiō de peu d'importance aux affaires du mōde) & auec ſoi l'eliте de ſa Caualleríe, lors eſtimee la meilleure de tout ſon Royaume.*

I thinke, it would trouble a *Roman* antiquarie, to finde the like example in their Hiſtories; the example, I ſay, of a King, brought priſoner to *Rome*, by an Armie of eight thouſand, which he had ſurrounded with fortie thouſand, better appointed, and no leſſe expert warriours. This I am ſure of; that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of halfe Scullions, as *Liuie* rightly tearmes them, not thoſe cowardly Kings *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patternes. All that haue read of *Creſſie* and *Agincourt*, will beare me witneſſe, that I doe not alleadge the battaile of *Poitiers*, for lacke of other, as good examples of the *Engliſh* vertue: the proofe whereof hath left many a hundred better markes, in all quarters of *France*, than euer did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute theſe victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more ſtrongly, and quicker of diſcharge than the *French* Croſſe-bow: my anſwere is ready; That in all theſe reſpects, it is alſo (being drawne with a ſtrong arme) ſuperiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more vſe. The Gunne, and the Croſſe-bow, are of like force, when diſcharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a ſtrong Man: weakeneſſe, or ſickeneſſe, or a ſore finger, makes the Long-Bow vnſeruiceable. More particularly, I ſay, that it was the cuſtome of our Anceſtors, to ſhoot, for the moſt part, *point blanck*: and ſo ſhall he perceiue, that will note the circumſtances of almoſt any one battaile. This takes away all obiection: for when two Armies are within the diſtance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the moſt can be deliuered before they cloſe. Neither is it in generall true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more ſtrongly than the Croſſe-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinarie arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man ſhall aske, How then

[a] The Dolphin of Viennois.

[b] The King of Maiorca.

then came it to paſſe, that the *Engliſh* wan ſo many great battailes, hauing no aduantage to helpe him? I may, with beſt commendation of modeſtie, referre him to the *French* Hiſtorian: who relating the victory of our men at *Creuant*, where they paſſed a bridge, in face of the enemy, vſeth theſe words: *The Engliſh comes with a conquering brauery, as he, that was accuſtomed to gaine euery where, without any ſtay: he forceth our garde, placed vpon the bridge, to keepe the paſſage.* *Iohn de Serres.* Or I may cite another place of the ſame Authour, where he tels, how the *Britons*, being inuaded by *Charles* the eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policie, to apparell a thouſand and fiue hundred of their owne men in *Engliſh* Caſſocks; hoping that the very ſight of the *Engliſh* red Croſſe, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not ſtand to borrow of the *French* Hiſtorians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Æmylius*, report wonders of our Nation:) the propoſition which firſt I vndertooke to maintaine; *That the militarie vertue of the Engliſh, preuailing againſt all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of Romans, which was aſſiſted with all aduantages that could be deſired.* If it be demanded; why then did not our Kings finiſh the cunqueſt, as *Cæſar* had done? my anſwere may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the *Æacidæ*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gaue this note; *Belli potentes ſunt magè quàm ſapienti potentes*; *They were more warlike than politique.* Who ſo notes their proceedings, may finde that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour: ſaue onely King *Henrie* the fift, the courſe of whoſe victories, it pleaſed God to interrupt by his death. But this queſtion is the more eaſily anſwered, if another be firſt made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the conqueſt of *Gaule*, before the time of *Cæſar*? why not after the *Macedonian* warre? why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all theſe times they had good leiſure: and then eſpecially had they both leiſure, and fit opportunitie, when vnder the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquiſhed the *Cimbri*, and *Teutones*, by whom the Countrie of *Gaule* had been pitiouſly waſted. Surely, the words of *Tullie* were true; that with other Nations, the *Romans* fought for Dominion, with the *Gaules*, for preſeruation of their owne ſafetie.

Therefore they attempted not the conqueſt of *Gaule*, vntill they were Lords of all other Countries, to them knowne. We on the other ſide, held onely the one halfe of our owne Iland; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (vnleſſe perhaps in wealth and numbers of men ſomewhat inferiour) euery way equall to our ſelues; a Nation anciently and ſtrongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard, enemy to vs. So that our danger lay both before and behinde vs: and the greater danger at our backes; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared, a ſtronger inuaſion by land, than we could make vpon *France*, tranſporting our forces ouer Sea.

It is vſuall, with men, that haue pleaſed themſelues, in admiring the matters which they finde in ancient Hiſtories; to hold it a great iniurie done to their iudgement, if any take vpon him, by way of compariſon, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well perſwaded, that as the diuided vertue of this our Iland, hath giuen more noble proofe of it ſelfe; than vnder ſo worthy a Leader, that *Roman* Armie could doe, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cæſar* a *Monarch*; ſo hereafter, by Gods bleſſing, who hath conuerted our greateſt hindrance, into our greateſt helpe, the enemy that ſhall dare to trie our forces, will finde cauſe to wiſh, that auoiding vs, he had rather encountred as great a puiſſance, as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that laying a-ſide compariſons, we returne to the rehearſall of deeds done: wherein we ſhall finde, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italie*, to ſtriue with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the firſt *Punicke* warre.

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§. II.

The eſtate of Carthage, before it entred into warre with Rome.

THE Citie of *Carthage* had ſtood aboue ſixe hundred yeares, when firſt it began to contend with *Rome*, for the maſtrie of *Sicil*. It forewent *Rome* one hundred and fiftie yeeres in antiquity of foundation: but in the honour of great atchieuements, it excelled farre beyond this aduantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion *Africa* it ſelfe, from the weſt part of *Cyrene*, to the ſtreights of *Hercules*, about one thouſand and fiue hundred miles in length, wherein ſtood three hundred Cities. It had ſubiected all *Spaine*, euen to the *Pyrenæan* Mountaines, together with all the

vid: l:2.c.27.§

the *Ilands* in the *Mediterranean Sea*, to the weſt of *Sicill*; and of *Sicill*, the better part. It flouriſhed about ſeuen hundred and thirty yeeres, before the deſtruction thereof by *Scipio*: who beſides other ſpoyles, and all that the Souldiers reſerued, carried thence foure hundred and ſeuenty thouſand weight of ſiluer, which make of our monie (if our pounds differ not) foureteene hundred and ten thouſand pound ſterling. So as this glorious Citie ran the ſame fortune, which many other great ones haue done, both before and ſince. The ruine of the goodlieſt pieces of the world, fore-ſhewes the diſſolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeares after ſuch time as it was caſt downe, the Senate of *Rome* cauſed it to be rebuilt: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Iunonia*: it was againe and againe abandoned and repeopled, taken and retaken; by *Genſericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belliſarius* vnder *Iuſtinian*, by the *Perſians*, by the *Ægyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The ſeat thereof was exceeding ſtrong: and, while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, inuincible. For the Sea compaſſed it about, ſauing that it was tied to the maine by a necke of land; which paſſage had two mile and more of breadth (*Appian* ſaith, three mile, and one furlong) by which we may be induced, to beleeue the common report, that the Citie it ſelfe was aboue twenty miles in compaſſe; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to haue beene twice as great.

It had three wals, without the wall of the Citie; and betweene each of thoſe, three or foure ſtreets, with vaults vnder ground, of thirty foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: ouer theſe they had ſtables for foure thouſand horſe, and Granaries for their prouender. They had alſo lodgings in theſe ſtreets, betweene theſe out-walles for foure thouſand horſe-men, and twentie thouſand foot-men, which (according to the diſcipline vſed now by thoſe of *China*) neuer peſtered the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Caſtle of *Byrſa*; to which *Seruius* giues two and twentie furlongs in compaſſe, that make two mile and a halfe. This was the ſame piece of ground, which *Dido* obtained of the *Libyans*, when ſhe got leaue to buy onely ſo much Land of them, as ſhe could compaſſe with an Oxe hide. On the weſt ſide it had alſo the ſalt Sea, but in the nature of a ſtanding poole; for a certaine arme of Land, faſtned to the ground, on which the Citie ſtood, ſtretched it ſelfe towards the weſt continent, and left but ſeauentie foot open for the Sea to enter. Ouer this ſtanding Sea was built a moſt ſumptuous *Arſenall*, hauing their ſhips and gallies riding vnder it.

The forme of their Common weale reſembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titularie Kings, and the *Ariſtocraticall* power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well obſerueth) the people in later times vſurped too great authoritie in their Councels. This confuſion in gouernement, together with the truſt that they repoſed in hired Souldiers, were helping cauſes of their deſtruction in the end. Two other more forcible cauſes of their ruine, were their auarice and their cruelty. [a] Their auarice was ſhewed both in exacting from their Vaſſals (beſides ordinary tributes) the one [b] halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not vpon gentle and mercifull perſons, but vpon thoſe who could beſt tyrannize ouer the people, to augment their treaſures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance: the one of theſe rendred them odious to their vaſſals, whom it made ready, vpon all occaſions to reuolt from them: the other did breake the ſpirits of their Generals, by preſenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to paſſe, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces, after ſome great loſſe receiued, haue deſperately caſt thēſelues with all that remained vnder their charge, into the throat of deſtruction; holding it neceſſary, either to repaire their loſſes quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them haue dared, to manage their owne beſt proiects, after that good forme, wherein they firſt conceiued them, for feare leſt the manner of their proceeding ſhould be miſinterpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* rule, to crucifie, not onely the vnhappy Captaine, but euen him, whoſe bad counſaile had proſperous euent. The faults, wherewith, in generall, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Hiſtorians, I finde to be theſe; luſt, cruelty, auarice, craft, vnfaithfulneſſe, and periurie. Whether the *Romans*

[a] *In Pol. Ariſt. l. 2. c. 9.*

[b] The *Turkes*, at this day, doe alſo take the one halfe of the pooremans corne, that labors the earth; yea, they take tribute both of the bodies, and of the ſoules of the *Chriſtians* their Vaſſals, by bereauing them of their ableſt childrē, and bringing them vp in the *Mahometan* Religion. The *Iriſh* take the fourth ſheafe; and were wōt to eate vp with their horſemen, footmen, and dogges, what they pleaſed, of the other three parts remaining. The husbandman and the yeoman of *England*, are the freeſt of all the World: And reaſon good, for of them haue the bodies of our victoriousarmies been compoūded. And it is the freeman, and not the ſlaue, that hath courage and the ſenſe of ſhame deſerued by cowardiſe. How free the *Engliſh* yeomē haue beene, in times, not long ſince paſt, *Forteſcue* hath ſhewed in his praiſe of our Coūtries laws. But I may ſay, that they are more free now than euer: and our Nobilitie and Gentrie more ſeruile. For ſince the exceſſiue brauery, and vaine expence of our *Grandes*, hath taught them to raiſe their Rents; ſince by Incloſures. and diſmembring of Mannours, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principalities of the Gentrie of *England*, haue beene diſſolued, the Tenants, hauing payed vnto their Lords their racke Rent, owe them now no ſeruice at all, and (perchance) a little loue.

themſelues were free from the ſame crimes, let the triall bee referred vnto their actions. The firſt league betweene *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: hauing beene made, the yeare following the expulſion of *Tarquine*. In that league, the *Carthaginians* had the ſuperioritie, as impoſing vpon the *Romans*, the more ſtrict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* ſhould not ſo much as haue trade, in ſome part of *Africk*, nor ſuffer any ſhippe of theirs to paſſe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *faire Promontorie*, vnleſſe it were by force of tempeſt: whereas on the other ſide, no Hauen in *Italie* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A ſecond league was made long after, which (howſoeuer it hath pleaſed * *Liuie* to ſay, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreatie) was more ſtrict then the former: prohibiting the *Romanes* to haue trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Iland of *Sardinia*.

Liu. Dec. 1. l. 7.

By theſe two treaties, it may appeare that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not onely to keepe the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the ſtate of *Africk*; but to countenance & vphold them, in their troubling all *Italie*, whereby they themſelues might haue the better meanes to occupie all *Sicill*, whileſt that Iland ſhould be deſtitute of *Italian* ſuccours. Heereupon we finde good cauſe, of the ioy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twenty and fiue pound, ſent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were ouerthrowne. But the little ſtate of *Rome* preuailed faſter in *Italie*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicill*. For that mighty Armie, of three hundred thouſand men, which **Hannibal** conducted out of *Africk* into *Sicil*, wanne onely two Cities therein: many great fleets were deuoured by tempeſts; and howſoeuer the *Carthaginians* preuailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their owne valour, or by the aſſiſtance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at ſome other time repaire their owne loſſes, & take reuenge vpon thoſe Inuaders. But neuer were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicill*, then when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Iland in combuſtion; the eſtate of *Greece* being ſuch, at the ſame time, that it ſeemed impoſſible, for any ſuccour to be ſent from thence. But whileſt the *Carthaginians* were buſie, in making their aduantage, of this good opportunitie; *Pyrrhus*, inuited by the *Tarentines*, and their fellowes, came into *Italie*, where he made ſharp warre vpon the *Romans*. Theſe newes were vnpleaſing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a ſubtile Nation, eaſily foreſaw, that the ſame buſie diſpoſition, which had brought this Prince, out of *Greece* into *Italie*, would as eaſily tranſport him ouer into *Sicill*, as ſoone as he could finiſh his *Roman* warre. To preuent this danger, they ſent *Mago* Embaſſador to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were ſorry to heare, what miſaduenture had befallen the *Romans*, their good friends, in this warre with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to aſſiſt the ſtate of *Rome*, by ſending an Army into *Italie*; if their helpe were thought needfull, againſt the *Epirots*.

Xenoph. Græc. hiſt. l. 1.

It was indeed, the maine deſire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* ſo hardly to his worke in *Italie*, that they might at good leyſure, purſue their buſineſſe in *Sicill*: which cauſed them to make ſuch a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded: and refuſed to accept any ſuch aide of their friends, leſt it ſhould blemiſh their reputation, and make them ſeeme vnable to ſtand by their owne ſtrength. Yet the meſſage was taken louingly, as it ought; and the former league betweene *Rome* and *Carthage* renued, with couenants added, concerning the preſent buſineſſe; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it ſhould be with reſeruation of liberty, to aſſiſt the other, in caſe that *Pyrrhus* ſhould inuade either of their Dominions. All this notwithſtanding, and notwithſtanding that the ſame *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, vſing all meanes to ſound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one vpon euery new occaſion changeth his owne purpoſes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leiſure to make a ſteppe into *Sicill*: where, though in fine hee was neither getter nor ſauer, yet hee cleane defeated the purpoſes of *Carthage*, leauing them at his departure from thence, as farre from any end, as when they firſt began.

So many diſaſters, in an enterpriſe, that from the firſt vndertaking had bin ſo ſtrongly purſued, through the length of many generations, might well haue induced the *Carthaginians* to beleeue, that an higher prouidence reſiſted their intendment. But their deſire, of winning that fruitfull Iland, was ſo inueterate; that with vnwearied patience, they ſtill continued in hope, of ſo much the greater an harueſt, by how much their coſt & paines therein buried had beene the more. Wherfore they re-continued their former courſes;

and by force or practice, recouered in few yeeres, all their old poſſeſſions: making peace with *Syracuſe*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, that ſo they might the better enable themſelues to deale with the reſt.

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had ſerued vnder *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Meſſana* as friends, & finding themſelues too ſtrong for the Citizens, tooke aduantage of the power that they had to doe wrong; and with perfidious crueltie, ſlew thoſe that had truſted them; which done, they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wiues, of thoſe, whom they had murdered. Theſe Mercenaries called themſelues *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meere deſperation, of finding any that would approoue their barbarous treachery, added rage vnto their ſtoutneſſe. Hauing therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the ſtronger*, they ouer-ranne all the Countrie round about them.

In this courſe, at firſt, they ſped ſo well, that they did not onely defend *Meſſana* againſt the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate; to wit, againſt the *Syracuſians*, and others, but they rather wan vpon them, yea, and vpon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbor places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her backe to theſe *Mamertines*, the *Syracuſians* wan faſt vpon them, and finally, confining them within the walls of *Meſſana*, they alſo with a powerfull Armie beſieged the Citie. It hapned ill, that about the ſame time, a contention began, betweene the *Syracuſian* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuſe*, and Gouernors of the Common-wealth; which proceeded ſo far, that the Armie elected two Gouernours among themſelues; to wit, *Artemidorus* & *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, beeing for his yeeres excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policie of that State, to approue any election made by the Souldiers, yet for the great clemencie hee vſed at his firſt entrance, was by generall conſent eſtabliſhed and made Gouernour. This Office, hee rather vſed as a Scale, thereby to clime to ſome higher degree, than reſted content with his preſent preferment.

In briefe, there was ſomewhat wanting, whereby to ſtrengthen himſelfe within the Citie; and ſomewhat without it, that gaue impediment, to his obtaining, and ſafe keeping, of the place he ſought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troups of Souldiers without, often and eaſily mooued to ſedition and tumult. For the firſt, whereby to ſtrengthen himſelfe, hee tooke to wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greateſt eſtimation and authoritie among the *Syracuſians*. For the ſecond, leading out the Armie to beſiege *Meſſana*, hee quartered all thoſe Companies, which hee held ſuſpected, on the one ſide of the Citie, and leading the reſt of his horſe and foot vnto the other ſide, as if he would haue aſſaulted it in two ſeuerall parts, he marched away vnder the couert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the aſſieged: So returning home, and leauying an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trayned and obedient, he haſted againe towards *Meſſana*, & was by the *Mamertines* (growne proud by their former victorie ouer the Mutiners) incountred in the plaines of *Mylæum*, where hee obtained a moſt ſignall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captiue into *Syracuſe*, himſelfe by common conſent was elected and ſaluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themſelues vtterly infeebled, ſome of them reſolued to giue themſelues to the *Carthaginians*, others to craue aſſiſtance of the *Romans*: to each of whom, the ſeuerall factions diſpatched Embaſſadours for the very ſame purpoſe.

The *Carthaginians* were ſoone ready to lay hold vpon the good offer: ſo that a Captaine of theirs got into the Caſtle of *Meſſana*, whereof they that had ſent for him gaue him poſſeſſion. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to ſo good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doores, and the Towne reſerued for other Maſters.

Theſe newes did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captaine, as both a Traitour and Coward; and ſent a Fleet and Armie to beſiege *Meſſana*, as a Towne that rebelled, hauing once beene theirs. *Hieron*, the new-made King of *Syracuſe* (to gratifie his people, incenſed with the ſmart of iniuries lately receiued) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred into a league, for exterminating the

Mamertines out of *Sicil.* So the *Mamertines* on all ſides were cloſed vp within *Meſſena:* the *Carthaginians* lying with a Nauie at Sea, and with an Armie on the one ſide of the Towne, whileſt *Hieron* with his *Syracuſians*, lay before it on the other ſide.

In this their great danger, came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Conſull, with an Armie to the ſtreights of *Sicil:* which paſſing by night with notable audacitie, hee put himſelfe into the Towne, and ſending Meſſengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; ſignifying vnto them, that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore hee was come to giue them protection, euen by force of warre, if reaſon would not preuaile.

This meſſage was vtterly neglected; And ſo beganne the warre betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein, it will then bee time to ſhew, on which part was the iuſtice of the quarrell, when ſome actions of the *Romanes* lately foregoing this, haue beene firſt conſidered.

§. III.

The beginning of the firſt Punick warre. That it was vniuſtly vndertaken by the Romanes.

WHen *Pyrrhus* beganne his warres in *Italie*, the Citie of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not onely fearing to bee taken by the *Epirot*, but much more diſtruſting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to ſeize vpon it in that buſie time, ſought aide from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, conſiſting of 4. thouſand Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and aſſured for the preſent. But after a while, this *Roman* Garriſon, conſidering at good leiſure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Meſſana*, (a Citie in *Sicil*, ſituate almoſt oppoſite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwiſe diuided than by a narrow Sea, which ſeuereth it from *Italie*) and rather weighing the greatneſſe of the bootie, than the odiouſneſſe of the villanie, by which it was gotten; reſolued finally, to make the like purchace, by taking the like wicked courſe. Confederating therefore themſelues with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hoſts of *Rhegium*, after the ſame manner; diuiding the ſpoile, and all which that State had, among themſelues.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly ſtained (for no Nation in the world made a more ſeuere profeſſion of iuſtice, than they did, during all the time of their growing greatneſs) reſolued, after a while, to take reuenge vpon the offenders. And this they performed ſhortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italie* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithſtanding that thoſe *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the fouleneſſe of their fact, hopeleſſe of pardon) defended themſelues with an obſtinate reſolution: yet in the end; the aſſailants forced them; and thoſe which eſcaped the preſent furie, were brought bound to *Rome*, where after the vſuall torments by whipping inflicted, according to the cuſtome of the Countrie, they had their heads ſtricken from their ſhoulders; and the people of *Rhegium* were againe reſtored to their former libertie and eſtates.

This execution of Iuſtice being newly performed, and the fame thereof ſounding honourably through all quarters of *Italie*: meſſengers came to *Rome*, from *Meſſana*, deſiring helpe againſt the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracuſians*, that were in a readineſſe to inflict the like puniſhment vpon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. A very impudent requeſt it was, which they made: who hauing both giuen example of that villanie to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with ioint forces to make it good, doe intreat the Iudges to giue them that aſſiſtance, which they were wont to receiue from their fellow-theeues.

The *Romans* could not ſuddenly reſolue, whether the way of honeſtie or of profit, were to be followed; they euermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They conſidered, how contrary the courſe of ſuccouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counſells, and actions: ſeeing for the ſame offences they had lately put to torment, and to the ſword, their owne Souldiers, and reſtored the oppreſſed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the deſcription of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the beſt part of *Africa*, of the Mediterran Ilands, of a great part of *Spaine*, and ſome part of *Sicill* it ſelfe; whileſt alſo they feared, that *Syracuſe* therein ſeated (a Citie in beauty and riches, little, at that time, inferiour to *Carthage*, and farre ſuperiour to *Rome* it ſelfe) might become theirs ; the ſafetie of their owne eſtate ſpake for theſe *Mamertines*: who, if they (driuen to deſpaire by the *Romans*) ſhould deliuer vp *Meſſana*, with thoſe other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing ſtand betweene *Carthage*, and the Lordſhip of *Sicil*: for *Syracuſe* it ſelfe could not, for want of ſuccour, any long time ſubſiſt, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Maſters of the Sea, did faſten vpon that paſſage from the maine Land. It was further conſidered ; that the opportunite of *Meſſana* was ſuch, as would not onelie debarre, all ſuccours out of the continent, from arriuall in *Sicil* ; but would ſerue as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might haue entrance into *Italie*, at their owne pleaſure.

Theſe conſiderations, of profit at hand, and of preuenting dangers, that threatned from a-farre, did ſo preuaile, aboue all regard of honeſtie, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacie with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Conſull, preſently diſpatcht away from *Meſſana*: into which he entred, and vnder-tooke the protection of it, as is ſhewed before. The beſiegers were little troubled with his arriuall ; and leſſe moued, with his requiring them to deſiſt from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; The whole Iland was ready to relieue them in their wants; and they were ſtrong enough at Sea, to hinder any ſupply from getting into the Towne. All this *Appius* himſelfe well vnderſtood: and againſt all this he thought the ſtiffe mettall of his *Roman* Souldier, a ſufficient remedie. Therefore, hee reſolued to iſſue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his comming was to ſend them away from the Towne; not to be beſieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficial to him, that the enemie lay encamped in ſuch ſort, as one quarter was not well able to relieue another in diſtreſſe. *Hieron* was now expoſed to the ſame danger, whereinto he had wilfully caſt his owne mutinous followers, not long before: onely he was ſtrong enough (or thought ſo) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Againſt him *Ap. Claudius* iſſued forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected ſallie, to ſurprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith hee preſented him. The *Syracuſian* wanted not courage to fight; but ſurely, he wanted good aduice: elſe would he not haue hazarded all his power againſt an enemie, of whom he had made no triall; when it had beene eaſie, and as much as was requiſite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that hee thought to get honor, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his reigne. But he was well beaten, and driuen to ſaue himſelfe within his Trenches: by which loſſe, he learned a point of wiſedome, that ſtood him and his Kingdom in good ſtead, all the daies of his life. It was a fooliſh deſire of reuenge, that had made the *Syracuſians* ſo buſie, in helping thoſe of *Carthage*, againſt the *Mamertines*.

Had *Meſſana* beene taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuſe* it ſelfe muſt haue ſought help from *Rome*, againſt thoſe friends which it now ſo diligently aſſiſted. *Hieron* had (in reſpect of thoſe two mightie Cities) but a ſmall ſtocke, which it behooued him to gouerne well: ſuch another loſſe would haue made him almoſt bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake vp his Campe, and retired home: intending to let them ſtand to their aduentures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargaine. The next day, *Claudius* perceiuing the *Sicilian* Armie gone, did with great courage, and with much alacritie of his ſouldiers, giue charge vpon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he ſped ſo well, that the enemie forſooke both field and campe, leauing all the Countrie open to the *Romans* ; who hauing ſpoyled all round, without reſiſtance, intended to lay ſiege vnto the great City of *Syracuſe*.

Theſe proſperous beginnings, howſoeuer they animated the *Romanes*, and filled them with hopes, of attaining to greater matters, than at the firſt they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the Citie of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater loſſes than this ; in which no more was loſt, than what had beene prepared againſt the *Mamertines* alone, without any ſuſpition of Warre from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it ſeaſonable, to conſider of thoſe grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this warre; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honeſtie (for queſtionleſſe the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their ſhame) but how allowable in ſtrict tearmes of lawfulneſſe; whereupon they built

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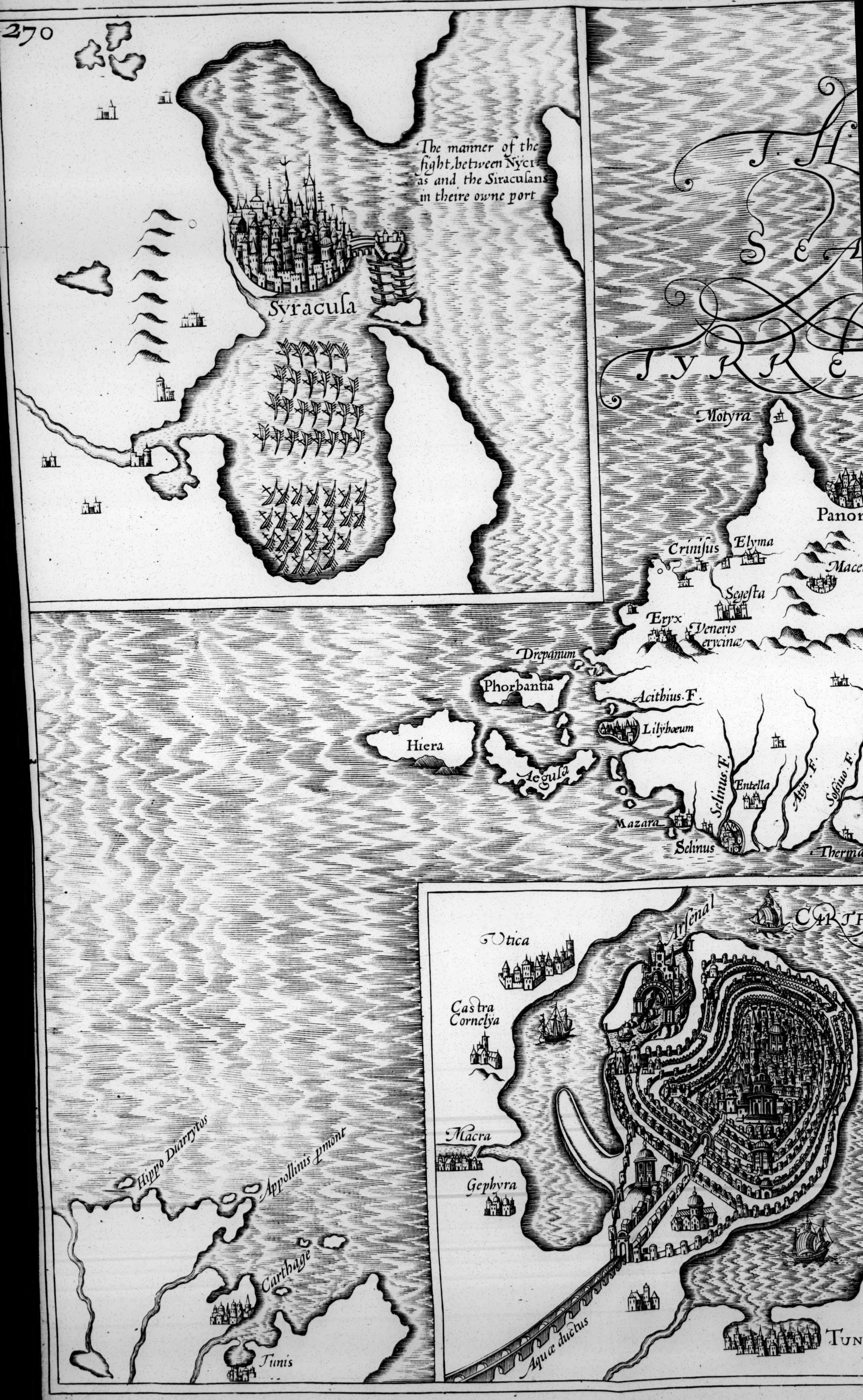
The manner of the fight, between Nycias and the Siracusans in theire owne port
Syracusa
TH
SEA
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Lilybœum
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Aegusa
Selinus. F.
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Atys. F.
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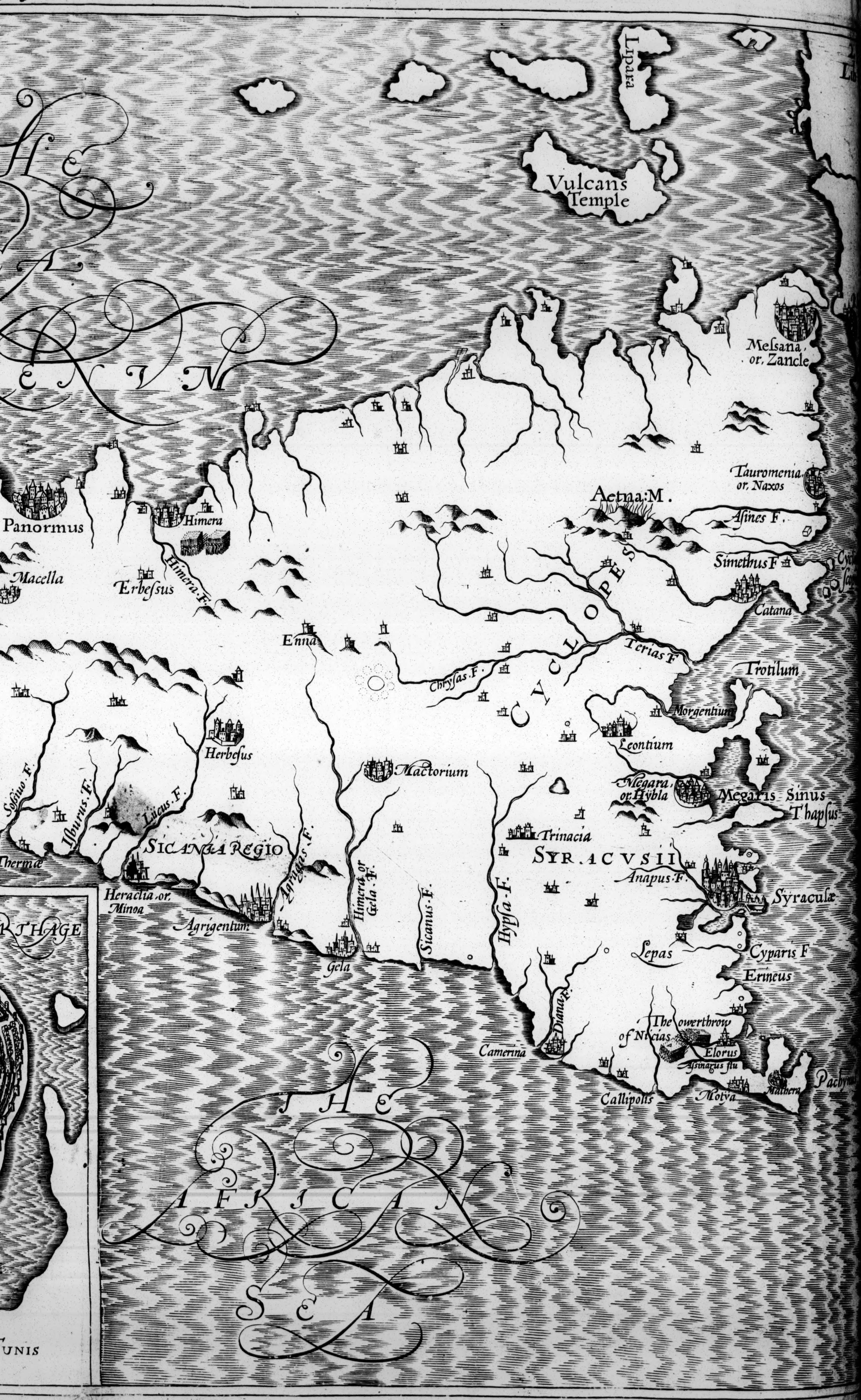
Lipara
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Messana or, Zancle
Tauromenia or, Naxos
Aetna:M.
Asines F.
Simethus F
Catana
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Panormus
Macella
Himera
Himera.F.
Erbessus
Enna
CYCLOPES
Terias F
Chryssas F.
Trotilum
Morgentium
Leontium
Megara or Hybla
Megaris Sinus
Thapsus
Mactorium
Herbessus
Sossius F.
Isburus F.
Lucus F.
Thermæ
SICANIA REGIO
Heraclia or Minoa
Agrigentum
Acragas F.
Himera or Gela F.
Sicanus F.
Gela
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Cyparis F
Erineus
Diana F.
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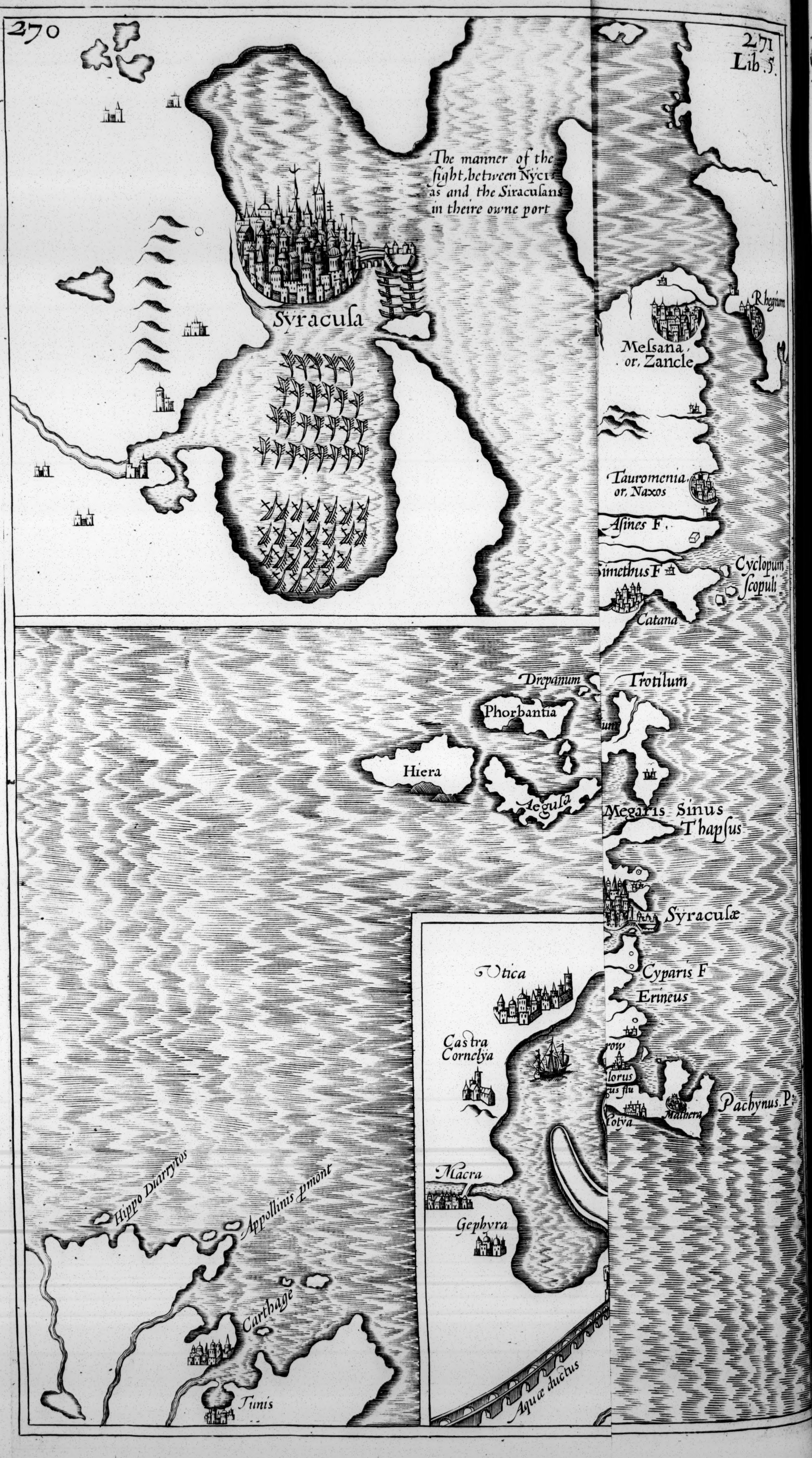
The manner of the
fight, between Nyci
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Syracusa
Messana
or, Zancle
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Asines F.
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Cyclopum
Scopuli
Catana
Drepanum
Trotilum
Phorbantia
Hiera
Aegusa
Megaris Sinus
Thapsus
Syracusæ
Cyparis F
Erineus
Elorus
Motya
Mathera
Pachynus P.
Vtica
Castra
Cornelya
Macra
Gephyra
Aquæ ductus
Hippo Diarrytos
Appollinis pmont
Carthage
Tunis

all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themſelues, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, diſtreſſed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the meſſengers of thoſe folke, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could bee enabled to make any ſuch ſurrendrie, in the publike name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull ſurrendrie of themſelues and their poſſeſſions, were become ſubiect vnto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* aſſiſt the *Mamertines*, againſt their moſt ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might haue aided the *Campanes*, againſt the *Samnites*, without the ſame condition? which was (as they themſelues confeſſed) by none at all. But let it be ſuppoſed, that ſome point ſeruing to cleare this doubt, is loſt in all Hiſtories. Doubtleſſe it is, that no company of Pyrates, Theeues, Out-lawes, Murderers, or ſuch other malefactours, can by any good ſucceſſe of their villanie, obtaine the priuiledge of ciuill ſocieties, to make league or truce, yea, or to require faire warre: but are by all meanes, as moſt pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of ſome *Ciuilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of theſe; it were a Poſition of ill conſequence: This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can giue protection to ſuch as theſe, as long as any other is vſing the ſword of vengeance againſt them, without becomming acceſſary to their crimes. Wherefore, we may eſteeme this action of the *Romanes*, ſo farre from being iuſtifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwiſe, by admitting this neſt of Murderers and Theeues, into their protection, they iuſtly deſerued to be warred vpon themſelues, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Meſſana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all ſlaine, ere any newes of the Confederacie had beene brought vnto the beſiegers. The great *Alexander* was ſo farre perſwaded herein; that hee did put to ſword all the *Branchiadæ* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithanding that they ioyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; becauſe they were deſcended from a Companie of *Mileſians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Countrie, which theſe of their poſteritie enioyed. Neuertheleſſe, in courſe of humane iuſtice, long and peaceable poſſeſſion giues *ius acquiſitum*, a kinde of right by preſcription, vnto that which was firſt obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the deſcendants, from the crime of their Anceſtors, whoſe vilanies they doe not exerciſe. But that the ſame generation of Theeues, which by a deteſtable fact hath purchaſed a rich Towne, ſhould be acknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no ſhew of right. For euen the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by thoſe victories which gaue him firſt poſſeſſion: but length of time is requiſite, to eſtabliſh him, vnleſſe by ſome alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime; as did our King *Henrie* the firſt, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironſide*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had ſo good) of iuſtice, in this quarrell, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandalls*, and other Nations, of the warres that they made vpon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her ſelfe, in the time of her viſitation, was burnt to the ground.

§. IIII.

Of the Iland of Sicil.

†. I.

The qualitie of the Iland: and the firſt inhabitants thereof.

THe defence of the *Mamertines*, or the poſſeſſion of *Meſſana*, being now no longer, ſince the firſt victories of *Appius Claudius*, the obiects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage*, are about to contend: it will bee agreeable vnto the order, which in the like caſes wee haue obſerued, to make a briefe collection, of things, concerning that noble Iland, which hath beene the ſtage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this preſent Warre.

That

Plin.l.2 c.91.
Sil.l.5.
Orion.l.4.c.14
Diod.l.6.
Ouid de Faſt 4

That *Sicil* was ſometimes a *Peninſula*, or *Demie-Iſle*, adioyned to *Italie*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria*, neere vnto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempeſt ſeuered from the ſame: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this diuiſion happened, there is no memoriall remaining, in any ancient writer. *Strabo, Pliny*, and *Dionyſius*, affirme, that it was cauſed by an earthquake; *Silius* and *Caſſiodorus*, doe thinke it to haue beene done by the rage and violence of the tide, and ſurges of the Sea. Either of theſe opinions may be true; for ſo was *Eubœa* ſeuered from *Bœotia*; *Atalante* and *Macris*, from *Eubœa*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornwall*; and *Britaine* it ſelfe (as may ſeeme by *Verſtegans* arguments) from the oppoſite continent of *Gaule*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their eares to fables, doe attribute the cauſe of it to *Neptune* (as *Euſtathius* witneſſeth) who with his three-forked Mace, in fauour of *Iocaſtus*, the ſonne of *Æolus*, diuided it from the maine land, and ſo made it an Iland, which before was but a *Demie-Iſle*; that by that meanes, he might the more ſafely inhabite, and poſſeſſe the ſame. *Diodorus Siculus*, moued by the authoritie of *Heſiodus*, aſcribeth the labour of ſundring it from *Italie*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountains) firſt opened the *Sicilian* ſtreights, as *Hercules* did thoſe of *Gibralter*.

They which value the Ilands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greateſt, as *Euſtathius* and *Strabo*, who affirme this, not onely to excell the reſt for bigneſſe, but alſo for goodneſſe of ſoyle. As concerning the forme of this Iland, *Pomponius Mela* ſaith, it is like that Capitall letter of the *Greeke*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Iland was conſecrated to *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, all old writers with one conſent affirme. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, becauſe it firſt taught the rules of ſetting and ſowing of Corne: to *Proſerpina*, not ſo much, for that ſhe was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as becauſe (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as ſoone as ſhe, vncouering her ſelfe, firſt ſhewed her ſelfe to bee ſeene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Strabo l.6.

Of the fertilitie and riches of this Countrie, there is a famous teſtimonie written by *Cicero*, in his ſecond Oration againſt *Verres*, where hee ſaith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granarie*, and *Store-houſe of the Common-wealth, and the Nurſe of the vulgar ſort*. The ſame *Cicero* doth adde in that place; that it was not onely the ſtore-houſe of the people of *Rome*: but alſo that it was a well-furniſhed treaſurie. For without any coſt or charge of ours (ſaith he) it hath vſually cloathed, maintained, and furniſhed, our greateſt Armies, with leather, apparell, and corne. *Strabo* reporteth almoſt the ſame thing of it. Whatſoeuer *Sicilie* doth yeeld (ſaith *Solinus*) whether by the Sunne, and temperature of the aire, or by the induſtrie and labour of man, it is accounted next vnto thoſe things that are of beſt eſtimation: were it not that ſuch things, as the earth firſt putteth forth, are extreamely ouer-growne with ſaffron. *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, that in the fields neere vnto *Leontium*, and in diuers other places of this Iland, wheat doth grow of it ſelfe without any labour, or looking to of the husbandman. *Martianus* ſheweth, that there were in it ſixe Colonies, and ſixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, wherof the names are found ſcatteringly in many good Authors.

Now beſides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peace as warre; there be many other things, which haue made it very renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the rauiſhing of *Proſerpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Ætna*, *Scylla* & *Charybdis*, with other antiquities, and rarities; beſides thoſe learned men, the noble *Mathematician Archimedes*, the famous *Geometrician Euclides*, the painfull Hiſtorian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles* the deepe Philoſopher.

That *Sicil* was at firſt poſſeſſed and inhabited by Giants *Læſtriogones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and vnciuill; all hiſtories and fables doe ioyntly with one conſent auerre. Yet *Thucydides* ſaith, that theſe ſauage people dwelt onely in one part of the Iland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spaine*, poſſeſſed it. That theſe *Sicani* were not bredde in the Iſle (although ſome doe thinke,) *Thucydydes* and *Diodorus* doe very conſtantly auouch.

Of theſe it was named *Sicania*. Theſe *Sicani* were inuaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driuen by the *Pelaſgi* from their owne ſeates, and finding no place vpon the Continent, which they were able to maſter and inhabite, paſſed ouer into this Iland, three hundred yeeres before the *Greekes* ſent any Colonies thither: and (ſaith *Philiſtus*) eighty yeres before the fall of *Troy*. Theſe *Siculi* gaue the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iland; and making warre vpon the *Sicani*, draue them from the Eaſt and Northerne part thereof, into the Weſt and South. At their landing, they firſt built the Citie *Zancle*, afterward called *Meſſena*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Syracuſe* it ſelfe, beating from thence the *Ætolians*, who long before had ſet vp a Towne in that place. As for the name of *Syracuſe*, it was not known, till ſuch time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) wonne that part of the Iland from the *Siculi*. Neither did the *Siculi* at their firſt arriuall diſpoſſeſſe the *Ætolians* thereof, but ſome hundred yeeres after their deſcent, and after ſuch time as they had founded the Cities before named, with *Neæ*, *Hybla*, *Trynacia*, and diuers others.

After theſe *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driuen by the *Oenotrians*. Theſe ſate downe in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raiſed the Cities of *Morgentum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were diuided, and by a ciuill war greatly infeebled. Among theſe ancient ſtories, we finde the laſt voiage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Creet*. *Thucydides*, an Hiſtorian of vnqueſtionable ſinceritie, reports of *Minos*, that he made conqueſt of many Ilands: and ſome ſuch buſineſſe, perhaps drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in purſuit of *Dædalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dædalus* fleeing the reuenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil* to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, and during his abode there, he built a place of great ſtrength, neere vnto *Megara*, for *Cocalus*, to lay vp his treaſure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the reſt, he caſt a Ramme in gold, that was ſet vp in the Temple of *Venus Erycina*; which hee did with ſo great Art, as thoſe that beheld it, thought it rather to be liuing, than counterfait.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dædalus*, prepares to inuade the Territorie of *Cocalus*; but when he was arriued, *Cocalus* doubting his owne ſtrength, promiſeth to deliuer *Dædalus*. This he performes not, but in the meane while, kills *Minos* by treaſon, and perſwades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his followers, to inhabite a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it ſeems) to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt the *Siculi*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gaue their conſent, and builded for themſelues the Citie of *Minoa*, after the name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewiſe built the Towne of *Engium*, now called *Gange*: and theſe were the firſt Cities, built by the *Greekes* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the warre of *Troy*; for the grand-children of *Minos* ſerued with the *Greekes* at the ſiege thereof.

But after ſuch time as the *Cretans* vnderſtood, that their King had by treaſon beene made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to inuade *Cocalus*: and landing neere vnto *Camicus*, they beſieged the ſame fiue yeares, but in vaine. In the end (being forced to returne, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the coaſt of *Italie*; and hauing no meanes to repaire their ſhips, nor the honour they had loſt, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, betweene the two famous Ports of *Brunduſium* and *Tarentum*. Of theſe *Cretans* came thoſe Nations, afterward called *Iapyges* and *Meſſapij*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Ægeſtus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certaine troops into *Sicil*, and ſeated themſelues among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Ægeſta* and *Elyma*.

It is ſaid, that *Æneas* viſited theſe places in his paſſage into *Italie*: and that ſome of the *Troianes*, his followers, were left behinde him, in theſe Townes of *Sicil*: whereof there want not good Authors, that make *Æneas* himſelfe the founder.

About the ſame time, the *Phœnicians* ſeized vpon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, and *Lilybæum*, and vpon certaine ſmall Iſles adioyning to the maine Iland: which they fortified, to ſecure the trades that they had with the *Sicilians*; like as the *Portugals* haue done in the Eaſt *India*, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Moſambiq*, and other places. But the *Phœnicians* ſtaied not there; for after they had once aſſured their deſcents, they built the goodly Citie of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

Theſe we finde, were the Nations that inhabited the Iſle of *Sicil*, before the warre of *Troy*, and ere the *Greekes* in any numbers began to ſtraggle in thoſe parts.

It may perchance ſeeme ſtrange to the Reader, that in all ancient ſtorie, hee findes one and the ſame beginning of Nations, after the floud; and that the firſt planters of all parts of the World, were ſaid to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Oreſtes*, *Antæus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmarke* had *Starchaterus*, remembred by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, and other Regions, had Giants for their firſt Inhabitants; ſo this Iſle of *Sicil* had her *Leſtrigones* and *Cyclopes*. This diſcourſe I could alſo reiect for fained and fabulous; did not *Moſes* make vs know, that the *Zamzummins*, *Emims*, *Anakims*, and *Og* of *Baſan*, with others, which ſometime inhabited the Mountaines and Deſarts of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Mount Seir*, were men of exceeding ſtrength and ſtature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertullian*, S. *Auguſtine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Iſidore*, *Plinie*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authors, haue confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Veſputius*, in his ſecond Nauigation into *America*, hath reported, that himſelfe hath ſeene the like men in thoſe parts. Againe, whereas the ſelfe-ſame is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their ſimplicitie of life, their meane fare, their feeding on acorns and rootes, their poore cottages, the couering of their bodies with the skins of beaſts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, & their warfare, their firſt paſſages ouer great Riuers & armes of the Sea, vpon rafts of trees tied together; and afterward, their making boats, firſt, of twigs and leather, then of wood; firſt, with Oares, & then with ſaile; that they eſteemed as gods, the firſt finders out of Arts; as of Husbandrie, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all liued in the ſame newneſſe of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the ſame want of his inſtruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankinde. For other teaching had they none, that were remooued farre off from the *Hebrewes*, (who inherited the knowledge of the firſt Patriarchs,) than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the cauſes: from whence came Philoſophie Naturall; as the morall did from diſorder and confuſion; and the Law from crueltie and oppreſſion.

Saxo G. in præfat. hiſt.

Tertul. de Reſurr.
Aug. de Ciuit. Dei l. 15. 9. Et quæſt. in Gen.
Nicep. l. 2. c. 37
Procop. l. 2. de Bello Goth.
Plin. l. 7. c. 2.

But it is certaine, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth ſtranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie. For wee haue now greater Giants, for vice and iniuſtice, than the World had in thoſe daies, for bodily ſtrength; for cottages, and houſes of clay and Timber, we haue raiſed Palaces of ſtone; we carue them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; inſomuch as men are rather knowne by their houſes, than their houſes by them; we are fallen from two diſhes, to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkenneſſe; from the couering of our bodies with the skinnes of beaſts, not onely to ſilke and gold, but to the very skinnes of men. But to conclude this digreſſion, *Time* will alſo take reuenge of the exceſſe, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorq; auxit, longiſſima ſubruet; Long time brought forth, longer time increaſed it, and a time, longer than the reſt, ſhall ouerthrow it.*

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†. II.

The plantation of the Greekes in Sicill.

WHen the firſt inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicil*: it happened, that one *Theocles*, a *Greeke*, being driuen vpon that coaſt by an Eaſterly wind; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had beene thought fabulous, being deliuered onely by Poets; gaue information to the *Athenians* of this his diſcouerie, & propoſed vnto them the benefit of this eaſie conqueſt, offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *Engliſh*. Wherfore he took the ſame courſe that *Columbus* afterwards did. He ouer-laboured not himſelfe in perſwading the Noble *Athenians* (who thought themſelues to be well enough already) to their owne profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needie and induſtrious, by whom his proiect was gladly entertained. By theſe was built the Citie of *Naxus*, and a Colony planted of *Eubœans*.

But the reſt of the *Greekes* were wiſer than our weſterne Princes of *Europe*: for they had no Pope, that ſhould forbid them, to occupie the voide places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubœans*, and landed in *Sicil*, neare vnto that Citie, called afterward [*] *Syracuſe*: of which, that part onely was then compaſſed with a wall, which the

Ætolians

[*] *Syracuſe*, as *Cicero* relates, was the greateſt, and moſt goodly Citie of all that the *Greeks* poſſeſt. For the ſituation is both ſtrong, and of an excellent proſpect from euery entrance, by Land, or ſea. The Port was (for the moſt part) enuironed with beautiful building: and that part which was without the City, was on both ſides bankt vp, and ſuſtained with beautiful wals of Marble. The Citie it ſelfe was one of the greateſt of the World: for it had in compaſſe (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, 180. furlongs; which made of our miles about 18. It was compounded of foure Cities, (*Strabo* ſaith, of fiue) to wit. *Inſula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*: of which greatneſſe, the ruines & foundations of the walls doe yet witneſſe.

Ætolians called **Homothermon**; the *Greeks*, *Naſos*; the *Latines*, *Inſula*. He with his *Corinthians* hauing ouer-come the *Siculi*, draue them vp into the Countrie; and after a few yeares, their multitudes increaſing, they added vnto the Citie of the Iland, that of *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commoditie of the double Port, capable of as many ſhips, as any Hauen of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertilitie of the ſoyle; *Syracuſe* grew vp in great haſte, to be one of the goodlieſt Towns of the world. In ſhort time the *Greekes* did poſſeſſe the better part of all the Sea-coaſt; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themſelues into the faſt and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Royall reſidence in *Trinacia*.

After ſuch time as the *Dores* of *Peloponneſus* had driue out the *Sicilians*, this goodly citie for a long time became the ſeat of Tyrants. The firſt whereof was *Gelo*: The ſecond, *Hiero* the elder: the third *Thraſybulus*: the fourth and fift, *Dionyſius*, the elder, and yonger: the ſixt *Dion*: the ſeuenth *Agathocles*: the eight, *Pyrrhus*: the ninth, *Hiero* the yonger: the tenth and laſt, *Hieronymus*: who beeing ſlaine at *Leontium*, at length the *Romans* conquered it vnder the conduct of *Marcellus*.

Some ſeuen yeeres after the arriuall of *Archias*; the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the ſucceſſe of the *Corinthians*, did aſſaile, and obtaine the Citie of *Leontium*, built and poſſeſt by the *Siculi*. In briefe, the *Greekes* winne from the *Siculi*, and their Aſſociates, the Cities of *Catana* and *Hybla*, which, in honour of the *Megarians* that forc't it, they called *Megara*.

About 45. yeeres after *Archias* had taken *Syracuſe*; *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Armie into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*; whoſe Citizens, one hundred and eight yeeres after, did erect that magnificent and renowned Citie of *Agrigentum*, gouerned according to the Lawes of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracuſians* alſo, in the ſeuentieth yere after their plantation, did ſet vp the City of *Acra*, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth yere *Caſmena*, in the Playnes adioyning; and againe, in the hundred and thirtieth yeare of their dwelling in *Syracuſe*, they built *Camerina*; and ſoon after that, *Enna*, in the very Center of the Iland. So did the *Cumani*, about the ſame time, recouer from the *Siculi* the Citie of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the ſtreight betweene *Sicil* and *Italie*. They of *Zancle* had beene the founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this *Doriæus* the *Lacedæmonian* built *Heraclia*; which the *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the Neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, ſoone after inuaded and ruined, though the ſame were againe ere long re-edified.

Selinus alſo was built by a Colonie of *Megara*: and *Zancle* was taken by the *Meſſenians*; who hauing loſt their owne Countrie, gaue the name thereof vnto this their new purchaſe. Such were the beginnings of the greateſt Cities in this Iland.

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†. III.

Of the gouernment and affaires of Sicil, before Dionyſius *his Tyrannie.*

THe moſt part of the Cities in *Sicil*, were gouerned by the rule of the people, till ſuch time as *Phalaris* began to vſurpe the ſtate of *Agrigentum*, and to exerciſe all manner of tyrannie therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a deteſtable Engine, gaue an hollow Bull of braſſe, wherein to encloſe men, and ſcortch them to death: prayſing the deuice with this commendation; That the noiſe of one tormented therein, ſhould bee like vnto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gaue a due reward to the Inuentour; by cauſing the firſt triall to be made vpon himſelfe. He reigned one and thirty yeares, ſaith *Euſebius*; others giue him but ſixteene: Howſoeuer it were, one *Telemachus* in the end, fell vpon him with the whole multitude of *Agrigentum*, and ſtoned him to death; beeing thereto animated by *Zeno*, euen whileſt the Tyrant was tormenting the ſame *Zeno*, to make him confeſſe ſome matter of conſpiracie.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recouered their libertie, and enioyed it long, till *Thero* vſurped the gouernment of the Common-weale: at which time alſo *Panætius* made himſelfe Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander*, of *Gela*: but *Cleander*, hauing ruled 7. yeares, was ſlaine by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hippocrates* ſucceeded in his roome, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle* or *Meſſena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with diuers others of the ancient inhabitants, hee forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He alſo made warre with the *Syracuſians*, and, in the end, got from them by compoſition, the Citie of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned ſeuen yeares, he was ſlaine in a battell againſt the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracuſians* change their forme of Gouernment, from *Popular* to *Ariſtocraticall*; a preparation towards a Principality, wherinto it was ſoon after changed.

After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (deſcended from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans* had long before, among other of the *Greekes*, ſeated themſelues in *Sicil*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former warre, with notable ſucceſſe, became Lord of *Gela*. He, after his Maſters death, breaking the truſt committed vnto him by *Hippocrates* ouer his children, and being in poſſeſſion of *Gela*, tooke the occaſion and aduantage of a contention in *Syracuſe*, betweene the Magiſtrates and the People. For comming with a ſtrong Armie to the ſuccour of the Gouernours, driuen out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the firſt, and (indeed) the moſt famous, that euer gouerned the *Syracuſians*. This change happened in the ſecond yeere of the threeſcore and twelfth *Olympiad*; wherein the better to eſtabliſh himſelfe, he tooke to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had alſo vſurped the ſtate of *Agrigentum*.

Pauſan.l.6.

Now this *Gelon*, the ſonne of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thraſibulus*: to the firſt of which he gaue vp the Citie of *Gela*, when hee had obtained the Principalitie of *Syracuſe*. For, after that time, all his thoughts trauelled in the ſtrengning, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuſe*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracuſians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuſe*. The *Megarians* that had moued a warre againſt him, he ouer-came; the richer ſort hee brought vnto *Syracuſe*; and the people hee ſold for ſlaues. In like manner dealt hee with other places vpon the like occaſion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agrigentines*, hauing diſpoſſeſt *Terillus*, of his Citie *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawne into the quarrell by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Meſſena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* was alſo ſollicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after diuers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were ouerthrowne by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fiftie thouſand of them left their bodies in *Sicil*.

Herod. & Dio.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* ſent for ſuccour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Armie paſt the *Helleſpont*. He, for their reliefe hauing armed thirty thouſand Souldiers, and two hundred ſhips, refuſed neuertheleſſe to ſend them into *Greece*, becauſe they refuſed him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So hee vſed to their Embaſſadors onely this ſaying, *That their Spring was withered*; accompting the Armie, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the *Greeke* Nation.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great loſſe receiued, fearing the inuaſion of their owne Countrie, ſent to *Gelon* by their Embaſſadours, to deſire peace; who grants it them on theſe conditions; That from thenceforth they ſhould not ſacrifice their children to *Saturne*; That they ſhould pay him 2000. talents of ſiluer, and preſent him with two armed ſhips, in ſigne of amitie. Theſe conditions the *Carthaginians*, not onely willingly accepted, but with the two thouſand talents, and the ſhips for warre, they ſent vnto *Demarata*, *Gelons* wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other preſents. Whereby we ſee, that ſome Nations, and ſome Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended; and *Sicil* in peace; *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So beeing exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subiects, he left the World, and left for his Succeſſour his brother *Hiero*. *Philiſtus* and *Plinie* report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the cuſtome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and ſuffered himſelfe to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his brother ſucceeded, a man rude, cruell, couetous, and ſo ſuſpicious of his brethren *Polyzelus*, aud *Thraſybulus*, as hee ſought by all meanes to deſtroy them. Notwithſtanding all this; by the conuerſation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the ſtudie of good Arts. Diuers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, as with other Cities: all which he ſhortly after compounded, and gaue a notable ouerthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to inuade *Sicil*, fearing the ſuccours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aide the *Græcians*, againſt him. Hee alſo ouerthrew in battaile *Thraſydæus*, the ſonne of *Theron*, and thereby reſtored the *Agrigentines*, to their former libertie. But in the end, he loſt the loue of the *Syracuſians*; and after he had reigned 11. yeares, he left the kingdom to his brother *Thraſybulus*, who became a moſt vniuſt & bloudy Tyrant. *Thraſybulus* enioyed his Principalitie no longer then ten moneths. For, notwithſtanding the force of mercenary Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, hee was beaten out of *Syracuſe* by the Citizens; to whom, being beſieged in *Acradina*, he reſtored the gouernement, and was baniſhed the Iland. From whence he ſailed into *Greece*, where hee died a priuate man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracuſians* recouered againe their former libertie, as all the reſt of the Cities did, after which they had neuer ſought, had the Succeſſors of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principalitie of *Syracuſe*. For in all changes of Eſtates, the preſeruation ought to anſwere the acquiſition, Where a liberall, valiant, and aduiſed Prince, hath obtained any new Signiorie, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himſelfe from being a priuate man, to the dignitie of a Prince; it behooueth the Succeſſour to maintaine it by the ſame way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuſe* (though not without blowes, ere that ſhee could clenſe her ſelfe of the creatures and louers of *Gelon*) was now againe become Miſtreſſe of her ſelfe, and held her ſelfe free, well-neere threeſcore yeares, to the time of *Dionyſius*; though ſhe were in the meane while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne, called *Tindario*.

Now, to preuent the greatneſſe of any one among them, for the future, they deuiſed a kinde of baniſhment of ſuch among them, as were ſuſpected; taking patterne from the *Athenian Oſtraciſme*. They called this their new deuiſed iudgement of exile, *Petaliſmus*, wherein euery one wrote vpon an Oliue leafe (as at *Athens* they wrote vpon ſhells) the name of him, whom hee would haue expelled the Citie. Hee that had moſt ſuffrages againſt him, was baniſhed for fiue yeeres. Heereby in a ſhort time, it came to paſſe that thoſe of iudgement, and beſt able to gouerne the Common-weale, were by the worſt able, either ſuppreſt, or thruſt out of the Citie. Yea, ſuch as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themſelues as ſecretly as they could; ſeeking ſome place of more ſecuritie, wherein to maintaine themſelues. And good reaſon they had ſo to doe; ſeeing that there is nothing ſo terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law laſted not very long. For their neceſſity taught them to aboliſh it, and reſtore againe the wiſer ſort vnto the Gouernment; from which, the Nobilitie hauing practiſed to baniſh one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being inuaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Iland (who had alreadie taken *Enna*, and ſome other of the *Græcian* Cities, and ouerthrowne the Armie of the *Agregentines*) the *Syracuſians* ſent forces againſt him, commanded by an vnworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their Captaine made nothing ſo much haſte to finde out *Ducetius*, againſt whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Armie he led, as ſoone as *Ducetius* preſented him battell. So for want of conduct, the greateſt number of the *Syracuſians* periſhed.

But making better choice among thoſe whom they had baniſhed, they leuie other troopes: by whom, in concluſion, *Ducetius* being beaten, ſubmitteth himſelfe, and is conſtrained to leaue the Iland for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned againe, and built the Citie *Collatina* on the Sea-ſide.

Ducetius being dead; all the *Greeke* Cities did in a ſort acknowledge *Syracuſe*: *Trinacia* excepted; which alſo by force of armes, in the foureſcore and fift *Olympiad*, they brought to reaſon.

But they doe not long enioy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppreſt by them, ſeeke aide from the *Athenians*, about the ſixt yeere of the *Peloponneſian* Warre. In this ſuite they preuailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to ſuccour them, vnder the leading of *Laches*, and *Charœodes*. To this fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with ſome ſupplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captaines, they inuaded the Territories of the *Syracuſians*, and their Partiſans; wanne and loſt diuers places; tooke *Meſſana*; and, in the ſeuenth yeere of the *Peloponneſian* Warre, loſt it againe. They alſo at the ſame time, attempted *Himera*, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which did inuade each others Territorie with great violence. But when they had wearied themſelues on all hands, and yet could ſee none iſſue of the warre, the *Leontines*, without the aduice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracuſians*, and were admitted into their ſocietie, with equall freedome. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to haue greatned themſelues in *Sicil*, by the diuiſion and ciuill warre, were diſappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and faine to be gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the cuſtome of popular Eſtates) by taking reuenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they baniſhed *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and layd an heauy fine vpon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the moſt memorable warre, that euer was made by the *Greekes* in *Sicil*: which was that of the *Athenians*, againſt the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſians*, in fauor of the Cities of *Egeſta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppreſt the *Egeſtans*; and they of *Syracuſe*, the *Leontines*, & the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the warre. For, the *Athenians* vndertooke the protection of their olde friends: and, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aide from *Lacedæmon* was ſent to the *Syracuſians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainely, hauing none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to helpe a people of their owne Tribe, that craued their ſuccor, being in diſtreſſe. The *Athenians* ſcarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were ſo great, as diſcouered their intent to be none other, than the conqueſt of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were ſo blinded with their owne paſſions, that they would not beleeue their owne eies; which preſented vnto them a Fleet, and Armie, farre greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the Citie of *Athens* had engaged all her power; as regarding, not onely the greatneſſe of the enterpriſe, but the neceſſitie of finiſhing it in a ſhort ſpace of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath already beene ſhewed in due place) ſtood at that time in ſuch broken termes of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open war. Wherefore it was thought neceſſary, either to ſpare coſt in this great expedition, or altogether to forbeare it: which was likely to be hindred by warres at home, if their proceedings were ſlacke abroad. And ſurely, had not the deſire of the *Athenians* been ouerpaſſionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had cauſed them to abſtaine from ſo chargeable a buſineſſe, and to reſerue their forces for a more needfull vſe. But young counſailes preuailed againſt the authoritie of ancient men, that were more regardfull of ſafetie than of honour.

Of this buſineſſe, mention hath beene alreadie made, in that which wee haue written of the *Peloponneſian* warre. But what was there deliuered in generall termes, as not concerning the affaires of *Greece*, otherwiſe than by conſequence; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to haue felt a great conuerſion.

Though *Alcibiades* had preuailed againſt *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

Theſe had commiſſion & direction, as well to ſuccour the *Segeſtans*, and to re-eſtabliſh the *Leontines*, caſt out of their places by the *Syracuſians*; as alſo by force of armes, to ſubiect the *Syracuſians*, and all their adherents in *Sicill*, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their ſupreame Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were ſent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and fiue thouſand one hundred Souldiers, beſides the thirty ſhips of burden, which tranſported their victualls, engines, and other munitions for the warre: and theſe were *Athenians*, *Mantinæans*, *Rhodians*, and *Candians*: there were, beſides theſe, ſixe thouſand *Megarians* light armed, with thirtie horſemen.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 9.

With theſe troups and fleets they arriue at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuſe to giue them entrie; but ſell them victualls for their monie. From thence they ſent to the *Egeſtans*, to know what treaſure they would contribute towards the warre, ſeeing for their ſakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their anſweres, that theſe *Egeſtans* were poore, and that they had abuſed the *Athenian* Embaſſadors with falſe ſhewes of gold, hauing in all but 30. talents. The *Athenians* further were diſcouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient friends, and allied vnto the *Leontines*, refuſed to truſt them within their walls. Heereupon *Nicias* aduiſeth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perſwade them to an agreement with the *Egeſtans*; as likewiſe to ſee what diſburſements the *Egeſtans* could make; and ſo returne againe into *Greece*, and not to waſte *Athens* in a needleſſe warre. *Alcibiades*, on the other ſide, would ſollicite the Cities of *Sicil* to confederacie againſt the *Syracuſians* and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them vnto reſtitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, he perſwades them to aſſaile *Syracuſe* it ſelfe, before it were prepared againſt them. But in the end (being excluded out of diuers Cities) they ſurprize *Catana*: and there they take new counſaile, how to proceede. Thence they imploied *Nicias* to thoſe of *Egeſta*, who receiued from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twentie talents more there were of the ſpoiles they had gotten in the Iland. Thus, the ſummer being ſpent in idle conſultations, and vaine attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to aſſaile *Syracuſe*. But *Alcibiades* hauing beene accuſed at home, in his abſence, was ſent for backe by the *Athenians*, to make his anſwere: and the Armie was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. Theſe Commanders obtaine a landing place very neere vnto *Syracuſe*, by this deuice.

They imploy to *Syracuſe* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they truſt; and inſtruct him, to promiſe vnto the *Syracuſians*, that he would deliuer into their hands all the *Athenians*, within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracuſians* draw thitherward with their beſt forces. But in the meane while, the *Athenians*, ſetting ſaile from *Catana*, arriue at *Syracuſe*, where they land at faire eaſe, and fortifie themſelues againſt the Towne. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracuſians* had the loſſe: but the *Athenians*, wanting horſe, could not purſue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themſelues, with a reſolution to refreſh their Armie at *Catana*, for the winter-ſeaſon. From thence they made an attempt vpon *Meſſana*, hoping to haue taken it by an intelligence, but in vaine. For *Alcibiades* had diſcouered ſuch as were Traitors within the Citie to the *Meſſenians*. This he now did, in deſpight of his owne Citizens, the *Athenians*; becauſe they had recalled him from his command, with a purpoſe either to haue put him to death, or to haue baniſhed him: whereof being aſſured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the *Lacedæmonians*, and to them he gaue miſchieuous counſaile againſt his countrie. While this winter yet laſted, the *Syracuſians* ſend Embaſſadours to *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, for aide: as likewiſe the *Athenian* Captaines in *Sicil*, ſend to *Athens*, for ſupplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth yeare of the *Peloponneſian* warre) the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, ſaile from the Port of *Catana*, to *Megara*, forſaken of the Inhabitants; from whence forraging the Countrie, they obtaine ſome ſmall victories ouer the ſtraggling *Syracuſians*: and at their returne to *Catana*, they receiue a ſupply of two hundred men at armes, but without horſe, which they hoped to furniſh in the Iland, from the *Segeſtans*, and other their adherents: they were alſo ſtrengthened with a company of Archers, and with three hundred talents in money.

Hereupon they take courage, and incampe neere *Syracuſe*, vpon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracuſians*, that ſallied to impeach their intrenchments. They alſo receiued from their Confederates foure hundred horſe-men, with two hundred other horſe, to mount their men at armes. *Syracuſe* was now in effect blockt vp, ſo as hardly any ſuccours could enter, but ſuch as were able to force their paſſage: yet the *Athenians* receiue diuers loſſes; among which it was not the leaſt, that *Lamachus*, one of their beſt Commanders, was ſlaine.

In the meane while, *Gylyppus*, and *Python*, with the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Corinthian* forces arriue, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, ioyne with them; ſo that with theſe and his owne troupes, *Gylyppus* aduentured to march ouer-land towards *Syracuſe*. The *Syracuſians* ſend a part of their forces to meet him, and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arriuall neere vnto the Citie, vpon a place of aduantage. At the firſt encounter, they had the better of their enemies, by reaſon that the *Syracuſian* horſe-men could not come to fight in thoſe ſtreights: but ſoone after, *Gylyppus* charging them againe, brake them, and conſtrained *Nicias* to fortifie himſelfe within his Campe. Whereupon *Nicias* made the ſtate of his affaires knowne, by his letters, to the *Athenians*; ſhewing, that, without great ſupplies by Sea and Land, the enterpriſe would be loſt, together with the ſmall Armie remaining. Theſe letters receiued, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon*, and *Demoſthenes*, to ioyne with *Nicias*: the one they diſpatch preſently with ſome ſupply; the other they ſend after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, *Gylyppus* at *Syracuſe*, fights with the *Athenians*, both by Sea and

Land, ſometimes with ill, and at other times with good ſucceſſe: but in concluſion, he tooke from their Fort, neere vnto *Syracuſe*, at the *Promontorie*, called *Plymmyrium*; wherein the *Athenians* loſt their treaſure, and a great part of all their prouiſions. Notwithſtanding which loſſe, and that the *Athenians* themſelues, in *Greece*, were (in effect) beſieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedæmonians*; yet were they moſt obſtinate in proſecuting the Warre in *Sicil*, and diſpatched away *Demoſthenes* with new ſuccours. *Demoſthenes*, in his way towards *Sicil*, encountred with *Polyanthes* the *Corinthian*, with his fleete: both the Captaines being bound for *Sicil*, the one to ſuccour *Nicias*, the other *Gylyppus*. The loſſe betweene them was in effect equall; and neither ſo broken, but that each of them proſecuted the enterpriſe they had in hand. But before the ſuccours arriued to either, *Gylyppus* and *Ariſton* had aſſailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuſe*, and in a Sea-fight put them to the worſt, to the great diſcouragement of the *Athenians*. On the necke of this, *Demoſthenes* arriued with three-ſcore and thirteene Gallies, charged with footmen; and (blaming the ſlouth of *Nicias*) he inuaded the *Syracuſians*, the ſame day that he arriued. But he made more haſte then he had good ſpeede, being ſhamefully beaten, and repulſed with great loſſe. Hereupon *Demoſthenes* and *Eurymedon*, determine to riſe vp from before *Syracuſe*, and returne to the ſuccour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* diſputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuſe*, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatſoeuer *Nicias* his intelligence was; vpon the arriuall of a new ſupply into the Towne, the *Athenians* had all conſented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipſe of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill ſucceſſe, cauſed them to deferre their departure. But this ſuperſtition coſt them deare. For the *Syracuſians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Corinthians*, with threeſcore and ſeuenteene ſaile of Gallies, entred the great Port of *Syracuſe*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, and whereon they had fortified themſelues. The *Athenians*, in the ſame Port encountred them with foureſcore and ſixe Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*; in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the leſſer number, and *Eurymedon* ſlaine. Now, though it were ſo, that the *Syracuſians* receiued the more loſſe by Land (for the fight was generall) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by Sea, in which kinde they thought themſelues inuincible, they were wonderfully caſt downe. For it was well ſaid of *Gylyppus*, to the *Syracuſians*; *When any people doe finde themſelues vanquiſhed in that manner of fight, and with thoſe weapons, in which they perſwade themſelues that they exceede all others, they not onely loſe their reputation, but their courage.* The *Athenians*, beſides the Gallies ſuncke and wrackt, had ſeuenteene taken, and poſſeſt by the enemy: and with great labour and loſſe they defended the reſt from being fired, hauing drawne them within a *Paliſado*, in one corner of the Port, vnaduiſedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-warre, to thruſt ſhips into a ſtreight roome and corner, as it is to ſcatter foot in a plaine field againſt horſe; the one ſubſiſting, by being at large; the other, by cloſe imbattailing.

The *Syracuſians*, hauing now weakned the *Athenian* fleet, reſolue to impriſon them within the Port. And to that purpoſe they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Hauen, being about a mile ouer, and there they came to Anchor; filling the out-let with all manner of Veſſels, which they man moſt ſtrongly, becauſe the *Athenians*, being now made deſperate, ſhould not with double ranks of Gallies breake through the *Syracuſian* fleet; which lay but ſingle, becauſe they were forſt to range themſelues ouer all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not onely mored themſelues ſtrongly by their Anchors, but chained the ſides of their Gallies together, and laid behinde them againe certaine ſhips, which ſerued in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were ſunke; or the chaine, which ioyned them to their fellowes, broken; the *Athenians* might yet finde themſelues, a ſecond time, intangled and arreſted. To diſorder; alſo thoſe *Athenian* Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a paſſage, the *Syracuſians* had left within theſe Gallies and Ships, inchained together, a certaine number of looſe ones, to ſtop their courſe and furie. For where the way of any veſſell, vſing oare or ſailes, is broken, and their ſpeede fore-ſlowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the reſiſtance oppoſing.

On the other ſide, the *Athenians* knew that they were vtterly loſt except with an inuincible reſolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great bridge of boats; or (at leaſt) force a paſſage through them in ſome part or other: which they reſolue to hazard, with all their ſhipping (to the number of one hundred and ten, of all ſorts) and with all the ſtrength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did ſo diſorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit ſome few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being ſtopt by the ſhips without, & aſſailed by other looſe Gallies of the *Syracuſians*, which were purpoſely left at large in the Sea, they were either taken or ſunke. Three great diſaduantages the *Athenians* had: the firſt, that fighting within a Hauen, and (as it were) in a ſteight, they had no roome to turne themſelues, nor to free themſelues one from another, being intangled; the ſecond, that hauing ouer-peſtered their Gallies with Souldiers, who vſed offenſiue armes of darts and ſlings, they had not place vpon the decks to ſtretch their armes: the third was, the diſcomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a paſſage, by which they might ſaue themſelues by running away. To be ſhort, the fight was no leſſe terrible than the confuſion; the ſlaughter great on all ſides; and the noiſe, and the cries, ſo lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as ſuruiued, were beaten backe to the Land, with loſſe of threeſcore of their Gallies, broken, ſunke, or abandoned. The *Syracuſians* did alſo loſe twenty of theirs, with *Python*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The reſt of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themſelues into the bottome of the Port, ſaued themſelues by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this deſperate eſtate, the *Athenian* Commanders goe to counſell. *Demoſtenes* perſwades them, to furniſh with freſh Souldiers thoſe few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracuſians* were triumphing, and made ſecure by their preſent victory, to ſet vpon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to *Athens*. This was no ill counſaile. For, as wee haue heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greateſt number of all that haue beene victorious) that haue neglected the ſpeedy proſecution of a beaten enemy; ſo might we produce many examples of thoſe, who, hauing ſlept ſecurely in the boſome of good ſucceſſe, haue beene ſuddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Armie, and haue thereby loſt againe all the honour, and aduantage, formerly gotten. But *Nicias* oppoſeth the aduice of *Demoſthenes*: Others ſay, that the Sea-men were againſt it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all reſolue to march ouer land to the Cities of their Confederates, till ſome more fauourable fortune ſhould call them thence. On the other ſide, *Gylyppus*, and other the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* Captaines, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracuſians* to put themſelues preſently into the field, and to ſtop all the paſſages, leading to thoſe Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retrait. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the preſent. Which humour in ſome of our Commanders at *Cadez*, loſt vs both the *Indian* fleet, and the ſpoiles of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracuſian*, finding it a loſt labour, to perſwade his Countrimen to any haſtie proſecution, deuiſed this good ſtratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he ſhould draw them willingly out. He ſent two or three horſe-men out of *Syracuſe* by night, willing them to finde *Nicias*, and (after they had aſſured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to giue him aduice not to march away ouer-haſtily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alleadging that the *Syracuſians* had lodged their Armie, which could not long ſtay there, vpon the paſſages and places of aduantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. Theſe tidings *Nicias* eaſily beleeued, and put off his iournie to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the moſt part) more fearefull than wiſe; and to them, euery thiſtle in the field, appeares, by night, a man at armes.

The third day (leauing all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remoue; being pierced and purſued with the lamentable out-cries of thoſe that were ſicke and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies ſwords. The reſt march away, to the number of fortie thouſand; and make their firſt paſſage by force, ouer the Riuer of *Anapus*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of their enemies. But being euery day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracuſian* horſe-men, beaten in from forraging and prouiſion of food, they grow weake and heartleſſe. The *Syracuſians* alſo poſſeſſe the Mountaine *Lepas*, by which they were to paſſe towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall backe againe towards the Sea-coaſt, and to take what way they could: being vnable to proceede in their iourney intended. Many hard ſhifts they made, in difficult paſſages, and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as hauing none other meanes to eſcape from the enemy that purſued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmiſhing. To keepe all in order, *Nicias* vnder-tooke the leading of the Vantgard; and *Demoſthenes* conducted the Reare. At the Riuer *Erineus*, *Nicias* takes the ſtart of a whole nights march, leauing *Demoſthenes* to make the retrait: who being incompaſſed, and ouerpreſt with numbers, in the end renders himſelfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could haue hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worſe than he ſuſpected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in priſon. The Armie of *Demoſthenes* being diſſolued, they purſue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being vtterly broken, vpon the paſſage of the Riuer *Aſſinarus*, rendred himſelfe to *Gylyppus*, vpon honeſt conditions. *Gylyppus* ſought to preſerue him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought theſe two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble enemie to the *Lacedæmonians*, and who, at the ouerthrow, which they receiued at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had ſaued the liues of the vanquiſhed; *Demoſthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedæmon* the greateſt hurt. *Hermocrates* alſo, the Commander of the *Syracuſian* Armie, diſſwaded the reſt, by all the art he had, from vſing any barbarous violence, after ſo noble a victory. But the cruell, and the cowardly ſort, (cowardiſe and cruelty, being inſeparable paſſions) preuailed, and cauſed theſe braue Captaines to be miſerably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be ſtarued in lothſome priſons; and the reſt, ſold for ſlaues. This was the ſucceſſe of the *Sicilian* warre: which tooke end at the riuer *Aſſinarus*, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the foureſcore and eleuenth *Olympiad*.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicil*; the *Egeſtans* (for whoſe defence, againſt the *Selinuntines*, this late warre had beene taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracuſians*, ſought helpe from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themſelues, and their Citie, as their vaſſals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicil*, yet conſidering the proſperity of the *Syracuſians*, and their late victories ouer the *Athenians*, they ſtayed a while to diſpute of the matter, whether they ſhould refuſe or accept the offer made vnto them: for the *Selinuntines* were ſtreightly allied to the *Syracuſians*, as may appeare by what is paſt. In the end, the Senators of *Carthage* reſolue vpon the enterpriſe; and (by a tricke of their *Punick* wit) to ſeparate the *Syracuſians* from the *Selinuntines*, they ſend Embaſſadours to *Syracuſe*: praying that Citie, as in the behalfe of the *Egeſtans*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reaſon, and to reſt content with ſo much of the lands in queſtion, as they of *Syracuſe* ſhould thinke meet to allow them. The *Syracuſians* approued the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no ſuch appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the *Syracuſians*, with whom they had run one courſe of fortune, in the *Athenian* warre, ſhould offer to trouble them, by interpoſing as Arbitrators, in a buſineſſe, that themſelues could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would haue it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace craue aide of *Syracuſe*; and the *Syracuſians* as ill grant it vnto thoſe, that had refuſed to ſtand to the Arbitrement, which the *Carthaginians* would haue put into their hands. Hereupon, an Armie of three hundred thouſand men is ſet out from *Carthage*, vnder the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you haue heard before) was ouerthrowne with the great *Carthaginian* Armie at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this imploiment, that he might take reuenge, as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them hauing beene ſlaine by the *Himerans*, the other by thoſe of *Selinus*. Both theſe Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of armes, ſackt them, and burnt them; and hauing taken three thouſand of the *Himerans* priſoners, he cauſed them to be led vnto the place, where *Amilcar* was ſlaine, and buried them there.

After this followed ſome trouble at *Syracuſe*, occaſioned by the baniſhment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately beene Generall of the *Syracuſian* forces, againſt the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had ſo farre preuailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meere vertue, at ſuch time, as he was aiding the *Lacedæmonians*, in their warre againſt *Athens*; wherein he did great ſeruice. All the honeſter ſort within *Syracuſe* were ſorry for the iniurie done vnto him, and ſought to haue him repealed. *Hermocrates* himſelfe, returning into *Sicil*, gathered an Armie of ſixe thouſand; with which he began to repaire *Selinus*; and by many noble actions laboured to win the loue of his Citizens. But the faction that oppoſed him was the ſtronger. Wherefore, he was aduiſed to ſeize vpon a Gate of *Syracuſe*, with ſome ſtrength of men; whereby his friends, within the Towne, might haue the better meanes to riſe againſt the aduerſe partie. This he did: but preſently the multitude fell to armes, and ſet vpon him; in which conflict was he ſlaine. But his ſonne-in-law, *Dionyſius*, ſhall make them wiſh *Hermocrates* aliue againe.

† IIII.

Of Dionyſius *the Tyrant: and others, following him, in Syracuſe.*

THe *Syracuſians* had enioyed their liberty about threeſcore yeares, from the death of *Thraſybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionyſius* was raiſed vp by God, to take reuenge, as well of their cruelty towards ſtrangers, as of their ingratitude towards their owne beſt Citizens. For before the time of *Dionyſius*, they had made it their paſtime, to reward the vertue of their worthieſt Commanders with death, or diſgrace: which cuſtome they muſt now be taught to amend.

Dionyſius obtained the principalitie of *Syracuſe*, by the ſame degrees, that many others, before him, had made themſelues Maſters of other Cities, and of *Syracuſe* it ſelfe. For, being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaued himſelfe ſo well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warre. Then began he to follow the example of *Piſiſtratus*, that made himſelfe Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of ſixe hundred men, to defend his perſon: vnder pretence, that his priuate enemies, being traiterouſly affected to the State of *Syracuſe*, had laied plots how to murder him, becauſe of his good ſeruices. He doubled the pay of the Souldiers; alledging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to aſſure them to himſelfe. He perſwaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, thoſe that had beene baniſhed, which were the beſt men of *Syracuſe*; and theſe were afterwards at his deuotion, as obliged vnto him by ſo great a benefit. His firſt fauour, among the *Syracuſians*, grew from his accuſation of the principall men. It is the delight of baſe people to reigne ouer their betters: wherefore, gladly did he helpe them to breake downe, as fetters impriſoning their liberty, the barres that held it vnder ſafe cuſtody. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat he aimed. But what they ſaw, the people would not ſee: and ſome that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purpoſes to be ſuch, as would make all the Citie to ſmart. He began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but fiue and twenty yeeres of age when he obtained it: belike, it was his deſire to reigne long. His firſt worke, of making himſelfe abſolute Lord in *Syracuſe*, was, the poſſeſſion of the *Citadell*; wherein was much good prouiſion, and vnder it the Gallies were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the people; and hauing obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himſelfe without all ſhame or feare. The Armie, the chiefe Citizens, reſtored by him from baniſhment; all the needy ſort within *Syracuſe*, that could not thriue by honeſt courſes; and ſome neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for eſtabliſhing the faction, reigning at that preſent, were wholly affected to his aſſiſtance. Hauing therefore gotten the *Citadell* into his hands, he needed no more, ſaue to aſſure what he had already. He ſtrengthned himſelfe by diuers marriages; taking firſt to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian, Doris*, by whom he had *Dionyſius*, his Succeſſor; the other, *Ariſtomache*, the daughter of **Hipparinus**, and ſiſter to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuſe*; which bare vnto him many children, that ſerued to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere ſome of the *Syracuſians* (enuying his proſperitie) incited the multitude, and tooke armes againſt him, euen in the noueltie of his Rule. But their enterpriſe was more paſſionately, than wiſely gouerned. He had ſhamefully beene beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at armes, making them ſuſpect that it was his purpoſe to let the *Carthaginians* waſte all, that he might afterwards take poſſeſſion of the deſolate places; ſo it inflamed them with a deſire to free themſelues from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched haſtily to *Syracuſe*, where they found friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, ranſaked ſacked his treaſures, and ſo ſhamefully abuſed his wife, that for the griefe thereof ſhe poiſoned her ſelfe. But he followed their heeles apace; and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entred ſoone enough to take reuenge, by making a ſpeedy riddance of them. For he ſpared none of his knowne, no, not his ſuſpected enemies. After that, he grew ſo doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durſt truſt Barber to trim him, nor any perſon, no, not ſo much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, vnſtript and ſearched. He was the greateſt Robber of the people that euer reigned in any State; and withall the moſt vnreſpectiuely cruell.

After this, he ſeparated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the *Iland*, from the reſt; like as the *Spaniard* did the *Citadell* of *Antwerpe*: therein he lodged his treaſures, and his Guards.

He then began to make warre vpon the free Cities of *Sicil*: but while he lay before *Herbeſſe*, an in-land Towne, the *Syracuſians* rebelled againſt him; ſo, as with great difficultie he recouered his *Citadell*: from whence, hauing allured the old Souldiers of the *Campanians*, who forced their paſſage through the Citie, with one thouſand and two hundred horſe, he againe recouered the maſterie ouer the *Syracuſians*. And when a multitude of them were buſied in gathering in their Harueſt, he diſarmed all the Townes-men remayning: and new ſtrengthned the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. He incloſed that part alſo, called *Epipoles*; which, with threeſcore thouſand labourers, he finiſhed in three weekes, being two leagues in compaſſe. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and fortie thouſand Targets, with as many ſwords, and head-peeces, with foureteene thouſand corſlets, and all other ſutable armes. Which done, he ſent word to the *Carthaginians*, (greatly enfeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Greeke* Townes, which they held in *Sicil*, he would make warre vpon them: and, not ſtaying for anſwere, he tooke the ſpoile of all the *Phœnician* ſhips, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the ſecond did of our *Engliſh*, before the warre in our late Queenes time. He then goes to the field with foureſcore thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and ſends his brother *Leptines* to ſea, with two hundred Gallies, and fiue hundred ſhips of burden. Moſt of the Townes which held for *Carthage* yeelded vnto him; ſauing *Panormus*, *Segeſta* or *Egeſta*, *Ancyræ*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of theſe, he firſt wan *Motya* by aſſault, and put all therein to the ſword; but before *Egeſta* he loſt a great part of his Armie, by a ſally of the Citizens. In the meane while *Himilco* arriues; but, ere he tooke land, he loſt in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fiftie ſhips of warre, and fiue thouſand Souldiers, beſides many ſhips of burden. This notwithſtanding, he recouered againe *Motya* vpon his firſt deſcent. From thence marching towards *Meſſena*, he tooke *Lypara*, and (ſoone after) *Meſſena*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionyſius* greatly to doubt his eſtate. He therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territorie of the *Leontines*, by which he ſuppoſed that *Himilco* would paſſe toward *Syracuſe*; and he himſelfe tooke the field againe, with foure and thirtie thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had diuided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halfe ouer-land, and ſending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he ſent *Leptines*, his brother, to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was vtterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twentie thouſand of his men were ſlaine, and an hundred of his Gallies loſt. It is very ſtrange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authours tell vs; That one Citie ſhould be able to furniſh fiue hundred ſaile of ſhips, and two hundred Gallies: (for, ſo many did *Syracuſe* arme in this warre) and more ſtrange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-ſhot, twenty thouſand ſhould be ſlaine in one fight. In all our fights againſt the *Turkes*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the moſt notable, wee heare of no ſuch number loſt; nor in any other fight by Sea, that euer hapned in our age, nor before vs. When *Charles* the fiſt went to beſiege *Algier*, he had in all his fleet, tranſporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie ſaile of ſhippes, and threeſcore and fiue Gallies: for the furniſhing of which fleet, he ſought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of *Spaine*, *Naples*, and the reſt of *Italie*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needefull, of all that could beare armes, giuing them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not ſo; neither indeede, is it often requiſite. Vpon this ouerthrow, *Dionyſius* poſtes away to *Syracuſe*, to ſtrengthen it: *Himilco* followes him, and beſiegeth the Towne by Land and Sea. But the

Tyrant,

hauing receiued aide from the *Lacedæmonians*, vnder the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himſelfe to Sea, to make prouiſion for his Citizens, who in his abſence, take twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and ſinke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne ſucceſſe proſperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill: hauing alſo at the preſent weapons in their hands; they conſult how to recouer their liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian* reſiſted them. It alſo fell out, to his exceeding aduantage, that the plague was ſo increaſed, and ſo violent, among the *Carthaginians*; as it is ſaid, that aboue an hundred thouſand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, ſets vpon them both by Sea and Land; and hauing ſlaine great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to deſire peace. This peace *Dionyſius* ſold him for a great ſumme of monie; on condition that he ſhould ſteale away with his *Carthaginians* onely: which he baſely accepted, betraying the reſt of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was purſued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behinde him. The reſt of the *Africans* fell vnder the ſwords of their enemies; onely the *Spaniards*, after they had a while brauely defended themſelues, were (after their ſubmiſſion) entertained, and ſerued the Conquerour.

Many ſuch examples of perfidious dealing haue I noted in other places, and can hardly forbeare to deliuer vnto memory the like practiſes, when they meete with their matches: That which hapned vnto *Monſieur de Piles*, was very ſutable to this trecherie, wherewith *Dionyſius* purſued *Himilmo*. I was preſent, when *De Piles* related the iniurie done vnto him. He had rendered S. *Iohn d' Angelie*, to the *French* King *Charles* the ninth, who beſieged him therein. He rendred it, vpon promiſe made by the faith of a King, that hee ſhould be ſuffered to depart in ſafety, with all his followers. Yet in preſence of the King himſelfe, of the Duke of *Anion* his brother, Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of diuers Dukes and Marſhals of *France*, he was ſet vpon, and broken in his March; ſpoiled of all that he had; and forced to ſaue his life by flight, leauing the moſt of his Souldiers dead vpon the place: the Kings hand and faith, warranting him to march away with enſignes diſplaid, and with all his goods and prouiſions, no whit auailing him. It needes not therefore ſeeme ſtrange, that an Heathen Tyrant ſhould thus breake his faith, ſince Kings, profeſſing Chriſtianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

Dionyſius, after this great victory, tooke care to re-edifie *Meſſena*. *Mago*, who ſtaied in *Sicil*, to hold vp the *Carthaginians* therein, is againe beaten by *Dionyſius*; who is alſo beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new ſupply of foureſcore thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to *Mago*; but theſe take egges for their money, and make peace with *Dionyſius*, leauing the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to ſhift for themſelues: whom *Dionyſius*, after a long ſiege, ouer-came, and gaue their Citie to his mercinarie Souldiers.

He then paſt into *Italie*, obtained diuers victories there, brought the *Rhegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred & foureſcore thouſand crownes, to furniſh him with threeſcore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for aſſurance of their future obſeruance of couenants. This he did, not with any purpoſe to performe vnto them the peace that they had ſo dearely bought; but that hauing taken from them their Gallies, he might beſiege them, and ruine them vtterly, with the more eaſe. Now to the end hee might not, without ſome colour, falſifie the faith that he had giuen to them; he pretended to want victuall for his Armie, at ſuch time as he ſeemed ready to depart out of *Italie*, and ſent to them to furniſh him therewith; promiſing to returne them the like qualitie, at his comming home to *Syracuſe*.

His reſolution was, that if they refuſed to furniſh him, he would then make their refuſall the cauſe of his quarrell: if they yeelded to aide him with the proportion which he deſired, that then they ſhould not be able, for want of food, to endure a ſiege any long time againſt him. For to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price ſoeuer. And great reaſon he had to take reuenge of them, if hee had done it fairely, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reigne, he deſired them to beſtow a daughter of ſome of their Nobilitie vpon him for a wife: they anſwered, That they had not any one fit for him, ſaue the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill deedes, than villanous words. *Alexander* the Great forgaue many ſharpe ſwords, but neuer any ſharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truely of his errours.

And certainly, it belongs to thoſe that haue warrant from God, to reprehend Princes ; and to none elſe, eſpecially in publique.

It is ſaid, that *Henrie* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed againſt the Duke of *Biron*, for his ouer-bold and biting taunts, that he vſed againſt him before *Amiens*, than for his conſpiracie with the *Spaniard*, or *Sauoyan:* for he had pardoned ten thouſand of ſuch as had gone farther, and drawne their ſwords againſt him. The contemptuous words that Sir *Iohn Parret* vſed of our late Queene *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfait letter of the Romiſh Prieſt, produced againſt him. So fared it with ſome other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the ſame, and a worſe fortune, ſoone after.

To be ſhort, he made them know new bread from old. Hee aſſaulted their Towne on all ſides, which hee continued to doe eleuen moneths, till he wonne it by force. He vſed his victory without mercy, ſpecially againſt *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other warres he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and raſing of this Citie; and thoſe with variable ſucceſſe. For as in one encounter he ſlue *Mago*, with ten thouſand *Africans:* ſo the ſonne of *Mago* beat him, and ſlue his brother *Leptines*, with foureteene thouſand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the aduice of Proſperity and Aduerſitie, as all Kings and States doe.

When he had reigned eight and thirty yeeres, he died: ſome ſay in his bed, peaceably, which is the moſt likely, though others report it otherwiſe. A cruell man he was, and a faithleſſe; a great Poet, but a fooliſh one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for ſpeaking againſt his tyranny, he gaue order to haue him ſlaine, or ſold for a ſlaue. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond meaſure. His Paraſites therefore ſtiled his cruelty, *The hate of euill men*; and his lawleſſe ſlaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his iuſtice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kinde of vermine, which poiſon all the Princes of the World; and yet they proſper better than the worthieſt and valianteſt men doe: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: and as our *Sauiour Chriſt* hath told vs, *The World will loue her owne.*

To this *Dionyſius* his ſonne of the ſame name ſucceeded, and inherited both his Kingdome and his Vices. To win the loue of the People, he pardoned, and releaſed out of priſon, a great number of perſons, by his Father lockt vp, and condemned. Withall, he remitted vnto his Citizens diuers payments, by his Father impoſed vpon them. Which done, and thereby hoping, that he had faſtned vnto himſelfe the peoples affections; he caſt off the Sheepes skin, and put on that of the Woolfe. For being iealous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himſelfe, he cauſed them all to be ſlaine; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers ſide. For *Dionyſius* his Father (as hath been ſaid) had two Wiues; *Doris* of *Locris*, and *Ariſtomache* a *Syracuſian*, the ſiſter of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionyſius*, who ſucceeded vnto him: and by *Ariſtomache* he had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the elder, called *Sophroſyne*, he gaue in marriage to his eldeſt Sonne, and her halfe-brother, *Dionyſius*; the yonger, called *Areta*, he beſtowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whoſe death, *Dion* tooke her to Wiſe, being his Neece.

This *Dion*, a iuſt, and valiant man, finding that *Dionyſius* had abandoned all exerciſe of vertue, and that he was wholly giuen ouer to ſenſualitie, preuailed ſo much with *Plato*, whoſe Diſciple he had beene, as he drew him into *Sicil*, to inſtruct the yong King. And hauing perſwaded the King to entertaine him, he wrought ſo well with him, as *Dionyſius* began to change condition; to change Tyrannie, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principalitie, that he had, rather by the loue of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garriſons. But this goodneſſe of his laſted not long. For *Philiſtus* the Hiſtorian, and other his Paraſites, that hated *Dions* ſeueritie, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour, and cauſed him ſoone after to be baniſhed out of *Sicil*, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels betweene him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionyſius* ſtood in great feare; or (at leaſt) if they refuſed it, to furniſh him with fiftie Gallies at his owne charge, during the warre againſt them: his enemies found meanes, by ſiniſter interpretation, to conuert his good will into matter of treaſon. They told *Dionyſius*, that all the great commendations, giuen of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, then to ſoften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the ſtudy of Philoſophie; whileſt *Dion*, in the meane time hauing furniſhed fiftie Gallies, vnder colour of the Kings ſeruice, had it in his owne power, either to deliuer to the *Syracuſians* their former liberty, or to make himſelfe Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honeſt and liberall offer which he made, to ſerue the King with ſo great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had ſerued the King for none other end, than to raiſe and enrich themſelues, and had already beene raiſed and enriched, thought themſelues bound to make the ſame offer, that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to conceiue it aright. But theſe couetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that *Dion* had, were bold to ſtile his *Loue* and *Liberalitie*, *Pride* and *Preſumption*; and heartned the yong King, in his oppreſſing, and eating vp his owne people, of whoſe ſpoyles they themſelues ſhared no ſmall portion. I haue heard it, That when *Charles* the fift had the repulſe at *Algier* in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Corteſe*, one of the braueſt men that euer *Spaine* brought forth, offered vnto the Emperour, to continue the ſiege at his owne charge. But he had neuer good day after it. For they that enuied his victories, and his conqueſt of *Mexico* in the weſt *Indies*, perſwaded the Emperour, that *Corteſe* ſought to value himſelfe aboue him; and to haue it ſaid, That what the Emperour could not, *Corteſe* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly baniſhed, the Tyrant was contented, at firſt, to ſend him the reuenewes of his Lands, and permit him to diſpoſe of his moueables, at his owne pleaſure: not without giuing hope, to recall him in ſhort time. Had he continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that *Dion* would haue beene well pleaſed to liue well, as he did at *Athens*. But after ſome time, *Dionyſius* made Port-ſale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby vrged him to take another courſe, euen to ſeeke the reſtitution of his Countrie to libertie. The vertues of *Dion*, eſpecially his great liberalitie, had purchaſed much loue in *Greece*. This loue made him ſuſpected and hated of the Tyrant: but it ſtood him in good ſtead, when he ſought to raiſe men, with whoſe helpe he might returne into *Sicil*. Yet he got not aboue eight hundred (for he carried the matter cloſely) to follow him in this aduenture. But many of them were men of qualitie, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuſe*, as many as ſhould be needefull, that would readily aſſiſt him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*, marched to *Syracuſe*, entred the Citie without reſiſtance, armed the multitude, and won all, ſaue the *Citadell*.

Dionyſius was then abſent in *Italie*, but hee quickely had aduertiſement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore hee returned haſtily to *Syracuſe*: whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and ſome forceable attempts to recouer the Towne, hee was faine to depart; leauing yet the Caſtle to the cuſtody of *Apollocrates* his eldeſt ſon. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philiſtus*, comming with a ſtrength of men to aſſiſt him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recouery of his Countries libertie, had the ſame reward, that all worthy men haue had from popular Eſtates. Hee was diſgraced, aſſaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. Hee retired himſelfe to the *Leontines*, who receiue him with great ioy. Soone after his departure from *Syracuſe*, new troupes enter the Caſtle: they ſallie out, aſſaile, ſpoyle, and burne a great part of the Citie. *Dion* is ſent for, with humble requeſt: yet, ere hee could arriue, *Dionyſius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Towneſmen, thinking themſelues ſecure, ſhut the gates againſt *Dion*. But the next night they of the Caſtle ſallie againe, with greater furie then euer; they kill Man, Woman, and Childe, and ſet fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremitie *Dion* comes the ſecond time to their ſuccour; the loue of his Countrey ſurmounting all the iniuries that he had receiued. Hee ſets vpon the Garriſon of the Caſtle, with the one part of his Armie; and quencheth the fire euery-where kindled, with the other part. In concluſion, after he had conquered both the fire and the ſword, that had wel-neere burnt to aſhes, and depopulated *Syracuſe*, he recouered the Caſtle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and ſent *Apollocrates*, after *Dionyſius* his Father, into *Italie*. But their malice, of whom he had beſt deſerued, and whom he had loued moſt, gaue an vntimely end to his dayes. For he was ſoone after this his victory, murdered by *Gylyppus*; who, after he had, with ill ſucceſſe, a while gouerned *Syracuſe*, was ſlaine with the ſame Dagger, with which hee had murdered *Dion*.

Ten yeares after the death of *Dion*, *Dionyſius*, with the aſſiſtance of his friends in *Italie*, recouers his eſtate, and returnes to *Syracuſe*, driuing *Nyſæus* thence, whom he found Gouernour therein. The better ſort of the Citizens, fearing, more then euer, his cruelty, flee to *Icetes*, a *Syracuſian* borne, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Icetes* enters into confederacie with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their aſſiſtance, not onely to preuaile againſt *Dionyſius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracuſians* towards *Dionyſius*, to make him alſo Lord of their Citie. The *Syracuſians*, being deſeruedly afflicted on all ſides, ſend to the *Corinthians* for ſuccour. *Icetes* alſo ſends thither, and diſſwades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermedling in the buſineſſe. He tels them, by his meſſengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were ſo ſtrong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth*, to land any Armie in *Sicil*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treaſon of *Icetes*, more inraged then diſſwaded, ſent *Timoleon* with nineteene Gallies, to deliuer *Syracuſe* from tyrannie. In the meane while, *Icetes* had entred *Syracuſe*, and with the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, driuen *Dionyſius* into the Caſtle, where he beſieged him.

Icetes, being himſelfe a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather ſought how to enlarge his power, than, how to deliuer his Countrie. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arriued at *Rhegium*, he ſent to perſwade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) eſtabliſhed in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were alſo in the ſame Port of *Rhegium*; whoſe Captaines aduiſed *Timolion*, to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there, then he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perſwaded. *Timoleon*, finding himſelfe ouer-maſtered, makes requeſt to the *Carthaginian* Captaines, that they would be pleaſed to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open aſſembly of the people, to deliuer vnto him thoſe arguments, for his returne, which they had vſed to him in priuate; that he might, by publique teſtimonie, diſcharge himſelfe to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perſwading themſelues, that a victory, obtained by a few faire words, was without loſſe, and farre more eaſie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to *Timoleons* deſire. But while the Orations were deliuering, *Timoleon*, fauoured by the *Rhegians*, ſtole out of the preaſſe; and hauing ſet ſaile, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recouered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was ioyfully receiued by *Andromachus* the Gouernour. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, were ſurpriſing *Icetes* his Armie, he ſlue a part thereof, and put the reſt to run. It is the nature of victory to beget friends. The *Adranitans* ioyned with him; and ſo did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionyſius* alſo ſent to *Timoleon*, offering to ſurrender the Caſtle of *Syracuſe* into his hands, as thinking it better to yeelde vp himſelfe, and the places which he could not defend, vnto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Icetes*, whom he diſdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fiftie daies, after his arriuall, had recouered the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and ſent *Dionyſius* to *Corinth*, to liue there a priuate man, was ſtill inuaded by the Armies, and moleſted by the practices of *Icetes*. For he beſieged the *Corinthians* within the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* ſend vnto *Timoleon* a ſupply of two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, which are ſtaid in *Italie* by foule weather. *Icetes* is ſtrengthned with threeſcore thouſand *Africans*, brought vnto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuſe*) and with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keepe the Port. This was the firſt time, that euer the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the wals of that Citie. With this great Armie, *Icetes* aſſaulteth the Caſtle. *Timoleon* ſends them victuals, and ſuccour, in ſmall boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* doe therefore reſolue to beſiege *Catana*; but they were no ſooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captaine of the *Corinthians*, ſallied out of the Caſtle, and tooke that part of *Syracuſe*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the meane while, the two thouſand *Corinthians* arriue: with whom, and two thouſand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marcheth towards *Syracuſe*. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes*, being frighted out of *Sicil* (which he might eaſily haue conquered) with an idle rumour of treaſon. This made him returne to *Carthage*; where the generall exclamation againſt his cowardize, did ſo much affright him, that for feare of farther puniſhment, he hanged himſelfe. *Timoleon* enters the Citie, and beats downe the Caſtle (which he called *the neſt of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the Citie when the ſtrangers were fled, in effect deſolate; ſo as their horſes did feede on the graſſe, growing in the market-place. Therefore, he writes to *Corinth*, for people to re-inhabite it. Ten thouſand are ſent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italie*; others, from other parts of the Iland.

But a new ſtorme ariſeth. *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arriue about *Lilybæum*, with threeſcore and ten thouſand Souldiers, tranſported (with all their prouiſions) in a thouſand ſhips of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Armie vpon the paſſage of a Riuer.

A tempeſt of raine, haile, and lightning, with boyſterous windes, beating vpon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are vtterly broken: ten thouſand ſlaine, fiue thouſand taken; with all their carriages and prouiſions: among which there were found a thouſand corſlets, gilt, and grauen. After this *Timoleon*, gaue an ouerthrow to *Icetes*, and following his victory, tooke him, with his ſon *Eupolemus*, and the Generall of his horſe, priſoners; whom he cauſed all to be ſlaine: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he ſuffered *Icetes* his wiues and daughters to be put to death. But this was the reuenge of God vpon *Icetes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had cauſed *Arete*, *Dions* wife and a yong child of his, with *Ariſtomache* his ſiſter, to be caſt into the Sea.

He againe preuailed againſt *Mamercus*, Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* it ſelfe. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon* Tyrant of *Meſſena*: but *Timoleon*, purſuing him, won the towne; deliuering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death, The ſame end had *Mamercus*, and all other, the Tyrants in *Sicil*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition, That they ſhould not paſſe the Riuer of *Lycus*. After this, he liued in great honour among the *Syracuſians*, till his death; and was ſolemnely buried by them in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funerals, being for euer ordained to be kept holy among them.

After ſuch time, as *Timoleon* had deliuered *Syracuſe*, from the tyrannie of *Dionyſius*, and brought peace to the whole Iland; the inhabitants enioyed their libertie in peace, about twentie yeeres. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant ſailed in ſafetie; and the Labouring man enioyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impoſſible that a Nation which neither knew how to gouerne, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to gouerne them; ſhould any long time ſubſiſt.

Twentie yeares after the death of *Timoleon*, there ſtarted vp one *Agathocles* among them, a man of baſe birth, and of baſer condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and ſo from degree to degree, riſing to be a *Prætor*; finally, became Lord and Soueraigne of the *Syracuſians*. Many fortunes he ran, and vnder-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the Principalitie. For hee had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and baniſht. A paſſing valiant man he was, and did notable ſeruice, as well for thoſe by whom he was employed, as alſo for the *Syracuſians*, and againſt them. For in their warres againſt thoſe of *Enna*, and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable ſeruice: and on the contrary, as memorable ſeruice for the *Murgantines*, againſt the *Syracuſians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made Generall of their forces, he ſackt *Leontium*; and beſieged *Syracuſe* ſo ſtreightly, that the Citizens were driuen to craue aide, euen from their ancient and naturall enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was ſent by the *Carthaginians*, to relieue *Syracuſe*. With him *Agathocles* wrought ſo well, that he got him to make peace betweene himſelfe and the *Syracuſians*; binding himſelfe by promiſe and oath, to remaine a friend and ſeruant to the State of *Carthage*, for euer after. *Amilcar* entertained the buſineſſe, and compounded the quarrels betweene *Agathocles*, and the *Syracuſians*. *Agathocles* is choſen *Prætor*; he entertaines fiue thouſand *Africans*, and diuers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, vnder colour of a purpoſe to beſiege *Herbita*. With theſe, and with the aſſiſtance of the poore and diſcontented *Syracuſians* (the Citie alſo being diuided into many factions) hee aſſailes the Senators, kils all his enemies and oppoſites;

diuides the ſpoile of the rich, among the poore; and giues liberty to his Souldiers, to rob, to rauiſh, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controlement: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and ſtrewed the ſtreets with ten thouſand dead carkaſſes, beſides thoſe that had broken their necks ouer the wals; their furie had no further ſubiect to worke on.

Agathocles, in an aſſembly of the people (being an eloquent knaue) perſwaded them, that, for the violent ſickneſſe, by which the common-wealth was vtterly conſumed, he found no better, than the violent remedies, which he had adminiſtred; and that he affected no other thing, than the reducing of the ſtate from an *Oligarchie*, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magiſtrates, to the ancient and indifferent *Democratie*, by which it had beene gouerned, from the firſt inſtitution, with ſo great glory and proſperitie. This he did, to haue the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For as he knew, that he had left none liuing, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exerciſe the office of a Magiſtrate: ſo knew he right well, that all they which had aſſiſted, in the murder and ſpoile of their fellow Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the ſupport of a lawleſſe Lord, who had beene partaker with them, in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe, ſaluting, and adoring him, by that name, as if it had beene giuen to him by ſome lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a peece of his patterne; but the one was of baſe, the other, of Kingly parents; the one tooke liberty from a Common-weale; the other ſought onely to ſucceede in a Monarchie; the one continued his cruelty to the end; the other, after hee had obtained the Crowne, ſought, by making good lawes, to recouer the loue of his people.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by *Iuſtine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the ſumme whereof is this. The ſame *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuſe*, and that had lent him fiue thouſand men to helpe in the maſſacre of the Citizens, was alſo content to winke at many wrongs, that he did vnto the Confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpoſe of *Amilcar*, to ſettle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vexe and waſte the whole Iland; becauſe it was thereby like to come to paſſe, that he ſhould reduce all *Sicil* into ſuch termes as would make it become an eaſie prey to *Carthage*, But when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, ſent their Embaſſadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punick* faith (ſo much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than meere falſhood) ſhewed it ſelfe very honourable, in taking order for the redreſſe. Embaſſadours were ſent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in minde of his couenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africk*, and a new Captain appointed to ſucceede in his charge, with ſuch forces, as might compell *Agathocles* to reaſon, if otherwiſe he would not harken to it. All this tended, to ſaue their Confederates, from ſuffering ſuch iniuries in the future. For that which was paſt (ſince it could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it ſeuerely puniſhed. *Amilcar* was accuſed ſecretly, and by way of ſcrutinie: the ſuffrages being giuen, but not calculated; and ſo reſerued, vntill he ſhould returne. This was not ſo cloſely handled, but that *Amilcar* had ſoone notice of it. In managing his buſineſſe with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrie. For he had made ſuch a compoſition with the *Syracuſian*, as gaue him not onely meanes to weaken others, but to ſtrengthen himſelfe, both in power and authoritie, euen againſt the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the cuſtome of thoſe, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practices, thinking to deale ſubtilly, and finely, they ſpin their threads ſo ſmall, that they are broken with the very winde. *Amilcar* ſaw, that his *Carthaginians* had a purpoſe to deale ſubſtantially; and that therefore it would be hard for him, to make them follow his crooked deuices: which if he could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into ſo much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which ſome of his fore-goers had taught him; and, for feare of ſuch a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what ſort he thought beſt. This deſperation of *Amilcar* ſerued to informe *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. Hee ſaw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore reſolued to get the ſtart of them in action. Hee diſſembled no longer; but, in ſtead of ſpoile and robbery, made open warre vpon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicil* his owne, ere the

Carthaginians

Carthaginian forces arriued: which thinking to haue encountred an ill-eſtabliſhed Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and giue them ſharpe entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Nauie was ſo Tempeſt-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leaue their buſineſſe vndone, and returne into *Africke*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furniſhed, was broken by foule weather, and the beſt part of it caſt away, euen whileſt it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But *Amilcar*, the ſonne of *Giſco*, gathering together the remainders of this ſhip-wracke, was bold to paſſe ouer into *Sicil*, and landed not farre from *Gela*; where *Agathocles* was ſoone readie to examine the cauſe of their comming. Many skirmiſhes paſſed betweene them, in which (commonly) the *Syracuſian* had the better. But his good ſucceſſe begat preſumption; whereby hee loſt a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduerſe chance is enough to ouerthrow the ſtate of a Tyrant, if it be not vp held by great circumſpection. The war was ſoone transferred to the walls of *Syracuſe*; within which *Agathocles* was cloſed vp, and driuen to make his laſt defence by their helpe, who may be iudged to haue loued him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, after that great maſſacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new Tyrannie, were (for the moſt part) ſuch, as had beene either mercinarie Souldiers, infranchiſed ſlaues, or baſe & needie people; helpers in eſtabliſhing the preſent Gouernment, and Executioners of the murders, and ſpoyle, committed in that change. If there were any other (as ſome there were) they were ſo well obſerued, and (withall) ſo fearefull, that they durſt not ſtirre. But it was enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themſelues and their Citie; Famine was likely to grow vpon them, and enforce them to change their reſolution. In this neceſſity, *Agathocles* aduentured vpon a ſtrange courſe, which the euent commended as wiſe. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in thoſe veſſells that rode in the Hauen; and committing the gouernment of the Citie to his brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had bethought himſelfe of a meane, both to raiſe the ſiege, and to repaire all other loſſes. A *Carthaginian* fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauen, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the beſieged from iſſuing forth.

Now, at ſuch time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, aduertiſement came, that many ſhips of burden, laden with corne, and other prouiſions, were drawing neere vnto *Syracuſe*. To intercept theſe, the *Carthaginians* hoiſe ſaile, and lanch forth into the deepe. They were not farre gone, when they might behold *Agathocles*, iſſuing forth of the Port, with purpoſe (as they thought) to giue conuoy vnto his victuallers. Heereupon they wheele about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their comming, nor fled backe into the Citie, but made all ſpeed towards *Africke*; and was purſued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as the day would giue them light. In the meane ſeaſon, the victuallers were gotten to *Syracuſe*; which was the more plentifully relieued by their comming, for that *Agathocles* had vnburdened the place of no ſmall number. When the *Carthaginian* Admirall perceiued; firſt, that by purſuing two fleets at once, he had miſſed of them both; and ſecondly, that *Agathocles* returned not againe, but was gone to ſeeke his fortune elſewhere, hee thought it good to purſue thoſe that were fled, and to attend ſo well vpon them, that they ſhould not haue leiſure to doe miſchiefe in ſome other part.

The *Carthaginian* Nauie followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of ſuch as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and ouer-tooke him after ſixe dayes. He had (at the firſt) a great ſtart of them; ſo that (belike) they rowed hard; and wearied themſelues, in ſeeking their owne misfortune. For he fought with them, & beat them; and, hauing ſunke, or taken many, draue the reſt to flie which way they could, laden with ſuch ſtrange tidings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did hee diſcouer vnto them his proiect; letting them vnderſtand, That there was no better way to diuert the *Carthaginians*, not onely from *Syracuſe*, but frō all the Ile of *Sicil*, than by bringing the war to their own doores. For here (ſaid he) they haue many that hate them, and that will readily take armes againſt them, as ſoone as they perceiue that there is an Armie on foote, which dares to looke vpon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified; their people vntrained, and vnexperienced in dangers; the mercenarie forces, that they leuie in theſe parts, will rather follow vs than them, if we offer greater wages than they can giue: which we may better promiſe and make good, by letting them haue ſome ſhare with vs in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can doe, by making ſome addition to their ſtipends. Thus he talked, as one already Maſter of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many braue words encouraged his men ſo well, that they were contented to ſet fire on all their ſhips (reſeruing one or two to vſe as Meſſengers,) to the end that no hope ſhould remaine, ſaue onely in victory. In this heat of reſolution, they winne by force two Cities; which after they had throughly ſacked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of terrour to all that ſhould make reſiſtance. The *Carthaginians*, hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Armie deſtroied in *Sicil*. This impreſſion ſo diſmaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by ſuch as had ſcaped in the late Sea fight, yet ſtill they feare, and know not what. They ſuſpect *Amilcars* faith, who had ſuffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they ſuſpect their principall Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage* vnto the enemie; they raiſe a great Armie, and know not to whoſe charge they may ſafely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, *Hanno*, and *Bomilcar*; great enemies, and therefore the more vnlikely to conſpire againſt the Common-wealth. Theſe are made Generalls of the Armie leuied, which farre exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it ſeldome happens, that diſſenſion betweene Commanders produceth any fortunate euent. Neceſſity draue *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, reſolued to deale with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made eaſie the victorie againſt the one halfe of them. For *Bomilcar* would not ſtirre: but ſuffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victorie, brought ouer a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* ſociety, to take part with *Agathocles*: who purſuing his victorie winneth many Townes, and ſends word to *Syracuſe* of his good ſucceſſe. The *Carthaginians* alſo ſend into *Sicil*, willing *Amilcar*, their Generall, to ſuccour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to bee loſt, whileſt hee was trauailing in the conqueſt of *Sicil*. *Amilcar* ſends them fiue thouſand men: all his forces hee thought it not needfull to tranſport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* backe into *Sicil*, than to bee drawne home by one, that could ſcarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But theſe good hopes had a badde iſſue. Hee ſpent ſome time in winning a few Townes, that adhered vnto the *Syracuſians*: and hauing brought his matters to ſome good order, hee conceiued a ſudden hope of taking *Syracuſe* by ſurpriſe. It was a prettie (though tragicall) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dreame, which told him that he ſhould ſuppe the next day within *Syracuſe*. His fancie begot this dreame, and he verily beleeued it. He made more haſte than good ſpeed, toward the Citie: and comming vpon it on the ſudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambuſh to intrappe him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried priſoner into the Citie; in which it was likely, that hee had no great cheare to his ſupper: for they ſtrucke off his head, and ſent it into *Africk* (a welcome preſent) to *Agathocles*.

This good ſucceſſe of things at home, did put ſuch courage into the *Sicilian* Armie, that *Agathocles* was bold to weare a Crowne, and ſtile himſelfe *King of Africk*. Hee had allured *Ophellas*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promiſes to deliuer the Countrie into his hands: for that (as he ſaid) it was ſufficient vnto himſelfe to haue diuerted the *Carthaginians* from *Sycil*, wherein (after this warre ended) he might reigne quietly. *Ophellas* came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous *Sicilian*, taking an aduantage, did murther this his aſſiſtant; and afterwards by good words, and great promiſes, drew all the *Cyrenian* Armie to follow him in his Warres. Thus his villanie found good ſucceſſe; and he ſo preuailed in *Africke*, that hee got leyſure to make a ſtep into *Sicil*. Many Townes in *Sicil* had embraced a deſire of recouering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had ſo long beene expoſed, (as a reward of victorie) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countrie. Theſe had preuailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cauſe: when the comming of *Agathocles* abated their high ſpirits, and his good ſucceſſe in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of

Sicil hee returned into *Africk*, where his affaires ſtood in very bad termes. *Archagathus*, his ſonne, had loſt a battaile; and (which was worſe) had ill meanes to helpe himſelfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lacke of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accuſtomed promiſes of great bootie and ſpoyle. It had now beene time for him, to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*: which to obtaine, they would (queſtionleſſe) haue giuen to him, both mony enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in *Sicil.* For their Citie had beene diſtreſſed, not onely by this his warre, but by the treaſon of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himſelfe Tyrant ouer them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed vpon the conqueſt of *Carthage* it ſelfe: out of which dreame he was awaked, by the loſſe of a battaile, not ſo memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the ſtrange euents following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old ſacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had abſtained, euer ſince they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of ſome, the goodlieſt of their priſoners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the ſaid Idoll, in way of thankefulneſſe for their victorie. The fire, with which theſe vnhappie men were conſumed, caught hold vpon the lodgings neereſt vnto the Altar; and ſpreading it ſelfe farther through the Campe, with the deſtruction of many men, cauſed ſuch a tumult as is vſuall in the like caſes. At the ſame time, the like accident of fire burnt vp the Pauilion of *Agathocles*. Heereupon both the Armies fledde away; each of them beleeuing, that the noiſe in the aduerſe Campe, was a ſigne of the enemies comming to inuade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a ſafe retrait: *Agathocles*, by a ſecond errour, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, hee met with his owne *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeede the one halfe of them had reuolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the laſt battaile) hee beganne to aſſaile them, and was ſo ſtoutly reſiſted, that hee loſt in this blinde fight, aboue foure thouſand of his men. This did ſo diſcourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the neere hope of taking the Citie of *Carthage*, vnto ſome diſtruſt of his owne ſafetie, he knew no more how to moderate his preſent weake feares, than lately he had known how to gouerne his ambition. Therefore hee tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to ſteale cloſely a-boord his ſhippes, with his yonger ſonne (the elder he ſuſpected of Inceſt, and of Ambition) and ſo to flie into *Sicil*; thinking it the beſt courſe to ſhift for himſelfe, as wanting veſſels wherein to tranſport his Armie. His elder ſon, *Archagathus*, perceiued his drift, arreſted him, and put him vnder cuſtodie: but by meanes of a ſudden tumult, he was let looſe, eſcaped, and fled alone, leauing both his ſonnes behinde him. His flight being noyſed through the Armie, all was in vprore; and extremitie of rage cauſed not onely the common Souldier, but euen ſuch as had beene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two ſonnes, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extreamely baſe; I need not vſe words to proue: That his feare was truly, as all feare is ſaid to be, a paſſion, depriuing him of the ſuccours which reaſon offered, the ſequele doth manifeſt. His forſaken Souldiers, being now a headleſſe company, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neuertheleſſe a reaſonable compoſition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they ſold thoſe places, whereof they had poſſeſſion, for ninteene talents. Likewiſe, *Agathocles* himſelfe, hauing loſt his Armie, did neuertheleſſe, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace with *Carthage* vpon equall termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being deliuered from forraine enemies, diſcouered his bloudie nature, in moſt abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants, and his feares, vrged him ſo violently, that he was not ſatisfied with the ſpoyles of the rich, or the death of thoſe whom he held ſuſpected: but in a beaſtly rage depopulated whole Cities. He deuiſed new engines of torment; wherein ſtriuing to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, hee made a frame of braſſe, that ſhould ſerue to ſcortch mens bodies, and withall giue him leaue to behold them in their miſerie. So deuilliſh is the nature of man, when reaſon, that ſhould be his guide, is become a ſlaue to his brutiſh affections. In theſe miſchiefes he was ſo outragious, that he neither ſpared Sexe, nor Age; eſpecially, when hee was informed of the ſlaughter of his children in *Africk*. But this was not the way to preſerue his eſtate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chaſed out of their Country, tooke armes againſt him, and draue him into ſuch feare, that hee was faine to ſeeke the loue at *Carthage*, which by ruling well hee might haue had in *Sicil*. Hee freely deliuered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all thoſe Townes of the *Phœnicians* in *Sicil*, belonging vnto them, which were in his poſſeſſion. They requited him honourably, with great ſtore of corne, and with foure hnndred talents of gold and ſiluer. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he preuailed againſt the Rebells, and ſetled his eſtate. Hauing no further buſineſſe left in *Sicil*, he made a voyage into *Italie*. There hee ſubdued the *Brutians*, rather by terrour of his name, than by any force, for they yeelded at his firſt comming. This done, he went to the Iſle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when hee had gotten this great ſumme, hee would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to ſpoyle the Temples of their gods. Heerein (me-thinkes) hee did well enough. For how could hee beleeue thoſe to be gods, that had continually giuen deafe eares to his horrible periuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleuen ſhips loaden with gold: all which, and all the reſt of his fleet, were caſt away by foule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which he himſelfe eſcaped, to ſuffer a more miſerable end. A grieuous ſickeneſſe fell vpon him, that rotted his whole body, ſpreading it ſelfe through all his veines and ſinewes. Whileſt he lay in this caſe, all deſiring his end, ſaue only *Theogenia* (a wife that he had taken out of *Ægypt*) and her ſmall children: his Nephew, the ſonne of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a yonger ſonne of his owne, began to contend about the Kingdome. Neither did they ſeeke to end the controuerſie by the olde Tyrants deciſion; they regarded him not ſo much. But each of them laied wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew ſped ſo well that he ſlue his Vncle, and got his Grandfathers Kingdome, without asking any leaue. Theſe tidings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with feare and ſorrow. Hee ſaw himſelfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his vngracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no fauour was to be expected, either by himſelfe, or by thoſe, whom onely hee now held deare, which were *Theogenia* and her children. Therefore he aduiſed her and them to flie before they were ſurpriſed: for that otherwiſe they could by no meanes auoide, either death, or ſomewhat that would be worſe. He gaue them all his treaſures and goods, wherewith he euen compelled them (weeping to leaue him deſolate in ſo wretched a caſe) to imbarke themſelues haſtily, and made ſpeed into *Ægypt*. After their departure, whether hee threw himſelfe into the fire, or whether his diſeaſe conſumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as baſely, as obſcurely, and in as much want, as hee firſt beganne it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines* his Souldiers traiterouſlie occupied *Meſſana*, and infeſted a great part of the Iland. Then alſo did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicil*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that he quickly periſhed. For the *Sicilians* were driuen to ſend for *Pyrrhus* to help them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was ſoone wearie of the Countrie (as hath beene ſhewed before) and therefore left it; prophecying that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* ſhould fight for ſuperioritie. In which buſineſſe, how theſe two great Cities did ſpeed, the order of our Storie will declare.

§. V.

A recontinuation of the Roman warre in Sicil. How Hieron, *King of Syracuſe, forſooke the Carthaginians; and made his peace with Rome.*

When *Appius Claudius*, following the aduantage of his victorie gotten at *Meſſana*, brought the warre vnto the Gates of *Syracuſe*, and beſieged that great Citie; *Hieron* found it high time for him to ſeeke peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reaſon to bee offended with him, for helping himſelfe by what meanes hee could, when they were not in caſe to giue him aſſiſtance; and foreſeeing withall, that when once he had purchaſed his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to ſit ſtill, without feare of moleſtation, whileſt *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the maſterie. In this good mood, the new *Roman* Conſuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Octacilius*, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendſhip. Yet they made vſe of their preſent aduantage, and ſold him peace for an hundred (ſome ſay two hundred) Talents.

Theſe Conſuls had brought a great Armie into *Sicil*; yet did they nothing elſe in effect, than bring ouer *Hiero* to their ſide. If the *Syracuſian* held them buſied (which I find not, otherwiſe than by circumſtances, as, by the ſumme of monie impoſed vpon him, and by their performing none other peece of ſeruice) all the whole time of their abode in the Iland; then was his departure from the friendſhip of *Carthage*, no leſſe to his honour, than it was to his commoditie. For by no reaſon could they require, that he ſhould ſuffer his owne Kingdom to runne into manifeſt perill of ſubuerſion, for their ſakes, that ſhould haue receiued all the profit of the victorie: ſeeing they did expoſe him to the whole danger, without ſtrayning themſelues to giue him reliefe. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proofe of the ſtrength of *Syracuſe*, in the daies of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare a very ſtrong ſiege. And heereupon it is like that they were the more ſlacke, in ſending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not ſome part of their deſire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuſe* ſhould weaken one the other, whereby their owne worke might be the eaſier againſt them both. Yet indeed, the caſe of the beſieged Citie was not the ſame, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had beene, when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reaſon, to try the vttermoſt hazard of war againſt the *Carthaginians*, who ſought no other thing than to bring it into ſlauerie: not ſo againſt the *Romans*, who thought it ſufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Beſides, it was not all one to be gouerned by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of theſe cared not what the citizens endured, ſo long as he might preſerue his owne tyrannie: the later, as a iuſt and good Prince, had no greater deſire then to winne the loue of his people, by ſeeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publique, laboured to vphold both, by honeſt and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to paſſe, that he enioyed a long and happy reigne, liuing deare to his own Subiects, beloued of the *Romans*, and not greatly moleſted by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the conſideration, *That they had left him to himſelfe, ere he left their ſocietie*, made vnwilling to ſeeke his ruine; or their more earneſt buſineſſe with the *Romans*, made vnable to compaſſe it.

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§. VI.

How the Romans beſiege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet. Their firſt loſſe, and firſt victorie by Sea. Of Seafight in generall.

Hieron, hauing ſided himſelfe with the *Romans*, aided them with victualls, and other neceſſaries: ſo that they, preſuming vpon his aſſiſtance, recall ſome part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* finde it high time to beſtirre them; they ſend to the *Ligurians*, and to the troopes they had in *Spaine*, to come to their aide; who being arriued, they made the Citie of *Agrigentum*, the ſeat of the war, againſt the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

The *Roman* Conſulls, hauing made peace with *Hieron*, returne into *Italie*; and, in their places, *Lucius Poſthumus*, and *Quintus Mamilius*, arriue. They goe on towards * *Agrigentum*: and finding no enemie in the field, they beſiege it, though it were ſtuffed with fiftie thouſand Souldiers. After a while, the time of harueſt being come, a part of the *Romane* Armie range the Countrey to gather corne, and thoſe at the ſiege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* ſallie furiouſly, and indanger the *Roman* Armie, but are in the end repelled into the towne with great loſſe; but by the ſmart felt on both ſides, the Aſſailants redoubled their guards, and the beſieged kept within their couert. Yet the

* *Agrigentum* was a goodly City, built by the *Geloi*, vnder conduct of *Ariſton* and *Pyſtilus*. The compaſſe was tenne miles about the walls; and it had ſometimes in it eight hundred thouſand Inhabitants. This City, by reaſon of the fertilitie of the ſoile, and the neighbour-hood of *Carthage*, grew in a ſhort ſpace from ſmall beginnings, to great glory and riches. The plentie and luxurie thereof was ſo great, as it cauſed *Empedocles* to ſay, That the *Agrigentines* built *Palaces* of ſuch ſumptuoſitie, as if they meant to liue for euer; and made ſuch feaſts as if they meant to die the next day. But their greateſt pompe and magnificence, was in their goodly temples, and theaters, water-conduits, and fiſh-ponds: the ruines whereof at this day are ſufficient arguments, that *Rome* it ſelfe could neuer boaſt of the like. In the Porch of the temple of *Iupiter Olympius*, (by which wee may iudge of the temple it ſelfe) there was ſet out on one ſide the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in poliſhed marble of diuers colours; a worke the moſt magnificent and rare, that euer hath beene ſeene: on the other ſide the warre of *Troy*, and the encounters which hapned at that ſiege; with the perſonages of the Heroes that were doers in that warre; all of the like beautifull ſtone, & of equall ſtature to the bodies of thoſe men in ancient times: In compariſon of which, the latter workes of that kinde, are but pettie things, and meere trifles. It would require a volume to expreſſe the magnificence of the temples of *Hercules*, *AEſculapius*, *Concord*, *Iuno Lucinia*, *Chaſtitie*, *Proſerpina*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, wherein the Maſter-peeces of thoſe exquiſite Painters, and Caruers, *Phidias*, *Xeuxis*, *Myron*, and *Polycletus*, were to be ſeene. But in proceſſe of time it ranne the ſame fortune that all other great Cities haue done, and was ruined by diuers calamities of warre: whereof this warre preſent brought vnto it not the leaſt.

Romans, the better to aſſure themſelues, cut a deepe trench, betweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe: and another on the out-ſide thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force any ſuddenly, by a ſallie, nor thoſe of the Countrie without, break vpon them vnawares: which double defence kept the beſieged alſo from the receiuing auy reliefe of victualls, and munitions, whileſt the *Siracuſian* ſupplies the aſſailants with what they want. The beſieged ſend for ſuccour to *Carthage*: after they had beene in this ſort pent vp fiue moneths. The *Carthaginians* imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, vnder the command of *Hanno*; who arriues with it at *Heraclea*, to the Weſt of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* puts himſelfe into the field, and ſurpriſeth *Erbeſus*, a Citie wherein the *Romanes* had beſtowed all their prouiſion. By meanes heereof, the famine without grew to bee as great, as it was within *Agrigentum*; and the *Romane* campe no leſſe ſtreightly aſſieged by *Hanno*, than the Citie was by the *Romanes*: inſomuch, as if *Hieron* had not ſupplied them, they had beene forced to abandon the ſiege. But ſeeing that this diſtreſſe was not enough to make them riſe; *Hanno* determined ro giue them battaile. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, hee makes approach vnto the *Roman* campe. The *Romans* reſolue to ſuſtaine him, and put themſelues in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* horſemen to charge the Vantguard, to the ende to draw them further on; which done, hee commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay ſhadowed behinde ſome riſing ground. The *Numidians* performe it accordingly; and while the *Romanes* purſued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* giues vpon them, and hauing ſlaughtered many, beates the reſt into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay ſtrongly incamped, waiting vntill ſome opportunitie ſhould inuite them. But *Annibal* that was beſieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by ſignes as meſſengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremitie which he endured, was able to brooke ſuch dilatory courſes. *Hanno* thereupon, a ſecond time, prouoked the Conſuls to fight: But his Elephants being diſordered by his owne Vantguard, which was broken by the *Romanes*, he loſt the day: and with ſuch as eſcaped, he recouered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiuing this, and remaining hopeleſſe of ſuccor, reſolued to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this daies victory, wearied with labour, and ſecured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; hee ruſht out of the Towne, with all the remainder of his armie, and paſt by the *Roman* campe without reſiſtance. The Conſuls purſue him in the morning, but in vaine: ſure they were, that hee could not carry the Citie with him, which with little a-doe the *Romans* entred, and pittifully ſpoyled. The *Romans*, proud of this victorie, purpoſed rather to follow the direction of their preſent good fortunes, than their firſt determinations. They had reſolued in the beginning of this Warre, onely to ſuccour the *Mamertines*, and to keepe the *Carthaginians* from their owne coaſts: but now they determine to make themſelues Lords of all *Sicil*; and from thence, being fauoured with the winde of good ſucceſſe, to ſaile ouer into *Africke*. It is the diſeaſe of Kings, of States, and alſo of priuate men, to couet the greateſt things, but not to enioy the leaſt; the deſire of that which we neither haue nor neede, taking from vs the true vſe and fruition of what wee haue alreadie. This curſe vpon mortall men, was neuer taken from them ſince the beginning of the World vnto this day.

To proſecute this Warre, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Octacilius*, two new Conſuls, are ſent into *Sicil*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Maſters of the field, many in-land Townes gaue themſelues vnto them. On the contrarie, the *Carthaginians* keeping ſtill the Lordſhip of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The *Romanes* therefore, as well to ſecure their owne coaſts, often inuaded by the *African* fleets, as alſo to equall themſelues in euery kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And heerein fortune fauoured them with this accident, that beeing altogether ignorant in ſhip-wrights craft, a ſtorme of winde thruſt one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of fiue bankes, to the ſhore.

Now had the *Romanes* a patterne, and by it they beganne to ſet vp an hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were Gallies, rowed by fiue on euery banke, and twenty, of three on a banke: and while theſe were in preparing, they exerciſed their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a ſtrange faſhion. They placed vpon the Sea-ſands many ſeates, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beat the ſand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Maſter, that ſo they might learne the ſtroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finiſhed, ſome rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Conſuls (for they changed euery yeere) was made Admirall: who being more in loue with this new kinde of warfare, then well aduiſed, paſt ouer to *Meſſena* with ſeuenteene Gallies, leauing the reſt to follow him. There hee ſtaied not, but would needs row along the coaſt to *Lipara*, hoping to doe ſome piece of ſeruice. *Hannibal*, a *Carthaginian* was at the ſame time Gouernour in *Panormus*; who being aduertiſed of this new Sea mans arriuall, ſent foorth one *Boodes*, a Senatour of *Carthage*, with twentie Gallies to entertaine him. *Boodes*, falling vpon the Conſull vnawares, tooke both him and the fleet hee commanded. When *Hannibal* receiued this good newes, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Conſull; hee grew no leſſe fooliſh hardie than *Cornelius* had beene. For hee, fancying to himſelfe to ſurprize the reſt of the *Roman* fleet, on their owne coaſt, ere they were yet in all points prouided; ſought them out with a fleete of fiftie ſaile: wherewith falling among them, hee was well beaten, and leauing the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard eſcape with the reſt: for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the *Romans* vnder *Cornelius* had loſt but ſeuenteene, ſo as one hundred and three remained, which were not eaſily beaten by fiftie.

The *Romans*, being aduertiſed of *Cornelius* his ouerthrow, make haſte to redeeme him, but giue the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Duilius*. *Duilius*, conſidering that the *Roman* veſſels were heauie and ſlow, the *African* Gallies hauing the ſpeed of them, deuiſed a certaine Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might faſten or grapple themſelues with their enemies, when they were (as wee call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies ſides together. This done, the waightier ſhips had gotten the aduantage, and the *Africans* loſt it. For neither did their ſwiftneſſe ſerue them, nor their Mariners craft; the Veſſels wherein both Nations fought, being open: ſo that all was to be carried by the aduantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Beſides this, as the heauier Gallies were accidentally likely to cruſh and cracke the ſides of the lighter and weaker, ſo were they by the reaſon of their breadth, more ſteadie; and thoſe that beſt kept their feet, could alſo beſt vſe their hands. The example may be giuen betweene one of the long boates of his Maieſties great ſhips, and a *London barge*.

Certainely, hee that will happily performe a fight at Sea, muſt bee skilfull in making choice of Veſſels to fight in: he muſt beleeue, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great during; and muſt know, that there is a great deale of difference, betweene fighting looſe or at large, and grapling. The Gunnes of a ſlow ſhip pierce as well, and make as great holes, as thoſe in a ſwift. To clap ſhips together, without conſideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre: for by ſuch an ignorant brauerie was *Peter Stroſsie*, loſt at the *Azores*, when he fought againſt the *Marqueſſe of Santa Cruz*. In like ſort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admirall of *England*, beene loſt in the yeere 1588. if hee had not beene better aduiſed, than a great many malignant fooles were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Armie aboord them; and he had none: they had more ſhips then he had, and of higher building and charging; ſo that, had he intangled himſelfe with thoſe great and powerfull Veſſells, he had greatly endangered this Kingdome of *England*. For twentie men vpon the defences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwiſe, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twentie of ours, to defend themſelues withall. But our Admirall knew his aduantage, and held it: which had he not done, he had not beene worthy to haue held his head. Heere to ſpeake in generall of Sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for priuate hands then for the Preſſe,) I ſay, That a fleete of twentie ſhippes, all good ſailers, and good ſhips, haue the aduantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ſhips, and of ſlower ſayling. For if the fleet of an hundred ſaile keepe themſelues neere together, in a groſſe ſquadron; the twentie ſhips, charging them vpon any angle, ſhall force them to giue ground, and to fall backe vpon their owne next fellowes: of which ſo many as intangle, are made vnſeruiceable, or loſt. Force them they may eaſily, becauſe the twentie ſhips, which giue themſelues ſcope, after they haue giuen one broad ſide of Artillerie, by clapping into the winde, and ſtaying, they may giue them the other: and ſo the twentie ſhips batter them in pieces with a perpetuall vollie; whereas thoſe, that fight in a troope, haue no roome to turne, and can alwaies vſe but one and the ſame beaten ſide. If the fleet of an hundred ſaile giue themſelues any diſtance, then ſhall the leſſer fleet preuaile, either againſt thoſe that are a-reare & hindmoſt, or againſt thoſe, that by aduantage of ouer-ſailing their fellowes keepe the winde: and if vpon a Lee-ſhore, the ſhips next the winde bee conſtrained to fall backe into their owne ſquadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole fleet muſt ſuffer ſhipwracke, or render it ſelfe. That ſuch aduantage may be taken vpon a fleet of vnequall ſpeed, it hath bin well enough conceiued in olde time; as by that Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracuſians*, when the *Athenians* inuaded them, it may eaſily bee obſerued.

Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a a Treatiſe, for the Lord *Henry*, *Prince of Wales*; a ſubiect, to my knowledge, neuer handled by any man, ancient or moderne: but God hath ſpared mee the labour of finiſhing it, by his loſſe; by the loſſe of that braue Prince; of which, like an Eclipſe of the Sunne, we ſhall finde the effects hereafter. Impoſſible it is to equall words and ſorrowes; I will therefore leaue him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curæ leues loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent.*

But it is now time to returne to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by loſing their aduantage of ſwift boats, & boording the *Romans*, haue loſt fiftie ſaile of their Gallies: as on the other ſide, their enemies by commanding the Seas, haue gotten libertie to ſaile about the Weſt part of *Sicil*; where they raiſed the ſiege layed vnto *Segeſta*, by the *Carthaginians*, and wonne the Towne of *Macella*, with ſome other places.

§. VII.

Diuers enterfeats of warre, betweene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable ſucceſſe. The Romans prepare to inuade Africk: and obtaine a great victory at Sea.

THe victorie of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the firſt Nauall triumph, that was euer ſeene in that Citie; ſo gaue it vnto the *Romans* a great incouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea; whereby they hoped, not onely to get *Sicil*, but all the other Iles betweene *Italie* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither ſoone after they ſent a fleet for that purpoſe. On the contrary ſide, *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occaſions, that might helpe to recompence the late misfortune: and being aduertiſed, that ſome quarrell was grown betweene the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being ſuch as cauſed them to incampe a-part, he ſent forth *Hanno* to ſet vpon them; who taking them vnawares, buried foure thouſand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in *Sicil*, *Hannibal*, who had lately beene beaten by Sea, but eſcaped vnto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former errour, obtained the truſt of a new fleet, wherewith hee arriued at *Sardinia*: the conqueſt of which Iland, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterpriſe. Now it ſo fell out, that the *Romans*, croſſing the Seas from *Sicil*, arriued in the port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They ſet vpon him vnawares, and tooke the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himſelfe hardly eſcaping the danger. But it little auailed him to haue eſcaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were ſo ill pleaſed with this his ſecond vnfortunate voyage, that they hanged him vp for his diligence: for (as it hath been ſaid of old) *Non eſt bis in bello peccare*, *In warre it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Conſuls, *till *Panormus* was beſieged: where, when the *Romans* had ſought in vaine to draw the Cartha-

* If wee may giue credit to Antiquities, which *Fazellus*, a diligent writer hath left vs in his Hiſtorie of *Sicil*; *Panormus*, now called *Palermo*, is one of the firſt Cities that hath been built in all *Europe*. For whereas *Thucydides* ſeemes to make it a Colonie of the *Phœnicians*; *Ranzanus, in libello de Panormo, lib. 6.* affirmes that it was firſt, and lõg before the time which *Thucydides* ſets down, foũded by the *Chaldæans*, & *Damaſcenes*. To prooue which, hee tels vs of two inſcriptions vpõ marble in the *Hebrew* Character found at *Panormus* in the time of *William* the ſecond, King of *Sicil*, that were then beheld of al the Citizens & other ſtrãgers; which being tranſlated into Latine, ſay as followeth: *Viuente Iſaac filio Abrahæ, & regnante in Idumæa, atq; in Valle Damaſcena, Eſau filio Iſaac; ingens Hebræorũ manus, quibus adiũcti ſunt multi Damaſceni, atq; Phœnices, profecti in hanc triangularem Inſulam, ſedes perpetuas locauerunt in hoc amœniſſimo loco, quem Panormũ nominauerunt.* In the other marble are found theſe words: *Non eſt alius Deus prater vnum Deum; non eſt alius potens. prater eundem Deum, &c. Huius Turris Præfectus eſt Saphu filius Eliphaz, filij Eſau, fratris Iacob filij Iſaac, filij Abrahami: & Turri quidem ipſi nomen eſt Baych; ſea Turri huic proxima nomen eſt Pharah.* And this inſcription (ſaith *Fazellus*) was found intire in the Caſtle *Baych*, in the yeare 1534. Now whether theſe inſcriptions were truely as ancient, as theſe men beleeue they were, I leaue euery man to his owne faith. But that the City was of aged times, it appeares by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth; when the *Greekes* paſt firſt into *Sicil*, that then the *Phœnicians* inhabited *Panormus*: which certaine it is they did in the firſt *Punik* warre; to witte, the *Carthaginians*, who were *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilus*, & *C. Cornelius*, commanding this Armie) tooke it. And when *Marcellus* beſieged *Syracuſe*, it ſent him in ayde 3000. Souldiers. But it was rather confederare, than ſubiect to the *Romans*. For *Cicero* againſt *Verres*, names it among the free Cities of *Sicil*. After *Syracuſe* deſtroyed, it became the firſt Citie and Regall ſeat, as well of the *Goths* and *Saracens* in that Iland, as of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*; of the *Normans*, *French*, and *Arragonians*; which honour it holds to this day, and is much frequented, for the excellent wine which growes about it,

ginians into the field ; being vnable to force that great Citie, becauſe of the ſtrong Gariſon therein beſtowed : they then departed from thence, and tooke certaine In-land Townes, as *Mytiſtratum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, betweene *Panormus* and *Meſſana*.

The yeare following, *C. Atilius* the Conſul, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, diſcouered a company of the *Carthaginian* Gallies ranging the coaſt : and, not ſtaying for his whole number, purſued them with ten of his. But hee was well beaten for the haſte hee made, and loſt all, ſaue the Gallie which tranſported him : wherein himſelfe eſcaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the reſt of *Atilius* his fleet was gotten vp : who renewing the fight, recouered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs ; by which the victory remaining doubtfull, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of theſe two Nations ſhould command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies; the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fiftie, * *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

* The *Quinqueremes* are Gallies, wherein euery Oare hath fiue men to draw it: the *Quadriremes* had foure to an Oare : and the *Triremes*, three. Some haue thought, that the *Quinqueremes* had fiue rankes of Oares, one ouer another; & the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. But had this beene ſo, they muſt the haue had fiue deckes each ouer other : which hath ſeldome beene ſeen in ſhips of a thouſand Tunns, neither could the third fourth, & fift rankes, haue reached vnto the water with the Oares.

The *Romans* reſolue to tranſport the warre into *Africk*, the *Carthaginians*, to arreſt them on the coaſt of *Sicil*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleete, was (perhaps) the greateſt that euer fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his eſtimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thouſand men ; and in thoſe of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thouſand : reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred rowers to euery Gallie, one with the other. The *Roman* fleete was diuided into foure parts, of which the three firſt made the forme of a Wedge or Triangle; the two firſt ſquadrons making the Flancks, and the third ſquadron, the Baſe : the point thereof (wherein were the two Conſulls as Admiralls) looking toward the enemie, and the middle ſpace lying emptie. Their Veſſells of carriage were towed by the third ſquadron. After all came vp the fourth, in forme of a *Creſcent*; very well manned, but exceeding thinne : ſo that the hornes of it incloſed all the third ſquadron, together with the corners of the firſt and ſecond. The order of the *Carthaginian* fleete I cannot conceiue by relation ; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I coniecture, that the front of their fleet was thinne, and ſtretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en hay* ; a long front of horſe, and thinne : which forme, ſince the Piſtoll preuailed ouer the Lance, they haue changed. Behinde this firſt outſtretched front, their Battalions were more ſolide : for *Amilcar*, Admirall of the *Carthaginians*, had thus ordered them, of purpoſe, (his Gallies hauing the ſpeed of the *Romans*) that, when the firſt fleet of the *Romans* haſted to breake through the firſt Gallies, they ſhould all turne taile, and the *Romanes* purſuing them (as after a victory) diſorder themſelues, and, for eagerneſſe of taking the Run-awaies, leaue their owne three ſquadrons farre behinde them. For ſo it muſt needs fall out ; ſeeing that the third ſquadron towed their horſe boats, and victuallers ; and the fourth had the Reareward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it ſucceeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken, the thinne front of the *Carthaginian* firſt fleet, which ranne away, they forthwith gaue after them with all ſpeed poſſible, not ſo much as looking behinde them for the ſecond ſquadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawne neere vnto the body of the *Carthaginian* fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the firſt) receiued a great loſſe, vntill their ſecond ſquadron came vp, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oares. *Hanno* alſo, who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* fleete, inuaded the *Romane* Reareward, and preuailed againſt them. But *Amilcar* beeing beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell backe to their ſuccour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heeles ; as not able to ſuſtain both ſquadrons. The Reare being relieued, the Conſuls came to the aide of their third Battalion, which towed the victuallers, which was alſo in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans* : but the Conſuls, ioyning their ſquadrons to it, put the *Carthaignians* on that part alſo to running.

This victorie fell vnto the *Romanes*, partly by the hardineſſe of their Souldiers ; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, beeing firſt beaten, could neuer after ioyne himſelfe vnto any of his other ſquadrons, that remained as yet in a faire likelihood of preuailing, ſo long as they fought vpon equall termes, and but ſquadron to ſquadron. But *Amilcar* forſaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Romane* fleete vningaged, and readie to giue ſuccour to any of the other parts that were oppreſt. So as in concluſion, the *Romanes* got the honour of the day : for they loſt but foure and twentie of theirs; whereas the *Africans* loſt thirtie that were ſunke, and threeſcore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had alſo diuided his fleete into foure ſquadrons, (beſides thoſe that hee ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that, whileſt hee himſelfe fought with one ſquadron that charged him, all the reſt of the enemies fleete had beene at the ſame time entertained, hee had preuailed: But the ſecond ſquadron, being free, came to the reſcue of the firſt, by which *Amilcar* was oppreſt: and *Amilcar*, being oppreſt and ſcattered, the Conſuls had good leiſure to relieue both the third and the fourth ſquadron, and got the victorie.

Charles the fiſt, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the ſecond his ſonne, where hee aduiſeth him concerning Warre againſt the *Turkes*, tells him, that in all battailes betweene them and the *Chriſtians*, he ſhould neuer faile to charge the *Ianiſars* in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the reſt. For (ſaith he) the *Ianiſars*, who are alwaies reſerued intire in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom the *Turke* repoſeth his greateſt confidence; come vp in a groſſe body, when all the troops, on both ſides are disbanded and in confuſion; whereby they carrie the victorie before them without reſiſtance. By the ſame order of fight, and reſeruation, did the *Romans* alſo preuaile againſt other Nations. For they kept their *Triarij* in ſtore (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-ſhot and laſt blow. A great and victorious aduantage it hath euer been found, to keepe ſome one or two good troopes to looke on, when all elſe are diſbanded and ingaged.

§. VIII.

The Romanes preuaile in Africk. Atilius *the Conſull propoundeth intollerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is vtterly beaten, and made priſoner.*

NOw the *Romans* according to their former reſolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their fleet, ſet ſaile for *Africa*, and arriued at the *Promontorie* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, ſomewhat to the Eaſt of the Port of *Carthage*, and ſome fortie leagues from *Heraclea* in *Sicil*, where *Amilcar* himſelfe as yet ſtaid. From this Head-land (leauing the entrance into *Carthage*) they coaſted the Eaſt-ſide of the *Promontorie*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Towne about fiftie *Engliſh* mile from it. There they diſ-embarked, and prepared to beſiege *Clypea*; which, to eaſe them of labour, was yeelded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on *Africa* ſide; without which all inuaſions are fooliſh. By this time were the *Africans* alſo arriued at their owne *Carthage*; fearing that the *Roman* fleet and armie had directed themſelues thither: but being aduertiſed that they had taken *Clypea*, they made prouiſions of all ſorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* ſend to *Rome* for directions, and in the meane while waſte all round about them. The order giuen from the Senate, was, that one of the Conſulls ſhould remaine with the Armie, and that the other ſhould returne, with the fleet into *Italie*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Conſull is ſent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twenty thouſand *African* Captaines, with all the *Roman* fleet and armie; except fortie ſhips, fifteene thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe, that were left with *Atilius*.

With theſe forces, *Regulus* eaſily wanne ſome Townes and Places that were vnwalled, and laid ſiege to others. But hee performed no great matter, before hee came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neere vnto the Riuer of *Bagrada*, hee encountred with a Serpent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which he ſlue, not without loſſe of many Souldiers, being driuen to vſe againſt it ſuch engines of warre, as ſerued properly for the aſſaulting of Townes. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Armie, whereof the Captaines were *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought ouer out of *Sicil* fiue thouſand foote, and fiue hundred horſe to ſuccour his Countrie. Theſe (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him out of *Africa*, by warie protraction of time, than to vndergoe the hazard of a maine fight. They were carefull to hold themſelues free, from neceſſitie of comming to blowes: yet had they a great deſire, to ſaue the Towne of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall purpoſe, and yet to diſturbe him in the ſiege of *Adis*; they incampe neere vnto him, and ſtrongly (as they thinke) on the top of an hill: but thereby they looſe the ſeruices, both of their *Elephants*, and of their horſe-men. This diſaduantage of theirs *Regulus* diſcouers, and makes vſe of it. He aſſailes them in their ſtrength, which they defend a-while, but in fine the *Romans* preuaile, & force them from the place, taking the ſpoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceed to * *Tunis* a Citie within ſixteene miles of *Carthage*, which they aſſault and take.

* This City was taken frō the *Turkes* by *Charles* the fift in the yeere 1536 and was one of the three Keyes, which he gaue in charge to *Philip* the ſecond his ſonne to keepe ſafe; to wit, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*: *Fluſhing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*: and *Cadiz*; the Key of *Spaine*. But two of theſe *Philip* ſo loſt, that hee neuer found them again; the third, our *Engliſh* were bold, in the time of the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hands: where wee ſtaid not to picke any lock, but brake open the dores and hauing rifled al threw it into the fire.

By the loſſe of this battaile at *Adis*, and more eſpecially by the loſſe of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly diſmaied. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the Weſt, inſult vpon their misfortunes; inuade, and ſpoile their Territory, and force thoſe that inhabite abroad, to forſake their villages and fields, and to hide themſelues within the walls of *Carthage*. By reaſon hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* findes his owne aduantage, and aſſures himſelfe that the Citie could not long hold out: yet hee feared leſt it might defend it ſelfe, vntill his time of Office, that was neere expired, ſhould bee quite runne out, whereby the new Conſulls were like to reape the honor of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no reſpect but to it ſelfe, perſwades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But hee propounded vnto them ſo vnworthy and baſe conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly poſſeſſed with feare, became now ſo couragious and diſdainfull, that they reſolued, either to defend their libertie, or die to the laſt man. To ſtrengthen this their reſolution, there arriued at the ſame time a great troope of *Greekes*, whom they had formerly ſent to entertaine. Among theſe was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had paſſed, and of the ouerthrow which the *Carthaginians* receiued neere vnto *Adis*, gaue it out publikely, that the ſame was occaſioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ranne, till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is ſent for; giues the reaſon of his opinion; and in concluſion, being made Generall of the *African* forces, he puts himſelfe into the field. The Armie which he led, conſiſted of no more then twelue thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Libertie, Liues, Goods, Wiues, and Children: which might well make it ſuſpected, that the Armies by Sea, before ſpoken of, were miſſe-numbred; the one conſiſting of an hundred and forty thouſand, and the other of an hundred and fiftie thouſand: were it not commonlie found that they which vſe the ſeruice of mercinarie Souldiers, are ſtronger abroad, than at their owne dores.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troups vpon faire and leuell ground, fitteſt both for his Elephants and Horſe, preſented them battaile. The *Romanes* wondered much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were, that it ſhould ſoone bee abated. Their chiefe care was, how to reſiſt the violence of the Elephants. Againſt them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *forlorne hope*; that theſe might, either with darts and other caſting weapons, driue backe the beaſts vpon the enemies, or at leaſt breake their violence, and hinder them from ruſhing freelie vpon the Legions. To the ſame end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had beene accuſtomed to doe. By which meanes, as they were the leſſe ſubiect vnto the impreſſion of the Elephants; ſo were they ſo much the more expoſed vnto the violence of horſe, wherein the Enemie did farre exceede them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at a reaſonable diſtance: his horſemen, and ſome light-armed foote, of the *Carthaginians Auxiliaries*, were in the wings. The firſt onſet was giuen by the Elephants, againſt which the *Velites* were ſo vnable to make reſiſtance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into ſome diſorder. In this caſe, the depth of the *Romane* battaile was helpfull. For when the beaſts had ſpent their force, in piercing through a few of the firſt rankes; the ſquadrons neuertheleſſe perſiſted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horſe, hauing at the firſt encounter, by reaſon of their aduantage in number, driuen thoſe of *Atilius* out of the fielde, beganne to charge the *Romane* battalions in flanke, and put them in great diſtreſſe; who being forced to turne face euery way, could neither paſſe forward nor yet retire; but had very much adoe to make good the ground whereon they ſtood. In the meane while, ſuch of the *Romanes*, as had eſcaped the furie of the Elephants, and left them at their backes, fell vpon the *Carthaginian* Armie, that met them in very good array. It was no euen match. The one were a diſordered Companie, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, freſh, and well prepared, to haue dealt with the enemie vpon equall termes. Heere was therefore a greater ſlaughter with little fight; the *Romanes* haſtily recoyling to the bodie of their Armie, which being ſurrounded with the enemie, and ſpent with trauaile, fell all to rout, vpon the defeat of theſe troupes, that open the way to a generall ouerthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full victorie; deſtroying the whole *Romane* Armie, ſaue two thouſand, and taking fiue hundred priſoners, together with *Atilius* the Conſull. Of their owne they loſt no more then eight hundred mercenaries, which were ſlaine, when the fight began, by two thouſand of the *Romanes*: that wheeling about to auoid the Elephants, bare downe all before them, and made way euen to the *Carthaginian* trenches. Theſe were the two thouſand that eſcaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. All the reſt were either taken or ſlaine. Hereby fortune made the *Romanes* know, that they were no leſſe her vaſſals, than were the *Carthaginians*: how inſolent ſoeuer they had beene in their propoſition of peace, as if they had purchaſed from her the inheritance of their proſperitie, which ſhee neuer gaue nor ſold to any mortall man. With what ioy theſe newes were welcommed, when they came to *Carthage*, wee may eaſily coniecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to paſſe in the World, there are many examples to proue, no leſſe then this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that ſentence of *Eurypides*, *Mens vna ſapiens, plurium vincit manus; Many mens hands equall not one wiſe minde.*

After this great ſeruice done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus* returned into *Greece*; whether for that hee was more enuied then honoured, or for what other cauſe, it is vnknowne.

The death of *Atilius Regulus* the Conſull, was very memorable. Hee was ſent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ranſome of priſoners on both ſides: giuing his faith to returne if the buſineſſe were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainelie ſaw that his Countrie ſhould loſe by the bargaine: ſo farre was he from vrging the Senate vnto compaſſion of his owne miſerie, that hee earneſtly perſwaded to haue the priſoners in *Africke* left to their ill deſtinies. This done, hee returned to *Carthage*: where for his paines taken, hee was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his conſtancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* ſeeme to haue iudged him an obſtinate and malicious enemie; that neither in his proſperitie would hearken to reaſon, nor yet in his calamitie would haue the naturall care, to preſerue himſelfe and others, by yeelding to ſuch an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not grounded vpon deadly hatred) onely in regard of ſome ſmall aduantage. Whatſoeuer the *Carthaginians* thought of him; ſure it is, that his faithfull obſeruance of his word giuen, cannot be too much commended. But that graue ſpeech, which he made in the Senate, againſt the exchange of priſoners, appeares, in all reaſon, to haue proceeded from a vaine-glorious frowardneſſe, rather than from any neceſſitie of State. For the exchange was made ſoone after his death; wherein the *Romanes* had the worſe bargaine, by ſo much as *Regulus* himſelfe was worth. As for the authoritie of all Hiſtorians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to conſider that they liued vnder the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did cenſure it otherwiſe. Yet the death which hee ſuffered with extreame torments, could not be more grieuous to him than it was diſhonourable to *Carthage*. Neither doe I thinke that the *Carthaginians* could excuſe themſelues herein; otherwiſe than by recrimination: ſaying, That the *Romanes* deſerued to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinary practice to vſe others in the like ſort. Crueltie doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being cuſtomarie. It was the *Roman* faſhion, to whip almoſt to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they tooke, yea although they were ſuch as had alwaies made faire warres with them. Wherefore it ſeemes not meet, in reaſon, that they ſhould crie out againſt the like tyrannicall inſolencie in others, as if it were lawfull onely in themſelues.

The conſideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Atilius* his intolerable demands; and of the ſudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* feare was changed by meere deſperation; calls to remembrance, the like inſolencie of others in proſperitie, that hath bred the like reſolution in thoſe, to whom all reaſonable grace hath beene denied. In ſuch caſes I neuer hold it impertinent, to adde vnto one, more teſtimonies; approuing the true rules, from which our paſſions carry vs away.

In the yeere 1378. the *Genowaies* wonne ſo faſt vpon the *Venetians*, as they not onely draue their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of *Venice* it ſelfe. This bred ſuch an amazement in the Citizens of *Venice*, that they offered vnto the *Genowaies* (their State reſerued) whatſoeuer they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blowne vp with many former victories, would harken to no compoſition; ſaue the yeelding of their Citie and State to his diſcretion. Hereupon, the *Venetians*, being filled with diſdaine, thruſt out to Sea with all their remaining power, and aſſaile *Doria* with ſuch deſperate furie, that they breake his fleet, kill *Doria* himſelfe, take nineteene of his Gallies, foureſcore boats of *Padoa*, and foure thouſand priſoners; recouer *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genowaies*, baſely to begge peace, to their extreame diſhonour and diſaduantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might haue commanded, to their greateſt honour and aduantage. The like hapned to the Earle of *Flanders*, in the yeere 1380. when hauing taken a notable, and withall an ouer-cruell reuenge vpon the *Gantois*, hee refuſed mercy to the reſt, who in all humilitie, ſubmitting themſelues to his obedience, offered their Citie, goods, and eſtates, to be diſpoſed at his pleaſure. This when hee had vnaduiſedly refuſed, and was reſolued to extinguiſh them vtterly; they iſſue out of their Citie with fiue thouſand choſen men, and armed with a deſperate reſolution, they charge the Earle, breake his Armie, enter *Bruges* (*pell-mell*) with his vanquiſhed followers; and enforce him to hide himſelfe vnder an heape of ſtraw, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficultie he eſcaped, and ſaued himſelfe. Such are the fruits of inſolencie.

§. IX.

How the affaires of Carthage proſpered after the victorie againſt Atilius: *How the Romans hauing loſt their fleet by tempeſt, reſolue to forſake the Seas: The great aduantages of a good fleet in warre, betweene Nations diuided by the Sea.*

BY the reputation of this late victory, all places that had beene loſt in *Africke*, returne to the obedience of *Carthage*. Onely *Clypea* ſtands out; before which the *Carthaginians* ſit downe, and aſſaile it, but in vaine: For the *Romans*, hearing of the loſſe of *Atilius* with their forces in *Africke*, and withall, that *Clypea* was beſieged, make ready a groſſe Armie, and tranſport it in a fleet of three hundred and fiftie Gallies, commanded by *M. Æmilius*, and *Ser. Fuluius*, their Conſulls. At the *Promontory* of *Mercurie*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, ſet out of purpoſe, vpon the bruit of their comming, encounter them: but greatly to their coſt. For the *Romans* tooke by force an hundred and foureteene of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they ſtaid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had beene beſieged: and this done, they made amaine toward *Sicil*, in hope to recouer all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this haſty voyage they deſpiſe the aduice of the Pilots, who pray them to finde harbour in time, for that the ſeaſon threatned ſome violent ſtormes, which euer hapned betweene the riſing of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-ſtarre*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* Fleete had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coaſt of *Sicil* had no good Ports, wherein to ſaue themſelues vpon ſuch an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perſwaded, that the winde and ſeas feared them no leſſe, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themſelues. So refuſing to ſtay within ſome Port, as they were aduiſed, they would needes put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victory againſt the *Carthaginian* fleet, to take a few worthleſſe Townes vpon the coaſt. The mercileſſe windes in the meane while ouertake them, and neere vnto *Camerina*, ouerturne and thruſt headlong on the rocks, all but foureſcore of three hundred and forty ſhips: ſo as their former great victory was deuoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recouered *Rome*.

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* There is no Part of the World, which hath not ſome certaine times of outragious weather beſids their accidentall ſtorms We haue vpon our coaſt a Michaelmas flaw, that ſeldome or neuer failes: In the weſt *Indies*, in the moneths of *Auguſt* and *Septẽber*, thoſe moſt forcible windes, which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or Northwindes, are very fearefull: and therefore they that Nauigate in thoſe parts, take harbor till thoſe months take end. *Charles* the fift being as ill aduiſed, in paſſing the Seas towards *Algire*, in the Winter quarter, contrary to the counſaile of *A. Doria*; as he was in like vnſeaſonable times to continue his ſiege before *Meiz*, in *Loraine*, loſt an hundred and fortie ſhips by tempeſt, and fifteene Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, victualles, horſes, and munition: a loſſe no leſſe great, than his retrait, both from before the one and the other, was extreame diſhonourable.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike Veſſels, hoping once againe to command the Seas; they are alſo as confident of their land-forces ſince the ouerthrow of *Atilius*. They ſend *Aſdrubal* into *Sicil* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and fortie Elephants, inbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armie and fleet he arriues at *Lilybæum*; where he begins to vexe the *Partiſans* of *Rome*. But aduerſitie doth not diſcourage the *Romanes*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty ſhips; with which, and the remainder of their late ſhipwracke, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chiefe Citie of the *Africans* in *Sicil*, and ſurround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leauing a Garriſon therein, returne to *Rome*.

Very deſirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: to which purpoſe they imploied *C. Seruilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Conſulls. But theſe wrought no wonders. Some ſpoile they made vpon the coaſts of *Africa*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their returne, they were firſt ſet vpon the ſands, and like to haue periſhed, neere vnto the leſſer *Syrtes*, where they were faine to heaue all ouer-boord, that ſo they might get off: then, hauing with much a doe doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their paſſage from *Panormus* towards *Italie*, they loſt an hundred and fiftie of their ſhips by foule weather. A greater diſcouragement neuer Nation had; the god of the warres fauoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricht them with vpon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them vpon the Seas. For they had now loſt, beſides what they loſt in fight, foure hundred and ſixe Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers tranſported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby receiued, perſwaded them to giue ouer their Nauigation, and their fight by Sea, and to ſend onely a Land-armie into *Sicil*, vnder *L. Cæcilius*, and *F. Furius*, their Conſuls. Theſe they tranſported in ſome threeſcore ordinary paſſage-boats, by the ſtreights of *Meſſana*, that are not aboue a mile and a halfe broad from land to land. In like ſort, the ouerthrow which *Atilius* receiued in *Africa*, occaſioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them leſſe cholericke againſt the *Carthaginians*, than before; ſo that for two yeeres after, they kept the high and wooddie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champian Countries. But this late reſolution of forſaking the Seas laſted not long. For it was impoſſible for them to ſuccour thoſe places which they held in *Sicil*, without a Nauie, much leſſe to maintaine the warre in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to ſend forces from *Meſſana* to *Egeſta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extreme Weſt parts of *Sicil*, making ſometimes a march of aboue an hundred and forty *Engliſh* mile by land, which could not be performed with an Armie, and the prouiſions that follow it, in leſſe than foureteene daies, the *Carthaginians* would paſſe it with their Gallies, in eight and fortie houres.

An old example we haue, of that great aduantage of tranſporting Armies by water, betweene *Canutus*, and *Edmond Ironſide*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Nauie and Armie, and could not preuaile againſt *London*, ſuddenly imbarqued; and ſailing to the Weſt, landed in *Dorſet-ſhire*, ſo drawing *Edmond* and his Army thither. There finding ill entertainement, he againe ſhipt his men, and entred the *Seuerne*, makeing *Edmond* to march after him, to the ſuccour of *Worceſterſhire*, by him greatly ſpoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he ſailed backe againe to *London*: by meanes whereof, he both wearied the King, and ſpoiled where he pleaſed, ere ſuccour could arriue. And this was not the leaſt helpe, which the *Netherlands* haue had againſt the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Maſters of the Sea, they could paſſe their Armie from place to place, vnwearied, and entire, with all the Munition and Artilerie belonging vnto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies haue beene able to doe it. Of this, an inſtance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, now liuing, one of the greateſt Captaines, and of the worthieſt Princes, that either the preſent or preceding Ages haue brought forth, in the yeare 1590. carried his Armie by Sea, with fortie Canons, to *Breda*: making countenance either to beſiege *Boiſleduc*, or *Gertreuiden Berg*; which the enemie (in preuention) filled with Souldiers, and victualls. But as ſoone as the winde ſerued, he ſuddenly ſet ſaile, arriuing in the mouth of the *Meuze*, turned vp the *Rhine*, and thence to *Yſſel*, and ſat downe before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march ouer-land round about *Holland*, aboue fourſcore mile, and ouer many great Riuers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Againe, when the *Spaniſh* Armie had ouercome this weariſome march, and were now farre from home, the Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to ſaile vp the *Rhine*, changed his courſe in the night; and ſailing downe the ſtreame, he was ſet downe before *Hulſt* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Towne he alſo tooke, before the *Spaniſh* armie could returne. Laſtly, the *Spaniſh* armie was ſo ſooner arriued in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, hauing fortified *Hulſt*, ſet ſaile againe, and preſented himſelfe before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a Citie of notable importance, and maſtred it.

And to ſay the truth; it is impoſſible for any maritime Countrie, not hauing the coaſts admirably fortified, to defend it ſelfe againſt a powerfull enemy, that is maſter of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spaine* than *England* ſhould be an example. Let it therefore be ſuppoſed, that King *Philip* the ſecond had fully reſolued to hinder Sir *Iohn Norris* in the yeare 1589. from preſenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugale*, before the gates of *Lysborne*; and that he would haue kept off the *Engliſh*, by power of his land-forces; as being too weake at Sea, through the great ouerthrow of his mighty *Armada*, by the fleet of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the yeere foregoing. Surely, it had not beene hard for him, to prepare an Armie, that ſhould be able to reſiſt our eleuen thouſand. But where ſhould this his Armie haue beene beſtowed? If about *Lysborne*; then would it haue beene eaſie vnto the *Engliſh*, to take, ranſacke, and burne the Towne of *Groine*, and to waſte the Countrie round about it. For the great and threatning preparations of the Earle of *Altemira*, the Marqueſſe of *Seralba*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the haſtie leauie of eight thouſand, vnder the Earle of *Andrada*, ſerue to more effect, than the increaſe of honour to Sir *Iohn Norris*, and his Aſſociates: conſidering, that the *Engliſh* charged theſe, at *Puente de Burgos*, and paſſing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with ſhot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, tooke their campe; tooke their Generals ſtandard with the Kings Armes, and purſued them ouer all the Countrie, which they fired. If a royall Armie, and not (as this was) a Companie of priuate aduenturers, had thus begun the warre in *Galicia*; I thinke it would haue made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugale*, and make haſte to the defence of their St. *Iago*, whoſe Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their firſt reſolution; as knowing, that Sir *Iohn Norris* his maine intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Armie, into his Kingdome, whither comming ſtrong, he expected to be readily and ioyfully welcomed: could they haue hindred his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land at *Penicha*, and march ouer the Countrey to *Lysborne*, ſixe dayes iourney? Did not hee (when all *Don Antonio* his promiſes failed) paſſe along by the Riuer of *Lysborne* to *Caſcaliz*, and there, hauing won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But theſe, though no more than an handfull, yet were they *Engliſhmen*. Let vs conſider of the matter it ſelfe; what another Nation might doe, euen againſt *England*, in landing an Armie, by aduantage of a fleet, if we had none. This queſtion, *whether an inuading Armie may be reſiſted at their landing vpon the coaſt of England, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it*; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obſeruations vpon *Cæſars* Commentaries, that maintaines the affirmatiue. This he holds onely vpon ſuppoſition; *in abſence of our ſhipping*: and comparatiuely, as that it is a more ſafe and eaſie courſe, to defend all the coaſt of *England*, than to ſuffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the beſt way, to keep our enemy from treading vpon our ground: wherein, if we faile, then muſt we ſeeke to make him wiſh, that he had ſtaied at his owne home. In ſuch a caſe, if it ſhould happen, our iudgements are to weigh many particular circumſtances, that belong not vnto this diſcourſe. But making the queſtion generall, and poſitiue, *Whether England, without helpe of her fleete, be able to debarre an enemie from landing*; I hold that it is vnable ſo to doe: and therefore I thinke it moſt dangerous to make the aduenture. For the incouragement of a firſt victory to an enemy, and the diſcouragement of being beaten to the inuaded, may draw after it a moſt perilous conſequence.

It is true, that the Marſhall *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to haue kept the frontier of *Guienne*, they of the

Proteſtant religion, after the battaile of *Moncounter*, entred that Countrie, and gathered great ſtrength and reliefe thence; for if the King (ſaith he) would haue giuen me but reaſonable meanes, *ie uſe bieu garde a Monſieur l' Admiral, de faire boire ſes Cheuaux en la Garonne*; *I would haue kept the Admiral from watering his horſes in the Riuer of Garonne*. *Monſieur de Langey*, on the contrary ſide, preferres the not fighting vpon a frontier with an inuading enemy, and commends the delay; which courſe the Conſtable of *France* held, againſt the Emperour *Charles*, when he inuaded *Prouence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diuerſe conſideration to be had, betweene ſuch a Countrie as *France* is, ſtrengthned with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of inuaſions vpon firme land, that theſe great Captaines ſpake: whoſe entrances cannot be vncertaine. But our queſtion is, of an Armie to be tranſported ouer Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Country, and the place left to the choice of the Inuader. Hereunto I ſay, That ſuch an Armie cannot be reſiſted on the coaſt of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coaſt of *France*, or any other Countrey: except euery Creeke, Port, or ſandy Bay, had a powerfull Armie, in each of them, to make oppoſition. For let his whole ſuppoſition be granted; That *Kent* is able to furniſh twelue thouſand foot, and that thoſe twelue thouſand be layed in the three beſt landing places within that Countrey, to wit, three thouſand at *Margat*, three thouſand at the *Neſſe*, and ſixe thouſand at *Foulkſton*, that is ſomewhat equally diſtant from them both; as alſo that two of theſe troupes (vnleſſe ſome other order be thought more fit) be directed to ſtrengthen the third, when they ſhall ſee the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I ſay, that notwithſtanding this prouiſion, if the enemy, ſetting ſaile from the Iſle of *wight*, in the firſt watch of the night, and towing their long boates at their ſternes, ſhall arriue by dawne of day at the *Neſſe*, and thruſt their Armie on ſhore there; it will be hard for thoſe three thouſand that are at *Margat*, (twenty and foure long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellowes at the *Neſſe*. Nay, how ſhall they at *Foulkſton* be able to doe it, who are neerer by more than halfe the way? ſeeing that the enemie, at his firſt arriuall, will either make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred ſhot of great Artillery, and quickely put the firſt three thouſand, that were intrenched at the *Neſſe*, to runne; or elſe giue them ſo much to doe, that they ſhall be glad to ſend for helpe to *Foulkſton*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby thoſe places will be left bare. Now let vs ſuppoſe, that all the twelue thouſand *Kentiſh* Souldiers arriue at the *Neſſe*, ere the enemy can be ready to diſimbarque his Armie, ſo that he ſhall finde it vnſafe, to land in the face of ſo many, prepared to withſtand him; yet muſt we beleeue, that he will play the beſt of his owne game; and (hauing liberty to goe which way he liſt) vnder couert of the night, ſet ſayle towards the Eaſt, where what ſhall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elſewhere, before they at the *Neſſe* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more eaſie than to doe it. Yea the like may be ſaid of *Waymouth*, *Purbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coaſt. For there is no man ignorant, that Ships, without putting themſelues out of breath, will eaſily outrun the Souldiers that coaſt them. *Les Armees ne volent poynt en poſte*; *Armies neither flye, nor run poſt*, ſaith a Marſhall of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleete of Ships may be ſeene at Sunne-ſet, and after it, at the *Liſard*; yet by the next morning they may recouer *Portland*, whereas an Armie of foot ſhall not be able to march it in ſixe dayes. Againe, when thoſe troupes, lodged on the Sea-ſhores, ſhall be forced to run from place to place in vaine, after a fleet of Ships; they will at length ſit downe in the mid-way, and leaue all at aduenture. But ſay it were otherwiſe; That the inuading enemy will offer to land in ſome ſuch place, where there ſhall be an Army of ours ready to receiue him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, ſhall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilburie* in the yeere 1588.) to attend the perſon of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of *London*: they that remaine to guard the coaſt, can be of no ſuch force, as to encounter an Armie like vnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* ſhould haue landed in *England*.

The Iſle of *Tercera* hath taught vs by experience, what to thinke in ſuch a caſe. There are not many Ilands in the world, bettet fenced by nature, and ſtrengthned by art: it being euery where hard of acceſſe; hauing no good harbour wherein to ſhelter a Nauie of friends; and vpon euery coue or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylua*, and *Monſieur de Chattes*, that held it to the vſe of *Don Antonio*, with fiue or ſixe thouſand men, thought to haue kept the *Marqueſſe of Santa Cruz*, from ſetting foot on ground therein; the Marqueſſe hauing ſhewed himſelfe in the Roade of *Angra*, did ſet ſaile, ere any was aware of it, and arriued at the *Port des Moles*, farre diſtant from thence, where he wan a Fort, and landed, ere *Monſieur de Chattes*, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Stroſſie*, ſlaine the yeere before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* priſoners murdered in cold blood, had inſtructed *de Chattes* and his followers, what they might expect at that Marqueſſe his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were ſlow in carrying reliefe to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *Engliſh* would be perſwaded to make ſuch diligent haſte, from *Margat* to the *Neſſe*, and backe againe, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not meaſured the one halfe when they found themſelues preuented by the more nimble ſhips of *Spaine*.

This may ſuffice to proue, that a ſtrong Armie, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horſe, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it liſt, in *England*, *France*, or elſewhere, vnleſſe it be hindred, encountred, and ſhuffled together, by a fleet of equall, or anſwerable ſtrength.

The difficult landing of our *Engliſh*, at *Fayal*, in the yeere 1597. is alleaged againſt this: which example moues me no way to thinke, that a large coaſt may be defended againſt a ſtrong fleet. I landed thoſe *Engliſh* in *Fayal*, my ſelfe, and therefore ought to take notice of this inſtance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited, with omiſſion of my name; I may by a ciuill interpretation, think, that there was no purpoſe to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was ſuch, or ſo ill managed, as that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeede ſome which were in that voyage, who aduiſed me not to vndertake it: and I harkened vnto them, ſomewhat longer than was requiſite, eſpecially, whileſt they deſired me, to reſerue the title of ſuch an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater perſon. But when they began to tell me of difficulty: I gaue them to vnderſtand, the ſame which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coaſt, then to inuade it. The truth is, that I could haue landed my men with more eaſe then I did; yea without finding any reſiſtance, if I would haue rowed to another place, yea euen there where I landed, if I would haue taken more company to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of raſhneſſe, I may ſay, that I had more regard of reputation, in that buſineſſe, than of ſafetie. For I thought it to belong vnto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Ilanders ſhould not thinke any aduantage great enough, againſt a fleet ſet forth by *Q. Elizabeth*: and further, I was vnwilling, that ſome *Low-Countrie* Captaines, and others, not of mine owne ſquadron, whoſe aſſiſtance I had refuſed, ſhould pleaſe themſelues with a ſweet conceit (though it would haue been ſhort, when I had landed in ſome other place) *That for want of their helpe I was driuen to turne taile*. Therefore I tooke with me none, but men aſſured, Commanders of mine owne ſquadron, with ſome of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuſe; as, Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *William Haruey*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *Iohn Skot*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henrie Thinne*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captaine *Laurence Kemis*, Captaine *William Morgan*, and others, ſuch as well vnderſtood themſelues and the enemie: by whoſe helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterpriſe I vndertooke. As for the *working of the Sea, the ſteepeneſſe of the Cliffes*, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we ouercame them well enough. And theſe (notwithſtanding) made fiue or ſixe Companies of the enemies, that ſought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Musketiers lay on the reſt for vs, and won the place of them without any great loſſe. This I could haue done with leſſe danger, ſo that it ſhould not haue ſerued for example of a rule, that failed euen in this example: but the reaſons before alleaged, (together with other reaſons well knowne to ſome of the Gentlemen aboue named, though more priuate, then to be here laid downe) made me rather follow the way of brauery, and take the ſhorter courſe; hauing it ſtill in mine owne power to fall off when I ſhould thinke it meet. It is eaſily ſaid, that *the Enemie was more then a Coward*; (which yet was more then we knew) neither will I magnifie ſuch a ſmall peece of ſeruice, by ſeeking to proue him better: whom had I thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwiſe haue dealt with. But for ſo much as concernes the Propoſition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the ſame enemy troubled vs more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the ſhore; that he ſought how to ſtop vs in place of his aduantage; that many of our men were ſlaine or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was ſhot in that march; and that ſuch, as (thinking all danger to be paſt, when we had won good footing) would needs follow vs to the Towne, were driuen by him, to forſake the pace of a man of war, and betake themſelues to an haſtie trot.

For end of this digreſſion, I hope that this queſtion ſhall neuer come to triall; his Maieſties many moueable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *Engliſh* will no leſſe diſdaine, than any Nation vnder heauen can doe, to be beaten vpon their owne ground, or elſewhere by a forraigne enemy; yet to entertaine thoſe that ſhall aſſaile vs, with their owne beefe in their bellies, and before they eate of our *Kentiſh* Capons, I take it to be the wiſeſt way. To doe which, his Maieſty, after God, will imploy his good ſhips on the Sea, and not truſt to any intrenchment vpon the ſhore.

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§. X.

How the Romans attempt againe to get the maſtrie of the Seas. The victory of Cæcilius *the Roman Conſull at Panormus: The ſiege of Lilybæum. How a Rhodian Gallie entred* Lilybæum *at pleaſure, in deſpight of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficultie to ſtop the paſſage of good ſhips. The Romans, by reaſon of grieuous loſſes receiued, vnder* Claudius *and* Iunius *their Conſuls, abandon the Seas againe.*

WHen, without a ſtrong Nauie, the *Romans* found it altogether impoſſible, either to keepe what they had already gotten in *Sicil*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa* or elſewhere, they reſolued once againe, notwithſtanding their late miſaduentures, to ſtrengthen their fleet and ſhips of warre. So cauſing fiftie new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gaue them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Conſuls, *C. Atilius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* perceiuing that the *Romans*, partly by reaſon of the ſhipwracke which they had lately ſuffered, partly by reaſon of the ouerthrow which they receiued by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were leſſe daring than they had beene in the beginning of the warre: and withall, that one of the Conſuls was returned into *Italie*, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that *Cæcilius*, with onely the other halfe, remained at *Panormus*: he remoued with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to prouoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Conſull was better aduiſed. For when *Aſdrubal* had made his approches ſomewhat neere the Towne, *Cæcilius* cauſed a deepe trench to be cut, a good diſtance without the ditch of the Citie: betweene which and his trench he left ground ſufficient, to embattaile a Legion of his Souldiers. To theſe he gaue order that they ſhould aduance themſelues, and paſſe ouer the new trench, till ſuch time as the *African* Elephants were thruſt vpon them. From thoſe beaſts he commanded them to retire, by ſlow degrees, till they had drawne on the Elephants to the brinke of the new trench, which they could by no means paſſe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a ſtand, they were ſo gawled and beaten, both by thoſe Souldiers that were on the inſide of the trench, and by thoſe that lay in the trench it ſelfe, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake backe furiouſly vpon their owne foot-men, and vtterly diſordered them. *Cæcilius*, eſpying this aduantage, ſallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troups, that ſtood embattailed, he vtterly brake them, and put them to their heeles; making a great ſlaughter of them, and taking all their Elephanrs.

The report of this victory being brought to *Rome*; the whole State, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred ſaile, which they ſent into *Sicil*, to giue end to that warre, that had now laſted foureteene yeeres. With this fleet and armie the *Romans* reſolue to attempt *Lilybæum*, the onely place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*; and all (indeede) ſaue *Drepanum*, that was neere adioyning. They ſet down before it, and poſſeſſe themſelues of all the places of aduantage neere vnto it, eſpecially of ſuch as command the hauen, which had a very difficult entrance. They alſo beat to the ground ſixe towres of defence; and by forcible engines weaken ſo many other parts of the Citie, ſixe towres of defence; and by forcible engines weaken ſo many other parts of the citie, as the defendants begin to deſpaire. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the Place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious ſallies, and giueth to the *Romans* all the affronts that poſſibly could be made. He hath in Garriſon (beſides the Citizens) ten thouſand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other petty Officers, that conſpire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is reuealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treaſon, ſaued *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* vſeth the helpe of *Alexon*, to aſſure the hired Souldiers, and imployeth *Hannibal* to appeaſe the troups of the *Gaules*, which did wauer, and had ſent their agents to the enemy. All promiſe conſtancie and truth; ſo that the Traitors, being vnable to performe what they had vndertaken, are faine to liue in the *Roman* campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good whereby to deſerue their bread. In the meane while, a ſupply of ten thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to their reliefe, hauing *Hannibal* the ſonne of *Amilcar*, for their Conductor: who, in deſpight of all reſiſtance, entred the Port and Citie, to the incredible ioy of the beſieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perſwaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) reſolue to ſet vpon the *Romans* in their Trenches, and either force them to abandon the ſiege, or (at leaſt) to take from them, or ſet on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is preſently made, and purſued to the vttermoſt, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. But the *Romans* being more in number, and hauing the aduantage of the ground, hold ſtill their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* deſire greatly to vnderſtand the ſtate of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to ſend into the Towne. A certaine *Rhodian* vndertakes the ſeruice; and hauing receiued his diſpatch, ſailes with one Gallie to *Æguſa*, a little Iland neere *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time, he ſteered directly with the Port; and hauing a paſſing ſwift Gallie, he paſt through the beſt of the Channel, and recouered the water-gate, ere any of thoſe, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thruſt from the ſhores on either ſide.

The next day, neither attending the couert of the darke night, nor dreading to be boorded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his returne, he ſet ſaile, and ſhipped his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quicke of ſteerage, and himſelfe expert in all parts of the channell) recouered the Hauens mouth, and the Sea, in deſpight of all the purſuit made after him. Then, finding himſelfe out of danger of being incompaſſed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Hauen, challenging any one, if any one durſt come forth, to vndertake him. This enterpriſe, and the well performing of it, was very remarkeable, and much wondred at in thoſe dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a-farre-off, the aduenture which this *Rhodian* made, was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and iudicious man of warre will not feare to paſſe by the beſt appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of winde: no though fortie peeces of great Artillerie open their mouthes againſt him, and threaten to teare him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when *Denmarke* and *Sweden* were at War; our *Eaſt land* fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, as forbidden by the King of *Denmarke* to trade with the ſubiects of his enemies, & he threatned to ſinke their ſhips if they came through the ſtreights of *Elſenour*. Notwithſtanding this, our Merchants (hauing a ſhip of her *Maieſties*, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the aduenture; and ſuſtaining ſome Vollies of ſhot, kept on their courſe. The King made all the prouiſion he could, to ſtop them, or ſinke them, at their returne. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not onely paſſe out with little loſſe, but did beat downe, with artillerie, a great part of the Fort of *Elſenour*; which at that time was not ſo well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound receiued. Neither was it long ſince, that the Duke of *Parma* beſieging *Antwerp*, and finding no poſſibilitie to maſter it, otherwiſe then by famine, laid his Cannon on the bancke of the Riuer, ſo well to purpoſe and ſo euen with the face of the water, that hee thought it impoſſible for the leaſt boat to paſſe by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blowne vp by any winde of glorie, but comming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheeſe, euen the poore men, attending their profit when all things were extreame deare in *Antwerp*, paſſed in boats of ten or twelue Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in deſpight of it, when a ſtrong Weſterly winde, and a Tide of floud fauoured them; as alſo with a contrarie winde, and an ebbing water, they turned backe againe: ſo as hee was forced, in the end, to build his *Stockado* ouerthwart the Riuer, to his maruailous trouble and charge.

The Fort Saint *Philip* terrified not vs in the yeere 1596. when we entred the Port of *Caliz*; neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred, beat vs from our anchoring by it; though it plaied vpon vs with foure Demi-cannons within point blanque, from ſixe in the morning till twelue at noone. The ſiege of *Oſtend*, and of many other places, may be giuen for proofe, how hard a matter it is to ſtop the paſſage of a good ſhip, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is ſo ſet, as that of *Angra* in *Tercera*, that there is no paſſage along beſide it, or that the ſhips are driuen to turne vpon a bow-line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in ſuch places, is it of great vſe, and fearefull: otherwiſe not.

But to returne to our aduenturous *Rhodian*: He arriues in ſafety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the eſtate of *Lilybæum*. Others alſo, after this take vpon them to doe the like, and performe it with the ſame ſucceſſe. The *Romans* therefore labour to choake the channell; and, for that purpoſe, fill many Merchants ſhips with great ſtones, and ſinke them therein. The force of the Tides cleares it againe in part: but they grounded ſo many of thoſe great bellied boates in the beſt of the entrance, as at laſt it made a manifeſt riſing and heape, like a ragged Iland, in the paſſage. Hereby it came to paſſe, that a *Carthaginian* Gallie, taking her courſe by night, and not ſuſpecting any ſuch impediment, ranne her ſelfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the braue *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as hee had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gallie, a little before taken, gaue him chace, and gathered vpon him; hee findes what ſhe is, both by her forme and by her ſwiftneſſe: and being not able to runne from her, reſolued to fight with her. But ſhe is too well manned for him, ſo that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly diſtreſſed; the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this deſpaire there roſe ſo violent a tempeſt, as ſome of the *Romans* wooden Towers, by which they ouer-topt the wals of *Lilybæum*, were ouer-turned. A *Greeke* Souldier vndertakes to fire thoſe that were fallen, and performes it: for the fire was no ſooner kindled, but being blowne vnto by the bellowes of a tempeſt, it increaſed ſo faſt, as it became reſiſtleſſe, and in the end burned all to aſhes, and melted the braſen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, deſpaire and wearineſſe hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: ſo that they reſolue, by a long ſiege, to ſtarue the defendants.

Vpon relation of what had paſt, a ſupply of tenne thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Rome*, vnder *M. Claudius*, the Conſull. Hee arriues at *Meſſana*, and marcheth ouer land to *Lilybæum*: where hauing re-inforced the Armie, and ſupplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the ſurpriſe of *Drepanum*, a Citie on the other ſide of the Bay of *Lilybæum*. This ſeruice the Captaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Conſull embarques his troupes, and arriues on the ſudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Gouernour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new ſupply arriued at *Lilybæum*, was at firſt amazed at their ſudden approach; but hauing recouered his ſpirits, he perſwades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroade, than to be incloſed. Herewithall he promiſeth great rewards to ſuch, as by their valour ſhall deſerue them; offering to leade them himſelfe, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Hauing ſufficiently encouraged his men, he thruſts into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Conſull, deceiued of his expectation, cals backe the foremoſt Gallies, that he might now marſhall them for defence. Hereupon ſome row backward, ſome forward, in great confuſion. *Adherbal* findes and followes his aduantage, and forceth the Conſull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himſelfe, hauing the land on his backe: hoping thereby to keepe himſelfe from being incompaſſed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-roome, ſo ſtreightned, as hee could not turne himſelfe any way from his enemies, nor range himſelfe in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of reſiſtance, keeping the ſhore on his left hand, hee thruſt out of the Bay with thirtie Gallies, beſides his owne, and ſo fled away: all the reſt of his fleet, to the number of ninetie and foure ſhips, were taken or ſunke by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this ſeruice is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiſcretion and flight, as much diſgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithſtanding this great loſſe, arme threeſcore Gallies, with which they ſend away *L. Iunius*, their Conſull, to take charge of their buſineſſe in *Sicil*. *Iunius* arriues at *Meſſana*, where he meetes with the whole remainder of the *Roman* fleet, thoſe excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybæum*. One hundred and twentie Gallies hee had; and beſides theſe, hee had gotten together almoſt eight hundred ſhips of burthen, which were laden with all neceſſary prouiſions for the Armie. With this great fleet he arriues at *Syracuſe*, where he ſtaies a while; partly to take in corne; partly, to wait for ſome, that were too ſlow of ſaile, to keepe company with him along from *Meſſana*. In the meane time, he diſpatcheth away towards *Lilybæum*, his *Quæſtors* or Treaſurers; to whom he commits the one halfe of his victuallers, with ſome Gallies for their conuoy.

Abherbal was not careleſſe, after his late victory: but ſtudied how to vſe it to the beſt aduantage. The ſhips and priſoners that he had taken, he ſent to *Carthage*. Of his owne Gallies he deliuered thirtie to *Carthalo*, who had threeſcore and tenne more vnder his owne charge; and ſent him to try, what good might be done againſt the *Roman* fleet, in the Hauen of *Lilybæum*. According to this direction, *Carthalo* ſuddenly enters the mouth of that Hauen, where he finds the *Romans*, more attentiue to the keeping in of the beſieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their owne againſt another fleet. So hee chargeth them, boords and takes ſome, and fires the reſt. The *Roman* Campe takes alarme, and haſtens to the reſcue. But *Himilco*, Gouernour of the Towne, is not behinde hand; who ſallies out at the ſame time, and putting the *Romans* to great diſtreſſe, giues *Carthalo* good leiſure to goe through with his enterpriſe.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ranne all along the South coaſt of *Sicil*, deuiſing how to worke miſchiefe to the enemy; wherein Fortune preſented him with a faire occaſion, which he wiſely managed. He was aduertiſed by his Scouts, that they had deſcried, neere at hand, a great fleet, conſiſting of all manner of Veſſels. Theſe were the victuallers, which the Conſull *Iunius*, more haſtily than prouidently, had ſent before him towards *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* was glad to heare of their comming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reaſon of their late victories. Accompting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks approching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet, likely to make ſtrong oppoſition, he haſtens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no minde to fight: but were glad to ſeeke ſhelter in an open Road, full of rocks, vnder couert of a poore Towne, belonging to their partie; that could helpe to ſaue them onely from the preſent danger, by lending them engines and other aide, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that aſſailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, hauing taken a few of them, lay waiting for the reſt, that could not long ride vnder thoſe rocks, but would be forced by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to ſaue their men, how they could, by taking land, with the loſſe of all their ſhipping. Whileſt he was buſied in this care; the Conſull *Iunius* drew neere, and was diſcouered. Againſt him *Carthalo* makes out, and findes him altogether vnprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Conſul had neither means to flie, nor abilitie to fight. Therefore he likewiſe ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger ſo great, as that of the enemy. The *Carthaginian*, ſeeing this, betakes himſelfe to a Station betweene the two *Roman* fleets; where he watcheth, to ſee which of them would firſt ſtir, with a reſolution to aſſault that, which ſhould firſt dare to put it ſelfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coaſt of *Sicil*, betweene the *Promontorie* of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde ſtormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempeſt, and their ſignes, finding (belike) ſome ſwelling billow (for ſo we doe in the Weſt of *England*, before a Southerly ſtorme) haſted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to couer themſelues from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight, than how to Nauigate, and neuer found any foule weather in the entrailes of their beaſts, their Soothſayers being all land-prophets, were ſuddenly ouer-taken with a boiſterous South winde, and all their Gallies forced againſt the rocks, and vtterly wrackt.

This calamity ſo diſcouraged the *Romans*, that they reſolued againe to forſake the Seas, and truſt onely to the ſeruice of their Legions vpon firme ground. But ſuch a reſolution cannot long hold. Either they muſt be ſtrong at Sea, or elſe they muſt not make warre in an Iland, againſt thoſe that haue a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excuſed, in regard of the many great calamities which they had ſuffered, through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbeare to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We ſeldome or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured ſo many miſaduentures and miſeries, as the *Spaniards* haue done, in their *Indian diſcoueries*. Yet perſiſting in their enterpriſes, with an inuincible conſtancie, they haue annexed to their Kingdome ſo many goodly Prouinces, as burie the remembrance of all dangers paſt. Tempeſts and ſhipwracks, famine, ouerthrowes, mutinies, heat and cold, peſtilence, and all manner of diſeaſes, both old and new, together with extreme pouertie, and want of all things needefull, haue beene the enemies, wherewith euery one of their moſt noble Diſcouerers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many yeeres haue paſſed ouer ſome of their heads, in the ſearch of not ſo many leagues: yea more then one or two, haue ſpent their labour, their wealth, and their liues, in ſearch of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their firſt ſetting forth. All which notwithſtanding, the third, fourth, and fift vndertakers, haue not beene diſheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with thoſe Treaſuries, and Paradiſes, which they enioy; and well they deſerue to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The Citie of Eryx is ſurprized by the Romans, and recouered by Amilcar, *who ſtoutly holds warre with them fiue yeeres. The Romans hauing emptied their common treaſurie, build a new fleet, at the charges of priuate men. The great victorie at Sea of* Luctatius *the Conſull; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to craue peace. The conditions of the peace betweene Rome and Carthage.*

THE *Romans* were carefull, to ſupply with all induſtry, by land, the want of ſtrength at Sea. Therefore they continue the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, and ſeeke to make ſure to themſelues all places, whither the enemie ſhips could not bring reliefe. The Conſull *Iunius*, to cure the wound of diſhonour, which he had receiued, bethought him what enterpriſes to vndertake. In the end he reſolued to attempt the Mountaine and Citie of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the faireſt and richeſt of all the Iland; and of theſe, by cunning or treaſon, he got poſſeſſion. *Eryx* was commodiouſly ſeated betweene *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; ſo that it ſeemed a fit place for a Garriſon, that ſhould reſtraine the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the Countrey. Wherefore *Iunius* fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the firſt entrance of the paſſage from the bottome, (both which places were very defencible) with a good ſtrength of men. But ſhortly after, in the eighteenth yeere of this warre, the *Carthaginians* ſent forth *Amilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleet and armie, who ſailing to the coaſts of *Italie*, did throughly repay the ſpoyles which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For hee firſt of all waſted and deſtroyed the Territories of the *Locrines*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred hee into *Sicil*; and finding there no walled Citie in the *Carthaginians* power, that ſerued fitly to infeſt the *Romans*, he occupied a peece of ground of great aduantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to confront as well the *Romans* that were in *Panormus*, as thoſe that kept about *Eryx*, putting himſelfe betweene both Armies with admirable reſolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had ſeized vpon, was not onely very ſtrong by ſituation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him oportunitie, to ſcoure all the coaſt of *Italie* with his fleet, waſting all along as farre as to *Cuma*. In the Iſle of *Sicil* he held the *Romans* to hard worke: lying neere vnto *Panormus*, where in three yeeres abode he did many notable acts, though not of much conſequence, for that the enemy could neuer be drawne to hazard the maine chance. Hauing wearied himſelfe and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, hee vndertooke a ſtrange peece of worke at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garriſons, placed there by *Iunius*, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine, were very ſtrongly lodged. Neuertheleſſe *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-ſide, by which he conueighed his men into the Citie of *Eryx*, that was about the middeſt of the aſcent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to paſſe, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the Mountaine, were ſtreightly held (as it were) beſieged. And no leſſe was *Amilcar* himſelfe reſtrained, by both of theſe Garriſons, and ſuch as came to relieue them. There he found them paſtime about two yeeres more; hoping ſtill to wearie out thoſe that lay ouer his head, as they on the contrary did their beſt, to thruſt him out of thoſe quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent vnto the proſequuting of this buſineſſe at *Eryx*. Wherein it ſeemes true (as *Hannibal*, in *Liuie*, ſpake vnto *Scipio*) that the affaires of *Carthage* neuer ſtood in better termes, ſince the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had vtterly forſaken the Seas, partly by reaſon of their great loſſes; partly vpon confidence of their land-forces, which they held reſiſtleſſe; *Amilcar*, with a ſmall Armie, had ſo well acquited himſelfe, to the honour of his Countrie, that by the triall of fiue yeares warre, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was iudged equall, if not ſuperiour to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had beene deuiſed and gone, for the diſlodging of this obſtinate Warriour: no way ſeemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby, if the maſtrie of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lacke of ſupply, ſhould not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common treaſurie was exhauſted: and the coſt was not little, that was requiſite vnto ſuch an enterpriſe. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden vpon priuate purſes. Diuers of the principall Citizens vndertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought ſo well, that they, whoſe abilitie would not ſerue to doe the like, ioyned with ſome others, and laying their monie together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repaied, when the war was finiſhed. By this voluntary contribution, they made and furniſhed two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their patterne, that excellent ſwift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybæum*, as was ſhewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Luctatius Catulus*; who paſt with the ſame into *Sicil*, the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*, indeuouring by all meanes to haue forced the Citie. But being aduertiſed that the *Carthaginian* fleete was at hand, and being mindefull of the late loſſes which his Predeceſſours had receiued; he was carefull to put himſelfe in order, againſt their arriuall.

Liu.Dec.3.l.10

Hanno was Admirall of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wiſe in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the art of ſeeming reuerend. How his reputation was firſt bred, I doe not finde; but it was vp-held by a factious contradiction, or things vndertaken by men more worthy than himſelfe. This qualitie procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient ſort, whoſe cold temper is auerſe from new enterpriſes, and therewithall an opinion of great fore-ſight, confirmed by euery loſſe receiued. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the moſt grieuous oppreſſors of their ſubiect Prouinces; wherby he procured vnto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall ſuch hatred, as turned it all to their great loſſe. He had ere this beene imployed againſt the *Numidians*, and wilde *Africans*, that were more like to Rouers, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of thoſe fugitiue Nations, he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great diſhonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which loſt not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counſaile, when, hauing ſhewed himſelfe an vnworthy Captaine, hee betooke himſelfe to the long Robe. Yet is hee much commended in *Roman* Hiſtories, as a temperate man, and one that ſtudied how to preſerue the League betweene *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well hee deſerued of his owne Countrie, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall hee was to the *Romans*, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his preſent voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miſerable neceſſitie of accepting, vpon hard conditions, that peace which he thence-forth commended.

Hanno had very well furniſhed his Nauie, with all needefull prouiſions for the Souldiers at *Eryx*: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the beſt of his qualities) but he had neither beene carefull in trayning his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with ſtout fellowes. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the vnexpert *Romans* giue way: forgetting, that rather the reſiſtleſſe force of tempeſts, than any other ſtrength of oppoſition, had made them to forſake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceiued aright, or elſe was ſent forth well inſtructed. It was his purpoſe, firſt of all to ſaile to *Eryx*, and there to diſcharge his ſhips of their lading: and hauing thus lightned himſelfe, he meant to take aboord ſome part of the Land-armie, together with *Amilcar* himſelfe, by whoſe helpe he doubted not, but that he ſhould be able to make his enemy repent of his new aduenture to Sea. This was a good courſe, if it could haue beene performed, But *Catulus* vſed all poſſible diligence, to preuent the execution of this deſigne: not becauſe he was informed of the enemies purpoſe, but that he knew it to be the beſt for them, & for that he feared no danger ſo greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was deſcried; yet he rather choſe to fight with the enemy, that had the winde of him, than to ſuffer this conuoy to paſſe along to *Eryx*, vpon vnlikely hope of better oportunitie in the future. All that *Hanno* ſhould haue done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exerciſed his men in Rowing; he had lightned his Gallies of all vnneceſſarie burthens; and he had taken aboord the choice men of the *Roman* Land-ſouldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the firſt encounter, were vtterly broken and defeated; hauing fiftie of their Gallies ſtemmed and ſunke, 2 and ſeauentie taken, wherein were few leſſe than ten thouſand men, that were all made priſoners: the reſt, by a ſudden change of winde, eſcaping to the Ile of *Hieroneſus*.

The ſtate of *Carthage*, vtterly diſcouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to reſolue. Meanes to repaire their fleete in any time there were none left; their beſt men of warre by Sea were conſumed; and *Amilcar*, vpon whoſe valour and iudgement the honour and ſafetie of the Common-weale reſted, was now ſurrounded by his enemies in *Sicil*, where hee could not be relieued. In this extremitie, they make diſpatch vnto *Amilcar* himſelfe, and authorize him to take what courſe ſhould ſeeme beſt vnto his excellent wiſedome; leauing all concluſions to his election and ſole counſaile. 3

Amilcar, whom no aduerſitie, accompanied with the leaſt hope or poſſibilitie of recouery, had euer vanquiſhed, looking ouer euery promiſe, true or falſe, that the preſent time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future hee was not able) reſolued to make triall, whether his neceſſitie might be compounded vpon any reaſonable tearmes. Hee therefore ſent to *Luctatius* the Conſull an Ouerture of peace: who conſidering it well, gathered ſo many arguments from the preſent pouertie of the *Roman* State, waſted beyond expectation in the former warre, that hee willingly harkened vnto it. So, in concluſion, an accord was made, but with prouiſion, That it ſhould hold none otherwiſe, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance. 4

The conditions were: Firſt, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould cleareły abandon the Iſle of *Sicil*. Secondly, that they ſhould neuer vnder-take vpon **Hieron** King of *Syracuſe*, nor inuade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they ſhould ſet at liberty, and ſend backe into *Italie*, all the *Romans*, whom they hold priſoners, without ranſome. Laſtly, that they ſhould pay vnto the *Romans* two thouſand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirteene hundred and twenty thouſand crownes: the ſame to be deliuered within twenty yeeres next following.

Theſe Articles were ſent to *Rome*, where they were not throughly approued: but ten 5 Commiſſioners were ſent into *Sicil*, to make perfect the agreement. Theſe Commiſſioners added a thouſand talents to the former ſum; and required a ſhorter time of paiment. Further alſo, they tooke order, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not onely depart out of *Sicil* it ſelfe, but ſhould alſo with-draw their Companies out of all the other Ilands betweene it and *Italie*, renouncing their whole intereſt therein.

Such was the end of the firſt *Punick Warre*, that had laſted about twentie foure yeares without intermiſſion; in which time the *Romans* had loſt, by fight or ſhipwracke, about ſeuen hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians*, about fiue hundred: the greatneſſe of which loſſes, doth ſerue to prooue the greatneſſe both of theſe two Cities, and of the Warre it ſelfe; wherein I hold good the iudgement of **Polybius**, That the **Romans**, in generall, did ſhew themſelues the brauer Nation; and *Amilcar*, the moſt worthie Captaine.

Chap. II.

Of diuers actions paſsing betweene the firſt and ſecond Punick Warres.

§. I.

Of the cruell Warre begunne betweene the Carthaginians and their owne Mercenaries.

THE *Romanes*, hauing partly by force, and partly by compoſition, thruſt the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicil*, and all the little Ilands thereunto adiacent, gaue them rather meanes and leiſure to helpe themſelues in a following Warre, then cauſe to hold themſelues contented with the preſent peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quòd leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; *That lawes are giuen by the Conquerors, and receiued of the conquered.* But the *Romans* had either forgotten the anſwere that was made vnto them, by one of the *Priuernates*; or elſe had forgotten to follow it, in this waighty buſineſſe. For when one of *Priuernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cauſe of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, *What peace the Romanes might hope for, or aſſure themſelues of, if they quitted their preſent aduantage ouer them*; he anſwered in theſe words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; ſi malam, haud diuturnam; If the peace be good and faithfull that you giue vs, it will be perpetuall; if it be ill, then of little continuance.* To this anſwere, the Senate, at that time, gaue ſuch approbation, that it was ſaid, *Viri & liberi vocem auditam; an credi poſſet, vllum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea conditione, cuius eum pœniteat, diutius quàm neceſſe ſit manſurum? That it was the ſpeech of a manly, and a free man; for who could beleeue, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an ouer-burdened eſtate, than meere neceſsitie did enforce?* Now if the *Romans* themſelues could make this iudgement, of thoſe Nations, who had little elſe, beſides their manly reſolution, to defend their libertie; ſurely, they groſly flattered themſelues, in preſuming, that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour vnto themſelues, would ſit downe any longer by the loſſe and diſhonour receiued, than vntill they could recouer their legs, and the ſtrength, which had a while failed them, to take reuenge. But Occaſion, by whom (while well entertained) not onely priuate men, but Kings and publique States, haue more preuailed, than by any proper proweſſe or vertue, with-held the tempeſt from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it moſt fearefully vpon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themſelues.

For after that the firſt *Punick Warre* was ended; *Amilcar*, leauing *Eryx*, went to *Lilibæum*, from whence moſt conueniently the Armie might be tranſported into *Africk*: the care of which buſineſſe he committed vnto *Geſco*, to whom, as to a man of approued ſufficiencie, he deliuered ouer his charge. *Geſco* had an eſpeciall conſideration of the great ſummes, wherein *Carthage* was indebted vnto theſe Mercenaries; and, withall, of the great diſabilitie to make paiment. Therefore he thought it the wiſeſt way, to ſend them ouer (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that ſo the firſt might haue their diſpatch, and be gone, ere the ſecond or third Companies arriued. Heerein he dealt prouidently. For it had not beene hard to perſwade any ſmall number, lodged within ſo great a Citie as *Carthage*, vnto ſome ſuch reaſonable compoſition, as the preſent emptineſſe of the common Treaſurie did require: ſo that the firſt might haue beene friendly diſcharged, and a good preſident left vnto the ſecond and third, whileſt their diſ-iunction had made them vnable to recouer their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, ſome that would bee contented to gratifie the Publique State, by remitting a great part of their owne due: and hoped by ſuch an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the firſt and ſecond commers; telling them, that they would make an euen reckoning with all together. Thus euery day the number increaſed, and many diſorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much diſquieted the Citie, not accuſtomed vnto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remoue them all to ſome other place where they might bee leſſe troubleſome. This muſt bee done by ſome colourable words of perſwaſion: for their number was already ſo great, that it was not ſafe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuiſed, that they ſhould all attend the comming of their fellowes, at *Sicca*: receiuing euery one a piece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to diſlodge; leauing behinde them their wiues, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning ſhortly to fetch away all, when they came backe for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* haue no fancie to their returning into the Towne; and therefore compell them to truſſe vp their fardells, that they might haue none occaſion left to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they remooued, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arriuall, and their owne pay. Buſineſſe they had none to do, and therefore might eaſily be drawn to mutinie: the whole argument of their diſcourſe inclining them to nothing elſe. Their dailie talke was, how rich they ſhould be, when all their money came in; how much would fall to euery ſingle ſhare; and for how long time the Citie was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne *Arithmeticians*; and hee was thought a man of worth, that could finde moſt reaſon to increaſe their demands, to the very higheſt, euen beyond their due. No part of their long ſeruice was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promiſes of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, as ſo many obligations, not to be cancelled, without ſatisfying their expectation by ſome vnordinarie largeſſe.

Thus the time paſſeth away; vntill the whole Armie being arriued, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they ſhall all be made rich; eſpecially if they can hold together, in maintaining ſtoutlie the common cauſe. So thinke they all; and aſſemble themſelues to heare what good newes this meſſenger had brought: with a full reſolution to help his memorie, in caſe he ſhould happen to forget any part of the many promiſes made to them; all which were to be conſidered in their Donatiue. *Hanno* begins a very formall Oration; wherein he bewailes the pouerty of *Carthage*; tells them, how great a ſumme of mony is to bee paid vnto the *Romans*; reckons vp the exceſſiue charges, whereat the common wealth had beene in the late warre; and finally deſires them to hold themſelues contented with part of their pay, and out of the loue which they bare vnto the Citie, to remit the reſt. Few of them vnderſtood his diſcourſe: for the *Carthaginian* Armie was compoſed of ſundry Nations, as *Greekes*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others, all of different languages. Yet they ſtared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleaſed with his very geſture. But when ſuch, as conceiued the whole tenor of his ſpeech, had informed the reſt what cold comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad men, ſo that nothing would ſerue to appeaſe them.

Hanno would faine haue aſſwaged their furie, but he knew not how: for hee leſſe vnderſtood their diſſonant lowd noyſes, than they did his Oration. An Army collected out of ſo many countries, that haue no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither eaſilie ſtirred vp to mutinie, nor eaſilie pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The beſt that *Hanno* can do, is to vſe the helpe of Interpreters and meſſengers. But theſe Interpreters miſtake his meaning; ſome, for want of skill; others of ſet purpoſe; and ſuch as deliuer his errands in the worſt ſenſe, are beſt beleeued. Finallie, they thinke themſelues much abuſed by the *Carthaginians*, and reſolue to demand their owne in peremptorie termes, at a neerer diſtance. In this mood they leaue *Sicca*, and march as farre as *Tunis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*, and there they incampe.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to finde their owne errour. It is a good rule,

Curandum inprimis, ne magna iniuria fiat
Fortibus & miſeris.

Haue ſpeciall care, that valiant pouertie
Be not oppreſt with too great iniurie.

But this proud citie, hauing neglected the rule, hath alſo beene careleſſe in prouiding to ſecure her ſelfe againſt the inconuenience that might follow. Shee had ſuffered the whole multitude, whereunto ſhe was like to giue cauſe of diſcontent, to ioyne it ſelfe into one bodie, when the ſeuerall troupes might eaſily haue beene diſperſed: ſhe hath turned out of her gates the wiues, children, and goods of theſe poore men, which had ſhe retained in ſhew of kindneſſe, ſhe might haue vſed them as Hoſtages, for her own ſafety; and by imploying a miſerable pennie-father, in her negotiation with men of Warre, ſhe hath weakened the reputation of her braueſt Captaines, that might beſt haue ſerued to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no deſire to bee vſed as an inſtrument in defrauding his owne Souldiers of their wages: eſpecially conſidering, that as he beſt could beare witneſſe of their merits, ſo was he not ignorant, that meanes to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had beene willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable coniecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemie to *Amilcar*, had the boldneſſe to impoſe the blame of his owne wretched counſaile, vpon the liberall promiſes made by the Captaines. *Amilcar* therefore did wiſely, in ſuffering thoſe that maligned him, to haue the managing of their owne plot, and to deale the cards which themſelues had ſhuffled. This they continue to doe as fooliſhly, as they had at firſt begun. They furniſh a market at *Tunis*, for the ſouldiours; whom they ſuffer to buy what they liſt, and at what price they liſt. They ſend euer and anon ſome of their Senatours into the Campe; who promiſe to ſatisfie all demands, as farre forth as it ſhould be poſſible. And thus by ſhifting from one extreame to another, they make the Souldiours vnderſtand, into what feare the Citie was driuen; which cannot chuſe but adde much inſolencie to the paſſions alreadie ſtirred vp.

This ſudden change of weather, and the true cauſe of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon growes wiſe, and finding the ſeaſon fit, labors to make a great harueſt. Mony muſt be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many haue loſt their horſes, in publique ſeruice of the ſtate. The ſtate ſhall pay for them. They had liued ſome yeares, by making hard ſhift, without receiuing their allowance of victualls from *Carthage*. If they had liued, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ſhips did bring in prouiſion; or their Captaine direct them where to fetch it? But this would not ſerue. They ſaid that they had beene ſometimes driuen to buy; and that (ſince they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their prouiſion, during the whole time, and according to the deareſt price that wheat had borne, whileſt the Warre laſted. Such are now the demands of theſe Mutiners; who might eaſily haue beene ſatisfied with farre leſſe charges, and farre more honour, by receiuing their due at the firſt. But now they make none end of crauing. For whileſt the *Carthaginians* are perplexed, about this Corn-monie; the Souldiers haue deuiſed many more tricks, wherby to extort a greater ſum of money, without all regard of ſhame. Since therefore no good end could bee found of theſe controuerſies which daily did multiply, it was thought conuenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicil*, ſhould be choſen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condeſcended, and made choiſe of *Geſco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had ſhewed himſelfe at all times a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, eſpecially when they were to be tranſported into *Africke*: partly out of a diſlike which they had conceiued of *Amilcar*; for that hee had not viſited them in all this buſie time. So *Geſco* comes among them; and, to pleaſe them the better, comes not without money: which might giue better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. Hee calls vnto him firſt of all, the Captaines, and then, the ſeuerall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had paſſed; aduiſing them temperately concerning the preſent; and exhorting them to continue their loue vnto the State, which had long entertained them, and would needs alwaies be mindefull of their good ſeruices. After this hee began to put hand to his purſe: offering to giue them their whole pay in hand; and then after to conſider of other reckonings at a more conuenient time. This had beene well accepted, and might haue ſerued to bring all to a quiet paſſe; if two ſeditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not ſtood againſt it.

There was in the Campe one *Spendius*, a ſturdie fellow, and audacious, but a ſlaue; that in the late war had fled from a *Roman* whom he ſerued, and therfore ſtood in feare, leſt he ſhould be deliuered backe to his Maſter; at whoſe hands he could expect no leſſe, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by raiſing ſuch troubles as might ſerue to with-draw men from care of priuate matters, and make his owne reſtitution impoſſible, were his Maſter neuer ſo importunate. With *Spendius* there aſſociated himſelfe one *Matho*; an hote-headed man, that had beene ſo forward in ſtirring vp the tumult, as he could not chooſe but feare, leſt his owne death ſhould be made an example, to deterre others from the like ſeditious behauiour. This *Matho* deales with his Countrimen the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in farre worſe condition, than either the *Gaules*, the *Greekes*, the *Spaniards*, or any forreyne mercinaries. For (ſaith he) *theſe our companions haue no more to doe, than to receiue their wages, and ſo get them gone: but wee, that are to ſtay behinde in Africa, ſhall be called to another manner of accompt, when wee are left alone; ſo that wee ſhall haue cauſe to wiſh, that we had returned home beggers, rather then loaden with the monie, which (little though it be) ſhall break our backes. Yee are not ignorant, how tyrannically thoſe our haughty Maſters of* Carthage *doe reigne ouer vs. They thinke it reaſonable, that our liues and goods ſhould bee at their diſpoſition; which they haue at other times beene accuſtomed to take from vs, euen without apparent cauſe, as it were to declare their Souereigntie: what will they now doe, ſeeing that we haue demeaned our ſelues as free men, and been bold to ſet a good face on the matter, demanding our owne, as others haue done? Ye all doe know, that it were a very ſhame for vs, if hauing beene as forward in euery danger of warre, as any other men, wee ſhould now ſtand quaking like ſlaues, and not dare to open our mouthes, when others take libertie to require their due. This notwithſtanding yee may aſſure your ſelues, that we are like to be taught better manners, as ſoone as our fellows are gone: in regard of whom they are content to ſhadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let vs therefore be wiſe; and conſider, that they hate and feare vs. Their hatred will ſhew it ſelfe, when their feare is once paſt: vnleſſe wee now take our time, and, whileſt we are the ſtronger, enfeeble them ſo greatlie, that their hatred ſhall not be able to doe vs wrong. All their ſtrength conſiſteth in monie, wherwithall they haue hired others againſt vs, & vs aganiſt others. At the preſent they haue neither monie nor frends. The beſt Armie that euer ſerued them, whereof we are no ſmall part, lies at their gates, ready to help vs if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected: for were our ſwords once drawn, all* Africk *would riſe on our ſide. As for the* Carthaginians, *whither can they ſend for helpe? The caſe it ſelfe is plaine: but wee muſt quickely reſolue. Either we muſt preuent the diligence of* Geſco, *by incenſing theſe* Gaules *and* Spaniards, *and procuring them to draw bloud; or elſe it behoooueth vs to pleaſe our good maſters, by ioyning with them againſt our fellowes, yea by offering to forgiue vnto them all our wages, if ſo (peraduenture) they may bee wonne to forgiue vs, or not ouer-cruellie to puniſh our faults committed. Hee is moſt worthilie a wretched ſlaue, that neither hath care to winne his Maſters loue, nor the courage to attempt his owne libertie.*

By ſuch perſwaſions *Matho* winnes the *African* ſouldiers to his owne purpoſe. They are not now ſo greedie of monie, as of quarrell, which he that ſeeketh, will not miſſe to finde. When *Geſco* therefore offered to pay them their whole ſtipend preſently, but referred their other demands, for horſes and victuals, to ſome other more conuenient time; they breake into great outrage, and ſay that they will haue all, euen all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about *Matho* & *Spendius*; whoſe diligence is not wanting, to adde more fuell to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the onely men to whom the ſouldiers will hearken: if any other ſtand vp to make a ſpeech, a ſhowre of ſtones, flying about his eares, puts him to ſilence, that hee ſhall neuer afterwards ſpeake word more. Neither ſtay they to conſider what it is that any man would ſay: enough hath been ſaid alreadie by thoſe good ſpokeſmen; ſo that no other word (though perhaps to the ſame purpoſe) can bee heard, ſaue onelie *Throw, throw.*

Now the Rebellion begins to take forme. ***Matho*** and ***Spendius*** are choſen Captaines; who, followed by a deſperate crue of Ruffians, will ſuffer no man to make his owne peace, but purſue their owne ends, vnder faire pretence of the common cauſe. All which notwithſtanding, *Geſco* is not wanting to the good of his countrie, but aduentures himſelfe vpon their furie. One while he deales with the Captaines, and other principal men; taking them by the hand, and giuing gentle words: another while hee workes with the ſeuerall Nations; putting them all in hope of their own harts deſire, if any reaſon would content them. None of them are ſo ſullen as the ***Africans***: indeed none of them had ſo good cauſe. They require him peremptorilie, to giue them their owne, and not to feede them with words. The truth is, that they are not ſo couetous as they ſeeme: but will be more glad of an ill anſwere, than of a good payment. This is more then *Geſco* knowes: he ſees not that *Matho* hath any more then bare words to beſtow vpon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconſiderate heat, he tells them, That they may doe well, if they ſtand in want of mony, to ſeeke it of their Captaine, *Matho.* This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They ſtay no longer, but lay violent hands vpon the treaſure that he had brought; yea vpon him alſo, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of paiment, and, for the reſt, to take another courſe. ***Matho*** and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleaſed them to ſee their fellowes beginne to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they caſt into bonds both him, and all the ***Carthaginians*** that they can finde; that ſo the Armie may bee freed from danger of ***good admonition***, which they call Treaſon. After this followes open warre. ***Matho*** ſollicits all *Africk*; and his Embaſſadors are euery where well entertained. Neither is it needfull to vſe perſwaſion: the very fame of this rebellion ſufficeth to draw the whole countrie into it. Now muſt the ***Carthaginians*** be plagued for thoſe oppreſſions, with which they haue plagued others. It is true that aduerſitie hath neuer beene vntold of her errours: and as ſhe is euer aſſured to heare her owne, ſo commonly with her owne ſhee vndergoes thoſe of other men. The ***Africans*** finding the ***Carthaginians*** hang vnder the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impoſitions were mercileſſe; that they tooke from them the one halfe of their corne; that they doubled their tributes in all things elſe; and that they inflicted vpon their vaſſals the greateſt puniſhment for the leaſt offences. Theſe cruelties the ***Carthaginians*** themſelues haue forgotten: but the people, that haue ſuffered ſo much, retaine all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not onely ſuch as can beare Armes, are ready to doe ſeruice in this great Commotion; but the very women bring forth their Iewels, and other ornaments, offering all to ſale for the maintenance of ſo iuſt a quarrell. By this great forwardneſſe, and liberall contribution, ***Matho*** and ***Spendius*** are ſupplied with a ſtrong aide of threeſcore and tenne thouſand ***Africans***: and are moreouer furniſhed with mony, not only to ſatisfie the preſent appetite of their men, but ſufficient to continue the warre begun, though it ſhould be of long endurance.

§. II.

Diuers obſeruations vpon this warre with the mercenaries.

†. I.

Of Tyrannie, and how Tyrants are faine to vſe the helpe of mercenaries.

HEere let vs reſt a while, as in a conuenient place: whence wee may take a proſpect of the ſubiect, ouer which we trauaile. Behold a tyrannicall City, perſecuted by her owne mercenaries with a deadly warre. It is a common thing, as being almoſt neceſſarie, that a tyrannie ſhould be vpheld by mercenarie forces: it is common that mercenaries ſhould be falſe: and it is common that all warre made againſt Tyrants, ſhould be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we ſeldome heare, that euer the ruine of a tyrannie is procured or ſought, by thoſe that were hired to maintain the power of it: and ſeldome or neuer do we reade of any warre that hath been proſecuted with ſuch inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyrannie, is ***A violent forme of gouernment, not reſpecting the good of the ſubiect, but onely the pleaſure of the Commander.*** I purpoſely forbeare to ſay, that it is the vniuſt rule of one ouer many: for very truely doth ***Cleon*** in ***Thucydides*** tell the *Athenians*, that their dominion ouer their ſubiects, was none other than a meere tyrannie; though it were ſo, that they themſelues were a great Citie, and a popular eſtate. Neither is it peraduenture greatly needfull, that I ſhould call this forme of commanding, *violent*: ſince it may well and eaſily be conceiued, that no man willingly performes obedience, to one regardleſſe of his life and welfare; vnleſſe himſelfe be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly poſſeſſed with ſome extreme paſſion of loue. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for ſome Lords are more gentle, than others, to their very ſlaues; and he that is moſt cruell to ſome, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne aduantage. Neuertheleſſe, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers diſcretion cannot extend it ſelfe, vnto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of ſeuerall men; it is commonly ſeene, that the taſte of ſweetneſſe, drawne out of oppreſſion, hath ſo good a relliſh, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not ſuffer it to bee reſtrained with any limits of reſpect. Why ſhould he ſeeke out bounds to preſcribe vnto his deſires, who cannot endure the face of one ſo honeſt, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten, by extorting from ſome few: by ſparing none, he ſhould haue riches in goodly aboundance. Hee hath taken a great deale from euery one: but euery one could haue ſpared more. He hath wrung all their purſes, & now he hath enough: but (as Couetouſneſſe is neuer ſatisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a ſtocke, though it were indeed a good yeeerly Income. Therefore he deuiſeth new tricks of robberie, and is not better pleaſed with the gaines, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knowes it well: but he thinkes by crueltie to change hatred into feare. So hee makes it his exerciſe, to torment and murder all, whom he ſuſpecteth: in which courſe, if he ſuſpect none vniuſtly, he may be ſaid to deale craftily; but if Innocency be not ſafe, how can all this make any Conſpiratour to ſtand in feare, ſince the Traitor is no worſe rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore hee can thinke vpon none other ſecuritie, than to diſ-arme all his Subiects; to fortifie himſelfe within ſome ſtrong place; and for defence of his Perſon and ſtate, to hire as many luſtie Souldiers as ſhall be thought ſufficient. Theſe muſt not be of his owne Countrie: for if not euery one, yet ſome one or other might chance to haue a feeling of the publique miſerie. This conſidered, he allures vnto him a deſperate rabble of ſtrangers, the moſt vnhoneſt that can be found; ſuch as haue neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be carefull to ſupport him, by whoſe onely fauor they are maintained. Now leſt any of theſe, either by deteſtation of his wickedneſſe, or (which in wicked men is moſt likely) by promiſe of greater reward, than he doth giue, ſhould be drawne to turne his ſword againſt the Tyrant himſelfe: they ſhall all be permitted to doe as he doth; to robbe, to rauiſh, to murder, and to ſatisfie their owne appetites, in moſt outragious manner; being thought ſo much the more aſſured to their Maſter, by how much the more he ſees them grow hatefull to all men elſe. Conſidering in what Age, and in what Language I write; I muſt be faine to ſay, that theſe are not dreames: though ſome *Engliſhman* perhaps that were vnacquainted with Hiſtorie, lighting vpon this leafe, might ſuppoſe this diſcourſe to be but little better. This is to ſhew, both how tyrannie growes to ſtand in neede of mercinarie Souldiers, and how thoſe Mercinaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmely aſſured vnto the Tyrant.

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†. II.

That the tyrannie of a Citie ouer her Subiects is worſe, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie muſt likewiſe vſe mercinary Souldiers.

NOw concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppreſſeth her Subiects; it may appeare ſome waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in manie things it is more intolerable. A Citie is iealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearefull of her life: the leſſe need hath ſhe therfore, to ſecure her ſelfe by crueltie. A Citie is not luxurious in conſuming her treaſures; and therefore needs the leſſe, to plucke from her Subiects. If warre, or any other great occaſion, driue her to neceſſitie, of taking from her Subiects more than ordinarie ſummes of money: the ſame neceſſitie makes either the contribution eaſie, or the taking excuſable. Indeed, no wrongs are ſo grieuous & hatefull, as thoſe that are inſolent. *Remember* (ſaith *Caligula* the Emperor, to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) *that I may doe what I liſt, and to whom I liſt*: theſe words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harme. And *Iuuenal* reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruell *Roman* Dame vpon her ſlaues; that whileſt ſhe was whipping them, ſhee painted her face, talked with her Goſſips, and vſed all ſignes of neglecting what thoſe wretches felt. Now ſeeing that the greateſt grieuances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subiects, are free from all ſence of indignitie: likely it is, that they will not extreamely hate her, although deſire of liberty make them wearie of her Empire. In theſe reſpects it is not needfull, that ſhee ſhould keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintaine them in all villanie, as a *Dionyſius* or *Agathocles* muſt doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. Theſe things, conſidered alone by themſelues, may ſerue to proue, That a Citie is ſcarce able to deſerue the name of a Tyranneſſe, in the proper ſignification.

All this notwithſtanding, it ſhall appeare, That the miſeries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not ſo heauie, as the burdens impoſed by a cruell Citie. Not without ſome apparance of truth, it may be ſaid, that Luſt, and many other priuate paſſions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, wee ſhall haue need to vſe the helpe of ſuch diſtinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* laſciuious, when *Cato* was faine to riſe and leaue the Theater, to the end, that the reuerend regard of his grauity, might not hinder the people, from calling for a ſhew of naked Courtiſans, that were to be brought vpon the open ſtage? By common practice, and generall approued cuſtome, we are to cenſure the quality of a whole State; not by the priuate vertue or vice of any one man; nor by metaphyſicall abſtraction of *the vniuerſall* from *the ſingular*; or of *the Corporation*, from *thoſe of whom it is compounded.* I ſay therefore (as I haue ſaid elſewhere) That it were better to liue vnder one pernicious Tyrant, then vnder many thouſands. The reaſons, prouing this, are too many to ſet downe: but few may ſuffice. The deſires of one man, how inordinate ſoeuer, if they cannot be ſatisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to ſearch all corners; his humour may be found, and ſoothed; age or good aduice, yea, or ſome vnexpected accident may reforme him: all which failing, yet is there hope, that his ſucceſſour may prooue better.

Many Tyrants haue beene changed into worthy Kings: and many haue ill vſed their ill-gotten Dominion, which becomming hereditary to their poſterity, hath growne into the moſt excellent forme of Gouernment, euen a lawfull Monarchy. But they that liue vnder a tyrannicall Citie, haue no ſuch hope: their Miſtreſſe is immortall, and will not ſlacken the reines, vntill they be pulled out of her hands; and her owne mouth receiue the bridle of a more mightier Chariotier. This is wofull: yet their preſent ſufferings make them leſſe mindefull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall vpon the ſame ſore, out of which, others had already ſucked their fill. A new Gouernor comes yearely among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends, who meane not to returne home empty to their hiues, without a good lading of waxe and honey. Theſe flie into all quarters, and are quickely acquainted with euery mans wealth, or whatſoeuer elſe, in all the Prouince, is worthy to be deſired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his feares: becomming themſelues, within a little ſpace, the enemies that he feareth moſt. To grow into acquaintance with theſe maſterfull gueſts, in hope to winne their friendſhip, were an endleſſe labour (yet it muſt be vndergone) and ſuch as euery one hath not meanes to goe about: but were this effected, what auaileth it? The loue of one Gouernour is purchaſed with gifts: the Succeſſor of this man, he is more louing than could be wiſhed, in reſpect of a faire Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who ſeekes the ruine of all that haue beene inward with them. So the miſeries of this tyranny are not ſimple; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of ciuill warre. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or *Of Recouery*, againſt extorting Magiſtrates: yet wee finde, that it ſerued not wholly to reſtraine their Prouinciall Gouernours; who preſuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bolde in their Prouinces, to worke all theſe enormities rehearſed; though ſomewhat the more ſparingly, for feare of iudgement. If the ſubiects of *Rome* groned vnder ſuch oppreſſions; what muſt we thinke of thoſe that were vaſſals vnto *Carthage*? The *Romanes* impoſed no burthenſome tributes; they loued not to heare, that their Empire was grieuous; they condemned manie noble Citizens, for hauing beene ill Gouernours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrarie: the rapines newly deuiſed by one Magiſtrate, ſerued as Preſidents to inſtruct another; euery man reſolued to doe the like, when it ſhould fall to his turne; and hee was held a notable Stateſman, whoſe robberies had been ſuch, as might affoord a good ſhare to the common treaſure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice, are not extant: the gouernment of *Verres* the *Roman* in *Sicil*, that is liuely ſet out by *Tullie*, may ſerue to informe vs, what was the demeanour of theſe *Punick Rulers*, who ſtood in feare of no ſuch condemnation, as *Verres* vnder-went. By proſecuting this diſcourſe, I might inferre a more generall Propoſition; That a Citie cannot gouerne her ſubiect Prouinces ſo mildely, as a King: but it is enough to haue ſhewed, That the tyrannie of a Citie is farre more intolerable, than that of any one moſt wicked man.

Sutable to the crueltie of ſuch Lords, is the hatred of their ſubiects: and againe, ſutable to the hatred of the ſubiects, is the iealouſie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in warres abroad, the *Carthaginians* durſt vſe the ſeruice of *African* ſouldiers; in *Africk* it ſelfe, they had rather be beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the ſame purpoſe did *Hannibal*, in the ſecond *Punick Warre*, ſhift his mercenaries out of their own Countries; *Vt Afri in Hiſpaniâ, Hiſpani in Africâ, melior procùl ab domo futurus vterq; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati ſtipendia facerent*; *That the Africans might ſerue in Spaine, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them like to proue the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutuall pledges.* It is diſputable, I confeſſe, whether theſe *African*, and *Spaniſh* hirelings, could properly be termed *Mercenaries*: for they were ſubiect vnto *Carthage*, and carried into the field, not onely by reward, but by dutie. Yet ſeeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meere deſire of gaine, that made them fight; I will not nicely ſtand vpon proprietie of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* alſo doth, no better than Mercenaries.

Liu.Dec.3.l.1.

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†. III.

The dangers growing from the vſe of mercenarie Souldiers, and forraine Auxiliaries.

THe extreame danger, growing from the imploiment of ſuch Souldiers, is well obſerued by *Machiauel*: who ſheweth, that they are more terrible to thoſe whom they ſerue, than to thoſe againſt whom they ſerue. They are ſeditious, vnfaithfull, diſobedient, deuourers, and deſtroiers of all places and countries, whereinto they are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their owne commoditie. Yea, that which is moſt fearefull among ſuch hirelings, is, that they haue often, and in time of greateſt extremity, not onely refuſed to fight, in their defence, who haue entertained them, but reuolted vnto the contrarie part; to the vtter ruine of thoſe Princes and States, that haue truſted them. Theſe Mercenaries (ſaith *Machiauel*) which filled all *Italie*, when *Charles* the eight of *France* did paſſe the *Alpes*, were the cauſe that the ſaid *French* King wonne the Realme of *Naples*, with his Buckler without a ſword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by Queene *Ioane* of *Naples*, abandoned her ſeruice on the ſudden; and forced her to put her ſelfe into the hands of the King of *Arragon*. Like vnto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the firſt of that race Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by the *Millanois*, forced them to become his ſlaues; euen with the very ſame Armie which themſelues had leuied for their owne defence. But *Lodouick Sforza*, the ſonne of this *Francis*, by the iuſt iudgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto poſteritie, in looſing his whole Eſtate by the treacherie of ſuch faithleſſe Mercenaries, as his owne Father had beene. For, hauing waged an Armie of *Switzers*, and committed his Dutchie, together with his perſon, into their hands; hee was by them deliuered vp vnto his enemie the *French* King, by whom hee was incloſed in the Caſtle of *Loches* vnto his dying day.

The like inconuenience is found, in vſing the helpe of forreigne Auxiliaries. Wee ſee, that when the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* had hired ten thouſand *Turkes* againſt his neighbour Princes; hee could neuer, either by perſwaſion or force, ſet them againe ouer the Sea vpon *Aſia* ſide: which gaue beginning to the *Chriſtian* ſeruitude, that ſoone after followed. *Alexander*, the ſonne of *Caſſander*, ſought aide of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdome, ſlue the ſame *Alexander*, who had inuited him, and made himſelfe King of *Macedon*. *Syracon* the *Turke* was called into *Ægypt* by *Sanar* the *Soldan*, againſt his Oppoſite: but this *Turke* did ſettle himſelfe ſo ſurely in *Ægypt*, that *Saladine* his Succeſſor became Lord thereof; and of all the *holy Land*, ſoone after. What need we looke about for examples of this kinde? Euery Kingdome, in effect, can furniſh vs. The *Britaines* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrie; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *Engliſh* into *Ireland*: but the one and the other ſoone became Lords of thoſe two Kingdomes.

Againſt all this may bee alleadged, the good ſucceſſe of the vnited Prouinces of the *Netherlands*, vſing none other than ſuch kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeed theſe *Low Countries* haue many goodly and ſtrong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, induſtrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are ſtout Sea-men, and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they haue ſeldome been able to ſtand againſt the *Spaniard*. Neceſſity therefore compelled them to ſeeke helpe abroad: and the like neceſſitie made them forbeare to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with monie raiſed by their Trade, they maintained the Warre: and therefore could ill ſpare vnto the Pike and Musket, thoſe hands, that were of more vſe in helping to fill the common purſe. Yet what of this? they ſped well. Surely they ſped as ill as might be, whileſt they had none other than mercenarie Souldiers. Many fruitleſſe attempts, made by the Prince of *Orange*, can witneſſe it: and that braue Commander, Count *Lodowicke of Naſſau*, felt to his griefe, in his retrait from *Groeningham*; when in the very inſtant, that required their ſeruice in fight, his mercenaries cried out aloud for monie, and ſo ranne away. This was not the onely time, when the hired ſouldiers of the *States*, haue either ſought to hide their cowardize vnder a ſhew of greedineſſe; or at leaſt, by meere couetouſneſſe, haue ruined in one houre the labour of many moneths. I will not ſtand to prooue this by many examples: for they themſelues will not denie it. Neither would I touch the honor of *Monſieur* the Duke of *Aniou*, brother to the *French* King; ſaue that it is follie to conceale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraine Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that ſuch Aiders make themſelues Lords ouer thoſe, to whom they lend their ſuccour: but where ſhall we meet with ſuch another as this *Monſieur*, who, for his protection promiſed, beeing rewarded with the Lordſhip of the Countrie, made it his firſt worke, to thruſt by violence a galling yoke vpon the peoples necke? Well, he liued to repent it, with griefe enough. Euen whileſt hee was counterfeiting vnto thoſe about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginarie ſorrow for the poore burghers of *Antwerpe*, as verily beleeuing the Towne to bee ſurpriſed and wonne; the death of the Count S. *Aignan*, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, diſcharged againſt his owne troupes, informed him better what had hapned; ſhewing that they were his owne *French*, who ſtood in need of pitty. Then was his feigned paſſion changed, into a very bitter anguiſh of minde; wherein, ſmiting his breſt, and wringing his hands, hee exclaimed, *Helas, mon Dieu, que veulx tu faire de moy*; *Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me?* So the affaires of the *Netherlands* will not ſerue to proue, that there is little danger in vſing mercenarie ſouldiers, or the helpe of forraine Auxiliaries. This notwithſtanding, they were obedient vnto neceſſitie, and ſought helpe of the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *French*: wherein they did wiſely, and proſpered. For when there was in *France* a King, partaker with them in the ſame danger; when the Queen of *England* refuſed to accept the Soueraignty of their Country, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the *Spaniard* their enemie, purſued him with continuall warre; when the heire of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too iuſt & wiſe (though not ingaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miſeries, or to help thoſe that had attempted the conqueſt of his own inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very ſafely repoſe confidence, in the forces of theſe their Neighbour-Countries. The ſouldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not onely regardfull of the pay that they ſhould receiue; but well affected vnto the cauſe that they tooke in hand: or if any were cold in his deuotion, vnto the ſide whereon hee fought; yet was hee kept in order, by remembrance of his owne home, where the *Engliſh* would haue rewarded him with death, if that his faith had beene corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therfore truſted with the cuſtodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the neceſſitie of the poorer ſort was relieued, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helpes, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three ſuch Princes, reigning at one time, ſhall agree ſo well, to maintaine againſt the power of a fourth, injurious (or at leaſt ſo ſeeming) to them all, a Neighbor-Countrie, of the ſame Religion, and to which they all are louingly affected: then may ſuch a Countrie be ſecure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other buſineſſe, in hope of like ſucceſſe. But theſe circumſtances meet ſo ſeldome, as it may well hold true in generall: *That mercinarie, and forraigne auxiliarie forces, are no leſſe dangerous, than the enemie, againſt whom they are entertained.*

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†. IIII.

That the moderate gouernment of the Romanes gaue them aſſurance to vſe the ſeruice of their owne ſubiects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the vſe and benefit of the like moderation.

HEere may it be demanded, whether alſo the *Romanes* were not compelled to vſe ſeruice of other ſouldiours in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne Citizens? for if it were their manner to arme their owne ſubiects; how happened it, that they feared no rebellion? if ſtrangers; how then could they auoid the inconueniences aboue rehearſed? The anſwere is; That their Armies were compounded vſually of their owne citizens, and of the *Latines*, in equall number: to which they added, as occaſion required, ſome companies of *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their ſubiects, as were either intereſſed in the quarrell, or might beſt be truſted. They had, about theſe times (though ſeldome they did imploy ſo many,) ten Romane Legions; a good ſtrength, if all other helpe had beene wanting: which ſerued to keepe in good order their ſubiects, that were alwaies fewer in the Army than themſelues. As for the *Latines*, if conſanguinitie were not a ſufficient obligation; yet many priuiledges and immunities, which they enioyed, made them aſſured vnto the State of *Rome*: vnder which they liued almoſt at libertie, as being bound to little elſe, than to ſerue it in warre. It is true, that a yoke, how eaſie ſoeuer, ſeemes troubleſome to the necke that hath beene accuſtomed to freedome. Therefore many people of *Italie* haue taken occaſion of ſeuerall aduantages, to deliuer themſelues from the *Romane* ſubiection. But ſtill they haue been reclaimed by Warre; the Authors of rebellion haue ſharply bin puniſhed; and the people by degrees, haue obtained ſuch libertie, as made them eſteeme none otherwiſe of *Rome*, than as the common citie of all *Italie*. Yea, in proceſſe of time it was granted vnto many Cities, and thoſe farre off remooued, euen to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where Saint *Paul* was borne, That all the Burgeſſes ſhould be free of *Rome* it ſelfe. This fauor was conferred abſolutely vpon ſome; vpon ſome, with reſtraint of giuing voice in election of Magiſtrates, or with other ſuch limitation, as was thought fit. Heereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conqueſt, to releaſe vnto their new ſubiects halfe of their tribute which they had beene wont to pay vnto their former Lords, which was a readie way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their preſent condition; when the reuiew of harder times paſt, ſhould rather teach them to feare a relapſe, than to hope for better in the future, by ſeeking innouation. Neither would it bee forgotten, as a ſpeciall note of the *Romanes* good gouernment, That when ſome, for their *Liu.Dec.3.l.3.* well-deſeruing, haue had the offer to be made Citizens of *Rome*; they haue refuſed it, and held themſelues better contented with their owne preſent eſtate. Wherefore it is no maruell, that *Petellia*, a Citie of the *Brutians* in *Italie*, choſe rather to endure all extre- *Liu.ibid.* mitie of warre, than, vpon any condition, to forſake the *Romans*; euen when the *Romans* themſelues had confeſſed, that they were vnable to helpe theſe their ſubiects, and therefore willed them to looke to their owne good, as hauing beene faithfull to the vtmoſt. Such loue purchaſed theſe milde Gouernours, without impairing their Maieſty thereby. The ſumme of all is: They had, of their owne, a ſtrong Armie; they doubled it, by adioyning thereunto the *Latines*; and they further increaſed it, as need required, with other helpe of their owne ſubiects: all, or the moſt of their followers, accounting the proſperitie of *Rome* to be the common good.

The moderate vſe of ſoueraigne power being ſo effectuall, in aſſuring the people vnto their Lords, and conſequentlie, in the eſtabliſhment or enlargement of Dominion: it may ſeeme ſtrange, that the practice of tyrannie, whoſe effects are contrarie, hath been ſo common in all ages. The like, I know, may be ſaid, of all Vice, and Irregularity whatſoeuer. For it is leſſe difficult (whoſoeuer thinke otherwiſe) and more ſafe, to keepe the way of Iuſtice and Honeſtie, than to turne aſide from it; yet commonly our paſſions do leade vs into by-paths. But where Luſt, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, ſeduceth our reaſon; the ſame vnruly appetite either bringeth with it an excuſe, or at leaſt-wiſe taketh away all cauſe of wonder. In tyrannie it is not ſo: for as much as we can hardlie deſcrie the paſſion, that is of force to inſinuate it ſelfe into the whole tenour of a Gouernment. It muſt be confeſſed, that lawleſſe deſires haue bred many Tyrants: yet ſo, that theſe deſires haue ſeldome beene hereditarie, or long-laſting; but haue ended commonly with the Tyrants life, ſometimes before his death; by which meanes the gouernment hath beene reduced to a better forme. In ſuch caſes, the ſaying of *Ariſtotle* holds, *That Tyrannies are of a ſhort continuance.* But this doth not ſatisfie the queſtion in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exerciſe Tyrannie? Why did the *Athenians*? Why haue many other Cities done the like? If in reſpect of their generall good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill courſe for the ſafetie of the Weale publique? If they were ledde heereunto by any affection; what was that affection wherein ſo many thouſand Citizens, diuided and ſubdiuided within themſelues by factions, did all concurre, notwithſtanding the much diuerſitie of temper, and the vehemencie of priuate hatred among them? Doubtleſſe, wee muſt bee faine to ſay, That Tyrannie is, by it ſelfe, a Vice diſtinct from others. A Man, wee know, is *Animal politicum*, apt euen by Nature, to command, or to obey; euery one in his proper degree. Other deſires of Mankinde, are common likewiſe vnto bruit beaſts; and ſome of them, to bodies wanting ſenſe: but the deſire of rule belongeth vnto the nobler part of reaſon; whereunto is alſo anſwerable an aptneſſe to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirſt are giuen by nature, not onely to Man and Beaſt, but vnto all ſorts of Vegetables, for the ſuſtentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Luſt, and other Affections are likewiſe naturall, in conuenient meaſure, both vnto Mankinde, and to all creatures that haue ſenſe; for the ſhunning or repelling of harme, and ſeeking after that which is requiſite: euen ſo is this deſire of ruling or obaying, engrafted by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reaſonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a ciuile forme of Iuſtice. All theſe in-bred qualities are good and vſefull. Neuertheleſſe, Hunger and Thirſt are the Parents of Gluttonie and Drunkenneſſe, which, in reproach, are called beaſtly, by an vnproper terme: ſince they grow from appetites, found in leſſe worthy creatures than beaſts, and are yet not ſo common in beaſts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of ſuch other Paſſions as deſcend no lower than vnto bruit beaſts, are held leſſe vile; and perhaps not without good reaſon: yet are they more horrible, and puniſhed more grieuouſly, by ſharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worſe, than of that which is beſt; there is not any Paſſion, that nouriſheth a vice more hurtfull vnto Mankinde, than that which iſſueth from the moſt noble roote, euen the depraued Affection of ruling. Hence ariſe thoſe two great miſchiefes, of which hath beene an old queſtion in diſpute, whether be the worſe; That all things, or That nothing ſhould be lawfull. Of theſe, a dull ſpirit, and ouer-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occaſioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary diſtemper, whoſe vehemency the bounds of Reaſon cannot limit. Vnder the extremitie of either, no Countrie is able to ſubſiſt: yet the defectiue dulneſſe, that permitteth any thing, will alſo permit the execution of Law, to which, meere neceſſitie doth enforce the ordinarie Magiſtrate; whereas Tyrannie is more actiue, and pleaſeth it ſelfe in the exceſſe, with a falſe colour of iuſtice. Examples of ſtupiditie, and vnaptneſſe to rule, are not very frequent, though ſuch natures are euery where to be found: for this quality troubles not it ſelfe in ſeeking Empire; or if by ſome errour of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himſelfe in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) ſome friend or elſe a wife, is not wanting to ſupply the defect, which alſo crueltie doth helpe to ſhadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing vnknowne, is without a name. Tyrannie is more bold, and feareth not to bee knowne, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *proſperum & fœlix ſcelus, a fortunate miſchiefe*, as long as it can ſubſiſt. *There is no reward or honour* (ſaith *Peter Charron*) *aſſigned vnto thoſe, that know*

Ariſt. Pol. lib. 5. c. 12.

how to increaſe, or preſerue humane nature : all honours, greatneſſe, riches, dignities, empires, triumphs, trophees, are appointed for thoſe , that know how to afflict; trouble, or deſtroy it. Cæſar and *Alexander* , haue vn-made and ſlaine , each of them, more than a million of men : but they made none , nor left none behinde them. Such is the errour of Mans iudgement , in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyrannie , when it growes to ripeneſſe , is none other , than *Feritie* : the ſame that *Ariſtotle* ſaith to bee worſe than any vice. It exceedeth indeede all other vices , iſſuing from the Paſſions incident both to Man and Beaſt ; no leſſe than Periurie, Murder Treaſon, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villanie, the faults of Gluttony and Drunkenneſſe, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Heereof *Sciron* , *Procruſtes*, and *Pityocamptes* , that vſed their bodily force to the deſtruction of Mankinde , are not better examples , than *Phalaris, Dionyſius* and *Agathocles* , whoſe miſchieuous heads were aſſiſted by the hands of deteſtable Ruffians. The ſame barbarous deſire of Lordſhip, tranſported thoſe old examples of *Feritie* , and theſe latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reaſon : neither of them knew the vſe of Rule, nor the difference between Freemen, and ſlaues.

The rule of the husband ouer the wife, and of parents ouer their children, is naturall; and appointed by God himſelfe ; ſo that it is alwaies, and ſimply , allowable and good. The former of theſe, is, as the dominion of Reaſon ouer Appetite ; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one free man can haue ouer another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father ouer his whole countrie : which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knowes to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Maſterlie rule , which God gaue vnto *Adam* , when hee ſaid ; *Haue dominion ouer the fiſh of the Sea, and ouer the fowle of the aire ; and euery liuing thing that moueth vpon the earth:* which alſo he continueth vnto *Noah*, and his children, ſaying, *The feare of you, and the dread of you, ſhall be vpon euery beaſt of the earth , and vpon euery fowle of the aire, vpon all that moueth vpon the earth , and vpon all the fiſhes of the Sea ; into your hands are they deliuered.* He who gaue this dominion vnto Man, did giue alſo an aptitude to vſe it. The execution of this power hath ſince extended it ſelfe , ouer a verie great part of Mankinde. There are indeede no ſmall numbers of men , whoſe diſabilitie to gouerne themſelues , prooues them, according vnto *Ariſtotles* doctrine , to bee naturallie ſlaues.

Gen.c.1.v.28.

Gen.9.2.

Ari.Pol.l.1.c.3

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppreſſe men with bondage : vnleſſe the lawfulneſſe thereof be ſufficiently intimated, where it is ſaid , That a man ſhall not bee puniſhed for the death of a ſeruant , whom hee hath ſlaine by correction , if the ſeruant liue a day or two, becauſe *he is his monie*; or elſe by the captiuity of the *Midianitiſh* girles, which were made bond-ſlaues, and the Sanctuarie had a part of them for the *Lords tribute*. Doubtleſſe the cuſtome hath beene very ancient : for *Noah* laid this curſe vpon *Canaan*, that he ſhould be *a ſeruant of ſeruants* ; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh* , among other gifts, *men ſeruants and maid-ſeruants*, which were none other then ſlaues. Chriſtian Religion is ſaid to haue abrogated this olde kinde of ſeruilitie : but ſurely, they are deceiued that thinke ſo. Saint *Paul* deſired the libertie of *Oneſimus*, whom hee had wonne vnto *Chriſt* : yet wrote for this vnto *Philemon*, by way of requeſt, crauing it as a benefite, not vrging it as a dutie. Agreeable heereto is the direction , which the ſame Saint *Paul* giueth vnto ſeruants : ***Let euery man abide in the ſame calling wherein he was called:** art thou **called, being a ſeruant ? care not for it, but if thou maiſt be made free, vſe it rather.*** It is true, that Chriſtian religion hath procured libertie vnto many ; not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Chriſtian Maſters ſtood in feare, of being diſcouered by their ſlaues, vnto the perſecuters of religion. ***Mahomet*** likewiſe by giuing libertie to his followers, drew many vnto his impietie : but whether he forbade it, as vnlawfull, vnto his ſectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; ſaue that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moores* , it ſeemes hee did not. In *England* we had many bond-ſeruants , vntill the time of our laſt ciuill warres : and I thinke that the Lawes concerning *Villenage* are ſtill in force, of which the lateſt are the ſharpeſt. And now, ſince ſlaues were made free, which were of great vſe and ſeruice, there are growne vp a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurſes and other the like Trades ; ſlaues in Nature, though not in Lawe.

Exo.c.21.v.21

Num.30.v.40

Gen.9.25.

Gen.12.v.16.

Epiſt. to Philē. verſ.14.

1.Cor.c.7.v.20 & 21.

But whether this kinde of dominion bee lawfull, or not ; *Ariſtotle* hath well prooued, that it is naturall. And certainely wee finde not ſuch a latitude of difference in any creature, as in the nature of man: wherein (to omit the infinite diſtance in eſtate of the elect and reprobate) the wiſeſt excell the moſt fooliſh, by far greater degree, than the moſt fooliſh of men doth ſurpaſſe the wiſeſt of beaſts. Therefore when Commiſeration hath giuen way to Reaſon: we ſhall finde that Nature is the ground euen of Maſterly power, and of ſeruile obedience, which is thereto correſpondent. But it may be truely ſaid, that ſome countries haue ſubſiſted long, without the vſe of any ſeruilitie: as alſo it is true, that ſome countries haue not the vſe of any tame cattell. Indeede the affections which vphold ciuill rule, are (though more noble) not ſo ſimply needefull, vnto the ſuſtentation either of our kinde, as are Luſt, and the like; or of euery one, as are hunger and thirſt; which notwithſtanding are the loweſt in degree. But where moſt vile, and ſeruile diſpoſitions, haue liberty to ſhew themſelues begging in the ſtreets; there may we more iuſtly wonder, how the dangerous toile of ſea-faring men can finde enough to vndertake them, than how the ſwarme of idle vagabonds ſhould increaſe, by acceſſe of thoſe, that are weary of their owne more painfull condition. This may ſuffice to proue, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted euen by Nature, a deſire of abſolute dominion: whereunto the generall cuſtome of Nations doth ſubſcribe; together with the pleaſure which moſt men take in flatterers, that are the baſeſt of ſlaues.

This being ſo, we finde no cauſe to maruaile, how Tyranny hath beene ſo rife in all ages, and practiſed, not onely in the ſingle rule of ſome vicious Prince, but euer by conſent of whole Cities and Eſtates: ſince, other vices haue likewiſe gotten head, and borne a generall ſway, notwithſtanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that haue vſed well the inferiour Paſſions: how then can we expect, that the moſt noble affections ſhould not be diſordered? In the gouernment of wife and children, ſome are vtterly careleſſe, and corrupt all by their dull conniuencie: others, by maſterly rigour, hold their owne blood vnder condition of ſlauery. To be a good Gouernour is a rare commendation; and to preferre the Weale publike aboue all reſpects whatſoeuer, is the Vertue iuſtly termed *Heroicall*. Of this Vertue, many ages affoord not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Ariſtotle*, as one of them; and deſeruedly, if this praiſe be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, vſed in defence of a mans owne countrie. But if we conſider, that a loue of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference vnto *the fountaine of all goodneſſe*: we ſhall finde, that no Morall vertue, how great ſoeuer, can, by it ſelfe, deſerue the commendation of *more than Vertue*, as the *Heroicall* doth. Wherefore we muſt ſearch the Scriptures, for patterns hereof; ſuch as *Dauid*, *Ioſaphat*, and *Ioſias* were. Of Chriſtian Kings, if there were many ſuch, the world would ſoone be happy. It is not my purpoſe to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praiſe where it is due; or by preferring a leſſe excellent. But he that can finde a King religious, and zealous in Gods cauſe, without enforcement either of aduerſitie, or of ſome regard of ſtate; a procurer of the generall peace and quiet; who not onely vſeth his authoritie, but addes the trauell of his eloquence, in admoniſhing his Iudges to doe iuſtice; by the vigorous influence of whoſe Gouernment, ciuilitie is infuſed, euen into thoſe places, that haue beene the dens of ſauage Robbers and Cutthrotes; one that hath quite aboliſhed a ſlauiſh *Brehon* Law, by which an whole Nation of his ſubiects were held in bondage; and one, whoſe higher vertue and wiſedome doth make the praiſe not onely of Nobilitie and other ornaments, but of abſtinence from the bloud, the wiues, and the goods, of thoſe that are vnder his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging vnto ſome good Princes, to appeare leſſe regardable: he, I ſay, that can finde ſuch a King, findeth an example, worthy to adde vnto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Vnder ſuch a King, it is likely by Gods bleſſing, that a Land ſhall flouriſh, with increaſe of Trade, in countries before vnknowne; that Ciuilitie and Religion ſhall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen countries; and that the happineſſe of his ſubiects, ſhall cauſe the Nations farre off remoued, to wiſh him their Soueraigne. I neede not adde hereunto, that all the actions of ſuch a King, euen his bodily exerciſes, doe partake of vertue; ſince all things tending to the preſeruation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who, fixing his contemplation vpon God, ſeeketh how to imitate the vnſpeakeable goodneſſe, rather than the inacceſſible maieſtie, with both of which himſelfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe alſo belong to the furtherance of that common good, which he procureth. Leſt any man ſhould thinke me tranſported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bounds of reaſon; I adde hereunto, that ſuch a King is neuertheleſſe a man, muſt die, and may erre: yet wiſedome and fame ſhall ſet him free, from *errour*, and from *death*, both with and without the helpe of *time*. One thing I may not omit, as a ſingular benefit (though there be many other beſides) redounding vnto this King, as the fruit of his goodneſſe. The people that liue vnder a pleaſant yoke, are not onely louing to their Soueraigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in muſter of men, then of ſtout fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as ouer ſlaues, ſhall be attended in time of neceſsity, by ſlauiſh mindes, neither louing his perſon, nor regarding his or their owne honour. Cowards may be furious, and ſlaues outragious, for a time: but among ſpirits that haue once yeelded vnto ſlauery, vniuerſally it is found true, that **Homer** ſaith, *God bereaueth a man of halfe his vertue, that day when hee caſteth him into bondage.*

Hom. Odyſ. l.17

Of theſe things, I might perhaps more ſeaſonably haue ſpoken, in the general diſcourſe of Gouernment: but where ſo liuely an example, of the calamity following a tyrannicall rule, and the vſe of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it ſelfe, as is this preſent buſineſſe of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectuall, than being barely deliuered, as out of a common place.

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§. III.

How the warre againſt the Mercenaries was diuerſly managed by Hanno *and* Amilcar, *with variable ſucceſſe. The bloudy counſailes of the Mercinaries; and their finall deſtruction.*

Being now to returne vnto thoſe Mercenaries, from whom I haue thus farre digreſſed, I cannot readily finde, by what name henceforth I ſhould call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they ſeeke their wages already due; ſo that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all beene ſubiects vnto *Carthage*, then might they iuſtly haue beene termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegeance to that State, which they endeuoured to ſubuert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and ſtill call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* alſo doth.

Theſe vſing the aduantage of their preſent ſtrength, beſieged * *Vtica*, and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being ſeated vpon the weſterne Hauen of *Carthage*, where it is diuided by a necke of land; *Hippagreta* ſtanding inwards vpon the great Lake; *Vtica* further out vpon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at *Tunes* abandoned, which lay filthy to hinder the *Carthaginians*, from paſſing vp into the countrie: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men, to follow the war in all parts at once.

* *Vtica* is ſeated in the great *Bay*, that enters towards *Carthage*, not farre within the Promontorie of *Apollo*. At this time it is called *Porto Farina*, or *Biſerta*; & by the *Africans* themſelues, *Garel Melba*. *Niger* ſaith, that the Towne it ſelfe is ruined, and the place, whereon it ſtood, now called *Mazachares*. It was very ancient, and built before *Carthage*, ſaith *Silius*. As it floriſhed before *Carthage* was ſet vp; ſo did it after *Carthage* was thrown down by the *Romans*, in the third *Punick* Warre. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the yonger, who held it againſt *Ceſar*. *Victor*, that worthy Diuine, was Biſhop thereof in the time of *Genſeric* the *Arrian*; who liued all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the ſtorie of his cruelties.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this vnexpected perill, any man may conceiue. But the buſineſſe it ſelfe awakes them haſtily. They are hardly preſt on all ſides; and therefore trauailed their braines to the vttermoſt, how to ſhake off theſe furious dogs from their ſhoulders, who ſometimes by night, ſometimes by day, came vnto the very wals of their Citie. In this exigent **Hanno** was made their Generall: who failed not in his accuſtomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatſoeuer was needfull, as well to relieue a Towne beſieged, as to batter and aſſaile any place defended againſt him. With theſe prouiſions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to *Vtica*, ſo ſuddenly, that the enemies as men ſurpriſed, forſooke their Trenches, and retired themſelues vnto a riſing peece of woody ground, where they might be ſafe againſt the violence of his beaſts. **Hanno**, thinking that he had to doe with **Numidians**, whoſe cuſtome was, after any loſſe, to flie two or three whole dayes iourny off; preſently entred the Towne; to ſhew himſelfe, after this his victory. But theſe good fellowes, againſt whom he was to warre, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight againe, many times in one day, as neede required. Therefore as ſoone as they perceiued, that he knew not how to vſe a victory; they aſſailed their owne Campe, and with great ſlaughter, draue the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themſelues within *Vtica*; and got poſſeſſion of all the ſtore, that **Hanno** had brought for the reliefe of the Towne. This bad beginning **Hanno** followed with ſutable indiſcretion: looſing the benefit of many faire opportunities, and ſuffering the enemies to take poſſeſſion of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firme land.

The *Carthaginians*, perceiuing this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their ſhete-anchor; ſending to the field their great Captaine, *Amilcar*, whom they furniſhed with ten thouſand foot of ſupply, and ſeuenty Elephants. *Amilcar* had worke enough to doe, before he ſhould be able to meete with the enemy vpon equall ground. For beſides other places of aduantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had ſuffered them to win the onely Bridge, by which the Riuer *Macra*, or *Bagradas*, was paſſable vnto theſe, that were to trauaile into the Continent. This Riuer had not many foords, nor thoſe eaſie for a ſingle man to get ouer: but vpon them all was kept ſuch guard, as gaue to *Amilcar* little hope of preuailing in ſeeking way by force. As for the Bridge it ſelfe, *Matho* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Towne, wherein to lye commodiouſly, intentiue onely to the cuſtody thereof. But *Amilcar* had obſerued, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* vſed to be ſometimes cloyed with ſand and grauell, that was driuen in by certaine cuſtomarie windes, and could not be driuen out againe, by force of that ſlow Riuer, till the winde falling, or changing, ſuffered the weight of the waters, to diſburden their channell. Hereof he made vſe; and taking his opportunitie, paſſed the Riuer, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his owne Citizens.

There was no neede to bid *Spendius* looke about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come ouer *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the newes; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improuident grauity of *Hanno*, but with an able ſpirit, euen with their owne Maſter in the Art of Warre, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was ſoone changed into preſumption; when more than fifteene thouſand of their owne ſociety, were come from *Vtica*; and other ten thouſand from the gard of the Bridge. Their Armie was farre greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were, in their owne iudgement, the better men, vpon which confidence, they reſolued to charge him on all ſides, and beate him downe, in deſpight of his worth and reputation. With this reſolution they attended vpon him, watching for ſome aduantage, and ſtill exhorting one another to play the men, and giue the onſet. Eſpecially they that followed him in the Rere, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptneſſe was ſuch, as tooke from them their former circumſpection. *Amilcar* held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himſelfe on plaine grounds, that were fitteſt for the ſeruice of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Armie. Neither made he ſhew of any deſire to fight, but ſuffered the raſhneſſe of his enemies to increaſe, till it ſhould breake into ſome diſorder. At length perceiuing, that with more boldneſſe than good heede, they followed him ſo neere, as would be little for their good, if hee ſhould turne vpon them, he haſtened his march, euen to ſuch a pace, as made a ſhew little differing from plaine flight. The Mercinaries preſently fell vpon his skirts; beleeuing, that for feare of them he was ready to run away. But whileſt they confuſedly, as in ſudden opinion of victory, were driuing at the heeles of thoſe that had the Reare; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, ſo that amazed with the apprehenſion of inexpected danger, they fled without making any reſiſtance. In this ouerthrow, there were ſixe thouſand of the Mercenaries ſlaine, and about two thouſand taken, the reſt fled, ſome to the Campe at *Vtica*, others to the Towne at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them ſo faſt, that he wan the place eaſily; the enemies being thence alſo fled vnto *Tunes*, as not hauing recollected their ſpirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in purſuing it, cauſed many Towns reuolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to returne to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himſelfe, in this dangerous time. Hee ſent about *Numidia* and *Africke*, for new ſupplies; admoniſhing the people, now or neuer to doe their beſt, for the recouery of their freedome; he perſwaded *Spendius*, and *Autaritus* that was Captaine of the *Gaules*, to wait vpon *Amilcar*, and alwayes to keepe the higher grounds, or at leaſt the foot of ſome hill, where they might be ſafe from the Elephants; and he himſelfe continued to preſſe the Towne of *Hippagreta* with an hard ſiege. It was neceſſary for *Amilcar*, in paſſing from place to place, as his buſineſſe required, to take ſuch wayes as there were: for all the Countrie lay not leuell. Therefore *Spendius*, who ſtill coaſted him, had once gotten a notable aduantage of ground: the *Carthaginians* lying in a Plaine, ſurrounded with hils, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their

Numidian and *African* ſuccours. In this difficultie, the fame of *Amilcar* his perſonall worth did greatly benefit his countrie. For *Narauaſus*, a yong gentleman commanding ouer the *Numidians*, was glad of this occaſion ſeruing to get the acquaintance and loue of ſo braue a man, which he much deſired: and therefore came vnto *Amilcar*, ſignifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all ſeruice. *Amilcar* ioyfully entertained this friend; promiſed vnto him his owne daughter in marriage; and ſo wan from the enemies two thouſand horſe, that following *Narauaſus* turned vnto the *Carthaginians* ſide. With this helpe he gaue battaile vnto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approue his owne valour, to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were ſlaine tenne thouſand of *Spendius* his fellowes, and foure thouſand taken priſoners; but *Spendius* himſelfe, with *Autarius* the *Gaule*, eſcaped to doe more miſchiefe. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his priſoners: pardoning all offences paſt, and diſmiſſing as many, as were vnwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they ſhould neuer more beare armes againſt the *Carthaginians*; threatning to take ſharpe reuenge vpon all, that ſhould breake this Couenant.

This humanitie was vehemently ſuſpected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, as tending to win from them, the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they reſolued to take ſuch order, that not a man among them ſhould dare, to truſt in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any ſafetie, whileſt *Carthage* was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertiſement, wherein was contained, that ſome of their company reſpectiue onely of their priuate benefit, and careleſſe of the generall good, had a purpoſe to betray them all vnto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; & that it was needfull, to looke well vnto *Geſco*, and his companions, whom theſe traitours had a purpoſe to enlarge. Vpon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the Souldiours, exhorting them to fidelity; and ſhewing with many words, that the ſeeming humanity of *Amilcar*, toward ſome, was none other than a baite, wherewith to entrap them all at once together; as alſo telling them, what a dangerous enemy *Geſco* would proue, if he might eſcape their hands. While he is yet in the midſt of his tale, were letters come, to the ſame purpoſe. Then ſteps forth *Autarius*, and ſpeakes his minde plainely: ſaying, that it were the beſt, yea the onely way, for the common ſafetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if ſome were deuiſing to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with thoſe that had a care of the warre; that it were better to make an end of *Geſco* his life, than to trouble themſelues with looking to his cuſtody; that by ſuch a courſe euery one ſhould be ingaged in the preſent Action, as hauing none other hope left, than in victory alone; finally, that ſuch as would ſpeake here-againſt, were worthy to be reputed Traitours. This *Autarius* was in great credit with the ſouldiers, and could ſpeake ſundry languages, in ſuch ſort, that he was vnderſtood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geſco*, and all the other priſoners, ſhould forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuertheleſſe there were ſome, that for loue of *Geſco*, ſought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith ſtoned to death, as a Document vnto others; and ſo the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewithall contented; but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* priſoners which they tooke, ſhould be ſerued in like ſort: and that the ſubiects or friends of *Carthage*, ſhould loſe their hands, and ſo be ſent home: which rule they obſerued euer afterwards.

Of this cruelty I neede ſay no more, than that it was moſt execrable feritie. As for the counſaile of vſing it, it was like vnto the counſaile of *Achitophel*; *All Iſrael ſhall heare, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then ſhall the hands of all that are with thee, be ſtrong*. Such are the fruits of deſperation. He that is paſt all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellowes, if they be more innocent; and to auoide the puniſhment of leſſe offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the reuengefull ſpirits of thoſe that haue beene wronged, are breeders of this deſperation: to which may be added, ſome deficiencie of Lawes, in diſtinguiſhing the puniſhments of malefactors, according to the decree of their ſeuerall crimes. A coward thinkes all prouiſion too little for his owne ſecuritie. *If* Phocas *be a coward* (ſaid the Emperour *Mauritius*) *then is he murderous*. To be ſtedfaſt and ſure, in taking reuenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defenſatiue againſt new iniuries. But wrongfully: for it is oppoſite to the rule of *Chriſtianitie*; and ſuch a qualitie diſcouered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwiſe would haue repented, and ſought to make amends, for the wrong done in paſſion. This was it, which wrought ſo much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to ſuſpect euen their gentleneſſe, as the introduction to extreame rigour. Like vnto the errours of Princes and Gouernours, are the errours of Lawes. Where one and the ſame puniſhment, is awarded vnto the leſſe offence, and vnto the greater, he that hath aduentured to robbe a man, is eaſily tempted to kill him, for his owne ſecuritie.

Againſt theſe inconueniences Mercy and Seueritie, vſed with due reſpect, are the beſt remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as theſe his owne ſouldiours were any way likely to be reclaimed, by gentle courſes; his humanity was ready to inuite them. But when they were tranſported with beaſtly outrage, beyond all regard of honeſty and ſhame; he rewarded their villanie with anſwerable vengeance; caſting them vnto wilde beaſts, to be deuoured.

Vntill this time *Hanno*, with the Armie vnder his command, had kept himſelfe apart from *Amilcar*, and done little, as may ſeeme, for that nothing is remembred of him, ſince his late loſſes. Neither was *Amilcar* ſorry to want his helpe; as being able to doe better without him. But when the warre grew to ſuch extremity, as threatned vtter ruine to the one or the other ſide: then was *Hanno* ſent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he ioyned his forces. By this acceſſe of ſtrength *Amilcar* was not enabled, to doe more then in former times: rather he could now performe nothing; ſuch was the hatred betweene him and his vnworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Vtica* and *Hippagreta*, that had ſtood alwaies firme on the *Carthaginian* party, did now reuolt vnto the enemy, murdering all the ſouldiours that they had in Garriſon, and caſting their bodies forth, without ſuffering them to be buried. The prouiſions brought by ſea, for maintenance of the Armie, were loſt in foule weather: and *Carthage* it ſelfe ſtood in danger of being beſieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* conſulted, whileſt one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) binde the others hands.

It hath in all Ages beene vſed, as the ſafeſt courſe, to ſend forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practice of thoſe two mighty Cities, *Athens* and *Rome*, which other States and Princes haue often imitated; perſwading themſelues, that great Armies are not ſo well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will vſe the greater diligence. They haue alſo ioyned two chiefe Commanders in equall commiſſion, vpon this further conſideration; the better to reſtraine the ambition of any one, that ſhould be truſted with ſo great a ſtrength. For hereof all Common-weales haue beene iealous, hauing beene taught by their examples that haue made themſelues Tyrants ouer thoſe Cities and States that haue imployed them. In this point, the *Venetians* haue bin ſo circumſpect, as they haue for the moſt part, truſted ſtrangers, and not their owne, in all the warres which they haue made. It is true, that the equall authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, ſerueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning vpon the Prince or State that hath giuen them truſt: but in mannaging the warre it ſelfe, it is commonly the cauſe of ill ſucceſſe. In warres made neere vnto *Rome* it ſelfe, when two good friends were Conſuls, or ſuch two at leaſt, as concurred in one deſire of *Triumph*; which honor (the greateſt of any that *Rome* could giue) was to be obtained by that one yeeres ſeruice; it is no maruaile, though each of the Conſuls did his beſt, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end then victory. Yet in all dangerous caſes, when the Conſuls proceeded otherwiſe then was deſired, one *Dictator* was appointed, whoſe power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeede the manner, to ſend forth both the Conſuls to one warre; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his owne Prouince; vnleſſe one buſineſſe ſeemed to require them both, and they alſo ſeemed fit to be ioyned in the adminiſtration. Now although it was ſo, that the *Romans* did many times preuaile with their ioynt Generals: yet was this neuer or ſeldome, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modeſty hath often beene ſuch, that the leſſe able Captaine, though of equall authority, hath willingly ſubmitted himſelfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithſtanding, they haue many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Armie, receiued great and moſt dangerous ouerthrowes; whereof in the ſecond *Punick* warre we ſhall finde examples. On the contrary ſide, in their warres moſt remote, that were alwayes mannaged by one, they ſeldome failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter ſhall appeare. Now of thoſe ten Generals, which ſerued the *Athenians* at the Battaile of *Marathon*, it may truely be ſaid, that had not their temper beene better, than the iudgement of the people that ſent them forth, and had not they ſubmitted themſelues to the conduction of *Miltiades*: their affaires had found the ſame ſucceſſe which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicil*: the one being ſo ouer-warie, and the other ſo haſtie, as all came to nought that they vndertooke; whereas *Cimon* alone, as alſo *Ariſtides*, and others, hauing ſole charge of all, did their Countrie and common-weale moſt remarkeable ſeruice. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines, of equall diſcretion and valour; but that the one hath more of furie than of iudgement, and ſo the contrary, by which the beſt occaſions are as often ouerſlipt, as at other times many actions are vnſeaſonably vndertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Condy* was ſlaine after the Battaile of *Iarnac*, (which Prince, together with the Admirall *Chaſtillan*, had the conduct of the Proteſtant Armie) the Proteſtants did greatly bewaile the loſſe of the ſaid Prince, in reſpect of his Religion, perſon, and birth; yet comforting themſelues, they thought it rather an aduancement, than an hindrance to their affaires. For ſo much did the valour of the one, out-reach the aduiſedneſſe of the other, as whatſoeuer the Admirall intended to win by attending the aduantage, the Prince aduentured to loſe, by being ouer-confident in his owne courage.

But we neede no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this preſent buſineſſe: who, though they were ſtill ſicke of their ill-grounded loue to *Hanno*, and were vnwilling to diſgrace him; yet ſeeing that all ranne towards ruine, through the diſcord of the Generals, committed the deciſion of their controuerſies, vnto the Armie that ſerued vnder them. The iudgement of the Armie was, that *Hanno* ſhould depart the Campe: which he did, and *Hannibal* was ſent in his ſtead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*; and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of *Carthage* began to proſper ſomewhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Armie neere vnto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a ſiege. They might well be bold, to hope and aduenture much; hauing in their Campe aboue fiftie thouſand, beſides thoſe that lay abroad in Garriſons. Neuertheleſſe, the Citie was too ſtrong for them to win by aſſault: and the entrance of victualles they could not hinder, if any ſhould be ſent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of *Syracuſe*, though during the warres in *Sicil* hee aſſiſted the *Romans*, and ſtill continued in their Alliance, yet now ſent ſuccours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and conſequently his owne; becauſe if no other State gaue the *Romans* ſomewhat to trouble their diſgeſtion, the Principalitie of *Syracuſe* would ſoone be deuoured by them. The *Romans* alſo gaue them ſome ſlender aſſiſtance, and for the preſent refuſed good offers made vnto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to ſhew a kinde of noble diſpoſition; which was indeede but counterfeit, as the ſequele manifeſtly proued.

Whileſt *Matho* and his followers were buſily preſſing the Citie, *Amilcar* was as diligent, in waiting at their backes, and cutting off all that came to their ſupply: ſo that finding themſelues more ſteightly beſieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purpoſed to deſiſt from their vaine attempt, and try ſome other courſe. Hereupon they iſſue into the field: when *Spendius*, and one *Zarcas* an *African* Captaine aſſiſting the rebellion, take vpon them to finde *Amilcar* worke; leauing *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the buſineſſe. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horſe of *Narauaſus*, made *Spendius* feareful to deſcend into the Plaines. Wherefore hee betooke himſelfe to his former method of warre; keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the ſtreighteſt paſſages, wherein the deſperate courage of his men might ſhew it ſelfe, with little diſaduantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. Hee drew the enemy to many skirmiſhes; in all which the ſucceſſe was ſuch, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the ſtrength and ſpirit of the Rebels. Thus hee continued, prouoking them night and day: ſtill intrapping ſome of them, and ſometimes giuing them the ouerthrow in plaine battaile: vntill at length hee got them into a ſtreight, whence ere they ſhould get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their iudgement was enough, to perceiue their owne diſaduantage: and therefore they had the leſſe ſtomacke to fight; but awaiting for helpe from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreſeeing, that neceſſity might teach them, to dare impoſſibilities, vſed the benefit of their preſent feare, and ſhut them cloſe vp with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miſerably for ſuccour, that came not: and hauing ſpent all their victualls, were ſo pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their priſoners. This they ſuffred patiently, as knowing that they had not deſerued any fauour from *Carthage*: and hoping, that their friends at *Tunis* would not be vnmindefull of them. But when they were driuen to ſuch extremity, that they were faine to deuoure their owne companions, and yet ſaw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obſtinacie was broken, and they threatned their Captaines with what they deſerued, vnleſſe they would goe forth to *Amilcar*, and ſeeke ſuch peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarxas*, and *Autaritus*, fell to conſultation, wherein it was reſolued to obey the multitude, and yeeld themſelues, if it were ſo required, vnto the death, rather than periſh by the hands of their owne Companions. Hereupon they ſend to craue parle, which is granted; and theſe three come forth to talke with *Amilcar* in perſon. What they could ſay vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it ſeemes that they tooke the blame vpon themſelues, and craued pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould chooſe, out of the whole number of theſe enemies, any ten whom they pleaſed, to remaine at their diſcretion; and that the reſt ſhould all be diſmiſſed, each in his ſhirt, or in one ſingle coate. When the peace was thus concluded; *Amilcar* told theſe Ringleaders, that he choſe them preſently, as part of the ten, and ſo commanded to lay hands on them: the reſt he forthwith went to fetch, with his whole Armie in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded vpon ſo gentle articles, thought themſelues betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them; and the ſame aſtoniſhment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gaue vnto *Amilcar* both colour of iuſtice, in accompliſhing reuenge, and eaſe in doing the execution. They were all ſlaine: being fortie thouſand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof, exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the reuolted Cities of *Africke*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Narauaſus* and *Hannibal*, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places ready to yeelde: *Vtica*, and *Hippagreta*, onely ſtanding out, vpon feare of deſerued vengeance; and *Tunis*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Armie. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chiefe ſtrength of the enemy. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellowes, in view of the defendants, and crucified them vnder the wals; to terrifie thoſe of his old companions, that were ſtill in armes. With this rigor the ſiege began; as if ſpeedy victory had beene aſſured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay towards *Carthage*; *Amilcar* on the oppoſite ſide: too far aſunder to helpe one another in ſudden accidents; and therefore it behoued each, to be the more circumſpect.

Matho from the wals beheld his owne deſtinie, in the miſery of his companion, and knew not how to auoide it otherwiſe than by a caſt at dice with fortune. So hee brake out vpon that part of the *Carthaginian* Armie, that lay ſecure, as if all danger were paſt, vnder the command of *Hannibal*: and with ſo great and vnexpected furie he ſallied, that after an exceeding ſlaughter, he tooke *Hannibal* priſoner; on whom, and thirtie the moſt noble of the *Carthaginian* priſoners, hee preſently reuenged the death of *Spendius* by the ſame torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had hee ſtrength enough remaining, after this great loſſe, to continue the ſiege; but was faine to breake it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Bagradas*, where hee incamped.

The terrour was no leſſe within *Carthage*, vpon the fame of this loſſe; than had beene the ioy of the late great victory. All that could beare armes, were ſent into the field, vnder *Hanno*; whom, it ſeemes, they thought the moſt able of their Captaines ſuruiuing the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the imployment of one ſole Generall, neere vnto their Citie (for they are knowne to haue truſted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this haſtie exigent, to deuiſe about repealing it. But thirtie principall men are choſen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcars* camp, & by all good perſwaſions to recōcile them. This could not be effected in one day.

It neerely touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the careleſneſſe of *Hannibal* ſeemed to be imputed vnto him, by ſending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Neuertheleſſe after many conferences, the authority of the Senators preuailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whileſt this warre laſted, *Hanno* tooke warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred,

In the meane ſeaſon *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to vſe the reputation of his late ſucceſſe, whileſt it gaue ſome life vnto his buſineſſe. He had reaſon to doe as he did: but he wanted skill to deale with *Amilcar*. The skirmiſhes, and light exerciſes of warre, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did ſo farre abate the ſtrength, and withall diminiſh the credit of *Matho*; that he reſolued to try the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his owne deſire ſhould be accompliſhed, or his cares ended. To this concluſion the *Carthaginians* were no leſſe prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of theſe long troubles, and inſupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approued it ſelfe in many trials; and well aſſured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemy hath not what to oppoſe. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making prouiſion: inuiting their friends to helpe; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garriſon.

The iſſue of this battaile might haue beene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft. *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to preſume, ſaue their daring ſpirits, which had been well cooled by the many late skirmiſhes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginiaas* had reaſon to dare, as hauing beene often victorious: and in all points elſe they had the better of their enemies; eſpecially (which is worth all the reſt) they had ſuch a Commander, as was not eaſily to be matched in that Age. Neither wes it likely, that the deſie of liberty ſhould worke ſo much, in men accuſtomed to ſeruitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whoſe future and preſent good lay all at once ingaged in that aduenture. So the *Carthaginians* wan a great victory, wherein moſt of the *Africans* their enemies were ſlaine; the reſt fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yeelded; and *Matho* himſelfe was taken aliue. Immediately vpon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made ſubmiſſion to their old maſters: *Vtica* onely, and *Hippagreta* ſtoop out, as knowing how little they deſerued of fauour. But they were ſoone forced, to take what conditions beſt pleaſed the victours. *Matho* and his fellowes were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they ſuffered all torments that could be deuiſed, in recompence of the miſchiefes which they had wrought in this warre. The warre had laſted three yeeres, and about foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*: whoſe ſubiects did not loue them, ſhould with leſſe expence, by contenting their Mercinaries, haue preuented in the beginning.

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§. IIII.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driuen out by the Ilanders. The faithleſſe dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.

WHileſt *Matho* and *Spendius* were making terrible combuſtion in *Africke*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Boſtar* the Gouernour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their owne vſe. Againſt theſe, one *Hanno* was ſent with a ſmall Armie (ſuch as could be ſpared in that buſie time) conſiſting likewiſe of Mercenaries, leuied on the ſudden. But theſe companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their ſafety, and preſent profit, to ioyne themſelues with thoſe that were already reuolted, than to indanger themſelues by battaile, for the good of that commonweale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels; offering to runne one courſe of fortune with them in their enterpriſe. This their offer was kindely taken; but their faith was ſuſpected. Wherefore, to take away all icalouſie and diſtruſt, they reſolued to hang vp their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath beene in all Ages, with thoſe that haue vndertaken the quarrell of an vniuſt warre, to enioyne the performance of ſome nororious and villainous act, to thoſe that come in to them as ſeconds, with offer to partake, and to aſſiſt the impious purpoſes which they haue in hand. It is indeede the beſt pawne, that deſperate men can deliuer to each other, to performe ſome ſuch actions, as are equally vnpardonable to all.

By ſuch a kinde of crueltie did the vngratefull *Mantinæans* murder a Garriſon of *Achaians*, ſent vnto them for their defence againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when hee had formerly poſſeſt himſelfe of their Citie, by right of warre, did not onely ſpare the ſacke and ſpoyle thereof, but gaue them equall freedome with the reſt of the Cities vnited. Theſe *Reuolts* are alſo common in our Court-warres; where, in the conqueſts of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depreſſion or deſtruction of old friends, we cannot be receiued and truſted by old enemies. *Ce ſont les coups de vieille eſcrime. Theſe,* (ſay the *French*) *be the blowes of the old art of fencing.*

Theſe Mercinaries in *Sardinia* were no whit leſſe violent in their purpoſe, than were *Spendius*, and his aſſociates: onely they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Prouince. The Ilanders were no leſſe glad, than the ſouldiours, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrie: but they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the ſouldiours for their paines taken. Contrariwiſe, the ſouldiours were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was deuolued vnto themſelues, by right of conqueſt. The ſame quarrell would (in likelihood) haue riſen, betweene *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their *African* friends; if the common deſire of both had once taken effect: vnleſſe the riches of *Carthage* had ſerued to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than poſſeſſion and rule of the Countrie; the matter was not eaſily taken vp. So they fell to blowes; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driuen out, and compelled to ſaue themſelues in *Italie*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had inuited the *Romans* into it; with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicil*. Yet this offer was refuſed, vpon reaſons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieued *Matho* and *Spendius* with corne: of whom the *Carthaginians* tooke almoſt fiue hundred, and held them in priſon. Hereof was made a great complaint: ſo that the *Romans* ſent Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, requiring ſatisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to diſpute: they quietly yeelded to releaſe them all. This was ſo kindely taken, that they forbad all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admoniſhing them to carry all prouiſions to *Carthage*. And vpon the ſame reaſon, did they forbeare to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the Citie of *Vtica*, offering it ſelfe vnto their ſubiection. This might haue ſerued, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all poſteritie: had not the iſſue proued, that it was meere regard of greater profit, which kept them ſo temperate, no longer than the hope laſted of thriuing better thereby, than they ſhould haue done by open breach of faith. The whole eſtate of *Carthage* depended at that time, vpon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who had he beene ouerthrowne by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one maine battaile, that mightie Citie muſt either haue fallen into the barbarous hands of mercileſſe villaines, or haue humbled her ſelfe vnder protection of the *Romans*, with whom ſhe had lately ſtriuen for ſuperioritie. That extreame neceſſitie, whereinto *Matho* reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one ſallie made out of *Tunis*, is enough to proue, that *Carthage*, was not farre from ſuch a miſerable choyce. Wherefore it was not vnwiſely done of the *Romans*, to make ſuch demonſtration of kindeneſſe, and honourable dealing, as might inuite a rich, but ſinking ſhippe, to runne her ſelfe aground vpon their ſhore. But when all was well ended in *Africke*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recouery of *Sardinia*: then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The *Romans* perceiuing that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recouered her feete againe; began to ſtrike at her head. They entertained the proffer of thoſe Mercinaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced warre againſt this enfeebled and impoueriſhed Citie, vnder a ſhameleſſe pretence, *that the preparations made for* Sardinia, *were made indeede againſt Rome it ſelfe.* The *Carthaginians* knew themſelues vnable to reſiſt; and therefore yeelded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing vnto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would haue twelue hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I ſee not what reaſon they could alleadge) of the great feare which they had endured, of an inuaſion from *Carthage*. It is indeede plaine, that they impudently ſought occaſion of warre. But neceſſity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the monie was paied, how hardly ſoeuer it was raiſed. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complaine of the *Punick* faith, in breach of Couenants: ſhe her ſelfe hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* purpoſeth to make her dearely repent; but what *Amilcar* liues not to performe, ſhall be accompliſhed by *Hannibal* his renoumed ſonne.

§. V.

How the affaires of Carthage went betweene the African Rebellion, and the ſecond Punicke warre.

THe iniurious dealing of the *Romans*, expreſſing their deſire to picke a quarrell; ſerued to inſtruct the *Carthaginians* in a neceſſarie leſſon. That either they muſt make themſelues the ſtronger, or elſe reſolue to be obedient vnto thoſe that were more mighty. In a Citie long accuſtomed to rule, the brauer determination eaſily tooke place: and the beſt meanes were thought vpon, for the increaſe of puiſſance and Empire. The ſtrength, and the iealouſie of the *Romans*, forbad all attempts vpon the Mediterran ſeas; but the riches of *Spaine*, that lay vpon the *Ocean*, were vnknowne to *Rome*: wherefore that Prouince might ſerue, both to exerciſe the *Carthaginians* in warre, and to repaire their decaied forces, with all needefull ſupplies. Of this *Spaniſh* Expedition, the charge and ſoueraigne truſt was committed vnto *Amilcar*: vpon whom his Countrie did wholly repoſe it ſelfe; in hope to recouer ſtrength by his means, that had ſaued it from ruine.

Hanno, with ſome other enuious men that were of his faction, tooke little pleaſure in the generall loue and honour, which daily increaſed towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to be the moſt worthy of command in all the Citie: onely they commended peace and quietneſſe; aduiſing men to beware of prouoking the *Romans*, in whoſe amity they ſaid, that the felicity of *Carthage* did conſiſt. By ſuch diſcourſes, harſh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weale; they got none other reputation, than of ſingularity: which the ignorant ſort ſuſpected to be wiſedome.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually vpheld and enlarged, by many notable ſeruices that he did, to the ſingular benefit of his Countrie. He paſſed the Streights of *Hercules*, (now called the Streights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the weſterne coaſts of *Spaine*; in which Countrie, during nine yeeres that he liued there, he ſubiected vnto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all thoſe Prouinces. But finally, in a battaile that hee fought with a Nation in *Portugale*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himſelfe a long time with an admirable reſolution) he was inuironed and ſlaine: carrying with him to the graue the ſame great honour and fame, by which in many ſignall victories, hee had acquired the name of a ſecond *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*; *Aſdrubal* his ſonne in law was made Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spaine*. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in practice and cunning than in deedes of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding ſo many ſubiects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow iealous againe of this haſtie increaſe. He built a goodly Citie, vpon a commodions Hauen, in the Kingdome of *Granado*, oppoſite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gaue it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it neerely retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena*. With this ſucceſſe of the *Carthaginians* in *Spaine*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but begin to cauſe their owne negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken ſo much paines to beate them out of the Ile of *Sicil*, as ſuſpecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themſelues in a warre of farre leſſe importance, (whereof I ſhall ſpeake anon) giuen them leyſure, without interruption, to recouer vpon their owne Continent, a Dominion by farre exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in reuenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the preſent they knew not; for they daily expected to be inuaded by the *Gaules*, their ancient enemies, and neereſt neighbours to the Weſt. But he needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himſelfe to

*The *Spaniards* haue ſince built a Citie of the ſame name in the Weſt Indies: which being peopled by them in the yeere 1532. was ſackt by the *Engliſh* in the yeere 1585.

to be feared: it is enough if he requeſt, ſince his requeſt ſhall haue the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* vtterly deſtitute of all good colour, that might helpe them to intermeddle in *Spaine*. The *Spaniards* were then vnacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they ſcarce had heard the name: ſo that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other ſuch Rebels, to call in Roman ſuccours. But in the enterpriſe of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might alſo ſerue their turne in *Spaine*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spaniſh* affaires had no relation to the peace betweene theſe two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Aſdrubal* had any purpoſe, to extend his victories vnto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if ſome ſuch matter had beene ſuſpected) they ſent vnto him, requiring that he ſhould forbeare to proceede any further, than to the Riuer of *Iberus*. In addreſſing their meſſengers, rather to *Aſdrudal*, than to the Citie of *Carthage*; they ſeeme to haue hoped, that howſoeuer the generalitie of the *Carthaginians* had ſweetly ſwallowed many bitter pilles, to auoide all occaſion of warre with *Rome*: yet the brauery of one man might proue more faſtidious, and reſenting the iniurie, returne ſuch anſwere, as would intangle his whole Countrie in the quarrell, that they ſo much deſired; and might embrace at leiſure, when once they had found apparent cauſe. But *Aſdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of diſlike at all: and whereas they would haue this inſolent couenant inſerted into the articles of peace; he tooke vpon him to doe it, of his owne power, with ſuch appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and ſought no further.

If it had beene ſo, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto preſſed by the *Romans*, for feare of preſent warre, had ratified this new compoſition made by *Aſdrubal*; yet ſhould it not haue ſtood bound in honour, to obſerue the ſame carefully, vnleſſe an oath had alſo been extorted, to make all ſure. But ſince all paſſed quietly, vnder the bare authority of *Aſdrubal*; this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a ſecond breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accuſed more iuſtly, than they could accuſe the *Carthaginians* of periurie, (as they after did) for refuſing to ſtand to it.

By this Treatie with *Aſdrubal*, the *Romans* wan ſome reputation in *Spaine*. For when it was once conceiued by the *Spaniards*, that the Citie which would needes be miſtreſſe ouer them, ſtood in feare her ſelfe, of receiuing blowes from a ſtouter Dame; there were ſoone found ſome, that by offering themſelues to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-ſeruants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will ſhortly teach them another leſſon. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-ſide of *Iberus*, entred into confederacie with the *Romans*, & were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither ſubiect, nor open enemy in warre to the *Carthaginians*) into their ſocietie: and vnlawfull it was vnto the *Carthaginians*, to vſe violence towards any that ſhould thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Neuertheleſſe, if we conſider the late agreement made with *Aſdrubal*; we ſhall finde that the *Romans* could haue none other honeſt color of requiring it, than an implicit couenant of making the Riuer *Iberus* a bound, ouer which they themſelues would not paſſe, in any Diſcouery or Conqueſt by them intended to be made vpon *Spaine*: in which regard, they might haue ſome honeſt pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foot, on the one ſide of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other ſide of that Riuer, held almoſt all the Countrie. Howſoeuer it were, this indignitie was not ſo eaſily digeſted, as former iniuries had beene. For it was a matter of ill conſequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, ſhould behold *Saguntum* reſting ſecurely among them, vpon confidence of helpe from a more mighty Citie. Wherefore either in this reſpect, or for that the ſenſe is moſt feeling of the lateſt iniuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to doe themſelues right: warre againſt *Saguntum* was generally thought vpon, let the *Romans* take it how they liſt. In ſuch termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Aſdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spaine* eight yeeres: (being ſlaine by a ſlaue, whoſe maſter hee had put to death) and the Great **Hannibal**, ſonne of the Great *Amilcar*, was choſen Generall in his ſtead.

§. VI.

The eſtate of Greece from the death of Pyrrhus, *to the reigne of* Philip *the ſonne of* Demetrius *in Macedon.*

IN the long terme of the firſt *Punick* warre, and the vacation following, betweene it and the ſecond; the eſtate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was growne ſomewhat like vnto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though farre weaker, as in an after-ſpring. The whole countrie had recouered by degrees, a forme of libertie: the petty tyrannies (bred of thoſe inferiour Captaines, which in the times of generall combuſtion, had ſeiſed each vpon ſuch Townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and ſome States were riſen to ſuch greatneſſe, as not onely ſerued to defend themſelues, but to giue protection to others. This conuerſion to the better, proceeded from the like diſſenſions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had beene in *Greece*, when *Philip* firſt began to encroach vpon it. For after many quarrels and great warres, about the Kingdome of *Macedon*, betweene *Antigonus* the elder, *Caſſander*, *Demetrius*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gaules*: *Antigonus*, the ſonne of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning ſixe and thirtie yeeres; yet ſo, that he was diuers times thence expelled, not onely by the *Gaules*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath beene already ſhewed, but by *Alexander* the ſonne of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whoſe father hee had hardly wonne it. This happened vnto him, by the reuolt of his ſouldiours, euen at ſuch time, as hauing ouerthrowne with great ſlaughter an Armie of the *Gaules*, hee was conuerting his forces againſt the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receiue his Garriſons. But his young ſonne *Demetrius* raiſed an Armie, wherewith he chaſed *Alexander*, not onely out of *Macedon*, but out of his owne *Epirus*, and reſtored his father to the Kingdome.

By the helpe of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kinde) *Antigonus* got into his poſſeſſion the Citadell of *Corinth*; which was iuſtly tearmed *the fetter of Greece*. The Citadell called *Acrocorinthus*, ſtood vpon a ſteepe rockie hill on the North ſide of the towne, and was by nature and art ſo ſtrong, that it ſeemed impregnable. It commanded the towne; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Iſthmus*, that running betweene the *Ægean* and *Ionique* Seas, ioyneth *Peloponneſus* to the maine of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held poſſeſſion of this Caſtle, was able to cut off all paſſage by land, from one halfe of *Greece* vnto the other; beſides the commodity of the two Seas, vpon both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious hauens. *Alexander*, the ſonne of *Polyſperchon*; and after his death, *Crateſipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great ſhuffling of Prouinces and Townes, that was made betweene *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it paſſed from hand to hand, vntill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I finde nothing elſe, than that he was thought to be poyſoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceiued his wife *Nicæa* thereof, and got it from her by a tricke. The deuice was this. *Antigonus* ſent his yong *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicæa*, and ſeeke her marriage. The fooliſh old widdow perceiued not how vnfit a match ſhe was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; whereto the old King was euen as ready, to conſent, as was his ſonne to deſire, and came thither in perſon to ſolemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with ſacrifices, feaſts, plaies, and all ſorts of games: in the middeſt of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Caſtle, beguiling the poore Lady, whoſe iealouſie had beene exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchaſe he was ſo glad, that he could not containe himſelfe within the grauity beſeeming his old age. But as hee had ſtollen it; ſo was it againe ſtollen from him: neither liued he to reuenge the loſſe of it, being already ſpent with age.

Demetrius, the ſonne of this *Antigonus*, ſucceeding vnto his father, reigned ten yeeres. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Achæans* held him continually buſied in warre; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About theſe times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Græcians* to caſt off their yoke.

Philip, the onely ſonne of *Demetrius*, was a yong childe when his father died; and therefore *Antigonus*, his vncle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minority of the

Prince; but he aſſumed the name and power of a King, though he reſpected *Philip* as his owne ſonne, to whom he left the Crowne at his death; This *Antigonus* was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorſhip; and was alſo called *Doſon*, that is as much as, *Will-giue*, becauſe he was ſlow in his liberalitie. He repreſſed the *Dardanians* and *Theſſalians*, which moleſted his Kingdome, in the beginning of his reigne. Vpon confidence of this good ſeruice, he took ſtate vpon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, then onely a Protector. Heereupon the people fell to mutinie; but were ſoone appeaſed by faire words, and a ſeeming vnwillingneſſe of his to meddle any more with the Gouernement. The *Achaians* tooke from him the City of *Athens*, ſoone after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to haue wrought him out of all, or moſt that hee held in *Greece*, if their owne eſtate had not bin endangered by a neerer enemy. But ciuill diſſention, which had ouerthrown the power of *Greece*, when it flouriſhed moſt; ouerthrew it eaſily now againe, when it had ſcarcely recouered ſtrength after a long ſickeneſſe; and gaue to this *Antigonus* no leſſe authoritie therein, than *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, got by the like aduantage.

Theſe *Achaians* from ſmall beginnings, had increaſed in ſhort time to great ſtrength and fame: ſo that they grew the moſt redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equalitie of their Lawes, and by their clemencie (notwithſtanding that they were a long time held vnder by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not onely draw all others by their loue and alliance, but induced, through their example, the reſt of the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, to be gouerned by one Law, and to vſe one and the ſame ſort of waights, meaſure, and monie.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the firſt that vnited them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had beene by the *Macedonian* Captaines diuided into many Principalities. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as moſt of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kinde of rule they firſt ſubiected themſelues, after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ*, when *Tiſamenus* the ſonne of *Oreſtes* poſſeſt the Territorie of *Achaia*. In this eſtate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his ſons ſought to change the Legall gouernment of their Predeceſſors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as ſeeming moſt equall. This forme of Common-weale had continuance, with ſome ſmall changes according to the diuerſitie of times, till the reigne of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempeſt-like ouerturned all things in that part of the world. For thoſe twelue Citties, called *the Cities of alliance*, whereof *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten vp a little before the Battaile of *Leuctres*; were, by diſturbance of the *Macedonians*, diuided from each other, and trained into a warre, no leſſe fooliſh than cruell, among themſelues. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or neere it, *Ptolomie* the ſonne of *Lagus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, left the world; two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenſes* and the *Dimæi*, vnited themſelues, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, which after followed. For hauing beene, ſome of them *Partiſans* with ſundrie *Macedonian* Captaines, and others hauing beene gouerned by petty Kings; they began to faſten themſelues in a ſtrong league of amitie, partly, in the *Olympiad* before ſpoken of, and partly, at ſuch time as *Pyrrhus* made his firſt voyage into *Italie*. Now after the vniting of the *Patrenſes* and *Dimæi*, to whom alſo the Cities of *Tritæa*, and *Phara*, ioyned themſelues; *Ægira* chaſed out her Garriſons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the ſame Confederacie. Theſe Cities, for twentie and fiue yeeres, vſed the ſame forme of Gouernment with the *Achaians*; who by a Senatorie and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Commonweale; and ſoone after, by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynenſis* was the firſt, and *Aratus* the ſecond.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who liuing at *Argos* in exile, whileſt his Countrie was oppreſſed by Tyrants, found meanes, through the helpe of other baniſhed men, to enter their owne Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chaced the Tyrant, and reſtored the people to libertie. This was in the time of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more buſie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wiſe in looking to his owne. For feare of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* entred into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it receiued more increaſe, by their acceſſion, than it added ſtrength to them; yet the benefit of this coniunction ſerued well enough againſt *Antigonus*, whoſe ſubtiltie was ſomewhat greater than his valor. As the induſtry and counſaile of *Aratus* deliuered his Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league; ſo further, by his great liberalitie, with the exceding great coſt of 150. talents, he pacified the inexplicable controuerſies, between the baniſhed *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, & the other Citizens that had poſſeſſion of theſe mens Lands; as alſo with the ſame money he drew many others to aſſiſt him in thoſe enterpriſes following, that redounded to the ſingular good of al *Achaia*. The mony he obtained of *Ptolomy Euergetes* King of *Ægypt*; who partly had a deſire to hold ſome ſtrong and ſure friendſhip in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conuerſation of *Aratus* himſelfe, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Ægypt*, and fed his pleaſure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The firſt of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the ſurprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadell of *Corinth*; which he wanne by night, being thereinto guided by ſome theeues that hee had hired for the purpoſe, who liuing in the place, had practiſed to rob *Antigonus* his treaſurie, paſſing in and out by a ſecret path among the rockes. Yet was hee faine to fight for it, ere hee could get it: though indeede *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather ouer-come by their owne feare, than by any force of the aſſailants; as miſtruſting leſt the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and hauing loſt the aduantages of the place already, vpon which they had preſumed, before they were aware of any enemie.

In theſe kinde of night-ſeruices, ambuſhments, ſurpriſes, and practices, *Aratus* was verie cunning, aduenturous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, hee was as timerous. By this ſtrange mixture of cowardize and courage, he miniſtred argument of diſputation, to Philoſophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was eſteemed, and in ſome caſes approued) might look pale and tremble, when he began battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diuerſified, by the ſundry natures of men, & in a manner confined, vnto ſeuerall ſorts of action. In reſoluing which doubts it may be ſaid; that all vertue is perfected in men by exerciſe, wherein they are trained by occaſion: though a naturall inclination ſtandeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof muſt be ſupplied with much inſtruction, vſe, good ſucceſſe, and other helpe, yet hardly ſhall grow abſolute in generall. Such was *Aratus* in matter of Warre. In ſincere affection to his Countrie hee was vnreproueable, and ſo acknowledged: as his following actions will truelie teſtifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and ioyned vnto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* reuolted ſoone after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the ſame Corporation. So did the *Trœzenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew ſo powerfull, that it aduentured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*; and *Argos* & *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The enterpriſe vpon *Athens* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* waſted the Ile of *Salamis*, to ſhew his ſtrength, and ſent home the *Athenian* priſoners, without ranſome, to allure the Citie by ſhew of loue; yet the *Athenians* ſtirred neither againſt him, nor for him, as being now growne honeſt ſlaues to the *Macedonians*. Vpon *Argos* the aduenture was carried more ſtrongly. The *Achaians* came ſometimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people ſtirred not: once they entred it, and might haue wonne it, if the Citizens would haue lent any helpe to the recouerie of their own freedome; ſundry times, and with diuers euents, they fought with the Tyrants, (who roſe vp one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and ſlue one of them in battaile; but all ſufficed not: vntill at length *Ariſtomachus* the Tyrant was ſo terrified, perſwaded, and hired, by *Aratus*, that hee conſented to reſigne his Eſtate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus* that had oppreſſed the *Phliaſians*.

Whileſt this buſineſſe with the *Argiues* was on foot, *Lyſiadas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis* was ſo well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulſion, hee gaue libertie to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of *Achaia*: whereby he got ſuch credit, that hee was choſen Generall of their forces (which was a yeerely Office, and might not bee held two yeeres together by one man:) euery ſecond yeere, for a certaine while, he and *Aratus* ſucceeded one another by turnes. But thoſe late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lyſidias* and *Ariſtomachus*, were carried with priuate paſſion from care of the generall good; in which courſes they oppoſed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as ſhall appeare in due time.

The *Achæans* hauing obtained ſo much puiſſance and reputation, that *Ptolomie* King of *Ægypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) Generall of their forces by Sea and Land; made open Warre vpon *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus Gonatas*, for the libertie of *Athens*. It is ſtrange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrell had loſt a battaile, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in ſigne of ioy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had wonne the victorie. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, *Aut humiliter ſeruit, aut ſuperbè dominatur*; *It is either baſe in ſeruice, or inſolent in command.* Neuertheleſſe when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by monie, which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captaine of the *Macedonian* Garriſon, purchaſed liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correſpondence with the *Achæans*, louing them, and ſpeaking well of them, which was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entred not, ſcorning it belike, in regard of their owne out-worne glorie.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increaſed within *Peloponneſus*, by iuſtice and honeſtie; ſo did the *Ætolians*, in the vtter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponneſus* it ſelfe, waxe very powerfull, by ſturdineſſe of bodie, and rude courage in fight, without helpe of any other vertue. They had ſtoutly defended themſelues againſt *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to doe and ſuffer much; partly by the naturall ſtrength and faſtneſſe of their Countrie; but eſpecially by the benefit of the time, which called away theſe famous Captaines to other buſineſſe, as hath beene related. They had moleſted *Caſſander*, in fauour of *Antigonus*; and were themſelues as much plagued by him, and by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a ſtout Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to doe with *Demetrius*, the ſonne of the firſt *Antigonus*, and more or leſſe, with all the Kings of *Macedon* ſucceeding him. They likewiſe held often Warre with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponneſus*: ſo that they were hardned with perpetuall trauaile; ſeldome putting off their Armour. But their hardineſſe ill deſerued the name of valor, ſeeing they had no regard of honeſty or friendſhip; meaſurings all things by their owne inſolent will, and thinking all people baſe-minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themſelues.

Theſe *Ætolians* had lately made great ſpoyles in *Peloponneſus*, and occupied a good part of the Countrie. They had inuaded the friends of the *Achæans*; taken and ſacked *Pallene*; where although they were ſoundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their deſire of gaine made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Countrie wherein ſomewhat was to bee gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus Gonatas*: who preſſed them ſo hardly, that they were driuen to ſeeke helpe of the *Achæans*; which they obtained. The warre which the *Achæans* made vpon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponneſus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly vnto the *Ætolians*, at whoſe inſtance it was ſet on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diuerted from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged; though very baſely the *Ætolians*, giuing thanks in words, deuiſed how to requite the benefit with ſome great miſchiefe. They ſaw that the *Achæans* were deſirous, to bring all *Peloponneſus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedæmonians* were very iealous. Wherefore theſe *Ætolians* laboured earneſtly, to ſet the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to paſſe, they themſelues ſhould be called in to helpe (it skilled not on what ſide) and ſo get no ſmall ſhare, both in bootie and Territorie. Neither did they forbeare to communicate this their deuice vnto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to be offended with the many loſſes, that this Kingdome had ſuſtained by the *Achæans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to ſuffer many indignities, rather than to giue the *Lacedæmonians* cauſe to take Armes. But this reſolution was taken ſomewhat too late: and not altogether in his owne power to hold. He had beene medling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*: and thereby had prouoked the *Lacedæmonians* to looke about them; ſeeing that all *Peloponneſus*, excepting themſelues, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who alſo were attempted) was already become *Achæan*.

The Citie of *Sparta* was in ill caſe about theſe times; and ſubiect to the iniuries of any ſtronger Neighbor. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakned it; The *Ætolians* entring *Laconia* with an Armie, had carried away fiftie thouſand ſlaues ; and, which was worſe, their diſcipline was corrupted, Auarice and Luxurie reigned among them, the poore was oppreſſed by the rich, and the generoſitie of ſpirit, that had ſometime beene their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the beſt of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more then ſeuen hundred natural Citizens; of whom not aboue one hundred had Lands: all the reſt were needie people, and deſirous of innouation. Hereupon followed inteſtine ſedition; which endangered the Citie moſt of all. *Agis* a good King, who ſought to reforme the diſorders of the State, exhorted the people to a ſtrict obſeruation of *Lycurgus* his lawes. To which purpoſe he cauſed them to paſſe an Act, for the aboliſhing of all debts, and equall diuiſion of Lands. All the yonger, and poorer ſort were glad of this: but the rich men oppoſed it. Theſe had recourſe vnto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who tooke their part : being himſelfe a diſſolute man, as one trained vp in the Court of *Syria*, whence alſo he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the Citie, and a new King choſen in his ſtead. But *Agis* his friends and Counſailors in this enterpriſe, abuſed his good meaning to their owne priuate commoditie. They were haſtie to take away all debts, and cancell all bonds, for they themſelues were deeply indebted : but the diuiſion of lands they afterwards hindred, becauſe their owne poſſeſſions were great. Hence aroſe a tumult in *Sparta,* which theſe men increaſed by their foule oppreſſion of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and reſtored to his Kingdome, and the two aduerſe Kings driuen to take Sanctuarie; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was diſmiſſed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into priſon, and there by his enemies condemned and ſtrangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grandmother. The like to this was neuer knowne in *Sparta* : and (which is the more odious) this crueltie proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magiſtrates that ſhould haue giuen Patronage to the lawes, vſing their power, and more power than to them belonged, againſt a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens ; and ſerued to eſtabliſh the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppreſſors. In which caſe *Aratus* might well hope to adioyne *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæans* Common-wealth : though it were great iniuſtice to take ſuch aduantages, and attempt by force, that which would haue redounded to the generall good of *Peloponneſus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it ſelfe, if it could haue beene wrought by perſwaſion.

But the ſame man who redreſſed the diſorders of *Sparta*, and reuenged the death of *Agis*, did alſo requite the iniuſt attempts of the *Achæans*, euen in their owne kinde : obtruding vpon them by force, an vnion of all *Peloponneſus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King, ſhould haue beene the principall ; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* hauing thus cauſed *Agis* to be ſlaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gaue her in marriage (perforce) to his owne ſonne *Cleomenes*. This yong Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and ſought to win her affection, as well as he had her perſon. He diſcourſed much with her about the purpoſe of her former husband *Agis*, and by pittying his misfortune, began to entertaine a deſire of accompliſhing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So comming himſelfe to be King, whileſt he was very young, hee gladly embraced all occaſions of Warre : for that hee hoped by ſtrong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in ſo corrupt an eſtate of the Citie, had attempted to his owne ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gaue him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended title ; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but ſought to take by ſurprize *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then cōfederate with the *Lacedæmonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he loſt the labor of a painful nights trauell, & diſcouered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing ſorrie. By theſe degrees the warre began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had diſcouered the *Ætolian* practice, & therefore would haue ſtaied the quarrell from proceeding too farre. But *Lyſiadas* & *Ariſtomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them ; eſpecially ſeeing *Cleomenes* was ſo vrgent. *Ariſtomachus* was at that time Generall of the *Achæans*, (He and *Lyſiadas* being of great account, ſince they had abandoned their tyrannie) who ſent vnto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his aſſiſtance in a iournie to be made into *Laconia*. No diſſwaſions of *Aratus* would ſerue:

therefore he came in perſon, and tooke part of a buſineſſe, little pleaſing him in the preſent, and leſſe in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durſt not fight; but oppoſed himſelfe againſt *Ariſtomachus*, who deſired to giue battaile. Yet had the *Achæans* twentie thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, in their Armie: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than fiue thouſand in all. This gaue reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raiſed an ill report vpon *Aratus*; which *Lyſiadas* helped to make worſe, by accuſing his cowardize. Neuertheleſſe the *Achæans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but choſe him their Generall the yeere following, againſt *Lyſiadas* his accuſer that ſued for the place. Being Generall himſelfe, it behoued him to confute, with deedes, the ſlanderous words of *Lyſiades*. Therefore hee purpoſed to ſet vpon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, neere vnto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*; who vanquiſhed him in a great battaile, and draue him to hide himſelfe all night for feare, ſo that hee was thought to haue beene ſlaine. This miſaduenture *Aratus* recompenced by a tricke of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Armie, that which could hardly haue beene expected, had hee beene victorious. For whileſt there was no ſuſpition of any great matter that he could vndertake; he ſuddenly wrought with ſome of the *Mantinæans*, who did let him into their Citie. The *Mantinæans*, who did let him into their Citie. The *Mantinæans* had once before ioyned themſelues with the *Achaians*; but ſhortly vpon feare, or ſome other paſſion, they gaue themſelues to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, preſently after this victorie, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus wonne. For this their leuitie they were not puniſhed, but freely admitted now againe into the *Achæan* ſocietie. As this good ſucceſſe repaired the credit of *Aratus*; ſo another battaile almoſt ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountred neere vnto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achæans* had ſomwhat the better at the firſt, but their Generall durſt not follow his aduantage. Thereupon *Lyſiadas*, of whom we ſpake before, grew ſomewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horſe, brake vpon the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but purſuing them too farre into places of hard paſſage, he was ſlaine by them, and his followers driuen backe vpon their owne Companions; in ſuch ſort, that finally all the Armie was diſordered and put to flight. This was a great loſſe, and incenſed the *Achæans* againſt *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refuſed to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of thoſe Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* tooke patiently, and followed the warre neuertheleſſe; wherein though *Cleomenes* wanne ſome Townes, and *Aratus* got the better in one ſmall fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achæans* being wearie, and the *Spartan* King intentiue to another buſineſſe.

Cleomenes hauing ledde into the field all that were like to hinder his purpoſe, and tired them with painfull iournies, forſooke the *Achæan* warre on a ſudden, and came vnexpected home to *Sparta*, where hee ſlue the *Ephori*, and reſtored by force the ancient diſcipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gaue hee an account of his doings: and ſhewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroched vpon the power of Kings, & many diſorders had grown in the Citie; he iuſtified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equall diuiſion of the Lands, reducing all to the firſt inſtitution. Hee alſo ſupplied the defect of Citizens, by chooſing new, out of ſuch as were friends to the State, and valiant men: ſo that henceforth his Countrie might not altogether ſtand in need of Mercenarie helpe, as it latelie had done, to ſaue it ſelfe from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and ſuch other enemies. All this was diſpatched in great haſte; the *Spartans* well ſatisfied; and *Cleomenes* himſelfe ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any aduantage of theſe his domeſticall troubles.

The *Achæans* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long, ere *Cleomenes* durſt iſſue forth of the Citie, for feare of ſome rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had waſted all the Countrie of *Megalopolis*; had ranged ouer all *Arcadia* at his pleaſure; and was admitted into *Mantinea*; and ready to take other places, euen of *Achaia*. Theſe newes diſpleaſed them not a little: but they muſt patientlie endure to heare worſe. For when *Cleomenes* had ſhaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authoritie, he proceeded more roundly in his worke; being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* reſumed their ancient courage; and hee himſelfe had the heart to demand the Principalitie of *Greece*. Hee did not therefore henceforth contend, about the poſſeſſion of a few Townes: but aduentured to winne or loſe all. The *Ætolians*, in fauour of his attempt, declared themſelues on his ſide: and whereas he had gotten *Mantinæa, Tegea*, and other places, to which they had ſome title, they willingly renounced all their intereſt vnto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrie, and ſaw that *Antigonus* with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would ſhortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begunne. Therefore he deuiſed how to prouide againſt the worſt, and eyther to repaire all, or (if it could not be) to ſaue all from vtter ruine. The office of Generall when it was next put vpon him, he refuſed; fearing to be ſo far preſt, as to hazard in one battaile all the force of his Countrie, to which as he had neuer any affection, nor perchance courage, ſo was his manner of warfare otherwiſe. For hee commonly attempted by ſurpriſe, & defended vpon the aduantage of place, after the manner of the *Iriſh*, and of all other Nations, ouer-charged with numbers of men. Yet did hee not forſake the care of the Weale-publique, though in aiming at the generall good, it ſeemes that priuate paſſion drew him into an ill courſe. He ſaw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that *Mantinæa* had not onelie opened her gates vnto *Cleomenes*, but ſlaine the *Achæan* Garriſon that lay therein; that other Townes had yeelded vnto him, without compulſion; and that *Ariſtomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and ſince Generall of the *Achæans*, was now reuolted vnto the enemie, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolomie* was too farre off to helpe; and the neereneſſe of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be vſefull, if this King would (as *Polybius* ſaith) like others, be friend or enemie, as ſhould beſt agree with his owne profit. To make triall heereof, *Aratus* practiſed with ſome of *Megalopolis*, whom hee found apt vnto his purpoſe; and inſtructed them how to deale both with *Antigonus*, and the *Achæans*.

The Citie of *Megalopolis* had beene well affected to the *Macedonians*, euer ſince the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it vnto him by ſome eſpeciall benefits. At this time it lay neereſt vnto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deſerued ſuccour; yet could not well be releeued by the *Achæans*, with their owne proper ſtrength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embaſſadours ſhould bee ſent vnto the generall Councell of *Achaia*, requeſting leaue and good allowance, to trie the fauour of *Antigonus* in their neceſſitie. This was granted, for lacke of what elſe to anſwere: and the ſame Embaſſadours diſpatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and reſpect which their Citie had of long time borne vnto him and his Predeceſſors; of their preſent neede; and how it would agree with his honour to giue them aide. But when they deliuered the more generall matter, wherein *Aratus* had giuen them inſtruction; ſhewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his owne great loſſe or danger, if the one and the other were not in time preuented; how *Aratus* himſelfe did ſtand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achæans* vnder the Patronage of *Macedon*: then beganne *Antigonus* to lend a more attentiue eare to their diſcourſe. Hee embraced the motion: and to giue it the more life, hee wrote vnto the *Megalopolitans*, that his helpe ſhould not be wanting, ſo farre forth, as it might ſtand with the *Achæans* good liking. Particularly he commended himſelfe, by theſe Meſſengers to *Aratus*; aſſuring them, that he thought himſelfe highly bound to this honourable man, whoſe former actions he now perceiued, not to haue beene grounded vpon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but onely vpon a iuſt and worthy loue to his owne Nation. With this anſwer they returned to *Megalopolis*: and are preſently ſent away to the Councell of *Achaia*; there to make ſome ſpeedy concluſion, as the neceſſity of the time required. The *Achæans* were glad to hear, that *Antigonus* was ſo inclinable to their deſire; and therefore were ready to entertaine his fauour, with all good correſpondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gaue his conſent; and praiſed the wiſedome of his Countrimen, that ſo well diſcerned the beſt and likelieſt meanes of their common ſafetie: adding neuertheleſſe, that it were not amiſſe, firſt of all to try their owne abilitie; which if it failed, then ſhould they doe well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he ſhewed himſelfe moderate, in that which himſelfe of all others did moſt wiſh: to the end, that he might not afterward ſuſtaine the common reprehenſion, if any thing fell out amiſſe; ſince it might appeare, that hee had not beene Author of this Decree, but onely followed, and that leiſurably, the generall conſent.

Neuertheleſſe in true eſtimation, this fineneſſe of *Aratus* might haue been vſed, with his greater commendation, in a contrarie courſe. For it had beene more honourable, to make an end of the War, by yeelding vnto *Cleomenes* that power which they gaue vnto *Antigonus*: ſince therby he ſhould both haue freed his Countrie from all further trouble; and withall ſhould haue reſtored vnto the vniuerſall ſtate of *Greece*, that honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pittie) that Vertue hauing riſen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it ſelfe, (as it were) in the ſeat of Principalitie, by length of time, and ſucceſſe of many actions; can ill endure the haſtie growth of any others reputation, wherewith it ſees it ſelfe likelie to be ouer-topped. Other cauſe to deſpiſe the *Lacedæmonians* there was none; than that they lately had beene in dangerous caſe: neither could any reaſon be found, why *Aratus* ſhould preferre *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that hee had ſtood in doubt of the one, when hee thought himſelfe more mighty than the other. Wherefore hee was iuſtly plagued, when he ſaw his owne honors reuerſed by the inſolent *Macedonians*; and inſtead of liuing as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was deſcended of a long race of Kings, the poſteritie of *Hercules* was faine to doe ſacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, as vnto a god, and was finally poyſoned by *Philip*, whoſe Nobilitie was but of fiue deſcents, and whom perhaps hee might haue ſeene his fellowes, if hee had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the loue of *Ptolomie* was loſt: who forthwith tooke part with *Cleomenes*, though hee did not ſupply him with ſuch liberalitie, as hee had vſed to the *Achæans*; being warned, as may ſeeme, by their example, to be more warie both in truſting and disburſing. *Cleomenes* himſelfe, whileſt this buſineſſe with *Antigonus* was a-foot, paſſed through *Arcadia* with an Armie, and laboured by all meanes to draw the *Achæans* to battaile. At the Citie of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were aſſembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their eſtate, without ſeeking helpe of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, & there fought with them; where he had ſo great a victorie, that the enemie was no longer able to keep the open field. The calamitie was ſuch, that *Aratus* himſelfe durſt not take vpon him to be their Generall, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achæans* were compelled to ſue for peace; which was granted vpon this eaſie condition: That they ſhould not arrogate vnto themſelues the command of *Peloponneſus*, but ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in warre. Hereunto if they would condeſcend, he promiſed vnto them, that hee would preſentlie reſtore all places taken from them, and all his priſoners ranſom-free: alſo that they ſhould enioy their owne Lawes and Liberties without moleſtation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleaſing to the *Achæans*: who deſired him to come to the Citie of *Lerna*, where a Parliament ſhould be held, for the concluſion of the Warre.

Now ſeemed the affaires of *Greece* likely to be ſetled in better order, than they had euer beene ſince the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* Warres, yea or ſince the *Perſian* inuaſion: when God, who had otherwiſe diſpoſed of theſe matters, hindred all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* dranke in great heat, and thereupon fell extreame ſicke, and ſo could not be preſent at *Lerna*, but cauſed the Parliament to bee deferred to another time. Neuertheleſſe he ſent home the chiefe of his priſoners to ſhew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the *Achæans* in their deſire of his friendſhip: who aſſembled againe at *Argos*, there to eſtabliſh the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent againſt it; and ſought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Countrimen afraid of reſoluing. When all would not ſerue turne, hee betooke himſelfe to his cunning; and ſent word to *Cleomenes*, that he ſhould doe well to leaue his Armie behinde him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiuing hoſtages for ſafetie of his perſon. *Cleomenes* was alreadie farre on his way, when he met with this aduertiſement: and tooke it in ill part, that he ſhould be thus deluded. For it had beene an eaſie matter, to haue told him ſo much at the firſt, and not haue made him come ſo far with an Army, which afterwards he muſt diſmiſſe. Yet that which chiefly ſeemes to haue troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who ſought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deale onely with themſelues and their Meſſengers; or if hee would aduenture himſelfe into the Citie, then to depriue him of all Royall ſhew, that might breede reſpect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he ſought to hinder his comming thither in perſon: leſt the people, hearing the promiſes of *Cleomenes* ratified by his owne mouth, ſhould preſently be wonne with his gentle words,and finiſh the bargaine without more adoe. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote vnto the whole Councell,bitterly complaining againſt theſe iuggling trickes: and *Aratus* was not farre behind with him,in as bitter an Oration. So betweene feare of the one,and reuerence of the other,the Aſſembly knew not how to proceed,but abruptly brake vp,leauing all as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* tooke his aduantage of their preſent weakeneſſe,and renewed the Warre. Many Cities yeelded vnto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force; partly by terrour,he wanne *Argos*,which neuer King of *Sparta* before him could doe. In this caſe *Aratus* ſent his owne ſonne to *Antigonus*, entreating him to deferre no time,but come preſently to relieue the diſtreſſed *Achæans*. *Antigonus* gaue good words as could be wiſhed: ſauing that hee vtterly refuſed to doe any thing, vnleſſe hee might firſt haue *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demaund was ſomewhat like vnto that of the Hunter, who promiſed to helpe the Horſe againſt his enemie the Stagge: but with condition, that the horſe ſhould ſuffer himſelfe to be ſaddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanted all honeſt colour to doe it: ſeeing the *Corinthians* had no way deſerued, to be thus giuen away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occaſion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiuing what hee intended,were minded to arreſt him. So he withdrew himſelfe out of their Citie, and ſent word to *Antigonus*,that the Caſtle ſhould be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other ſide ranne to *Cleomenes*; who loſt no time, but made haſte with them to *Corinth*,where he ſought how to get poſſeſſion of their Caſtle, or at leaſt to ſaue it from *Antigonus*,by ſurrounding it within Trenches, that none might iſſue nor enter without his leaue. Whileſt this was doing, he tooke ſpeciall order, that *Aratus* his houſe and goods,within the Towne,ſhould be kept for the Owner; to whom he ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger,deſiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the Barbarous *Macedonians*,and *Illyrians*,to *Peloponneſus*; promiſing that if he would hearken to theſe perſwaſions,then would he giue him double the ſame penſion, which he had been wont to receiue of King *Ptolemie*. As for the Caſtle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponneſus*,and without which none could hold aſſured ſoueraigntie of the Countrey; hee deſired that it might not be committed vnto his owne diſpoſition,but be iointly kept by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*. All this entreaty ſerued to no purpoſe. For *Aratus*,reiecting vtterly the motion,ſent his owne ſonne as an Hoſtage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achæans*,to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* vnderſtood,he ſeiſed vpon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and waſted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*,whereof this his Aduerſary was natiue.

Antigonus in the meane time drew neere to the *Iſthmus*; hauing paſſed with his Army through *Eubœa*,becauſe the *Ætolians* held the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ* againſt him. This they did, either in fauour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatneſſe,whereunto the *Macedonians* might attaine by the good ſucceſſe of this iourny. At his comming thither he found the *Lacedæmonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with ſufficient ſtrength; yet with no purpoſe to hazzard battaile, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, againſt which hee came not well prouided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able ſo to doe: hee ſecretly got into the *Corinthian* Hauen; but was violently driuen out againe, with great loſſe of men; finally he reſolued to turne aſide, and ſeeke a paſſage ouer the gulfe of *Corinth*,to *Sicyon*,or ſome other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation,which was not eaſily made.

In this perplexity newes from *Argos* came by Sea,that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no leſſe troubled his enemies. The *Achæans* were gotten into that Citie; and the Garriſon which *Cleomenes* had left therein,though it was not driuen out of the Citadell, yet was hardly diſtreſſed, and ſtood in need of preſent helpe. *Argos* had alwayes beene enemy to *Sparta*,and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* tooke it, he forbare to chaſe out thoſe whom he moſt ſuſpected;partly, at the entreaty of friends; and partly,for that they all made ſhew to be glad of his proſperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elſewhere, as many as hoped that hee would cauſe all debtors to be diſcharged from their creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But what which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*,was agreeable to the *Spartan* inſtitution: in other places,where it would haue been tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon, ſuch as were diſappointed of their vniuſt hopes, began to turne good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, becauſe he would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time; inuited the *Achæans*; aſſailed his Garriſon; cut in peeces the Reſcue that he ſent; and compelled him at length, to forſake the defence of *Corinth*, and looke vnto the enemies that were behind his backe. For when he vnderſtood by continuall meſſages, that his men which held the Citadell at *Argos*, were almoſt loſt: he beganne to feare, leſt his labour in guarding the entry, ſhould grow friuolous; the *Achæans* in the meane while ſpoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forſooke his cuſtody of the *Iſthmus*, and made all haſte towards *Argos*: which if hee could ſaue, he meant to truſt fortune with the reſt. And ſo farre he preuailed at his comming to *Argos*; that both *Argiues* and *Achæans* were glad to houſe themſelues, leauing him Maſter of the ſtreets: when the horſemen of *Antigonus* were diſcouered a farre off, haſting to relieue the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himſelfe (to whom *Corinth* was yeelded, as ſoone as the *Spartan* had turned his backe) following apace with the bodie of his Armie. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to doe, than to make a ſafe retrait. This hee did; and got him home into *Laconia*: loſing in ſhort ſpace all, or moſt of that which he had beene long in getting.

Antigonus hauing ſhewed himſelfe at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where hee wan ſuch Caſtles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and reſtored them to the old Poſſeſſors. This done, he tooke his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achæans*; to whom he declared the cauſe of his comming, and ſpake braue words, that filled them with hope. The *Achæans* were not behinde with him; but made him Captaine Generall ouer them and their Confederates; and further entred into couenant with him, That they ſhould not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embaſſadour, without his conſent. All this while, and ſomewhat longer, *Aratus* was the onely man, that ſeemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon*, his owne Towne (for Winter was come on) where he not onely feaſted him as a great Prince, but ſuffered more than humane honours, as ſacrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the reſt of *Achaia*: which had made (forſooth) a very wiſe bargaine, if in ſtead of *Cleomenes* that would haue beene a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore; and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, impoſed the burden vpon the *Achæans*. This was hardly taken: yet worſe muſt be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himſelfe ouer-carefully reſpected; when the ſtatues of thoſe Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in *Argos*, were againe erected by *Antigonus*; or when the ſtatues, which hee had erected, of thoſe that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all throwne downe by the ſame King, and one onely left vnto himſelfe at his earneſt entreatie. It might therefore appeare, that this God was alſo ſpightfull. Neuertheleſſe in taking reuenge vpon thoſe that offended him, *Aratus* did ſatisfie his own paſſion by the ayde of theſe *Macedonians*. For with extreame torments hee did put *Ariſtomachus* to death, who had beene once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards Generall of of the *Achæans*; and from them reuolting vnto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like ſort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantinæans* for their ingratitude and cruelty ſhewed to the *Achæans*. For he ſlue all the principall Citizens, and ſold the reſt, men, women, and children, all for bondſlaues: diuiding the ſpoyle; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achæans*. The Towne it ſelfe was giuen by *Antigonus* to the *Argiues*: who peopled it with a Colony of their owne; and *Aratus* hauing charge of this buſineſſe, cauſed it to bee new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuſe; than euen the flattery, which *Aratus* was driuen to vſe to *Antigonus*: foraſmuch as it was a token of ſeruility, whereinto they had vrged and brought him; whom he, as in reuenge thereof, did thus requite. But leauing to ſpeake of this change, which the comming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the Ciuill ſtate of the *Achæans*; Let vs returne into his warre againſt the *Lacedæmonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantinæa*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Telphuſſa*: *Mantinæa* he diſpeopled, as was ſaid before; in *Orchomenus* hee placed a Garriſon of his *Macedonians*; the reſt he reſtored to the *Achæans*: with whom he wintred at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once onely *Cleomenes* had met him this yeare; & that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his owne Territorie. The reaſon

reaſon why he ſtirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantinea*, and to thoſe other Townes that he wanne, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not money enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the *Ægyptian* promiſed much, but would performe nothing, vnleſſe he might haue *Cleomenes* his owne Mother, and his children in pledge. Theſe were ſent into *Ægypt*, yet the aide came not. For *Ptolemie* was ſlow; as dealing in the buſineſſe of *Greece*, rather for his mindes ſake, than vpon any apprehenſion of neceſſitie. *Cleomenes* therefore prouided for himſelfe, as well as his owne abilitie would ſerue. He manumiſed all the *Heilotes*, which were the *Lacedamonian* ſlaues: taking money for their libertie, and arming two thouſand of them, after the *Macedonian* faſhion. Hauing thus increaſed his forces, he came on the ſudden to *Megalopolis*; that lay ſecure, as hauing defended it ſelfe in more dangerous times, and hauing now *Antigonus* neere at hand in *Ægium*. The towne he wanne: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beare Armes, roſe haſtilie againſt him; and though they could not driue him out, yet ſaued the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their eſcape. He ſent after the Citizens, offering their Towne and goods to them againe, if they would be of his partie. But they brauely refuſed his offer: wherefore he ſacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great bootie that he found therein. Theſe newes aſtoniſhed the *Achæans* at *Ægium*; who thereupon brake vp their Parliament. *Antigonus* ſent haſtily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering places: but they were ſo long in comming, that *Cleomenes* was ſafely gone home. Therefore hee returned them backe to their lodgings, and went himſelfe to *Argos*, there to paſſe the reſt of his vnlucky winter, ſomewhat further from the eyes of the greeued *Achæans*. When hee had laine a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates; with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argiues* perceiuing that their Countrie would be ſpoiled, if *Antigonus* did not iſſue into the field; were very earneſt with him to goe forth and fight. But he was wiſer then to be moued with their clamors; and ſuffered them to ſee their villages burnt, to bid him reſigne his Office of Protector vnto ſome that were more valiant; and to ſatisfie their paſſions with fooliſh words; rather than hee would bee ouer-come in fight, and thereby loſe more honor than could eaſily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his deſire, in weakning the reputation of his enemie: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other ſtrength, vnto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the ſeaſon was more fit for warre, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troups; meaning to requite theſe brauado's of his enemy, with the conqueſt of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other ſide, laboured to keepe the warre from his owne gates; and therefore entred vpon the Countrie of *Argos*, where he made ſuch hauocke, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended inuaſion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was faine to endure, in coaſting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging ouer the Country of the *Argiues*, *Phliaſians*, and *Orchomenians*, draue a Garriſon of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did ſacrifice, as it were, before his face, in the ſuburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Iuno*, that was ſhut vp; ſending vnto him in ſcorne, to borrow the keyes. Theſe were light things; yet ſerued to diſ-hearten the *Achæan* ſide, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore hee concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by ſetting vp his reſt, without any more delay, vpon *Sparta* it ſelfe. Hee had in his Armie eight and twenty thouſand foot, and twelue hundred horſe, collected out of ſundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gaules*, *Epirots*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achæans*, and their friends of *Peloponneſus*. *Cleomenes* had of all ſorts, twentie thouſand, with which hee lay at *Selaſia*: fortifying ſlightly the other paſſages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to ſeeke entrance. *Antigonus* comming vnto *Selaſia*, found his enemy ſo ſtrongly incamped, vpon and betweene the hills of *Eua* and *Olympus*, that hee was conſtrained to ſpend much time there, before hee could aduance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come haſtily to blowes, which hee greatly deſired, without the hazard of his whole Armie, in aſſayling their wel defenced Campe. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes and feares) both Kings being reſolued to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eua*. But his *Illyrians* were ſo ill ſeconded by the *Achæan* foot, that the *Spartan* horſe, and light-armed foot, incamped in the ſtreight vallie betweene thoſe hills, iſſuing forth, fell vpon their skirts, and not onelie diſordered them, but were like to haue endangered all the reſt. If *Cleomenes* himſelfe had ſtood in that part of the battaile, he would haue made great vſe of ſuch a faire beginning. But *Euclydas*, his brother, a more valiant than ſkilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this aduantage, nor tooke ſuch benefit as the ground affoorded, whereon he lay. *Philopœmen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards prooued a famous Captaine, ſerued then on horſe, as a priuate yong man, among the *Achæans*. He ſeeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driuen to fall backe vpon the Armie following them; perſwaded the Captaines of the *Achæan* horſe, to breake vpon the *Spartan* Mercinaries. But they would not: partly deſpiſing his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had giuen order, that they ſhould keepe their places, vntill they receiued a ſigne from him, which was not as yet. *Philopœmen* perceiuing them to be more orderly, then wel aduiſed; entreated ſome of his own Countrimen to follow him; gaue a charge on the *Spartans*; and forced them, not only to leaue the *Illyrians*, but ſeek how to ſaue themſelues. Being ſo farre aduanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be wonne, through the ſkilfulneſſe of him that held it. Wherefore hee allighted, and perſwaded the men at Armes his Companions to doe the like: the folly of *Euclidas* being manifeſt, who kept the top of the Hill, and ſtirred not to hinder thoſe that aſcended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight vpon euen termes. So he recouered the Hill top; where though he was ſore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, vntill the whole Armie came vp to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great ſlaughter of them in their deſcent. This ouerthrow, and death of *Euclydas*, made *Cleomenes* loſe the day: who fighting brauely on the other ſide, vpon *Olympus*, againſt *Antigonus* himſelfe, was like to haue beene ſurrounded and loſt, if he had not withdrawne himſelfe with an extraordinarie ſpeede. In this battaile ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*, which, as a light readie to goe out, had with a great, but not long blaze, ſhined more brightly of late, then in many ages paſt.

Cleomenes fled vnto *Sparta*: where he had no deſire to ſtay, finding onely two hundred left, of ſixe thouſand *Spartans* that he had led vnto this battaile, and moſt of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perſwaded his people to yeeld themſelues vnto *Antigonus*; and promiſing to doe all that ſhould at any time lye in his owne power, for their good, he haſted away to the Sea-ſide (where he had ſhipping long before prouided againſt all that might happen) & imbarqued himſelfe for *Ægypt*. He was louinglie entertained by *Ptolemie Euergetes*; who vndertooke to reſtore him to his Kingdome; and (perhaps) meant no leſſe, as beeing much delighted with his gallant behauiour and qualities. In the meane ſeaſon hee had a penſion allowed him, of foure and twentie Talents, yeerely. But this *Ptolemie* died; and his ſonne *Ptolemie Philopater* ſucceeded him: a vicious young Prince, wholly gouerned by lewd Women, and baſe Men, vnmindefull of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was deſirous to returne into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponneſus* did ſeeme to inuite him; *Ptolemie* and his Minions, would neither giue him aide; nor yet dared to diſmiſſe him (as he deſired) to trie his owne friends in *Greece*, becauſe hee was too well acquainted with the weakeneſſe of *Ægypt*: nor well knew how to detaine him againſt his will. At length they deuiſed matter againſt him, and made him priſoner. The laſt act of him was; that with thirtie of his Countrimen, hee vndertooke a deſperate enterprize: breaking out of the priſon, and prouoking the *Alexandrians* to rebell and ſeeke their libertie. In which attempt he ſlue ſome enemies of his that hee met; and hauing walked vp and downe the ſtreets without reſiſtance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very ſtrange, to fight againſt him on the Kings behalfe) hee, and his Companions, agreed together to be miniſters of their owne death. Vpon his dead body *Ptolemie* was bold to ſhew his indignation: and ſlue his Mother and Children, that had beene ſent thither as Hoſtages, together with the wiues of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending vpon the old Queene. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*; a generous Prince, but Sonne of *Leonidas*, who had cauſed *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to ſuch a bloudie ende, as now befell his owne Wife, Sonne, and Grandchildren.

After the victorie at *Sellaſia*, *Antigonus* without reſiſtance entred *Sparta*: whereinto neuer the force of anie Enemie, before him, could make way. He kindly entreated the Citizens, and left them to their owne Lawes and Gouernment : tarrying there no longer than two or three daies; after which he haſtened out of *Peloponneſus*, and neuer returned. The cauſe of his ſpeedy departure was, an aduertiſment that he receiued out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* ouer-ran, and deſtroyed the Countrie. Had theſe newes come a little ſooner; or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few daies longer, or at leaſt-wiſe tarried a few daies after the fight, in *Sparta* : the Kingdome of *Lacedæmon* would haue ſtood, and perhaps haue extended it ſelfe ouer all *Greece*. But God had otherwiſe determined.

Antigonus fought a great battaile with the *Illyrians*, and ouer-came them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by ouer-ſtrayning his voyce; wherewith he brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in ſhort ſpace finiſhed his life, who was troubled before with a conſumption of the lungs. His Kingdome deſcended vnto *Philip*, the ſon of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as alſo about the ſame time it was, that *Antiochus*, ſurnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolemie Philopater*; beganne to reigne in *Aſia*, and *Ægypt*; Boyes all. Of theſe, *Ptolemie*, though old enough to loue Harlots, when he firſt was King, yet continued a Boy, all the ſeuenteene yeeres of his reigne. The vnripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred ſuch inteſtine inconuenience to their Kingdomes, as is vſuall in the minoritie of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; vpon which occaſion, when it comes, we ſhall more ſeaſonably ſpeak of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

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§. VII.

How the Illyrians infeſted the coaſt of Greece; and how they were ſubdued by the Romanes.

WHileſt things thus paſſed in *Greece*; and whileſt the *Carthaginians* were buſie in their conqueſt of *Spaine* : the *Romanes* had found themſelues worke among the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*, that were eaſily ſubdued at firſt, and eaſily vanquiſhed againe, when they rebelled. They made alſo warre with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little paine. With the *Gaules* they had much adoe, that laſted not long; being rather, as *Liuie* ſaith, a tumult than a warre. So that by all theſe light exerciſes, their valour was hardly kept from ruſt. How they got the Ilands in the *Mediterran Sea*; it hath bin ſhewed before: of their dealings with *Illyrians* and *Gaules*, it is not meete to be vtterly ſilent.

Liu. l. 21.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slauonia*: a troubleſome Nation, impatient of reſt, and continually making warre for gaine, without either regard of friend or foe. They were inuited by *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, to helpe the *Mydionians*, his friends, that were beſieged by the *Ætolians*; for that they refuſed to be of their ſocietie. Before the *Illyrian* ſuccours came, the *Mydionians* were ſo farre ſpent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: the old Prætor, or chiefe Magiſtrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, clayming to haue the honour of the victory, and the diuiſion of the ſpoyle to be referred vnto him; for that hee had in a manner brought the ſiege to an end, and wonne the Towne: others, that were in hope to bee choſen into the Office, contradicting this, and deſiring that olde orders might be kept. It was a pretie ſtrife, and ſomewhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, who thought vpon diuiding the prey, before they had wonne the victories, which anon they loſt, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wiſely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, and the new Prætor, ſhould be ioyntly intitled in the victorie, and haue equal authority in diſtribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finiſhed the ſtrife much more elegantly, and after another faſhion. They arriued, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the *Ætolians*; & though good reſiſtance was made, yet got the victorie, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the helpe of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their owne buſines, but ſtoutly ſallied out of the Town. Many of the *Ætolians* were ſlain, more were taken, their Campe and all their baggage was loſt: the *Illyrians* tooke the ſpoyle, and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophie, inſcribing the names, both of their old and new Magiſtrate (for they alſo choſe new Officers at the ſame time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The ſucceſſe of this voyage, highly pleaſed *Agron* King of the *Illyrians* : not onely in regard of the mony, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his aſſiſtance; or of the booty that was gotten; but for that hauing vanquiſhed the ſtouteſt of the *Greeks*, he found it not vneaſie, to enrich himſelfe by ſetting vpon the leſſe warlike. For ioy of this he feaſted, and dranke ſo immoderately, that hee fell into a *Pleuriſie*, which in few dayes ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left vnto *Teuta*, his wife.

Teuta gaue her people free liberty, to rob all ſorts at Sea, making no difference betweene friend and foe; as if ſhee had beene ſole Miſtreſſe of the ſalt Waters. She armed a fleet, and ſent it into *Greece*: willing her Captaines, to make warre where they found aduantage, without any further reſpect. Theſe fell with the weſterne coaſt of *Peloponneſus*; where they inuaded the *Eleans*, and *Meſſenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and ſtayed at the Citie of *Phœnice*, to take in victualles and other neceſſaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gaules*; that hauing beene Mercinaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, firſt *Agrigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to doe either, they neuertheleſſe reuolted, and were for their miſdeedes diſarmed, and ſent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by theſe *Epirots*, and truſted to lye in Garriſon within their Towne. The *Gaules* were ſoone growne acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; which deſerued none other, in truſting them. All *Epirus* was preſently in armes, and haſtned to driue out theſe vnwelcome gueſts. But whileſt the *Epirots* lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another *Illyrian* Armie, that was marching thitherward by Land, vnder one *Scerdilaïdas*, whom Queene *Teuta* had ſent to helpe his fellowes. Vpon this aduertiſement, a part of them is ſent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that Towne, and the ſtreights adioyning, by which theſe new commers muſt enter into their Countrie; another part of them remaines at *Phœnice*, to continue the ſiege. Neither the one, nor the other, ſped well in their buſineſſe. For *Scerdilaïdas* found meanes to ioyne with his fellowes; and they that were beſieged within *Phœnice*, ſallied out of the towne, and gaue ſuch an ouerthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them deſpaire of ſauing their Countrie, without great and ſpeedy helpe from abroad. Wherefore Embaſſadours were ſent to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*: crauing their helpe, with very pittifull tearmes of entreatie. They obtained their ſuit; neither was it long, before an Armie, ſent by theſe two Nations, was ready in *Epirus*, to preſent battaile vnto *Scerdilaïdas*. But *Scerdilaïdas* was called home, by letters from *Teuta* the Queene, that ſignified a rebellion of ſome *Illyrians* againſt her: ſo that he had no minde to put his forces to hazzard, but offered compoſition, which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ranſome their Towne, and all their people that were priſoners; and that the *Illyrians* ſhould quietly depart, with all their bootie and ſlaues. Hauing made this profitable and honourable bargaine; the *Illyrians* returned into their own Countrie by Land, ſending their bootie away by Sea.

At their comming home, they found no ſuch great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occaſioned in this voyage. For in fulfilling the commandement of their Queene, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whileſt they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the *Roman* Senate, were ſo frequent, that Embaſſadours were ſent to require of *Teuta*, that ſhe ſhould abſtaine from doing ſuch iniuries. Theſe Embaſſadours found her very iolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that ſhe had, in ſhort ſpace, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, ſaue onely the towne *Iſſa*, which her forces held ſtreightly beſieged. Swelling with this proſperity, ſhe could hardly afford a good looke to the *Romans*; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, *Pyracy*, required amends. Yet when their ſpeech was ended, ſhee vouchſafed to tell them, That iniury in publike ſhee would doe them none: as for priuate matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their Subiects to get commodity, how they beſt could by Sea. But (ſaid the yonger of the two Embaſſadours) wee *Romans* haue a manner, and a very laudable one, to take reuenge in publike, of thoſe priuate wrongs that are borne out by publike authority: therefore we ſhall teach you, God willing, to reforme your kingly manners, and learne better of vs. Theſe words the Queene tooke ſo impatiently, that no reuenge could ſatisfie her, but the death of him that had ſpoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, ſhee cauſed him to be ſlaine: as if that had beene the way, to ſet her heart at reſt; which was indeed the meane, to diſquiet and afflict it euer after.

The *Romans*, prouoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, conſiſting of two hundred ſaile, commanded by *C. Fuluius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Poſthumus*. They trouble not themſelues any more, with requiring ſatisfaction: for this iniurie is of ſuch nature, as muſt be requited with mortall warre. It is indeede contrary to all humane Law, to vſe violence towards Embaſſadours: the reaſon and ground whereof, ſeemes to be this; that ſince without mediation, there would neuer be an end of warre and deſtruction, therefore it was equally receiued by all Nations, as a leſſon taught by Nature, that Embaſſadors ſhould paſſe freely, and in ſafetie, betweene enemies. Neuertheleſſe, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State, lay hold vpon Embaſſadors ſent by their enemies, not vnto themſelues, but vnto ſome third, whom they ſhould draw into the quarrell; then it is as lawfull, to vſe violence to thoſe Embaſſadors (thus emploied, to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, and ſubiects, of an enemy. And ſo might the *Athenians* haue anſwered it, when they ſlew the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadours, that were ſent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a warre vpon the *Athenians*. Neither are thoſe Embaſſadours, which practiſe againſt the perſon of that Prince, in whoſe Coũtries they reſide, warranted by any Law whatſoeuer. For whereas the true Office of an Embaſſadour reſiding, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practiſe againſt the life of another, much leſſe may an Embaſſadour doe it without incurring iuſtly the ſame danger of puniſhment, with other Traitors; in which caſe, his place giues him no priuiledge at all. But we will leaue this diſpute to the *Ciuilians*; and goe on with the reuenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the ſlaughter of their Embaſſadour *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* Queene was ſecure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to ſtir againſt her. She was indeede in an errour; that hath vndone many of all ſorts, greater and leſſe than ſhe, both before and ſince: *Hauing more regard vnto fame, than vnto the ſubſtance of things*. The *Greekes* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the moſt warlike people in *Greece*; theſe had ſhe eaſily vanquiſhed, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* ſhe ſhould be little troubled. Had ſhee conſidered, that her whole Armie, which wrought ſuch wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater, than of ten thouſand men; and that neuertheleſſe, it preuailed as much, by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; ſhe would haue continued to vſe her aduantage, againſt thoſe that were of more fame than ſtrength, with ſuch good caution, that ſhe ſhould not haue needed to oppoſe her late-gotten reputation, againſt thoſe that were more mighty than her ſelfe. But ſhe was a woman, and did what ſhe liſted. Shee ſent forth a greater fleet than before, vnder *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commiſſion to take all that could be gotten. This fleet diuided it ſelfe, and one part of it fell with [a] *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almoſt ſurpriſed by the *Illyrians*; yet was it reſcued by the ſtout Citizens. In [b] *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed, waſted the Iſle, and beſieged the Towne. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* were called in to helpe: who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea; loſing, beſides others of leſſe note, *Marcus Caryneſis*, the firſt Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* ſucceeded. The Towne of *Corcyra*, diſmaied with this ouerthrow, opened the gates vnto *Demetrius Pharius*; who tooke poſſeſſion of it, with an *Illyrian* Garriſon: ſending the reſt of his forces to beſiege *Dyrrachium*. In the meane ſeaſon, *Teuta* was angry with her Captaine *Demetrius*: I know not why; but ſo, as he reſolued to trie any other courſe, rather than to truſt her.

[a] *Dyrrachium*, ſometime called *Epidamus*, and now *Durazzo*, ſeated vpon the *Adriatick* Sea, betweene the Ilands of *Pharos* & *Corcyra*.

[b] *Corcyra*, an Iland of the *Adriatick* Sea, not farre from *Durazzo*: called now *Corfu*, and in the poſſeſsion of the *Venetians*.

The *Romans* were euen ready to put to Sea, though vncertaine which way to take, when aduertiſement was brought to *C. Fuluius* the Conſull, of *Demetrius* his feare and diſcontent. Likely it was, that ſuch an occaſion might greatly helpe to aduance the buſineſſe in hand. Wherefore the Conſull ſailed thither; where he found the Towne of *Corcyra* ſo well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not onely receiued him willingly, but deliuered into his power the *Illyrian* Garriſon, and ſubmitted it ſelfe vnto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Conſull ſailed along the coaſt, to [c] *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he vſed thenceforth as his counſailer and guide. To *Apollonia* came alſo *Poſthumus*, the other Conſull, with the Land-Armie, numbred at twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Thence they haſten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had beſieged; but vpon newes of the *Roman* Armie, they diſperſe themſelues.

[c] *Apollonia*, a Citie neere *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, vpon the Sea-coaſt. *Pinetus* cals it *Siſſopolis*.

From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by Sea, take twenty of their ſhips, and enforce the Queene *Teuta* to forſake the coaſt, and to couer her ſelfe in *Riſon*, far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haſte them homeward, and leaue the beſt places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part ſtaies behinde, and proſecutes the war, in ſuch ſort, that *Teuta* was forced to beg peace: which ſhe obtained vpon miſerable conditions; to wit, That ſhe ſhould quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay tribute for the reſt, and from thenceforth, neuer ſend any of her ſhips of war, towards the coaſts of *Greece*, beyond the Iſland of *Liſſa*: except it were ſome one or two veſſels, vnarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* warre, the *Romans* ſent Embaſſadours into diuers parts of *Greece*, ſignifying their loue to the Countrie, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made warre with good ſucceſſe vpon *Teuta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that ſome diſtreſſed Cities would take this occaſion, to deſire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wiſe enough to play their owne games. But no ſuch matter fell out. The Embaſſadours were onely rewarded with thankes; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Iſthmian* paſtimes. This was an idle courteſie, but well meant by the vaine *Greeks*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* Expedition got nothing in *Greece*, ſaue a little acquaintance, that ſhall be more hereafter.

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§. VIII.

Of the warre betweene the Romans and Gaules, ſomewhat before the comming of Hannibal *into Italie.*

THe *Gaules* that dwelt in *Lombardie*, were the next, againſt whom the *Romans* tooke Armes. Theſe were a populous Nation, and often moleſted *Rome*; ſometimes with their owne forces, and ſometimes with the aſſiſtance of thoſe that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke *Rome*, and burnt it: though the iſſue of that warre proued not anſwerable to the beginning, if we may giue credit vnto *Roman* Hiſtorians. In following times, their ſucceſſe was variable, and commonly bad. Many ouerthrowes they receiued; and if they got any victory, it yeelded them no profit, but was ſoone extorted out of their hands. They were indeede more fierce, than well aduiſed: lightly ſtirred vp to warre, and lightly giuing ouer. At the firſt brunt, they were ſaid to be more than men; but when that was paſt, leſſe than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gaue alwayes carefull heede to their approach, were it onely bruited. For the danger of them was ſudden, and vncertaine; by reaſon of their neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts vpon *Rome*, were called warres, but *tumultus Gallici*, *tumults of the Gaules*: and rightly. For they gaue many alarms to *Italie*, and vſed to riſe with great Armies: but after a few dayes march, and ſometimes before their ſetting forth, any ſmall occaſion ſerued to diſperſe them. Hauing receiued an ouerthrow; they would reſt ten or twelue yeeres, ſometimes twenty or thirty: till they were ſtirred vp againe, by yonger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whileſt they reſted, the ſtate of *Rome*, that againſt theſe made onely defenſiue warre, had leiſure to grow, by ſetting vpon others. Herein God prouided well for that Monarchie, which he intended to raiſe: that the *Gaules* neuer fell vpon *Italie*, with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous warre. Had they attempted to conquer it, whileſt *Pyrrhus* was trauailing in the ſame enterpriſe; or in either of the two former *Punicke* warres: it may be doubted what would haue become of this imperious Citie. But it ſeemes that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affaires of *Italie*, than ſtrangers had in *Gaule*. At leaſt, they knew not how to vſe their times: and were therefore like to ſmart, whenſoeuer the enemies, whom they had much prouoked, and little hurt, ſhould finde leiſure to viſit them at their owne home: which was now after the firſt *Punicke* Warre. Once before this, the *Romans* had beene bold, to ſet vpon the *Gaules* in their own Countrie: and that was three yeeres before the comming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italie*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gaules*, inuading *Hetruria*, and beſieging *Arretium*, had won a great battaile, and ſlaine *L. Cæcilius* with the moſt of his Armie. *Mannius Curius* the new Conſull, ſent Embaſſadours to them, to treat about ranſome of priſoners. But theſe

Embaſſadors they ſlue. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it ſo well, that they expelled theſe *Senones* out of their Countrie, and ſent a Colonie of their owne to inhabit it. This cauſed the [e] *Boÿ*, another people of *Gaule*, to feare the like meaſure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their ſide. But the *Romans* ouerthrew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them ſue for peace, which laſted vntill this end of the *Illyrian* warre.

[e] There were diuers nations of the *Boii*; as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria*, *Germanie*, in *Bourbonnois* in *France*, and in *Aquitaine*; but theſe *Boii* were of the *French* race, and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the Riuer of *Po*.

It vexed the *Gaules*, to ſee a *Roman* Colonie planted in their Countrie; who had beene accuſtomed to enlarge their bounds, by driuing out their Neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Tranſalpines* (ſo the *Romans* called thoſe in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to vs they were neerer; like as they called *Ciſalpines*, or *by-hither the Alpes*, thoſe who dwelt between them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their party: reaſonably preſuming, that as their diſiunction had cauſed their loſſe, ſo their vnion might recompence it, with large amends. But the buſineſſe was ſo fooliſhly carried, that the *Ciſalpines* and *Tranſalpines*, fell together by the eares, putting the *Romans* onely to *a tumult*, without further trouble of warre. Soone after, they were vrged by a greater indignitie, to goe more ſubſtantially to worke. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, propoſed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, beſides one Colonie already planted in the territorie of the *Senones*, as many more ſhould be caried thither, as would ſerue to people the whole Countrie betweene *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating vtterly thoſe *Gaules*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it ſelfe, would not ouer-ioy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* tooke this in ſo good part, notwithſtanding all danger ioyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had euer after their good will.

This dreadfull Preſident extremely diſpleaſed the *Boÿ*: who being Neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like diſplantation. And becauſe the reſt of the *Gaules* had reaſon to reſolue, that themſelues alſo ſhould be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Inſubrians*, which inhabited the Duchie of *Milan*, ioyned with the *Boÿ*, and vpon a common purſe entertained the *Geſſates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in theſe times. The *Geſſates* hauing receiued a great Impreſt, come to the field vnder the conduct of their Kings, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus*: who with the *Boÿ* and *Inſubrians*, compound an Armie of fiftie thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, and thoſe of the beſt men, and beſt appointed, that euer inuaded the *Roman* Territorie; to whom, the *Senogalli*, that had beene beaten out of their poſſeſſions, gaue a great increaſe of ſtrength. On the contrary ſide, the *Venetians*, and the [f] *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better beleeuing in their proſperitie and riſing fortune. For feare of whoſe incurſions therefore, the *Gaules* were forced to leaue a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of *Milan*: with the reſt of their forces they entred into *Tuſcane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, ſend *Æmilius* to *Rimine*, to ſtop their paſſage; and in the place of *C. Atilius* their other Conſull, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuſcane*.

[f] *Cenomanni*, are the people about *Bergamo*, on the Northſide of the Riuer *Po* in *Italie*. There were alſo of theſe *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countrie of *Main*.

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the conſideration of this powerfull Armie, which the *Gaules* had aſſembled, they cauſed a view to be taken, as well of all their owne forces, as of thoſe of their Allies: who were no leſſe willing than themſelues, to oppoſe the incurſions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cauſe, that their owne deſtruction could not be preuented otherwiſe, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muſter, deſerue to be recorded: becauſe they ſet out the power of the *Romans* in thoſe dayes. With the Conſulls they ſent forth to the war foure Legions of their owne: euery Legion conſiſting of fiue thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe; and of their Allies, thirtie thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe. There were alſo appointed for Supplies (if any miſaduenture came to theſe) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fiftie thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe; which Armie was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Vmbri* and *Sarſinates*, which inhabited the *Apenines*, there were twentie thouſand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomans*, other twenty thouſand: which latter Armies were directed, to inuade the *Boÿ*, that forcing them to defend their owne Territories, the generall Armie of the *Gaules* ſhould be thereby greatly diminiſhed. There were beſides theſe, to be ready againſt all vncertaine chances of war, thirtie thouſand foot, and fifteene hundred horſe, garriſond in *Rome* it ſelfe, of their owne people; and of their Allies, thirtie thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Ouer and aboue theſe great troupes; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was ſent vnto the Senate, there were numbred fourescore thouſand foot, and fiue thouſand horſe; in that of the *Samnites*, ſeuentie thouſand foot, and of horſe ſeuen thouſand, in that of the[g] *Iapyges*, and *Meſſapyges*, fiftie thouſand foot, and ſixeteene thouſand horſe; the *Lucans* ſent a liſt of thirtie thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the[h] *Marſi*, [i] *Marrucini*, [k] *Ferentani*, and the *Veſtini*, of twenty thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe. The *Romans* had alſo two Legions in *Sicil*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thouſand foure hundred foot, and foure hundred horſe. So as of the *Romans* and *Campans* ioyntly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were regiſtred two hundred and fiftie thouſand foot; and of horſe, three and twentie thouſand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fiftie thouſand foot, and about ſixe thouſand horſe. Caſting vp the whole forces of all the Prouinces in *Italie*, both of the *Romans* and their Confederates, it amounted to ſeuen hundred thouſand foot, and ſeuentie thouſand horſe. But the number is ſomewhat miſſe-caſt by *Polybius*; not with a purpoſe to enrich himſelfe by the dead paies: for where he reckons nine hundred horſe too many, he fals ſhort nine thouſand two hundred of the foot.

[g] *Iapyge:* and *Meſſapyges* ſeeme to be one Nation; who are alſo called *Salentines*, *Peucecians*, *Apulians*, & *Calabrians*: The Country is now *Apulia*, containing the Northermoſt head-land of *Calabria*.

[h] A people of the kingdome of *Naples*.

[i] *Ptolomie* cals them a people of *Italie*.

[k] A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Ferentines*, ſaith *Leander*.

How great ſoeuer this Muſter was, it ſeemes to haue beene like vnto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewes* the twelfth inuaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himſelfe, and his ſubiects, he tooke a Roll of all perſons able to beare armes, within the Dutchie, though indeede he were neuer able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battailes of *Trebia*, *Traſymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not conſume any ſuch proportion, as was anſwerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* faine to arme their ſlaues, euen for want of other Souldiers, after their ouerthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the maruaile is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified, with report of ſuch a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helmets: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in generall, as good fighting men, as elſewhere might be found.

Notwithſtanding all theſe counter-preparations, the *Gaules* keepe on their way: and entring into *Tuſcane*, deſtroy, and put to fire and ſword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to finde the *Romans*, rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the *Roman* Armie, ſent into *Tuſcane*, hauing taken ſome other way than they did, and finding that it had miſſed of them, came againe faſt after them, to arreſt them in their iournie. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backes, they turned head: and in the ſame euening diſcouered the *Roman* Armie, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparant neceſſitie, that fight they muſt. Wherefore they helped themſelues with a ſtratageme: that ſhewed no great fineneſſe of wit, but ſuch, as well beſeemed thoſe that had none other occupation than warre; and ſtood them in good ſtead at the preſent. In the dead of the night, they cauſe their foot to march away, but not farre: leauing their horſe in guard; to whom they giue order, to come off at the firſt light of day, with ſuch a ſpeede, as might rather argue a running away, than a retrait, as if they had not dared to abide battaile. The *Romans*, interpreting this their haſtie departure, as the *Gaules* deſired they ſhould, follow them in diſorder. The *Gaules* returne; charge them, and kill ſixe thouſand vpon the place; the reſt take a peece of ground of aduantage, and defend themſelues, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their ſuccour. Vpon the comming of the Conſull, the *Gaules* conſult, whether they ſhould giue the *Romans* battaile, or forbeare. In which diſpute, *Aneroeſtus*, one of their Kings, perſwades them, rather to returne into their owne Countries; where, after they had diſpoſed of the great ſpoiles and riches which they had gotten, they ſhould then renew the warre, being without carriage, peſter, or other impediment. This aduice they all embrace; for ſeeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the ſpoyles of their enemies; they thought it wiſedome, to hazzard neither it, nor themſelues, any further.

This indeede had beene a good reſolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had beene in ſight. But as well in the warres of theſe latter ages, as in former times, it hath euer beene found extreme dangerous, to make a retrait in the Head of an enemies Armie. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwayes going on from the purſuing enemy, they finde within a few miles, either ſtreight, hedge, ditch, or place of diſaduantage, which they are inforced to paſſe in diſorder. In ſuch caſes, the Souldier knowes it, as well as the Captaine, that he which forſakes the field, perceiues, and feares ſome aduantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the betraier of thoſe ſuccours that Reaſon offereth, when it hath once poſſeſt the heart of man, it caſteth thence both courage and vnderſtanding. They that make the retrait, are alwayes in feare to be abandoned; they that lead the way, feare to be ingaged: and ſo the hindmoſt treads on his heeles that is foremoſt, and conſequently, all disband, run, and periſh, if thoſe that fauour the retrait, be not held to it by men of great courage. The miſerable ouerthrow, that the *French* receiued in *Naples*, in the yeere 1503. vpon a retrait made by the *Marques of Sal*, doth teſtifie no leſſe. For although a great troupe of *French* horſe, ſuſtained the purſuing enemy a long time, and gaue the foot leiſure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spaniſh* foot ouer-tooke, and defeated them vtterly. During the wars between the *Imperials*, & the *French*; *Boiſi* and *Mont* were loſt at *Brignolles*, who in a brauery would needes ſee the enemy, before they left the field. So was *Stroſi* ouerthrowne, by the *Marques of Marignan*, becauſe he could not be perſwaded, to diſlodge the night before the *Marques* his arriuall. Therefore did the *French* King *Francis* the firſt, wiſely: when without reſpect of *point of honour*, he diſlodged from before *Landerſey*, by night; as many other, the moſt aduiſed Captaines, (not finding themſelues in caſe to giue battaile) haue done. *Ie ne trouue point* (ſaith the *Marſhall* Monluc) *au fait des armes choſe ſi difficile, qu'une retrait*; *I finde nothing in the art of warre ſo difficult, as to make a ſafe retrait.* A ſure rule it is, that there is leſſe diſhonor to diſlodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof M. *de la Noüe* giues this iudgement, of a dayes retrait, made in *France*, preſently before the battaile of *Moncountour*. For (ſaith he) ſtaying vpon our reputation, in ſhew, *not to diſlodge by night*; we loſt our reputation indeede, by diſlodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight vpon our diſaduantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthy Gentleman, *Count Lodowick of Naſſau*, brother to the late famous *Prince of Orange*, make the retrait at *Moncountour* with ſo great reſolution, as he ſaued the one halfe of the *Proteſtant* Armie, then broken and disbanded, of which my ſelfe was an eye-witneſſe; and was one of them that had cauſe to thanke him for it.

Now the *Gaules*, embracing the ſafe aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings; turne their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Æmilius* followes them, as neere as he can, without ingaging himſelfe, attending his aduantage. In the meane while, *C. Atilius* the other Conſull, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Piſa*; ſo as the *Gaules*, incloſed betweene two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally ſtrengthen their Reare, and Front. To ſuſtaine *Æmilius*, they appoint the *Geſſates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front, they range the *Piemontois*, and the reſt of the *Gaules* inhabiting vpon the Riuer of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* deſcribeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gaules* fell; and ſo did *Atilius* the Conſull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gaules*, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus*, with fortie thouſand of their Vaſſals.

After this fatall ouerthrow, the *Gaules* loſt courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italie*. For they were inuaded the yeere following this ouerthrow, by the new Conſuls, *Fuluius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to vſe their victory: they gaue not ten, twentie, or thirtie yeeres time, to the *Gaules*, to repaire their forces, as the *Gaules* had done to them. Theſe new Conſuls beat the *Boÿ*; but by reaſon of the great raines that fell, and the great peſtilence that reigned, they were compelled for that preſent to ſurceaſe. In the ſecond yeere, *Furius*, and *Flaminius*, inuade the *Milanois*; and preuaile very farre, being ſtrongly aſſiſted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Venetians*. Neuertheleſſe theſe Conſulls were reuoked out of their Prouince, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to reſigne their Office: becauſe the *Augures*, or *Soothſayers*, had found, that ſome token or other of the Birds (in which, and all ſorts of their diuination, the *Romans* were extreamely ſuperſtitious) had not onely foreſhewed little good, when they were choſen, but had alſo nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiuing letters of this reuocation, from the Senate, and being otherwiſe aduertiſed of the contents, was not haſtie to open them: but firſt gaue battaile vnto the enemies, vanquiſhed them, and ſpoiled their Countrie; then peruſed the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, ſore againſt the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that he ſided in faction with the Commonaltie, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for diuiding the Countrie of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the firſt, or one of the firſt, that vnderſtanding the Maieſtie of *Rome* to be indeede wholly in the people, and no otherwiſe in the Senate, than by way of Delegacie, or grand Commiſſion; did not ſtand highly vpon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and vſe their power, ouer himſelfe, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their diſorders. For this, the Commons highly eſteemed him, and the Senators as deepely hated him. But he had the ſurer ſide, and found imitatours, that roſe by the ſame art; which in proceſſe of time, grew the onely or chiefe way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being depoſed; *M. Candius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were choſen Conſuls, for the reſt of that yeere. The *Gaules* about this time deſired peace, and were like to haue obtained it: though the new Conſuls were againſt it, as fearing to want worke. But when thirtie thouſand of the *Geſſates*, following their King *Britomarus*, were come ouer the *Alpes*, and ioyned with the *Inſubrians*: all other diſcourſe, than of preſent warre, was at an end. So the Conſuls haſted into their Prouince, where they beſieged *Acerræ*, a towne not farre from *Nouaro* (ſo far had the *Romans* pierced already) in the Duchie of *Milan*. To diuert them from this ſiege, *Britomarus* ſat downe before *Claſtidium*, a Towne in the ſame Tract, with great part of his forces: leauing the reſt, with the *Inſubrians*, to attend vpon the Conſuls at *Acerræ*, and to looke to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not ſuffice, to make the *Romans* breake vp their ſiege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greateſt part of the horſe, and ſixe hundred foot lightly armed; thought to deale well enough with thoſe at *Claſtidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Conſuls comming, and met him vpon the way: ſo ſuddenly, that the *Romans* had no leiſure to reſt themſelues after their iournie, but were compelled inſtantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a raſh brauery, loſt his game at a caſt. Hee had aduantage enough in number, both of horſe and foot: but he thought ſo well of his owne perſonall valour, that he rode out ſingle before his Armie, prouoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no leſſe daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wiſe in this action, I will not diſpute; he was more fortunate, & that ſufficed to commend him. He ſlue and diſarmed *Britomarus*, in preſence of both Armies: whereby his owne men tooke ſuch courage, and his enemies were ſo diſmaied, that without much trouble of fight the *Romans* obtained a great victory.

This was the third and laſt time, that euer any *Roman* Generall ſlue the Generall of the enemies, with his owne hand. To this kinde of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof onely *Romulus*, *Coſſus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare ſay, that the two *Scipio's*, and diuers other *Roman* Captaines, eſpecially *Cæſar*, were better men of warre than any of theſe three; though they neuer offered vp to *Iupiter*, *Opima ſpolia*; *The Armour of a Generall ſlaine by themſelues, when they were Generals*, nor perhaps affected ſo to doe.

After this victory, *Acerræ* was yeelded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* ſoone after: with all that belonged to the *Ciſalpines*, or *Gaules*, that dwelt in *Lumbardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had ſo many yeers vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the Citie it ſelfe, brought to nothing in a ſhort time; their pleaſant and fertile Territorie poſſeſt by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italie*, ſo many as would not ſubiect their neckes to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themſelues in the cold and barren Mountaines, like Out-lawes and Theeues. And thus did the *Romans* ſpend the three and twentie yeeres, following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at ſuch leiſure, that they cloſed vp the Temple of *Ianus*: which they neuer did before, (it ſtanding alwaies open, when they had any warre) ſaue once, in the reigne of *Numa*; nor in long time after, vntill the reigne of *Auguſtus*. But this their preſent happineſſe was not to laſt long: a dangerous warre, and perhaps the greateſt that had euer beene, was to come vnto their gates; which being well ended, they might boldly vndertake, to extend their Monarchie as far, as their ambition could reach.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſecond Punick Warre.

§. I.

The warres of Hannibal *in Spaine. Quarrels betweene the Romans and Carthaginians.* Hannibal *beſiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whileſt the Romans are buſied with the Illyrians. Warre proclaimed betweene Rome and Carthage.*

HAnnibal, the ſonne of *Amilcar*, was about ſixe and twentie yeeres old, when he was choſen Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spaine*. He was elected by the Armie, as ſoone as *Aſdrubal* was dead: and the election was ratified by the State of *Carthage*; wherewith *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleaſed. This was now the third of the *Barchine* family (ſo called of *Amilcar*, whoſe ſurname was *Barcas*) that had command in chiefe, ouer the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps haue beene leſſe enuied, by theſe domeſticall enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the *Barchine* houſe, had not alſo borne the whole ſway in gouernment, and beene the onely men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This generall good will, as it was firſt purchaſed by the moſt worthy deſerts of *Amilcar*, in ſauing his Countrie from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with treaſures and great reuenewes; ſo was it retained by the ſame good arts, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partiſans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was vnreproueable; nor to performe the like ſeruices vnto the Common-weale; had nothing left, whereby to value themſelues, excepting the generall reprehenſion of Warre, and cautelous aduice of not prouoking the *Romans*. This they ſeaſoned otherwhiles with detraction; ſaying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppreſſe the libertie of the Citie. But their malicious words were vnregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no leſſe *Barchine*, than *Hannibal* himſelfe. For it was long ſince apparent, that the oath of the *Romans*, to the articles of peace, afforded no ſecuritie to *Carthage*, were ſhe neuer ſo quiet, and officious; vnleſſe ſhe would yeeld to become their Subiect. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than vntill the *Romans* could finde ſome good aduantage, to renew the Warre: it was rather deſired by the *Carthaginians*, that whileſt their owne ſtate was in good caſe, the warre ſhould begin; than that in ſome vnhappy time of famine or peſtilence, or after ſome great loſſe of Armie or Fleet, they ſhould be driuen to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to giue away baſely their lands and treaſures, as they had lately done; or miſerably fight, vpon tearmes of diſaduantage.

This diſpoſition of his Countrimen, *Hannibal* well vnderſtood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deuiſed of this buſineſſe) that in making war with the *Romans*, it was no ſmall aduantage to get the ſtart of them. If once he could bring an Armie into *Italie*, without moleſtation; there was good hope, that he ſhould finde friends and aſſiſtance, euen of thoſe people, that helped to increaſe the *Roman* armies in forreigne wars. But this could neuer be effected, if the matter were openly diſputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad ſoeuer they would be, to heare that he had ſet the war on foot, would neuertheleſſe be ſlow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterpriſes, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it ſhould happen, then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpoſe, but with ſuch particulars as muſt be diſcourſed of, in procuring allowance to his deſigne. This might ſuffice to diſorder the whole Proiect. Wherefore, he reſolued to lay ſiege vnto *Saguntum*, which might ſeeme not greatly to concerne the *Romans*; and would highly pleaſe the *Carthaginians*, that had freſh in minde the indignitie of that *Spaniſh* Townes alliance with thei halfe Friends. So ſhould he aſſaie both the patience of his enemies, and the diſpoſition o his owne Citizens.

Hauing thus concluded, he neuertheleſſe went faire and orderly to worke: and beginning with thoſe that lay next in his way, approaching vnto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (ſaith *Liuie*) to giue ſome colour to his proceedings: as if hee had not principally intended the warre againſt *Saguntum*, but had beene drawne thither by courſe of buſineſſe. Yet reaſon teacheth plainly, that without regard of ſuch formalities, it was needefull to finiſh the conqueſt of the reſt, before he did any thing that ſhould prouoke the *Romans*. Firſt therefore he entred vpon the Territorie of the * *Olcades*; and hauing beſieged *Althæa* (*Liuie* calleth it *Carteia*) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Maſter, not onely thereof, but of all the other townes of their Countrie. This Nation which he firſt vndertooke, being ſubdued, and the winter at hand; he reſted his Armie in *New Carthage*, or *Carthagena*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the ſpoiles he had gotten in his late conqueſt.

In the Spring following, he purſued the warre againſt the [a] *Vaccæi*: and without any great difficultie, wan firſt *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, [b] *Arbucala*, by aſſault: though not without a long ſiege, and great difficulty. But in his returne, he was put to the heighth, both of his courage, and of his Martiall iudgement. For all ſuch of the *Vaccæi*, as were able to beare armes, being made deſperate by the ſpoile of their Countrie, with thoſe of *Salamanca*, and of the *Olcades*, that had eſcaped in the late ouer-throw, ioyning themſelues with the *Toletans*; compounded an Armie of an hundred thouſand able men: and ſtayed **Hannibal** on the bankes of the Riuer *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisborne* in *Portugale*. Theſe foure Nations, hauing had experience of **Hannibals** inuincible courage, and that he neuer ſaw enemy, vpon whom he durſt not giue charge; were throughly reſolued, that his naturall valour would at this time no leſſe neglect the cold aduiſe of diſcretion, than at other times it had ſeemed to doe, when the like great occaſion perſwaded him to vſe it. But he that makes himſelfe a body of Cryſtall, that all men may looke through him, and diſcerne all the parts of his diſpoſition; makes himſelfe (withall) an Aſſe: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or driue him. Wiſe men, though they haue ſingle hearts in all that is iuſt and vertuous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they ſee not all that they hold, on the ſudden, and at once. It is true, that this ſubtile *Carthaginian*, when he ſerued vnder *Aſdrubal*, was, of all the men of marke in the Armie, the moſt aduenturous. But that which may beſeeme a Captaine, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwayes become a Cheefe; though it hath ſometime ſucceeded well with ſuch great ones, as haue beene found more fortunate, than wiſe. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to diſſemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For hee with-drew himſelfe from the Riuer-ſide, as if fearefull to foord it; thereby to draw ouer that great multitude, from their bankes of aduantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in ſuch ſort, as **Hannibal** deſired that they ſhould; thruſt themſelues in furie and diſorder, into the ſwift ſtreame, with a purpoſe to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defences on the contrarie ſide. But when **Hannibal** ſaw them in their way, and well neare ouer; he turned backe his Elephants to entertaine them at their landing: and thruſt his Horſe-men, both aboue and beneath them, into the Riuer. Theſe carrying a kinde of *Lance de gay*, ſharpe at both ends, which they held in the middeſt of the ſtaffe; had ſuch an aduantage ouer the foot, that were in the Riuer, vnder their ſtrokes, clattered together, and vnable to moue or ſhift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they ſlew all thoſe, (in a manner) without reſiſtance, which were already entred into the water; and purſued the reſt, that fled like men amazed, with ſo great a ſlaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that ſide the Riuer of *Iberus*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift vp their hands againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines*, perceiuing the danger towards them; cryed before they were hurt. They ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, and bemoned themſelues, as likely to ſuffer that, which afterwards they ſuffered indeede; onely becauſe of their alliance and friendſhip with this honourable Citie, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moued the Senate: but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already beſieged. Hereupon ſome cry out, that Warre ſhould be proclaymed by Land and Sea; as alſo that the two Conſuls ſhould be ſent with Armies, the one into *Spaine*, the other into *Africke*. But others went

* A people (ſaith *Stephanus*) neere the Riuer of *Ebro*. But in the old deſcription of *Spain*, in *Ortelius*, they are found neere *Tagus*; and by *Suidas*, not far from *New Carthage*.

[a] A people of *Caſtile* the old.

[b] *Arbucala*, or *Alricala*, an inland Citie of the *Vaccæi* in *Aragon*.

more *Roman-like* to worke, and carried it. So it was onely concluded; that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent into *Spaine*, to view the ſtate of their Confederates: which were indeede none other, than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended warre againſt *Rome*, it was likely, that he would giue them, ere it were long, a more plauſible occaſion to take armes againſt him: if he had no ſuch purpoſe, yet would it be in their power, to determine what they liſted themſelues, vpon the report of theſe Embaſſadours; and this their grauitie, in being not too raſh at firſt, would ſerue to countenance their following Decree. Of theſe Embaſſadours *Liuie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, aud therefore went to *Carthage*, where alſo they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius*, an Hiſtorian of ſinceritie leſſe queſtionable, tels, that they found him at *Carthagena*, & had conference with him, though ſuch 1 as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the reſt of *Hannibal* his whole courſe. And ſurely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* ſhould afterwards admit a more peremptorie Embaſſage (as *Liuie* confeſſeth) and fall to diſputation about the couenants of peace; if they had reiected that which was ſent vpon none other pretence, than preuention of warre.

Whileſt the Embaſſadours paſſed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not onely his forces, but ſome *Roman* pretences, againſt *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that ſhould doe as the *Mamertines* in *Sicil* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his helpe againſt the *Saguntines*. Theſe were the *Turdetani*; a Nation adioyning to *Saguntum*, and hauing many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbors,) of which, 2 *Hannibal* himſelfe had hatched ſome. Finding therefore ſuch an occaſion, whatſoeuer it was, as made him able to ſay, that the *Saguntines* had firſt prouoked him, ere he medled with them; he made no more adoe, but ſat downe with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more ſecure, than he had formerly beene, of his owne Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embaſſadors, with any trembling reuerence, as of late yeeres they had beene wont. Neuertheleſſe, he was glad of any handſome colour, to ſhadow his actions, not onely becauſe the warre, which he ſo much deſired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his courſe, as an open enemy, before he could ſet foot in *Italie*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary deſire. They 3 were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, ſhould thereby in ſhort ſpace become their owne. Yet were they not haſtie to threaten, before they were ready to ſtrike; but meant to temporize, vntill they had an Armie in readineſſe to be ſent into *Spaine*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the ſeate of the Warre.

In the meane while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King ouer a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled againſt them: either for that he found himſelfe ouer-ſtreightly tyed vp by them, with hard conditions, or rather becauſe he was of an vnthankefull diſpoſition. The commotion of the *Gaules*, and afterward, the fame of the *Carthaginian* 4 warre, emboldened him to deſpiſe his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to haue defended and aided, in all perils, euen with the hazard of his whole eſtate, which he had receiued of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his owne Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with thoſe that had rewarded him for being ſuch. Firſt, he built ſhips, and ſpoiled the Iles of *Greece*; againſt the couenants to which he was bound. Then he aduentured further and ſeiſed vpon ſome places, that the *Romans* kept in their owne hands. If he had begun ſooner, or rather if he had ſtayed ſomewhat longer, hee might haue ſpedde better. For the buſineſſe with the *Gaules*, was ended; with *Hannibal*, not throughly begun: when he declared himſelfe, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquiſhed. The *Roman* Conſull, *Æmilius*, was ſent againſt him: who in ſeuen dayes wan 5 the ſtrong Towne of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought ſuch terrour vpon the Countrie round about, that Embaſſadours were ſent from all places, to yeelde themſelues, without putting him to further paines. Onely the Citie of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to reſiſt: which hee might haue done long, if the hot-headed Rebell had not beene too fooliſh. *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Armie, in the Iſle of *Pharus*, by night; and beſtowed them in couert, preſenting himſelfe the next morning, with twenty ſhips before the Towne, & and offering to force the Hauen. *Demetrius* with all his power iſſued out againſt the Conſull, & was ſoone intercluded from the Town, by thoſe that lay in ambuſh. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a creeke, where he had ſhipping ready for him, and embarqued himſelfe: leauing all his eſtate vnto them, of whoſe liberalitie he firſt had it.

This buſineſſe, though it were ſoone diſpatched, yet preuented it not the ſiege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* ſate downe, ere *Æmilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the ſiege, the *Carthaginians* were much diſcouraged, by reaſon of the braue ſallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their Generall receiued a dangerous wound in the thigh, that cauſed him to lie many dayes vnable to moue. Neuertheleſſe he was not vnmindefull of his worke in the meane while; but gaue order to raiſe certaine moueable Towers, that might equall thoſe which were built on the wals of the Citie; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. Theſe being finiſhed and applied, had ſoone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of diuers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot aſſault was giuen: but it was ſo well ſuſtained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not onely beaten from the breach, and out of ſome ground within the Towne, which vpon the firſt furie they had won; but they were purſued euen to their owne trenches and campe. Neuertheleſſe the *Carthaginian* Armie, wherein were about an hundred and fiftie thouſand men, did ſo wearie the Towneſmen with continuall trauaile, that at length it got within the wals; and was onely hindred from taking full poſſeſſion of the Citie, by ſome counter-workes of the *Saguntines*, that were alſo ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conueyed himſelfe out of the Towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for ſome accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered, were ſo ſeuere, and without all compaſſe of honour, as *Alcon* durſt not returne to propound them to his countrimen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had; gold, ſiluer, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the Citie it ſelfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promiſing, that hee would aſſigne ſome other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to ſuſtaine themſelues, than the cloathes on their backes; or other armes to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better haue ſubmitted themſelues vnto this miſerable appointment, (ſeeing thereby they might haue enioyed their liues, and ſaued the honour of their wiues and daughters) than to haue reſted at the diſcretion of the Conquerour, as ſoone after they did: by whom their wiues and daughters were defloured before their own faces; and all put to ſword, that were aboue foureteene yeeres of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and ſell their bloud at the deareſt rate, they ſhut themſelues vp like moſt wretched creatures in their owne houſes, and therein burnt themſelues with all that they had: ſo dying vnreuenged. The treaſures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Armie: the ſlaues, and other bootie, he diuided among his Souldiers; reſeruing ſome things of choice, wherewith to preſent his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them vnto the Warre.

Theſe tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*; who had good cauſe to be angry at their owne ſloweneſſe, in forbearing to ſend helpe vnto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight moneths, looking ſtill for ſuccour, but in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking ſharpe reuenge. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours againe to *Carthage*: demanding onely, *whether it were by generall conſent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that* Hannibal *had made warre vpon Saguntum*; which if they granted (as it ſeemed they would) then to giue them defiance. Hereunto anſwere was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect. That this their ſecond Embaſſage, howſoeuer qualified with milde words, was indeede more inſolent than the former. For in that, they onely required iuſtice againſt *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Commonwealth of *Carthage*, was vrged to plead guiltie, or not guilty. But (ſaid the *Carthaginian* ſpeaker) whether the Generall of our Armie in *Spaine*, in beſieging *Saguntum*, haue onely followed his owne counſaile; or whether he did it, by direction from vs: it is not the queſtion which the *Romans* ought to aske vs. That which is indeede worthy examination or diſpute, is; *Whether it were lawfull or vnlawfull, for* Hannibal *to doe as he hath done.* For it belongs to vs, to call our owne Commanders in queſtion, and to puniſh them according to their faults and errors; to you, to challenge vs, if we haue done any thing contrary to our late League and Contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Luctatius* the Conſull, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies,and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future,or of ours, there was no diſpute. As touching the laſt agreement, betweene you and *Aſdrubal*,wherein you will ſay, that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that haue taught vs,how to anſwere that particular. For whatſoeuer you found in the Treatie betweene vs and *Luctatius*, to your owne diſaduantage,you caſt it vpon your Conſuls preſumption; as promiſing thoſe things,for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of *Rome*.If then it be lawfull for the *Romans*, to diſauow the actions of their Conſuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and preciſe warrant; the ſame liberty may we alſo aſſume, and hold our ſelues no way bound in honour,to performe thoſe bargaines, which *Aſdrubal* hath made for vs, without our commandement and conſent.

This was an impertinent anſwere, and little better than a meere cauill. For *Luctatius* the Conſull, in his Treatie of peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expreſly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had beene therefore much better, to haue dealt plainely; and to haue alleadged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Iſle of *Sardinia*,and withall of twelue hundred talents: which periurie the State of *Carthage*,being now growne able, would reuenge with open warre. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacie, and forthwith inſerted their names into the Treatie of peace with *Aſdrubal*: ſeeing that the Treatie with *Aſdrubal*, and all other buſineſſe betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away *Sardinia*,were no better than *Roman* iniuries;as implying this commination, *Doe whatſoeuer we require,elſe will we make warre,without regard of our oath,which we haue already broken.*

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alleage,forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the beſt of their Plea. Yet ſince *Liuie* himſelfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*,did inflame the ſpirit of *Amilcar* with deſire of reuenge: we may reaſonably thinke, that the mention of this iniurie was omitted,not ſo much vpon forgetfulneſſe, as for that it was not thought conuenient, by ripping vp ſuch ancient matter of quarrell,to ſhew that the warre, now towards, had long beene thought vpon,and like to be made with extraordinary force; in other manner than heretofore. In concluſion,the *Carthaginian* Senate moued the *Roman* Embaſſadors, to deliuer vnto them in plaine termes the purpoſes of thoſe that ſent them, and the worſt of that,which they had long determined againſt them: as for the *Saguntines*,and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*;thoſe were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q.Fabius* gathering vp the skirt of his Gown,as if ſomewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this ſhort reply: I haue here(quoth he)in my Gowne-skirt both Peace & War: make you (my Maſters of the Senate) election of theſe two,which of them you like beſt, and purpoſe to embrace.Hereat all cryed out at once;Euen which of them you your ſelfe haue a fancy to offer vs. Marry then(quoth *Fabius*) take the Warre, and ſhare it among you. Which all the aſſembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had reſolued to make warre, it was meerely friuolous. For all theſe diſputes of breach of peace, haue euer beene maintained by the partie vnwilling,or vnable to ſuſtaine the warre. The ruſtie ſword, and the emptie purſe,doe alwayes pleade performance of couenants. There haue beene few Kings or States in the World, that haue otherwiſe vnderſtood the obligation of a Treatie, than with the condition of their owne aduantage: and commonly (ſeeing peace betweene ambitious Princes and States,is but a kinde of breathing)the beſt aduiſed haue rather begun with the ſword,than with the trumpet.So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*;*Henrie* the ſecond of *France*,with the *Imperialls*,when he wrote to *Briſac*,to ſurpriſe as many places as he could,ere the war brake out;*Don Iohn*, with the *Netherlands*, and *Philip* the ſecond of *Spaine*,with the *Engliſh*,when in the great Imbarge he tooke all our ſhips and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, beſides the preſent ſtrength of *Carthage* , and the common feeling of iniuries receiued from theſe enemies,had another priuate and hereditarie deſire, that violently carried him againſt the *Romans*.His father *Amilcar*,at what time hee did ſacrifice, being ready to take his iourney into *Spaine*, had ſolemnely bound him by oath, to purſue them with immortall hatred, and to worke them all poſſible miſchiefe, as ſoone as he ſhould be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine yeeres old, when his father cauſed him to lay his hand vpon the Altar, and make this vow: ſo that it was no maruell, if the impreſſion were ſtrong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this ſort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denyed. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that ſome of thoſe Kings, with whom we are now in peace, haue receiued the like charge from their Predeceſſors, that as ſoone as their coffers ſhall be full, they ſhall declare themſelues enemies to the people of *England*.

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§. II.

Hannibal *takes order for the defence of* Spaine, *and* Africke. *His iourney into* Italy.

WArre being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* reſolued, not to put vp his ſword, which he had drawne againſt the *Saguntines*, vntill he had therewith opened his paſſage vnto the gates of *Rome*. So began the ſecond *Punicke warre*; ſecond to none, that euer the Senate and people of *Rome* ſuſtained. *Hannibal* wintred at *Carthagena*; where he licenſed his *Spaniſh* Souldiers to viſit their friends, and refreſh themſelues againſt the Spring. In the meane while he gaue inſtructions to his brother *Aſdrubal*, for the gouernment of *Spaine* in his abſence. Hee alſo tooke order, to ſend a great many troopes of *Spaniards* into *Africke*, to equall the numbers of *Africans* formerly drawne thence into *Spaine*; to the end, that ſo the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he tranſported into *Africk* thirteene thouſand, eight hundred and fiftie foot, and twelue hundred horſe; alſo eight hundred ſlingers of the **Baleares*. Beſides theſe, he ſelected foure thouſand foot, all yong men, and of qualitie, out of the beſt Cities of *Spaine*; which he appointed to be garriſond in *Carthage* it ſelfe, not ſo much in regard of their forces, as that they might ſerue for hoſtages: for among thoſe foure thouſand, the beſt of the *Spaniſh* Citizens, and thoſe that ſwayed moſt in their ſeuerall States, had their Sonnes or Kinſmen. Hee alſo left with his brother, to guard the coaſt and Ports, fiftie and ſeuen Gallies; whereof thirty ſeuen were preſentlie armed, and appointed for the warre. Of *Africans* and other Nations ſtrangers, he left with him aboue twelue thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, beſides one and twenty Elephants.

* *Maiorca & Minorca.*

Hauing in this ſort taken order for the defence of *Spaine* and *Africk*; he ſent Diſcouerers before him, to view the Paſſages of the *Pyrenæan* Mountaines, and of the *Alpes*. He alſo ſent Embaſſadors to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gaules*, to obtain a quiet paſſage: that he might bring his Armie entire into *Italie*, and not be compelled to diminiſh his forces, by any warre in the way, till hee came to encounter the *Romanes*. His Embaſſadors and diſcouerers being returned with good ſatisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he paſt ouer the Riuer of *Iberus*, with an Armie conſiſting of fourescore and ten thouſand foot, and twelue thouſand horſe. All thoſe parts of *Spaine*, into which he had not entred before, hee now ſubdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that olde enemie of his houſe, who ſate ſtill at *Carthage*) to gouerne *Spaine* on the Eaſt ſide of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Armie of ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe. Being arriued at the borders of *Spaine*, ſome of his *Spaniſh* Souldiers returned home, without aſking leaue: which that others might not alſo doe, or attempt, he courteouſly diſmiſſed many more, that ſeemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to paſſe, that the iournie ſeemed the leſſe tedious vnto thoſe that accompanied him; as beeing not enforced by compulſion. With the reſt of his armie, conſiſting now but of fiftie thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe, he paſt the *Pyrenees*, and entred into *Gaule*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered vpon *Spaine*, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrie: but wonne them, with gentle ſpeech, and rich preſents that he beſtowed vpon their Leaders, to fauour his Expedition. So without any moleſtation, he came to the banke of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each ſide of the Riuer, a people called *Volcæ*. Theſe were vnacquainted with the cauſe of his comming; and therefore ſought to keepe him from paſſing ouer the water. But hee was greatly aſſiſted by ſome of thoſe *Gaules*, that inhabited on the Weſt ſide of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by thoſe of *Viuaretz* and *Lionnois*. For although many of them had tranſported themſelues and their goods, into the Countrie of *Dauphine*,

phine, thinking to defend the further banke againſt him: yet ſuch as remained, being very deſirous to free their Countrie of ſo many ill gueſts, were better pleaſed to haue their Countri-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to haue their owne ſtore of corne and cattell waſted, by the long ſtay of ſo great an Armie, as lay vpon them. For which reaſon, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more eaſie paſſage, higher vp the Riuer: and lent him guides. When the Veſſels for tranſportation of his Armie were in readineſſe; hee ſent *Hanno*, the ſonne of *Bomilcar*, vp the Riuer: himſelfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Foorde below. The end of this labour was: that *Hanno* charging the *Gaules* vnawares vpon their owne ſide, and *Hannibal*, at the ſame time, paſſing the Riuer in their faces, the further banke was wonne, though with ſome difficultie; and the enemies diſperſed. Yet was hee greatly troubled in conueying ouer his Elephants; who maruellouſlie feared the water. He was therefore driuen to make raffes of trees, and couer them with earth and Turfe; whereof hee faſtened one to each banke, that might ſerue as a bridge, to and from another of the ſame ſort, but looſe, vpon which the beaſts were towed ouer.

Hauing paſt this firſt brunt, and ouer-come both the rage of the Riuer, and of thoſe that defended it, he was viſited by the Princes of the *Gaules Ciſalpines*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had reuolted from the *Romanes*. Theſe informed him of the paſſages of the *Alpes*, that they were not ſo difficult, as common report made them; and from theſe he receiued guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithſtanding; he found himſelfe extreamely incombred by the *Savoians*: and loſt, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly hee would, or had formerlie thought that he ſhould. For he was twice mainelie aſſailed by them, before he could recouer the plaine Countries on the other ſide. And whereas this iournie ouer the Mountaines coſt him fifteene dayes trauaile, hee was euery day, more or leſſe, not onely charged by thoſe Mountainers, but withall extreamely beaten with grieuous weather and ſnow: it being the beginning of Winter, when hee began, and ouer-came this paſſage. But the faire and fertile Plaines, which were now ready to receiue them; with the aſſiſtance and conduct of the *Ciſalpine Gaules*, who by their proper forces had ſo often inuaded the *Roman* Territorie; gaue them great comfort and encouragement to goe on: hauing nothing elſe of difficultie remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to ouer-come, by their proper valour and reſolution; namely the *Romane* Armies, and reſiſtance.

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§. III.

How the Romans in vaine ſollicited the Spaniards and Gaules to take their part. The rebellion of the Ciſalpine Gaules againſt the Romans.

THo Countries of *Spaine* and *Gaule*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus farre, had beene ſollicited before, by the ſame *Roman* Embaſſadors, who had denounced the warre at *Carthage* Theſe, as they were inſtructed by the Senate, tooke *Spaine* in their way homeward from *Carthage*, with a purpoſe to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at leaſt to diſſwade them from contracting any friendſhip with the *Carthaginians*. The firſt which they attempted, were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spaine*; from whom, in open aſſembly, they receiued by one that ſpake for the reſt, this vncomfortable anſwere: With what face (ſaith he) can ye *Romans* perſwade vs to value your Alliance, or to preferre it before the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*; ſeeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wiſe, than ſo? For they, relying on your faith and promiſed aſſiſtance, haue beene vtterly rooted out, and deſtroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might elſe haue held their aſſured friends, and good neighbours, as wee, and other the people of *Spaine* haue found them. Ye may therfore be gone, with this reſolution from vs, That for our parts (and ſo I thinke, I may anſwer for the reſt of our Countrimen) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindneſs at our hands; who are reſolued, neuer to make account of their protection, nor amitie. From the *Volcians*, the Embaſſadors tooke their way towards the *Gaules*; vſing their beſt arguments to perſwade them not to ſuffer the *Carthaginians* to paſſe into *Italie*, through their Territorie: and withall greatly glorifying themſelues,

ſelues, their ſtrength, and large Dominion. But the *Gaules* laught them to ſcorne, and had hardly the patience, to heare them ſpeake. For ſhall wee (ſaid one of their Princes) by reſiſting *Hannibals* paſſage into *Italie*, entertaine a war which is not meant to be made againſt vs? Shall wee hold the warre among our ſelues, and in our owne Territorie, by force, which marcheth with a ſpeedy pace from vs, towards our ancient enemies? Haue the *Romans* deſerued ſo well of vs, and the *Carthaginians* ſo ill, that wee ſhould ſet fire on our owne houſes, to ſaue theirs from burning? No, wee know it well, that the *Romanes* haue already forced ſome Nations of ours, out of their proper Territorie and inheritance; and conſtrained others, as free as themſelues, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enimies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor we them.

With this vnpleaſing anſwere the Embaſſadors returned home: carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather ſome aſſurance from the people of *Maſſilia*, which were Confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gaules* were determined to take part with their enemie. Of this inclination, the *Ciſalpine Gaules* gaue haſtie proofe. For when the newes was brought into *Italie*, that the *Carthaginians* had paſſed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone ſufficed to ſtirre vp the *Boij*, and *Inſubrians*, againſt the *Romans*. Theſe people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Romane* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore vpon the *Carthaginian* ſuccour, which they ſuppoſed to be now at hand; they laid aſide all regard of thoſe hoſtages, which they had giuen to the *Romans*, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it ſeemes that they could not winne; for *Hannibal* ſhortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commiſſioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countrie) to flie to *Modena*: where they beſieged them. The ſiege of *Modena* had continued ſome ſmall time; when the *Gaules*, hauing little skill in aſſaulting Cities, waxed wearie, & ſeemed deſirous to haue peace, and to come to ſome good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpoſe, to draw on ſome meeting; that they might therein lay hand vpon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeeme their Hoſtages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wiſh. For the *Romans* ſent out Embaſſadours to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in theſe quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage; marched in all haſte to the reliefe of the beſieged. But the *Gaules*, hauing laid a ſtrong ambuſh in a wood ioyning to the way, fell vpon the Prætor ſo opportunely, as he was vtterlie ouerthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place; a few excepted, that recouered, by faſt running, a little village, but defenſible, vpon the Riuer of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Atilius*, another of the Prætors, was haſtily ſent, to relieue the beſieged, with a Legion, and fiue thouſand of the *Romane* aſſociates: which forces were taken out of the Conſuls Armie, and ſupplied by a new leuie.

As the *Gaules* were too raſh and haſtie: ſo were the *Romanes* too ſlow, and indeede too ill-aduiſed, in the beginning of this warre. They were not perſwaded, that *Carthage*, which had almoſt ſeruilely endured ſo many indignities, in time of the late peace; would bee ſo braue and couragious on the ſudden, as to attempt the conqueſt of *Italy* it ſelfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Conſuls, to make warre in *Spaine*, the other in *Africke*: reſting ſecure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* tooke his way toward *Africk*, with an hundred an 60. *Quinqueremes*, or Gallies, of fiue to an Oare, which preparation may ſeeme to threaten euen the Citie of *Carthge*, to which it ſhall not come neere. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Conſull, made all poſſible haſte, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Prouence*; and vſed ſuch diligence, hauing the winde alſo fauourable, as in fiue dayes he recouered *Maſſilia*. There he was aduertiſed, of *Hannibal* his hauing paſſed the Riuer of *Rhodanus*, whom he thought to haue found buſie yet a while in *Spaine*. *Hannibal* had alſo newes of the Conſuls arriuall: whereof he was neither glad, nor ſorry, as not meaning to haue to doe with him. Each of them ſent forth Scouts, to diſcouer the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about fiue hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horſe. Theſe met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly bragge, hauing ſlaine onely two hundred, and loſt of their owne, one hundred and fortie. But when *Scipio* drew neere, to haue met with the *Carthaginians*; hee found, that they were gone three daies before; and that (as he then found aſſuredly true) with an intent to looke vpon the walls of *Rome*.

This interrupted his intended voyage into *Spaine*. Neuertheleſſe hee ſent away thither his brother *Cn.Cornelius Scipio*, with the greateſt part of his Fleet and Army, to trie what might be done againſt *Aſdrubal* & the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in that Countrie. He himſelfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to *Piſa*; and ſo paſſing through *Tuſcane* into *Lombardie*, drew together the broken troups of *Manlius* & *Atilius*, that lately had bin beaten by the *Gaules*: with which forces he made head againſt the enemie, thinking to finde him ouer-laboured, with trauaile of his painefull iournie.

§. IIII.

Scipio *the Romane Conſull ouer-come by* Hannibal *at Ticinum. Both of the Romane Conſuls beaten by* Hannibal, *in a great battaile at Trebia.*

FIue moneths *Hannibal* had ſpent in his tedious iournie from *Carthagena*; what great muſter he could make, when he had paſſed the *Alpes*, it is not eaſily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thouſand, & his horſe at twenty thouſand; others report them to haue beene onely twenty thouſand foot, and ſixe hundred horſe. *Hannibal* himſelfe, in his Monument which he raiſed, in the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter ſumme. Yet the *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, and others that ioyned with him, are likely to haue mightily increaſed his Armie, in ſhort ſpace. But when he marched Eaſtward from the bankes of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe; of which, all ſaue thoſe remembred by himſelfe in the Inſcription of his Altar in *Iuno's* Temple, are like to haue periſhed, by diſeaſes, enemies, Riuers, and Mountaines; which miſchiefes had deuoured, each, their ſeuerall ſhares.

Hauing newly paſſed the *Alpes*, and ſcarce refreſhed his wearied Armie in the Countrie of *Piemont*; he ſought to winne the friendſhip of the [a] *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held warre at that time with the *Inſubrians*, which were his good friends; and refuſed (perhaps for the ſame cauſe) his amitie. Wherefore hee aſſaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three daies. Their ſpoile ſerued well to hearten his Armie; and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gaules*, without more adoe, fell vnto his ſide: many for feare, many alſo for good-will, according to their former inclination. This diſpoſition ranne through the whole Countrie: which ioyned, or was all in a readineſſe to ioyne with the *Carthaginians*; when the newes of *Scipio* the Conſul his arriuall, made ſome to be more aduiſed, than the reſt. The name of the *Romanes* was terrible in thoſe quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Conſull was already gotten through the moſt defenſible paſſages, ere any ſpeech had beene heard of his approach: many ſate ſtill for very feare, who elſe would faine haue concluded a League with theſe new-come friends; and ſome, for greater feare, offered their ſeruice againſt the *Carthaginians*, whom neuertheleſſe they had wiſhed well to ſpeed.

[a] Theſe dwelt about *Turine*, a goodly City, now ſubiect vnto the Duke of *Sauoy*: which from them took the name of *Auguſta Taurinorum*.

This wauering affection of the Prouince, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haſten to the triall of a battaile. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pauia*; where each of thẽ wondred at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it ſtrange that the Conſul whom hee had left behinde him on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himſelfe in the Plaines; *Scipio* admiring the ſtrange aduenture of paſſing thoſe Mountaines, and the great ſpirit of his Enemie. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibals* ſucceſſe, and ſudden arriuall. Wherefore they diſpatched a Meſſenger in all haſte vnto *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, that was then in *Sicilia*, giuing him to vnderſtand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had bin directed to make the warre in *Africa*, it was now their pleaſure that he ſhould forbeare to proſecute any ſuch attempt, but that he ſhould returne the Armie vnder his charge, with all poſſible ſpeed, to ſaue *Italie* it ſelfe. According to this order, *Sempronius* ſent off his Fleet from *Lilybæum*; with direction to land the Armie at *Ariminum*, a Port Towne not farre from *Rauenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haſte. In the meane while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come ſo neere, that fight they muſt, ere they could part aſunder. Heereupon, both of them prepared the mindes of their Souldiers, by the beſt arguments they had: vnto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetoricke of a preſent example, that hee ſhewed vpon certaine priſoners of the *Savoyans*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpoſe, into *Italie*. For theſe, hauing beene no leſſe miſerably fettered and chained, than ſparingly fed; and withall ſo often ſcourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their deſire, than to bee deliuered from their miſeries by any kinde of preſent death, were brought into the middle of the Armie: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with ſome other of his Companions, till the one of them were ſlaine, with condition being the Victor, to receiue his libertie, and ſome ſmall reward. This was no ſooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cauſe lots to be caſt, which of them ſhould enter the Liſt, with ſuch weapons, as the Chieftaines of the *Gaules* were wont to vſe in ſingle combats. Euery one of theſe vnhappy men wiſhed, that his owne lot might ſpeed; whereby it ſhould at leaſt bee his good fortune, to end his miſeries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple, whoſe good hap it was to be choſen, fought reſoluedly: as rather deſiring, than fearing death; and hauing none other hope, than in vanquiſhing. Thus were ſome few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all theſe poore creatures were willing, vpon whatſoeuer vneuen termes, to ridde themſelues out of ſlauerie. The ſame affection that was in theſe Combatants, and in their fellowes which beheld them, wrought alſo vpon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the ſpectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victorie had gotten his liberty, together with an horſe and armour: but euen him alſo, who being ſlaine in fight, had eſcaped that miſerable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiuing what impreſſion this dumbe ſhew had wrought in them, beganne to admoniſh them of their owne condition, ſpeaking to this effect: That hee had laid before them an example of their owne eſtates: ſeeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the ſame fortune, that theſe ſlaues had done; all to liue victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which theſe priſoners eſteemed farre more grieuous) to liue in a perpetuall ſlauerie: That none of them all, in whom was common ſenſe, could promiſe to himſelfe any hope of life by flight; ſince the Mountaines, the Riuers, the great diſtance from their owne Countries, and the purſuit of mercileſſe Enemies, muſt needs retrench all ſuch impotent imaginations. Hee therefore praied them to remember, that they, who had euen now praiſed the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquiſhed, would make it their owne caſe; ſeeing that there was neuer any in the world, appointed with ſuch a reſolution, that had euer beene broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrarie, hee told them, that the *Romanes*, who were to fight vpon their owne ſoile, and in view of their owne Townes; who knew as many waies to ſaue themſelues by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine ſuch a reſolution as theirs: ſeeing the ſame neceſſitie, (to which nothing ſeemes impoſſible) did no way preſſe them, or conſtraine them. In this ſort did *Hannibal*, with one ſubſtantiall argument, *That there was no meane betweene Victorie and Death*, encourage his Companions. For (ſaith a great Captaine of *France*) *la comodite de la retracte aduance la fuite*; *The commoditie of a retrait, doth greatlie aduance a flat running away*.

Scipio on the other ſide, after that hee had giuen order for the laying of a bridge ouer the Riuer of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to vſe the beſt arguments and reaſons he could, to encourage the Armie he led: putting them in minde of the great conqueſts and victories of their Anceſtors; againſt how many Nations they had preuailed; and ouer how manie Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armie commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late warre they had ſo often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to conſider, that at this time it was not onely ſo diminiſhed in numbers, as it rather ſeemed a troupe of *Brigants* and *Theeues*, than an Armie likelie to encounter the *Romans*; but ſo weather-beaten, and ſtarued, as neither the men, nor horſes, had ſtrength or courage to ſuſtaine the firſt charge that ſhould be giuen vpon them. Nay (ſaid he) yee your ſelues may make iudgement what daring they haue now remaining, after ſo manie trauailes and miſeries; ſeeing when they were in their beſt ſtrength, after they had paſt the *Roane*, their horſe-men were not onely beaten by ours, and driuen backe to the verie Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himſelfe, fearing our approach, ranne head-long towards the *Alpes*: thinking it a leſſe diſhononour, to die there by froſt, famine, aud precipitation, than by the ſharpe ſwords of the *Romans*, which had ſo often cut downe his people, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicil*. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being farre aduanced before the groſſe of his Armie, with his Horſe; and the *Roman* hauing alſo with him ſome light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they diſcouered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* ſent before him his horſemen of the *Gaules*, to beginne the fight, and beſtowing his Darters in the void ground betweene their troopes, to aſſiſt them: himſelfe with his *Roman* men at armes, followed ſoftly in good order. The *Gaules* (whether deſirous to trie the mettall of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get fauour of the *Romanes*) behaued themſelues couragiouſly, and were as couragiouſly oppoſed. Yet their foot that ſhould haue aided them, ſhranke at the firſt brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without caſting a Dart; for feare of being troden downe by the enemies horſe. This notwithſtanding, the *Gaules* maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they receiued; as preſuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Conſull vnmindfull to relieue them: their hardineſſe deſeruing his aide; and the haſtie flight of thoſe that ſhould haue ſtood by them, admoniſhing him that it was needfull. Wherefore he aduentured himſelfe ſo farre, that he receiued a dangerous wound; and had beene left in the place, if his ſonne (afterward ſurnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others giue the honour of this reſcue to a *Ligurian* ſlaue. Whileſt the *Romanes* were buſied in helping their Conſull; an vnexpected ſtorme came driuing at their backes, and made them looke about how to helpe themſelues. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horſe, to giue vpon the *Romanes* in flanke, and to compaſſe them about, whileſt hee with his men at Armes ſuſtained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the ſcattered foot, that ranne away at the firſt encounter; and then falling on the backs of thoſe, whoſe lookes were faſtened vpon *Hannibal* and *Scipo*. By this impreſſion, the *Romanes* were ſhuffled together, and rowted: ſo that they all betooke them to their ſpeede, and left vnto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* ſaw his horſemen thus beaten, and the reſt of his Armie thereby greatly diſcouraged; he thought it a point of Wiſedome, hauing loſt ſo many of his Fleet vpon the firſt puffe of the winde, to take Port with the reſt, before the extreameſt of the tempeſt ouertooke him. For he ſaw by the lowring morning what manner of day it was like to proue. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet vnbroken, he in a manner ſtole the retrait; and recouered the bridge ouer *Ticinus*, which hee had formerly built. But notwithſtanding all the haſte that he made, he left ſixe hundred of his Reare behinde him: who were the laſt that ſhould haue paſſed, and ſtaid to breake the bridge. Herein hee followed this rule of a good man of warre, *Si certamen quandoq; dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda:* which muſt be vnderſtood in this ſort: *If a Generall of an Armie, by ſome vnproſperous beginnings doubt the ſucceſſe; or find his Army fearefull or wauering; it is more profitable to ſteale a ſafe retrait, than to abide the vncertaine euent of battaile.*

It was two daies after, ere *Hannibal* could paſſe the Riuer; *Scipio* the whileſt refreſhing his men, and eaſing himſelfe of his wound in *Placentia*. But as ſoone as *Hannibal* preſented his Armie before the Towne, offering battaile to the *Romans*, who durſt not accept it, nor iſſue forth of their Campe; the *Gaules*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for feare, gathered out of his feare, courage to forſake him. They thought that now the long-deſired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than *Aneroeſtus*, *Britomarus*, and *Geſſates*, were come to helpe them: if they had the hearts to help themſelues. Wherefore the ſame night they fell vpon the *Romane* Campe; wounded and ſlue many; eſpecially of thoſe guards that kept watch at the gate; with whoſe heads in their hands, they fled ouer to the *Carthaginians*, and preſented their ſeruice. *Hannibal* receiued them exceeding courteouſly, aud diſmiſt them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of more vſe to him, in perſwading the reſt of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other ſeruice at the preſent.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Conſull ſtole a retrait, as hee had done before; but not with the like eaſe and ſecuritie. *Hannibal* had a good eye vpon him; and ere he could get farre, ſent the *Numidians* after him: following himſelfe with all his Armie. That night the *Romans* had receiued a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of ſpoile, had not ſtaid to ranſacke their campe; and thereby giuen time to all, ſaue ſome few in Reare, that were ſlaine or taken, to paſſe the Riuer of *Trebia*, and ſaue themſelues.

being both vnable to trauaile by reaſon of his wound, and withall finding it expedient to attend the comming of his fellow-Conſull; incampes himſelfe ſtrongly vpon the bankes of *Trebia*. Neceſſitie required that he ſhould ſo doe; yet this diminiſhed his reputation. For euery day, more and more of the *Gaules* fell to the *Carthaginian* ſide; among whom came in the *Boij*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commiſſioners, which they had taken in the late Inſurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeeme their owne Hoſtages: but now they deliuer them vp to *Hannibal*, as tokens & pledges of their affections towards him; by whoſe helpe they conceiued better hope of recouering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, *Hannibal*, being in great ſcarcity of victualls, attempted the taking of *Claſtidium*, a Towne wherein the *Romanes* had laid vp all their ſtore and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brunduſian* whom the *Romanes* had truſted with keeping it, ſold it for a little monie.

The newes of theſe diſaſters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather with a deſire of haſtie reuenge, than any great ſorrow for their loſſe receiued; ſeeing that in a manner, all their foot, wherein their ſtrength and hope conſiſted, were as yet entire. They therefore haſted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arriued, towards *Ariminum*, where the Armie, by him ſent out of *Sicil*, awaited his comming. Hee therefore haſted hither; and from thence he marched ſpeedily towards his Colleague: who attended him vpon the bankes of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being ioyned in one, the Conſuls deuiſed about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiuing from *Scipio* the relation of what had paſſed ſince *Hannibals* arriuall; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or miſaduenture the *Romanes* were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the reuolt and treaſon of the *Gaules*.

Sempronius, hauing receiued from *Scipio* the ſtate of the affaires in thoſe parts; ſought by all meanes to trie his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recouered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchaſe to himſelfe the ſole glorie of the victory, which he had alreadie, in his imagination, certainely obtained. Hee alſo feared the election of the new Conſuls: his owne time beeing well-neere expired. But *Scipio* perſwaded the contrarie; obiecting the vnskilfulneſs of the new-come Souldiers: and withall gaue him good reaſon, to aſſure him that the *Gaules*, naturally vnconſtant, were vpon termes of abandoning the partie of the *Carthaginians*; thoſe of them inhabiting between the Riuers of *Trebia*, and *Po*, being alreadie reuolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haſte to finde out the diſhonor which he might otherwiſe eaſily haue auoided. This reſolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleaſing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing ſo much as delay and loſſe of time. For the ſtrength of his Armie, conſiſting in ſtrangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gaules*; he no leſſe feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatiencie of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many paſſions mouing them to turne their faces towards it. To further the deſire of *Sempronius*, it fell out ſo, that about the ſame time, the *Gaules* inhabiting neere vnto *Trebia*, complained of iniuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not ſupply *Hannibal* with neceſſaries, as he ſuppoſed that they might haue done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their ſakes, and to ſet them at libertie, he had vndertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, hee was bold to be his owne Caruer; and tooke from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Heereupon they flie to the *Romanes* for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, ſay that this wrong is done them, becauſe they refuſed to ioyne with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: hee ſuſpected their falſhood, and was aſſured of their mutabilitie. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it ſtood with the honor of *Rome*, to preſerue their Confederates from ſuffering iniurie: and that heereby might be wonne the friendſhip of all the *Gaules*. Therefore hee ſent out a thouſand horſe: which comming vnlooked for vpon *Hanibal* his forragers, and finding them heauy loaden, cut many of them in peeces, and chaſed the reſt euen into their own campe. This indignitie made the *Carthaginians* ſallie out againſt them: who cauſed them to retire faſter then they came. *Sempronius* was readie to backe his owne men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the *Roman* Armie was drawne forth; and a battaile readie to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refuſed it.

This victorie (for ſo the Conſull would haue it called) made the *Romanes* in generall deſirous to try the maine chance in open field: all the perſwaſions of *Scipio* to the contrarie notwithſtanding. Of this diſpoſition *Hannibal* was aduertiſed by the *Gaules*, his ſpies, that were in the *Romane* Campe. Therefore he bethought himſelfe how to helpe forward the victorie, by adding ſome ſtratagem to his forces: He found in the hollow of a water-courſe, ouer-growne with high reede, a fit trench to couer an ambuſh. Therein he caſt his brother *Mago* with a thouſand choyce horſe, and as many foot. The reſt of his Armie, after they had well warmed, and well fed themſelues in their campe, hee led into the field, and marched towards the Conſul. Earely in the morning, hee had ſent ouer *Trebia* ſome companies of *Numidian* light-horſe: to braue the enemie, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his faſt. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunitie to fight: and therefore not onely iſſued out of his Campe, but foorded the Riuer of *Trebia*, in a moſt cold and miſerable day; his foot being wet almoſt to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of food, did ſo enfeeble and coole their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the *Latines*: hauing of the one, ſixteene, of the other, twentie thouſand. The maſſe of theſe they ranged in a groſſe Battalion, guarded on the flankes with three thouſand horſe: thruſting their light-armed, and Darters, in looſe troups in the head of the reſt, in the nature of a Vantguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot, were in a manner equall to their enemies; in horſe, they had by farre the better, both in number and goodneſſe. When therefore the *Roman* horſe, ranged on the flankes of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and *Elephants*; when finally the whole Armie was vnawares preſt in the Reare, by *Mago* and his two thouſand, that roſe out of their place of ambuſh: then fell the *Romanes*, by heapes, vnder the enemies ſwords; and being beaten downe, as well fighting in diſorder, as flying towards the Riuer, by the horſemen that purſued them, there eſcaped no more of ſixe and thirty thouſand, than ten thouſand of all ſorts, Horſe and Foot.

Three great errours *Sempronius* committed, of which euery one deſerued to bee recompenced with the loſſe that followed. The firſt was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champaine, being by farre inferiour in horſe, and withall thereby ſubiect to the *African* Elephants, which in incloſed or vn-euen grounds and wood-lands, would haue been of no vſe. His ſecond error was, that he made no diſcouerie of the place vpon which he fought; whereby he was groſſely ouer-reacht, and inſnared, by the ambuſh which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that hee drencht his footmen with emptie ſtomackes, in the Riuer of *Trebia*, euen in a moſt cold and froſtie day, wherby in effect they loſt the vſe of their limbs. For as one ſaith well; *There is nothing more inconuenient and perillous, than to preſent an Armie tyred with trauaile, to an enemie freſh and fed; ſince where the ſtrength of bodie faileth, the generoſitie of minde is but as an vnprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Armie, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; ſtealing away the ſame night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*; who either perceiued him not, becauſe of the ſhowres; or would not perceiue him, becauſe they were ouer-wearied. *Sempronius* eſcaped with extreame danger; flying through the Countrie that was ouer-runne by the enemies horſe. He was attended by more, than were requiſite in a ſecret flight; yet by fewer, than could haue made reſiſtance, if the enemie had met with him. Neuertheleſſe hee got away, and came to *Rome*, where he did his office in chooſing new Conſuls for the yeere following: and then returned into his Prouince, with a freſh ſupply againſt *Hannibal*.

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§. V.

The departure of Hannibal *from the Ciſalpine Gaules into Hetruria.* Flaminius *the Romane Conſul ſlain; & his Army deſtroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Thraſymen.*

THe Winter growing on apace, was very ſharpe, and vnfit for ſeruice: to the great contentment of the *Romanes*, who being not able to keepe the field, lay warme in *Placentia*, and *Ceremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not ſuffer them to reſt very quiet: but vexed them with continuall Alarmes; aſſayling diuers places; and taking ſome; beating the *Gaules* their adherents; and winning the *Lygurians* to his partie, who preſented him, in token of their faithfull loue, with two *Romane* Quæſtors or

Treaſurers, two Colonels and fiue Gentlemen the Sonnes of Senatours, which they had intercepted. Theſe, and in generall all ſuch priſoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in ſtreight places, loaden with yrons, and miſerably fedde: thoſe of their followers he not onely well entreated, but ſent them to their Countries without ranſome; with this proteſtation, That hee therefore vndertooke the Warre in *Italie* to free them from the oppreſſion of the *Romans*. By theſe meanes he hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and aſſiſtance. But the *Gaules* were not capable of ſuch perſwaſions. They ſtood in feare, leſt he ſhould make their Countrie the ſeate of Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were alſo more grieued than reaſon willed them, at his feeding vpon them, and waſting their Territorie. Wherefore ſome of them conſpired againſt his life; others admoniſhed him of the danger: and theſe that gaue him the aduice, were readie ſoone after to practiſe againſt him; but were in like ſort detected. Hee was therefore glad to vſe Perwigs of haire, and falſe beards of diuers colours, to the end that hee might not bee deſcried, nor knowne, to thoſe that ſhould vndertake to make him away. Faine hee would haue paſſed the *Appenines*, vpon the firſt appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gaules*, till he had ſeene more Swallowes than one. At length, when the yeare was ſomewhat better opened, he reſolued to take his leaue of theſe giddie Companions, and bring the warre neerer to the gates of *Rome*. So away he went, hauing his Armie greatly increaſed with *Ligurians* and *Gaules*; more ſeruiceable friends, abroad, than in their owne Countrie. That the paſſage of the *Appenine* Mountaines was troubleſome, I hold it needleſſe to make any doubt. Yet ſince the *Romane* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell vpon *Hannibal*, when hee was trauailing through and ouer them, ought in reaſon to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all waies foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that iournie. Neuertheleſſe to auoid the length of way, together with the reſiſtance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to haue beene erected vpon the ordinarie paſſages towards *Rome*: he choſe at this time, though it were with much trouble, to trauaile through the Fennes and rotten grounds of *Tuſcane*. In thoſe Mariſhes and bogges, hee loſt all his Elephants, ſaue one, together with the vſe of one of his eyes; by the moyſtneſſe of the ayre, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe myre and water. In briefe, after he had with much adoe recouered the firm and fertile Plaines, he lodged about *Arretium*: where hee ſomewhat refreſhed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the *Roman* Conſuls.

C. Flaminius, & *Cn. Seruilius* had of late been choſen Conſuls for this yere: *Seruilius*, a tractable man, & wholly gouerned by aduice of the Senate; *Flaminius*, an hot-headed popular Orator; who hauing once been robbed (as hee thought) of his Conſulſhip, by a deuice of the Senators, was afraid to be ſerued ſo againe, vnleſſe hee quickly finiſhed the warre. This iealous Conſul thought it not beſt for him to be at *Rome*; when hee entred into his Office, leſt his aduerſaries, by fayning ſome religious impediment, ſhould detaine him within the Citie, or finde other buſineſſe for him at home, to diſappoint him of the honour, that he hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore hee departed ſecretly out of the Towne; and meant to take poſſeſſion of his Office, when the day came, at *Ariminum*. The *Fathers* (ſo the Senators were called) highly diſpleaſed with this, reuoked him by Embaſſadors: but he neglected their iniunction; and haſting to meet with the *Carthaginians*, tooke his way to *Arretium*, where he ſhortly found them.

The fierie diſpoſition of this Conſul, promiſed vnto *Hannibal* great aſſurance of victorie. Therefore he prouoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*: hoping thereby to draw him vnto fight, ere *Seruilius* came with the reſt of the Armie. All the Countrie betweene *Feſulæ* and *Arretium* he put to fire and ſword, euen vnder the Conſuls noſe; which was enough to make him ſtirre, that would not haue ſitten ſtill, though *Hannibal* had beene quiet. It is true, that a great Captaine of *France* hath ſaid; *Pays gaſte n'eſté pas perdu*; *A waſted Countrie is not thereby loſt*. But by this waſte of the Countrie, *Flaminius* thought his owne honour to bee much impaired; and therefore aduanced towards the Enemie. Many aduiſed him (which had indeed beene beſt) to haue patience a while, and ſtay for his Colleague. But of this hee could not abide to heare: ſaying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whileſt the *Carthaginians* went burning downe all *Italie* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore hee tooke horſe;

and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Enſignes ſtucke ſo faſt in the ground, as it could not be plucked vp by the Enſigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or falſe, *Tullie* makes a ieaſt: ſaying, that the cowardlie knaue did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) hauing hardily pitched it into the earth. Neither was the anſwere of *Flaminius* (if it were true) diſagreeable hereto: for he commanded, that it ſhould be digged vp, if feare had made the hands too weake to lift it: asking withall; whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their iealouſie both hee, and the Senate that did giue him cauſe, are likely to repent.

All the Territorie of *Cortona*, as farre as to the Lake of *Thraſymene*, was on a light fire, which whileſt the Conſull thought to quench with his enemies bloud, hee purſued *Hannibal* ſo vnaduiſedly, that hee fell with his whole Armie, into an ambuſh cunningly laid for him, betweene the Mountaines of *Cortona*, and the Lake. There was hee charged vnawares, on all ſides, (ſaue onely where that great Lake of *Peruſia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flie from them) knowing not which way to turne, or make reſiſtance. So was hee ſlaine in the place, accompanied with fifteene thouſand dead carkaſſes of his Countrimen. About ſixe thouſand of his men, that had the Vantguard, tooke courage, as for the moſt part it happens, out of deſperation; and breaking through the enemies, that ſtood in their way recouered the toppes of the Mountaines. If theſe had returned, and giuen charge vpon the *Carthaginians* backes, it was thought that they might haue greatly amended, if not whollie altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which kindled by neceſſitie, had wrought the effects of hardineſſe; was well aſſwaged, when they ceaſed to deſpaire, of ſauing their liues by flight. They ſtood ſtill, in a cold ſweate, vpon the Hill-top; hearing vnder them a terrible noiſe, but not any way diſcouering how things went, becauſe of the great fogge that held all that morning. When it grew toward noone, the aire was cleared, and they might plainely diſcerne the lamentable ſlaughter of their fellowes. But they ſtaid not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to bee gone, ere they were deſcried, and attached by the enemies horſe. This they ſhould haue thought vpon ſooner; ſince they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For deſcried they were, and *Maharbal* ſent after them; who ouer-tooke them by night in a Village, which he ſurrounded with his horſe: aud ſo they yeelded the next day, rendring vp their armes, vpon his promiſe of their liues and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refuſed to confirme; ſaying, that it was made by *Maharbal*, without ſufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Heerein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith: and fitted them with a tricke of their owne. For if it were lawfull vnto the *Romanes*, to alter couenants, or adde vnto them what they liſted; if the *Carthaginians* muſt be faine to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, beſides their firſt bargaine; as alſo to renounce their intereſt in *Sardinia*, and bee limited in their *Spaniſh* Conqueſts, according to the good pleaſure of the *Romans*, whoſe preſent aduantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* bee as a *Romane*, as themſelues; and make them know, that perfidiouſneſſe gaineth no more in proſperitie, than it loſeth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thouſand *Italian* priſoners, or thereabout, hee had in his hands: of which all that were not *Romanes*, hee ſet free without ranſome; proteſting, as hee had done before, that it was for their ſakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyrannie, that he had vndertaken this warre. But the *Romanes* he kept in ſtraight priſon, and in fetters; making them learne to eat hard meate. This was a good way, to breed in the people of *Italie*, if not a loue of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this warre had not concerned the generall ſafetie, but onely the preſeruing of her owne necke from the yoke of ſlauerie, which her ouer-ſtrong enemies would thruſt vpon her in reuenge of her oppreſſions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by ſucceſſe of many ages, is not loſt in one or two battailes. Wherefore more is to bee done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* Partiſans.

Preſently after the battaile of *Thraſymene*, *C. Centronius*, with foure thouſand *Romans* horſe, drew neere vnto the Campe of *Hannibal*. Hee was ſent from *Ariminum*, by *Seruilius* the other Conſul, to increaſe the ſtrength of *Flaminius*: but comming too late, hee increaſed only the miſaduenture. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this companie; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great ouerthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almoſt halfe of them, draue the reſt vnto an high piece of ground, whence they came downe, and ſimply yeelded to mercie, the next day. *Seruilius* himſelfe was in the meane while skirmiſhing with the *Gaules*; againſt whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him, of his Colleagues ouerthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him haſten backe to the defence of *Rome*.

In theſe paſſages, it is eaſie to diſcerne the fruits of popular iealouſie, which perſwaded the *Romans* to the yeerely change of their Commanders in the warres; which greatlie endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are farre better taught by their owne errours, than by the examples of their fore-goers. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had beene taken vp but the yeere before, by this ſubtle *Carthaginian*; yet ſuffered hee himſelfe to bee caught ſoone after in the ſame manner. Hee had alſo belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to bee preuented by a new Conſul, and ambitious of the ſole honor of beating *Hannibal* in battaile, without helpe of his companion *Scipio*, had beene rewarded with ſhame and loſſe: elſe would he not, contrary to all good aduice, haue beene ſo haſty to fight, before the arriuall of *Seruilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would haue taken his companion with him the ſecond time, and haue ſearched all ſuſpected places, proper to haue ſhadowed an ambuſh: both which this new Conſul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly auow it, that by being continued in his gouernment of *France* 10. yeres, *Cæſar* brought that mightie Nation, together with the *Heluetians* and many of the *Germans*, vnder the *Romane* yoke; into which parts had there beene euery yeere a new Lieutenant ſent, they would hardly, if euer, haue beene ſubdued. For it is more than the beſt wit in the World can doe, to informe it ſelfe, within one yeeres compaſſe, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Riuers, and of all good helpes, whereby to proſecute a warre to the beſt effect. Our Princes haue commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three yeeres; whence, by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of that their time, many of them haue returned as wiſe as they went out; others haue profited more, and yet when they began but to know the firſt rudiments of Warre, and Gouernment, fitting the Countrie, they haue beene called home, and new Apprentices ſent in their places, to the great preiudice both of this and that Eſtate. But it hath euer beene the courſe of the World, rather to follow old errours, than to examine them: and of Princes and Gouernours, to vp-hold their ſlothfull ignorance, by the olde examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither likeneſſe of time, of occaſion, or of any other circumſtance, haue perſwaded the imitation.

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§. VI.

How Q. Fabius *the Roman Dictator, ſought to conſume the force of* Hannibal, *by lingring Warre.* Minutius *the Maſter of the Horſe, honoured and aduanced by the People, for bold and ſucceſſefull attempting, aduentures raſhly vpon* Hannibal; *and is like to periſh with his Armie, but reſcued by* Fabius.

GReatly were the *Romans* amazed, at this their ill ſucceſſe, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than euer did war, ſince *Rome* it ſelfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and ſo little accuſtomed to receiue an ouerthrow; that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all *Italie* was ſtrangely affected with his ſucceſſe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrell was not grounded vpon hate: hee onely ſought honour, and fought (as it were) vpon a brauerie: demeaning himſelfe like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* deteſted the whole *Roman* name; againſt which he burned with deſire of reuenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thraſymene*, witneſſed his purpoſe, & his abilitie. Which to withſtand, they fled vnto a remedie that had long bin out of vſe, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Conſuls, and ſcarcely ſubiect vnto comptroll of the whole Citie. Wherefore this Officer was ſeldome choſen, but vpon ſome extremitie, and for no longer time than ſixe moneths. Hee was to be named by one of the Conſuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were ſo, that the Conſul (if he ſtood vpon his prerogatiue) might name whom he pleaſed. At this time, the one Conſull being dead, and the other too farre off, the People tooke vpon them, as hauing ſupreme authoritie, to giue the Dignitie by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the beſt reputed man of warre in the Citie. *Nouum factum, nouum conſilium expetit; Contrarie windes, contrarie courſes. Q. Fabius* choſe *M. Minutius Rufus* Maſter of the Horſe: which Officer was cuſtomarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more vpon him.

The firſt act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of ſomewhat amiſſe in matter of religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion beene alſo good. But if it were true (as *Liuie* reports it) that the bookes of *Sybil* were conſulted, and gaue direction in this buſineſſe of deuotion; then muſt we beleeue, that thoſe books of *Sybil*, preſerued in *Rome*; were dictated by an euill ſpirit. For it was ordained, that ſome Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to *Mars*, ſhould be made anew, & amplified; as hauing not bin rightly made before: alſo that great Plaies ſhould be vowed vnto *Iupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with ſuch other trumperie. This vehemencie of ſuperſtition, proceeds alwaies from vehemencie of feare. And ſurely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly diſtempered with paſſion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that ſuddenly died, when they ſaw their ſons returne aliue from *Thraſymene*, may ſerue to beare witneſſe; though it be more properly an example of motherly loue. The walls and towers of the City were now repaired and fortified; the bridges vpon Riuers were broken downe; and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it ſelfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*; word was brought that the *Carthaginian* fleete had intercepted all the ſupply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spaine*. Againſt theſe *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Seruilius* the Conſull to put to Sea; and taking vp all the ſhips about *Rome* and *Oſtia*, to purſue them: whileſt he, with the Legions, attended vpon *Hannibal*. Foure Legions he had leuied in haſte: and from *Ariminum* he receiued the Armie, which *Seruilius* the Conſull had conducted thither.

Liu. l. 22.

With theſe forth-with he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what aduantage the *Numidian* horſe had ouer the *Romanes*, he alwaies lodged himſelfe on high grounds, and of hard acceſſe. *Hannibal* in the meane while, purſuing his victorie, had ranged ouer all the Countrie, and vſed all manner of crueltie towards the inhabitants; eſpecially to thoſe of the *Roman* Nation, of whom hee did put to the ſword, all that were able to bear armes. Paſſing by *Spoletum* and *Ancona*, he incamped vpon the *Adriatick* ſhores; refreſhed his diſeaſed, and ouer-trauailed Companies; armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*; and made his diſpatches for *Carthage*, preſenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the ſpoils that he had gotten. Hauing refreſhed his Army; fed his horſes; cured his wounded Souldiers; and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horſe heels of the ſcratches, by waſhing their paſternes in old wine: he followed the coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a Northerne Prouince of the Kingdome of *Naples*; ſpoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he ouer-ranne, he had not taken any one Citie: only he had aſſaied *Spoletum*, a Colonie of the *Romanes*; and finding it well defended, preſently gaue it ouer. The malice of a great Armie is broken, and the force of it ſpent, in a great ſiege. This the *Proteſtant* Armie found true at *Poictiers*, a little before the battaile of *Moncounter*; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at St *Iean d' Angeley*. But *Hannibal* was more wiſe. Hee would not engage himſelfe in any ſuch enterprize, as ſhould detaine him, and giue the *Romanes* leaue to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once hee was abſolute Maſter of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end hee preſented *Fabius* with battaile, as ſoone as he ſaw him; and prouoked him with all manner of brauado's. But *Fabius* would not bite. He well knew the differences, betweene Souldiers bred vp, euer ſince they were Boyes, in warre and in bloud, trayned and hardened in *Spaine*, made proud and aduenturous by many victories there, and of late by ſome notable acts againſt the *Romans*; and ſuch, as had no oftner ſeen the enemie, than bin vanquiſhed by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* ſo neere, as hee kept him from ſtraggling too farre; and preſerued the countrie from vtter ſpoyle. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and hee brought them firſt to looke on the Lyon afarre off, that in the end they might ſit on his taile.

Now *Minutius* had a contrary diſpoſition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*; taxing *Fabius* with cowardiſe and feare. But all ſtirred not this well-aduiſed Commander. For wiſe men are no more moued with ſuch noiſe, than with winde bruiſed out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiſcretion, and danger, than to purſue misfortune: It waſteth it ſelfe ſooner by ſufferance, than by oppoſition. It is the inuading Armie that deſires battaile: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the inuading and victorious. *Fabius* therefore ſuffered *Hannibal* to croſſe the *Apennines*, and to fall vpon the moſt rich and pleaſant Territorie of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perſwaded, to aduenture the *Roman* Armie in battaile: but being farre too weake in horſe, he alwayes kept the Hills & faſt grounds. When *Hannibal* ſaw he could by no means draw this warie Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, and that the Townes ſtood firme for the *Romans*, whoſe Legions were in ſight, though a farre off; he reſolued to reſt his Armie, that was loaden with ſpoyle, in ſome plentifull and aſſured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he muſt paſſe along by the Dictators Campe, that hung ouer his head vpon the Hills of *Callicula*, and *Caſilinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might iſſue out of that goodly Garden-countrie, which he had already waſted, into places more aboundant of prouiſion for his wintering. It was by meere errour of his guide, that he firſt entred within theſe ſtreights. For he would haue bin directed vnto *Caſinum*, whence he might both aſſay the faire Citie of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promiſes vnder hand, and hinder the *Romans* from comming neere it to preuent him. But his guide miſ-vnderſtood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Caſsinum* to *Caſilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that hee ſhould not eaſily eſcape. Now began the wiſedome of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory, without blowes. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himſelfe, by a ſlight inuention, yet ſeruing the turne as well as a better. In driuing the Countrey, he had gotten about two thouſand Kine, whoſe hornes he dreſſed with dry faggots, and ſetting fire to them in the darke night, cauſed them to be driuen vp the hils. The ſpectacle was ſtrange, and therefore terrible; eſpecially to thoſe, that knew it to be a worke of a terrible enemy. What it ſhould meane, *Fabius* could not tell: but thought it a deuice to circumuent him; and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill-tops, were horribly afraid, when ſome of theſe fiery Monſters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore haſtily away, thinking that the enemies were behinde their backs, and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no leſſe afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Armie, recouered ſure ground, without moleſtation: where he ſtayed till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with ſome ſlaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmiſh: After this, *Hannibal* made ſemblance of taking his iournie towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coaſted him in the wonted manner; keeping ſtill on high grounds, betweene him and the Citie, whileſt the *Carthaginian* waſted all the Plaines. The *Carthaginian* tooke *Geryon*, an old ruinous Towne in *Apulia*, forſaken by the Inhabitants; which he turned into Barnes and Store-houſes for winter, and incamped vnder the broken wall. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time paſſed idlely, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about ſome buſineſſe of Religion, and left the Armie in charge with *Minutius*, the Maſter of the horſe.

Minutius was glad of this good occaſion to ſhew his owne ſufficiency. He was fully perſwaded, that his *Romans*, in plaine field, would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had beene foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by ſubtiltie and ambuſh, which he thought himſelfe wiſe enough to preuent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that ſo earneſtly, as he was preferred by iudgement of the Souldiers, in worthineſſe to command, before the cold and warie *Fabius*. In this iollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had hee beene peremptorily forbidden ſo to doe, by the Dictator; the breach of whoſe command was extreame perill of death. But the honour of the victory, which he held vndoubtedly his owne; and the loue of the Armie; and the friends that hee had at home bearing Office in *Rome*, were enough to ſaue him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter neuer ſo hainouſly. *Hannibal* on the other ſide was no leſſe glad, that he ſhould play with a more aduenturous gameſter. Therfore he drew neere; & to prouoke the *Romans*, ſent forth a third part of his Armie to waſte the Countrie. This was boldly done, ſeeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it ſeemes, that he now deſpiſed thoſe whom he had ſo often vanquiſhed. There was a peece of high ground betweene the two campes; which becauſe it would be commodious to him that could occupie it, the *Carthaginians* ſeized vpon by night with two thouſand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plaine force, wan it from them the next day; and entrenching himſelfe thereupon, became their neerer neighbour.

The maine buſineſſe of *Hannibal* at this time was, to prouide abundantly, not onely for his men, but for his horſes, which he knew to be the chiefe of his ſtrength; that he might keepe them in good heart againſt the next Summer: if beſides this he could giue the *Romans* another blow, it would increaſe his reputation, encourage his owne men, terrifie his enemies, and giue him leaue to forrage the Countrie at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes iſſue forth of his Campe, the *Carthaginian* ſent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harueſt. This aduantage *Minutius* wiſely eſpied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and ſetting it in order preſented battaile to *Hannibal*, that was not in caſe to accept it, euen at his owne Trenches. His horſes, and all his light Armature, diuided into many companies, hee ſent abroad againſt the forragers; who being diſperſed ouer all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no reſiſtance. This angred *Hannibal*, that was not able to helpe them; but worſe did it anger him, when the *Romans* tooke heart to aſſaile his Trenches. They perceiued that it was meere weakeneſſe, which held him within his Campe, and therefore were bold to deſpiſe his great name, that could not reſiſt their preſent ſtrength. But in the heat of the buſineſſe, *Aſdrubal* came from *Geryon* with foure thouſand men, being informed of the danger, by thoſe that had eſcaped the *Roman* horſe. This emboldened *Hannibal* to iſſue forth againſt the *Romans*; to whom neuertheleſſe he did not ſuch hurt, as hee had receiued.

For this peece of ſeruice *Minutius* was highly eſteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the People at *Rome*, to whom he ſent the newes, with ſomewhat greater boaſt than truth. It ſeemed no ſmall matter, that the *Roman* Armie had recouered ſpirit, ſo farre forth that it dared to ſet vpon *Hannibal* in his owne Campe; and that in ſo doing, it came off with the better, that the *Roman* Armie had recouered ſpirit, ſo farre forth that it dared to ſet vpon *Hannibal* in his owne Campe; and that in ſo doing, it came off with the better. Euery man therefore praiſed the Maſter of the horſe, that had wrought this great alteration; and conſequently, they grew as farre out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wiſely, in all his Dictatorſhip: ſauing that he choſe ſuch a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeede in no other thing he had ſo greatly erred. But the Dictator was not ſo ioyfull of a little good lucke, as angry with the breach of diſcipline; and fearefull of greater danger thereon likely to enſue. He ſaid that he knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that hee would teach the Maſter of the horſe to doe ſo likewiſe; and make him giue account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: ſpeaking it openly, That good ſucceſſe, iſſuing from bad counſaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a fooliſh confidence, the other taught men to be warie. Againſt theſe Sermons euery one cried out, eſpecially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to ſpeak, and doe what he liſt, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (ſaid hee) that this our onely Man, choſen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greateſt neceſſitie, hath done no manner of good, but ſuffered all *Italie* to be waſted before his eyes, to the vtter ſhame of our State; vnleſſe he alſo hinder others, from doing better than himſelfe can, or dares? It were good to conſider what he meanes by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not choſen any new Conſull all this while; *Seruilius* is ſent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and Hee, haue as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* ſparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeede forborne to ſpoyle ſome grounds of *Fabius*, that ſo he might bring him into enuie and ſuſpition) and the Dictator giuing him leaue to ſpoyle all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is euen this: He would haue the warre to laſt long, that he himſelfe might be long in Office, and haue the ſole Gouernement both of our Citie, and Armies. But this muſt not be ſo. It were better, that the Commonaltie of *Rome*, which gaue him this authoritie, ſhould againe take it from him, and conferre it vpon one more worthy. But leſt, in mouing the people hereto, I ſhould ſeeme to doe him iniurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will onely propound, That the Maſter of the Houſe may be ioyned in equall authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor leſſe neceſſary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, euen the Senators, were ill perſwaded of the courſe which *Fabius* had taken againſt *Hannibal*, as being neither plauſible, nor ſeeming beneficiall at the preſent; yet was there none ſo iniurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publike, was leſſe than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in paſſing of any Act, that ſome man of credit and authority, beſides the propounder, ſhould ſtand vp, and formally deliuer his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found ſo impudent, as to offer that open diſgrace, both vnto a worthy Perſonage, and (therewithall) vnto that Dignity, whoſe great power had freed the State at ſeuerall times, from the greateſt dangers. Onely *C. Terentius Varro*, who the yeere before had beene Prætor, was glad of ſuch an opportunitie, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow was the ſonne of a Butcher, afterwards became a ſhop-keeper; and being of a contentious ſpirit, grew, by often brabbling, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens cauſes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and roſe by degrees, being aduanced by thoſe, who in hatred of the Nobilitie fauoured his very baſeneſſe. And now he thought the time was come, for him to giue a hard puſh at the Conſulſhip; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or fauouring one another, either durſt or would. So he made an hot inuectiue, not onely againſt *Fabius*, but againſt all the Nobilitie; ſaying, That it grieued them to ſee the people doe well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them, in matter of Gouernement; That they ſought to humble the Commons by pouertie, and to impoueriſh them by warre; eſpecially by warre at their owne doores, which would ſoone conſume euery poore mans liuing, and finde him other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wiſe: and ſince they had found one, (this worthy Maſter of the Horſe) that was better affected vnto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deſerts; and giue him authority, accordingly as was propounded by the Tribune, that ſo he might be encouraged and enabled, to proceede as he had begun. So the Act paſſed.

Before this buſie day of contention, *Fabius* had diſpatched the election of a new Conſull, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the roome of *C. Flaminius*: and hauing finiſhed all requiſite buſineſſe, went out of Towne, perceiuing well, that he ſhould not be able to withſtand the Multitude, in hindering the Decree. The news of *Minutius* his aduancement, was at the campe as ſoone as *Fabius*: ſo that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the firſt, in what ſort he thought it beſt to diuide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them, ſucceſſiuely, for ſome longer time, ſhould command in chiefe. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleaſure of the Citizens, to make the Maſter of the horſe equall to the Dictator, but that he ſhould neuer be his ſuperiour: Hee would therefore diuide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the cuſtome. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleaſed; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke ſuch wonders, as otherwiſe he hoped to accompliſh. Neuertheleſſe he meant to doe his beſt, and ſo taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and a halfe from the Dictator. Needefull it was (though *Liuie* ſeemes to taxe him for it) that he ſhould ſo doe. For where two ſeuerall Commanders are not ſubordinate one vnto another, nor ioyned in Commiſſion, but haue each entire and abſolute charge of his owne followers, there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two diſtinct Armies: in which regard, one Campe ſhall not hold them both, without great inconuenience. *Polybius* neither findes fault with this diſiunction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was vnwilling to command in chiefe ſucceſſiuely (as the two Conſuls vſed) with *Minutius*, by turnes. Hee ſaith that *Minutius* was very refractary, and ſo proud of his aduancement, that continually hee oppoſed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choyce, either to diuide the forces betweene them, as is ſaid before, or elſe to haue command ouer all by courſe. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of ſubiection, when once they haue broken looſe from the rigour of authoritie, loue nothing more, than to conteſt with it: as if herein conſiſted the proofe and aſſurance of their libertie.

It behoued the Maſter of the horſe, to make good the opinion which had thus aduanced him. Therefore he was no leſſe carefull, of getting occaſion to fight, than was *Fabius* of auoiding the neceſſity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally deſired, could not long be wanting. The Countrie lying betweene them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambuſh, as could be wiſhed: for that the ſides of a naked valley adioyning, had many, and ſpacious caues; able, ſome one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In theſe lurking places, *Hannibal* beſtowed fiue hundred horſe, and fiue thouſand foot; thruſting them ſo cloſe together, that they could not be diſcouered. But leſt by any miſaduenture they ſhould be found out, and buried in their holes; hee made offer betimes in the morning, to ſeize vpon a peece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needefull care, to buſineſſe little concerning them. Like vnto this was the occaſion, which, not long before, had prouoked *Minutius*, to aduenture vpon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increaſe his honour, in like ſort as he got it; he ſent firſt his light armature, then his horſe, and at length (ſeeing that *Hannibal* ſeconded his owne troupes with freſh companies) he followed in perſon with the Legions. He was ſoone caught, and ſo hotly charged on all ſides, that he knew neither how to make reſiſtance, nor any ſafe retrait. In this dangerous caſe, whileſt the *Romans* defended themſelues, loſing many, and thoſe of their beſt men: *Fabius* drew neere, in very good order, to relieue them. For this old Captaine, perceiuing a farre off, into what extremity his new Colleague had raſhly throwne himſelfe, and his followers; did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Countrey, than the diſgrace which hee had wrongfully ſuſtained, ſought rather to approue himſelfe by haſting to doe good, than by ſuffering his enemy to feele the reward of doing ill. Vpon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retyred: fearing to be well wetted with a ſhowre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung ſo long on the Hilltops. *Minutius* forthwith ſubmitted himſelfe to *Fabius*; by whoſe benefit he confeſſed his life to haue beene ſaued. So from this time forwards, the Warre proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would haue it; both whileſt his Office laſted, which was not long, and likewiſe afterwards, when he deliuered vp his charge vnto the Conſuls, that followed his inſtructions.

Seruilius the Conſull had purſued in vaine a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came neuer within kenning. He ran along all the coaſt of *Italie*; tooke hoſtages of the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*; paſſed ouer into *Africke*; and there negligently falling to ſpoyle the Countrie, was ſhamefully beaten aboord his ſhips, with the loſſe of a thouſand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haſte, he returned home by *Sicil*; and (being ſo required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Conſull, where they tooke charge of the Armie.

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§. VII.

The Roman people, deſirous to finiſh the warre quickly, chooſe a raſh and vnworthy Conſul. Great forces leuied againſt Hannibal. Hannibal *taketh the Romans prouiſions in the Caſtle of Cannæ. The new Conſuls ſet forth againſt* Hannibal.

WIth little pleaſure did they of the poorer ſort in *Rome*, heare the great commendations, that were giuen to *Fabius* by the principall Citizens. He had indeede preſerued them from receiuing a great ouerthrow: but he had neither finiſhed the warre, nor done any thing in apparance thereto tending. Rather it might ſeeme, that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the ſlow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worſe) of thoſe that followed him, in protracting the worke to a great length. Elſe, what meant the Conſuls to ſit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former cuſtome; ſince it was neuer heard before, that any *Roman* Generall had willingly ſuffered the time of his command to run away without any performance: as if it were honorable to doe iuſt nothing? Thus they ſuſpected they knew not what; and were ready euery man, to diſcharge the griefe and anger of his owne priuate loſſe, vpon the ill adminiſtration of the publique.

This affection of the people, was very helpefull to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his ſuit for the Conſulſhip. It behoued him to ſtrike, whilſt the Iron was hot: his owne worth being little or none, and his credit ouer-weake, to make way into that high Dignity. But the

Comminaltie were then in ſuch a moode, as abundantly ſupplied all his defects. Wherein to helpe, he had a kinſman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who ſpared not to vſe the liberty of his place; in ſaying what hee liſted, without all regard of truth, or modeſtie. This bold Orator ſtucke not to affirme, that *Hannibal* was drawne into *Italie*, and ſuffered therein to range at his pleaſure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeede with his two Legions, was likely to haue beene ouerthrowne, and was reſcued by *Fabius* with the other two: but had all beene ioyned together, what they might haue done, it was apparent, by the victory of *Minutius*, when he commanded ouer all as Maſter of the horſe; That without a *Plebeian* Conſull, the warre would neuer be brought to an end; That ſuch of the *Plebeians*, as had long ſince beene aduanced to honour by the people, were growne as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contemned the meaner ſort, euer ſince themſelues were freed from contempt of the more mighty; That therefore it was needefull to chooſe a Conſull, who ſhould be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meere new man, one that could boaſt of nothing but the Peoples loue, nor could wiſh more, than to keepe it, by well deſeruing of them. By ſuch perſwaſions, the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure, to ſee a man raiſed for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honour; and therefore oppoſed him with all their might. To hinder the deſire of the People, it fell out, or at leaſt was alleadged, that neither of the two preſent Conſuls could well be ſpared, from attending vpon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpoſe: and he againe depoſed; either (as was pretended) for ſome religious impediment, or becauſe the *Fathers* deſired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to preuaile in choice of the new Conſuls. This *interregnum* tooke name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in vſe at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the *Fathers*, or *Senators*, who at the firſt were an hundred, parted themſelues into *Tens*, or *Decuries*; and gouerned ſucceſſiuely, by the ſpace of fiue dayes, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet ſo, that the *Lictors*, or *Virgers*, carrying the *Faſces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited onely vpon the chiefe of them with theſe Enſignes of power. This cuſtome was retained, in times of the Conſuls; and put in vſe, when by death, or any caſualty, there wanted ordinary Magiſtrates of the old yeare, to ſubſtitute new for the yeare following. The aduantage of the *Fathers* herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would haue it, there needed no more, than to ſlip fiue dayes, and then was all to begin a new: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well aſſwaged. Vpon ſuch change of thoſe, that were Preſidents of the Election; it was alſo lawfull vnto new Petitioners, to ſue for the Magiſtracies that lay void: which otherwiſe was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they ſhould publikely declare themſelues to ſeeke thoſe Offices. But no deuice would ſerue, againſt the generall fauour borne vnto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* paſſed ouer, and the malice of the *Fathers*, againſt the vertue (as it was beleeued) of this meane, but worthy man, ſeemed ſo manifeſt, that when the People had vrged the buſineſſe to diſpatch, onely *Terentius* was choſen Conſull: in whoſe hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gaue ouer. For whereas men of ordinary marke had ſtood for the place before; it was now thought meet, that, both to ſupply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great ſufficiency, and reputation, ſhould be ioyned with him, as both Companion and oppoſite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*, he who few yeeres ſince had ouer-come the *Illyrians*, and chaced *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was vrged by the Nobility to ſtand for the place: which he eaſily obtained, hauing no Competitor. It was not the deſire of this honourable man, to trouble himſelfe any more in ſuch great buſineſſe of the Common-wealth. For, notwithſtanding his late good ſeruice; He, and *M. Liuius* that had beene his companion in Office, were afterwards iniuriouſly vexed by the People, and called vnto iudgement: wherein *Liuius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly eſcaped. But of this iniuſtice they ſhall put the *Romans* well in minde each of them in his ſecond Conſulſhip, wherein they ſhall honorably approue their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the moſt grieuous loſſe; the other brauely winning, in the moſt happy victory that euer befell that Common-wealth.

Theſe new Conſuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the warre: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noiſe, by telling what wonders he would worke, and that he would aske no more, than once to haue a ſight of *Hannibal*, whom he promiſed to vanquiſh the very firſt day; yet the prouidence and care of *Paulus*, trauailed more earneſtly toward the accompliſhment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boaſted. He wrote vnto the two old Conſuls *Seruilius* and *Attilius*; deſiring them to abſtaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuertheleſſe, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmiſh, & weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague ſhould take the field, with the great Armie which they were now leuying, they might finde the foure old Legions well accuſtomed to the Enemy, and the Enemy well weakened to their hands. He was alſo very ſtrict in his Muſters; wherein the whole Senate aſſiſted him ſo carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the ſlanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raiſed it is vncertaine. Foureſcore thouſand foot, at the leaſt, and ſixe thouſand horſe, they were ſtrong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had ſo greatly deſired, of looking vpon *Hannibal*.

Hiero, the old King of *Syracuſe*, as he had relieued the *Carthaginians*, when they were diſtreſſed by their owne Mercenaries; ſo did he now ſend helpe to *Rome*, a thouſand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barlie, and other prouiſions: fearing nothing more, than that one of theſe two mighty Cities ſhould deſtroy the other, whereby his owne eſtate would fall to ruine; that ſtood vpright, by hauing them ſomewhat euenly ballanced. He gaue them alſo counſaile, to ſend forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that meanes they might diuert the warre from home. His gifts, and good aduice were louingly accepted; and inſtructions were giuen to *Titus Octacilius* the Prætor, which was to goe into *Sicil*, that he ſhould accordingly paſſe ouer into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

The great Leuies, which the *Romans* made at this time, doe much more ſerue to declare their puiſſance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of ſuch as were not eaſily drawne into the field, and fitted for ſeruice. For beſides theſe Armies of the Conſuls, and that which went into *Sicil*; twentie fiue thouſand, with *L. Poſthumius Albinus* another of the Prætors, went againſt the *Gaules*, to reclaime that Prouince, which the paſſage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their preſent ſtrength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They ſent Embaſſadors to *Philip* the ſonne of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliuer into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who hauing beene their ſubiect, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdome. They alſo ſent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already paſt. What anſwere they receiued, it is not knowne: onely this is knowne, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not ſent vnto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to haue an eye vpon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* monie; by the ſhifts that they were driuen ſoone after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little ſoeuer) would haue beene welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cauill about forfeiture for *non paiment* of the whole.

Whilſt the Citie was buſied in theſe cares, the old Conſuls lay as neere vnto *Hannibal*, as poſſibly as they could, without incurring the neceſſity of a battaile. Many skirmiſhes they had with him; wherein their ſucceſſe for the moſt part, was rather good than great. Yet one miſchance not onely blemiſhed the honour of their other ſeruices, but was indeede the occaſion, to draw on the miſery following. *Hannibal*, for the moſt part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*, where lay all his ſtore for the Winter. The *Romans*, to be neere him lodged about *Cannuſium*; and, that they might not be driuen to turne aſide for all neceſſaries, to the loſſe of good opportunities, they beſtowed much of their prouiſions in the Caſtle of *Cannæ*: for the towne was razed the yeere before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not onely furniſhed himſelfe, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, vnleſſe they would be troubled with farre carriage. Beſides this, and more to his aduantage, hee enabled himſelfe to abide in that open Country, fit for the ſeruice of his horſe: longer than the *Romans*, hauing ſo many mouthes to feede, could well endure to tarry, without offering battaile, which he moſt deſired. Of this miſhap when *Seruilius* had informed the Senate, letting them vnderſtand, how this Peece, taken by *Hannibal*, would ſerue him to command no ſmall part of the Countrie adiacent; it then ſeemed needefull, euen vnto the *Fathers* themſelues, to aduenture a battaile with the *Carthaginian*, rather than ſuffer him thus to take roote in the ground of *Italie*. Neuertheleſſe, anſwere was returned vnto *Seruilius*, that he ſhould haue patience yet awile: for that the Conſuls would ſhortly be there, with a power ſufficient to doe as neede required.

When all things were ready in the Citie, and the ſeaſon of the yeere commodious to take the field; the two Conſuls, with their armie, ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*. This was alwaies done with great ſolemnity: eſpecially, whenſoeuer they went forth to warre againſt any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and ſolemne Vowes, were made vnto *Iupiter*, and the reſt of their gods, for good ſucceſſe and victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, (not onely ſuch as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaries, for loue, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and diſmiſſed with friendly leaue-taking, and good wiſhes. At this time, all the *Fathers*, and the whole Nobility, waited vpon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the onely Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honor, or likely to doe his countrie remarkeable ſeruice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no leſſe in greatneſſe, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is ſaid to haue exhorted the Conſull *Paulus*, with many graue words, to ſhew his magnanimity, not onely in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which hee thought harder) in bridling the outragious follie of his fellow-Conſull. The anſwere of *Paulus* was, That hee meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation, by offending the multitude; that he would doe his beſt for his Countrey: but if he ſaw his beſt were likely to be ill taken, hee would thinke it leſſe raſhneſſe to aduenture vpon the Enemies ſword, than vpon the malice of his owne Citizens.

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§. VIII.

Diſſention betweene the two Roman Conſuls. Whether it be likely, that Hannibal *was vpon point of flying out of Italie, when the Romans preſſed him to fight. The great battaile of Cannæ.*

THeſe new Generals, arriuing at the Campe, diſmiſſed *M. Atilius* one of the laſt yeares Conſuls, requeſting it becauſe of his age and weakeneſſe: *Seruilius* they retained with them, as their Aſſiſtant. The firſt thing that *Æmilius* thought neceſſary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad ſucceſſe hitherto, had gathered more cauſe of feare, than of courage. He willed them to conſider, not onely now, their victories in times paſt againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but euen their owne great numbers: which were no leſſe than all that *Rome* at the preſent was able to ſet forth. Hee told them in what danger their Countrie ſtood; how the ſtate and ſafety thereof reſted vpon their hands; vſing ſome ſuch other common matter of perſwaſion. But the moſt effectuall part of his Oration was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plaine force and valour: but that onely by deceit and ambuſh he had ſtolne the honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thraſymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconſiderate raſhneſſe of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one ſaw not his enemies, vntill hee was ſurrounded by them; the other ſcarce ſaw them, when they ſtruck off his head, by reaſon of the thicke miſt, through the darkneſſe whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their ſnares. Finally, declaring what aduantages they had againſt the Enemy; and how deſtitute the Enemy was of thoſe helpes, by which he had hitherto preuailed againſt them; he exhorted them to play the men, and doe their beſt. They were eaſily perſwaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of armes, gaue them cauſe to thinke, that vnder a Captaine ſo well experienced, and euery way ſufficient, as *Æmilius* was knowne to be, they ſhould eaſily preuaile againſt the *Carthaginians*: that came ſhort of them in all things elſe, ſaue craft; which would not alwayes thriue. But in one thing they miſtooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his deſire that they ſhould haue heart to fight; not that they ſhould loſe the patience of awaiting a conuenient ſeaſon. But they, hauing preconceiued a victory, thought all delaies to be impediments: and thereby ſought to robbe themſelues of their beſt helpe; which was, good conduct. They remembred what talke they had heard at *Rome*: and were themſelues affected with the Vulgar deſire, of ending the warre quickely; wherein ſince *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the aduantage was theirs, why did he make them forbeare to vſe it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus alſo thought the Conſull *Terentius*; who was no leſſe popular in the Campe, than he had beene in the Citie. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and neuer more, than when the Euent is of moſt importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Armie, to be freed from the doubtfull paſſions of Hope and Feare: therefore *Terentius*, who haſtned their deſire to effect, was likely to win more thankes, than ſhould his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* thinke themſelues to haue the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconuenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Diſſenſion* of their chiefe Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would ſo too, but ſaid that it was not yet time; why? becauſe the enemy muſt ſhortly diſlodge, and remoue hence, into places leſſe fit for his horſe. But ſhall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, hauing eaten vp his laſt yeares prouiſions, returne into *Campania* to gather a ſecond Haruest? This would (ſaid *Varro*) ſauour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haſte (ſaid *Paulus*) doth ſauour no leſſe of *C. Flaminius*. Their deedes were like their words: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably euery day. *Æmilius* lodged ſixe miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was ſomewhat vneuen. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take paines to come; he doubted not to ſend them away in ſuch haſte, as they ſhould not leaue running till they were out of *Italie*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day deſcended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and beſeeching him to ſtay. Neuertheleſſe he ſate downe cloſe by *Hannibal*: who as an vnbidden gueſt gaue him but a rude wel-come and intertainement. The *Carthaginian* Horſe, and light armature, fell vpon the *Roman* Vantcourrers; and put the whole Armie in tumult, whileſt it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without loſſe, for that the *Romans* had among their *Velites*, ſome troupes weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handſomely withdraw the Armie out of that leuell ground, incamped vpon the Riuer *Aufidus*; ſending a third part of his forces ouer the water, to lye vpon the Eaſterne banke, where they entrenched themſelues. He neuer was more vnwilling to fight, than at this preſent: becauſe the ground ſerued wholly for the aduantage of his enemie; with whom he meant to deale, when occaſion ſhould draw him to more equall tearmes. Therefore he ſtirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himſelfe; expecting when *Hannibal* ſhould diſlodge, and remoue towards *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or ſome other place, where his ſtore lay, for want of neceſſaries: whereof an Armie forraging the Countrie, was not likely to carry about with it ſufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be paſſed ouer with ſilence, That *Liuie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many ſtrange tales, of the miſery into which *Hannibal* had beene driuen; and of baſe courſes that he deuiſed to take, if the *Romans* could haue retained their patience a little longer. Hee had (ſaith *Liuie*) but tenne dayes prouiſion of meat. He had not monie to pay his Souldiers. They were an vnruly Rabble, gathered out of ſeuerall Nations, ſo that he knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, firſt, about their Pay, and Prouant; and afterwards for very famine. Eſpecially the *Spaniards* were ready to forſake him, and runne ouer to the *Roman* ſide. Yea *Hannibal* himſelfe was once vpon the point, to haue ſtolne away into *Gaule* with all his horſe, and left his foot vnto their miſerable deſtinies. At length for lacke of all other counſaile, he reſolued to get him as farre as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermoſt parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his vnfaithfull Souldiers might finde the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieued with the more early harueſt. But whileſt he was about to put this deuice in execution, the *Romans* preſſed him ſo hard, that they euen forced him to that, which hee moſt deſired; euen to fight a battaile vpon open *Champaine* ground: wherein hee was victorious. It was not vncommendable in *Liuie*, to ſpeake the beſt of his owne Citizens; and, where they did ill, to ſay, That, without their owne great folly, they had done paſſing well. Further alſo hee may be excuſed; as writing onely by report. For thus hee ſaith; *Hannibal de fugâ in Galliam (dicitur) agitâſſe*; *Hannibal* (*is ſaid*) to *haue bethought himſelfe of flying into Gaule*: where he makes it no more then a matter of heare-ſay; as perhaps was all the reſt of this Relation. As for the proceſſe it ſelfe, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, comming out of *Gaule*, through the Mariſhes and Bogs of *Hetruria*, could finde victuailes enough, and all things needefull vnto his Armie, the Summer foregoing: what ſhould hinder him to doe the like this yeare; eſpecially ſeeing he had plaid the carefull husband in making a great harueſt; ſince he had long beene Maſter of the open field; and beſides, had gotten, by ſurpriſe, no ſmall part of the *Romans* prouiſions? Suteable hereunto is all the reſt. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corne and cattaile; his Souldiers might perhaps haue fallen into mutinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italie*: and had ſo well increaſed his ſtocke, ſince he came into that Countrie, that he had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman-like*; and loaden his followers with ſpoyle: hauing left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not eaſie to doe the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the generall agreement of Hiſtorians: who giue it as a principall commendation vnto *Hannibal*, That he alwayes kept his Armie free from ſedition, though it were compoſed of ſundry Nations; no leſſe different in Manners, Religion, and almoſt in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he ſo doe, hauing not onely pronounced, That which of his men ſoeuer fought brauely with an Enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but ſolemnely proteſted & ſworne, (beſides other rewards) to make as many of them, as ſhould deſerue and ſeeke it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaule*, was a ſenceleſſe deuice. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Armie, tooke ſo little pleaſure in the Countrie and People, that he made all haſte to get him out of it. And what ſhould he now doe there with his horſe? or how could he be truſted, either there or elſewhere? yea, how could he deſire to liue; hauing betrayed all his Army; and relinquiſhed his miſerable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth; who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Liuie*. But of this and the like it is enough to ſay, That all Hiſtorians loue to extoll their owne Countrimen; and where a loſſe cannot be diſſembled, nor the honor of the victory taken from the Enemy, and giuen vnto blinde Fortune, there to lay all the blame on ſome ſtrange miſgouernment of their own forces: as if they might eaſily haue won all, but loſt all through ſuch folly, as no Enemy can hope to finde in them another time.

Now let vs returne backe to the two Armies, where they lye encamped on the Riuer *Aufidus*. *Varro* was perſwaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good his word vnto the people of *Rome*: and ſince he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the conſent of *Paulus*, now at length to vſe his owne authority; and, without any more diſputing of the matter to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the firſt breake of day he began to paſſe the Riuer, without ſtaying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and ſought, as in former times, to haue diſſwaded him, from putting the eſtate of his Countrie to a needeleſſe hazard. Againſt whoſe words and ſubſtantiall arguments, *Terentius* could alleage none other, than *point of Honour*. *Hannibal* had preſented them battaile at their Trenches: ſhould they endure this Brauado? He had ſent his *Numidians* ouer the Riuer but euen the day before, who fell vpon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the leſſer Campe; and draue them ſhamefully to runne within their defences, which alſo they made offer to aſſayle: muſt this alſo be ſuffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the ſpirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was liuely, and full of ſuch courage, as promiſed aſſured victory. When *Æmilius* perceiued, that hee could not hinder the obſtinate reſolution of his Companion; he tooke all care, that what he ſaw muſt be done, might be done well. Tenne thouſand *Roman* foot he cauſed to be left behinde, in the greater campe, oppoſite vnto the *Carthaginian*; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled to leaue behind him ſome anſwerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucity hee was leſſe able to ſpare from the battaile, than were the *Romans*) or that theſe ten thouſand, falling vpon the *Carthaginian* Campe, when the fight began, & taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly doe ſuch accidents) terrifie and diſtract the Enemies in the heate of fight. This done, the two Conſuls went ouer the water with their Armie to the leſſer Campe, whence alſo they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile: the ground on the Eaſt part of the Riuer, ſeeming perhaps more fit for marſhalling of their Armie. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cauſe; and without any delay, paſſed likewiſe ouer, ſomewhat higher vp the ſtreame, which ran from the South; leauing in his owne campe ſo many, as he thought would ſerue to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He bad them looke about them, and view the ground well, vpon which they were to fight. They did ſo. And could you (ſaid hee) pray for any greater fortune, than to ioyne battaile with the *Romans* vpon ſuch a leuell ground, where the ſtronger in horſe are ſure to preuaile? They all aſſented to him; and ſhewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (ſaid hee further) ye are firſt of all to thanke the gods, that haue brought them hither; and then Vs, that haue trained them along, and drawne them into neceſſitie of playing for their liues, where they are ſure to looſe them. As for theſe *Romans*, I was faine to encourage you againſt them, when ye met them firſt: but now yee may euen encourage your ſelues, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom ye haue as often beaten as ſeene. Of one thing onely I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other reſpects, as, to driue them before you out of *Gaule*; and to win the open Countrie, and fields of *Italie*; both of which ye haue obtained: now are ye to fight for the Townes themſelues, and all the riches within them; which this victory ſhall make yours. Therefore play the ſtout Souldiers: and ere many houres paſſe, yee ſhall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had ſaid this; his brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had ſent to view the countenance of the Enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what newes; and what worke they were likely to haue with theſe *Romans*? Worke enough (anſwered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, ſearch them neuer ſo diligently, thou ſhalt not finde one man, whoſe name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and ſo did all that ſtood about him: which gladded the ſouldiers, who thought their Generall would not be ſo merry, without great aſſurance. Whether it were ſo, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* aboue many thouſand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no leſſe troubled with thinking vpon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant onely to correct the ſad moode of his brother with a ieſt, and ſhew himſelfe merry vnto the Souldiers: this his anſwere was more manly, than was the relation of his diſcouerer. But if *Hannibal* himſelfe had beene ſent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*, he could not haue returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captaine *Gam*, before the battaile of *Agincourt*, made vnto our King *Henrie* the fift: ſaying, that of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken priſoners; and enow to run away. Euen ſuch words as theſe, or ſuch pleaſant ieſts as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but ſerue many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke vpon ſuch paſſions, as muſt gouerne more of the buſineſſe: eſpecially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boaſts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himſelfe; expreſſing no leſſe perfection of his militarie skill, than was greatneſſe in his ſpirit and vndertakings. For to omit the commodiouſneſſe of the place, into which he had long before conceiued the meanes to draw his enemies to battaile; He marſhalled his Armie in ſuch conuenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where euery one might doe beſt ſeruice. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, hee ſent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. Theſe were looſe troupes, anſwerable in a manner to thoſe, which we call now by a *French* name *Enfans perdues*; but when we vſed our owne termes, *the forlorne hope*. The groſſe of his Armie following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the ſpoyles which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thraſymene*, or elſewhere; and well trained in the vſe of thoſe weapons, that were of more aduantage, than thoſe wherewith they had formerly ſerued; made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betweene theſe he ranged his *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, armed, each after their owne Countrey manner; their ſhields alike; but the *Gaules* vſing long broad ſwords, that were forcible in a downe-right ſtroake; the *Spaniards*, ſhort and well-pointed blades, either to ſtrike or thruſt; the *Gaules*, naked from their nauell vpwards, as confident in their owne fierceneſſe: the *Spaniards*, wearing white caſſocks embroidered with purple.

This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in qualitie, made a gallant ſhew; and terrible, becauſe ſtrange. The *Gaules* were ſtrong of body, and furious in giuing charge, but ſoone wearied, as accuſtomed to ſpend their violence at the firſt brunt, which diſpoſition all that come of them haue inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were leſſe eager, but more warie; neither aſhamed to giue ground, when they were ouer-preſſed; nor afraid to returne, and renew the fight, vpon any ſmall encouragement. As the roughneſſe of the one, and patience of the other, ſerued mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; ſo the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence ioyntly vnto them both. For they ſaw themſelues well and ſtrongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whoſe name was growne terrible in *Spaine*, by their Conqueſts; and in *Gaule*, by this their preſent warre. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamitie ſhould fall vpon them, whileſt the wings on either ſide ſtood faſt: theſe Barbarians had no cauſe to ſhrinke, or forbeare to imploy the vttermoſt of their hardineſſe, as knowing that the Enemy could not preſſe farre vpon them, without further engaging himſelfe than diſcretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great aduantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horſe: by which he was able, if the worſt had happened, to make a good retrait. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Deſperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor ſo liuely, as doth aſſured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore cauſed theſe *Gaules* and *Spaniards* to aduance; leauing void the place wherein they had ſtood, and into which they might fall backe, when they ſhould be ouer-hardly preſſed. So, caſting them into the forme of a Creſcent, He made them as it were his Vantguard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the empty ſpace from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thin, as ſeruing onely to guide it orderly backe, when neede ſhould require; the foremoſt part of the Ring, ſwelling out toward the enemies, being well ſtrengthned and thickned againſt all impreſſion. The circle hereof ſeemeth to haue beene ſo great, that it ſhadowed the *Africans*, who ſtood behinde it: though ſuch figures, cut in braſſe, as I haue ſeene of this Battaile, preſent it more narrow: with little reaſon, as ſhall anone appeare; as alſo in the ſame figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Reare, to ſecond the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, when they were driuen to retrait; though it be manifeſt, that *Hannibal* in perſon ſtood betweene the laſt rancks of his long battalions, and in the head of his Reare, doubtleſſe well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betweene the left battalion and the Riuer *Aufidus*, were the *Gaules* and *Spaniſh* horſe, vnder the command of *Aſdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plaines, was *Hanno* (*Liuie* ſaith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light-horſe. *Hannibal* himſelfe, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Reare. The whole ſum of *Hannibals* Armie in the field this day, was ten thouſand horſe, and fourtie thouſand foot; his enemies hauing two to one againſt him in foot; and Hee, fiue to three againſt them in horſe.

The *Roman* Army was marſhalled in the vſuall forme: but ſomewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accuſtomed; perhaps, becauſe this had beene found conuenient againſt the *Carthaginians*, in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of reſiſtance againſt Elephants, to make the Ranks *thick and ſhort*, but the Files long; as alſo to ſtrengthen well the Reare, that it might ſtand faſt compacted as a wall, vnder ſhelter whereof the diſordered troupes might re-ally themſelues. Thus much it ſeemes, that *Terentius* had learned of ſome old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailes accordingly, as meaning to ſhew more skill, than was in his vnderſtanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their aduantage was in Horſe; againſt which, this manner of embattailing was very vnprofitable, foraſmuch as their charge is better ſuſtained in front, than vpon a long flanke. As for *Æmilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Aſſiſtant; and in ſuch caſes it happens often, that wiſe men yeeld for very wearineſſe vnto the more contentious. Vpon the right hand, and toward the Riuer, were the *Roman* horſe-men, vnder the Conſul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Conſul, with the reſt of the horſe, which were of the *Latines*, and other Aſſociates: *Cn. Seruilius* the former yeeres Conſul, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly riſen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* hauing their faces Northward, the *Romans* toward the South.

After ſome light skirmiſh, betweene the *Roman Velites* and *Hannibal* his Darters and ſlingers of the *Baleares*: *Aſdrubal* brake vpon the Conſull *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred; not after the manner of ſeruice on horſe-backe, vſed in thoſe times, wheeling about *Alman-like*; but each giuing on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as hauing the Riuer on the one hand, and the ſhoulder of the foot on the other hand; ſo that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake thorow. Wherefore they not onely vſed their Lances and Swordes; but ruſhing violently amongſt the Enemies, graſped one another: and ſo, their horſes running from vnder them, fell many to the ground; where ſtarting vp againe, they began to deale blowes like foot-men. In concluſion, the *Roman* horſe were ouer-borne, and driuen by plaine force to a ſtaggering recoile. This the Conſul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Aſdrubal*, with his boiſterous *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, was not to be reſiſted by theſe *Roman* Gentlemen, vnequall both in number, and in horſemanſhip. When the battailes came to ioyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found worke enough, and ſomewhat more then enough, to breake that great Creſcent, vpon which they firſt fell: ſo ſtrongly for the while, did the *Gaules* and *Spaniſh* foote make reſiſtance. Wherefore the two points of their battaile drew towards the midſt; by whoſe aide, theſe Oppoſites were forced to disband, and flye backe to their firſt place. This they did in great haſte and feare: and were with no leſſe haſte, and folly purſued. Vpon the *Africans* that ſtoode behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was voide roome enough; and foraſmuch as the Reare, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the ſafe retrait, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time ſhould require. In this haſty retrait, or flight, of the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*; it hapned, as was neceſſary, that they who had ſtood in the limbe or vtter compaſſe of the halfe Moone, made the innermoſt or concaue ſurface thereof (diſordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inſide outward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, vntouched, onely turning round, and recoyling very little. So the *Romans*, in purſuing them, were incloſed in an halfe circle; which they ſhould not haue needed greatly to regard, (for that the ſides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottome of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and ſeeming vnable to make reſiſtance) had all the enemies foot bin caſt into this one great body, that was in a manner diſſolued. But whileſt the Legions, following their ſuppoſed victory, ruſhed on vpon thoſe that ſtood before them, and thereby vnwittingly engaged themſelues deeply within the principall ſtrength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either ſide aduanced ſo farre, that getting beyond the Reare of them, they incloſed them, in a manner, behinde: and forward they could not paſſe farre, without remouing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the leaſt eaſie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great Creſcent, before ſpoken of, was of ſuch extent, as couered the *Africans*; who lay behinde it vndiſcerned, vntill now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *vnawares*; and that they behaued themſelues, as men that thought vpon no other worke, than what was found them by the *Gaules*. Neither is it credible, that they would haue beene ſo mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulke of their Armie, into the throat of ſlaughter; had they ſeene thoſe weapons bent againſt them at the firſt, which when they did ſee, they had little hope to eſcape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and raſhneſſe of inferiour Captaines: but ſince the Conſull *Paulus*, a man ſo expert in warre, being vanquiſhed in horſe, had put himſelfe among the Legions; it cannot be ſuppoſed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themſelues. *Aſdrubal*, hauing broken the troupes of *Roman* horſe, that were led by the Conſull *Paulus*, followed vpon them, along the Riuer ſide, beating downe and killing, as many as he could, (which were almoſt all of them) without regard of taking priſoners. The Conſull himſelfe was either driuen vpon his owne Legions, or willingly did caſt himſelfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithſtanding the defeat of his horſe. But he failed of this his expectation. Neuertheleſſe he cheared vp his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his owne ſtout behauiour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the ſame part of the battaile; and with better ſucceſſe. For the Conſul receiued a blow from a ſling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their beſt to ſaue him from further harme; yet was he ſo hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakeneſſe, to forſake his horſe. Hereupon all his

company

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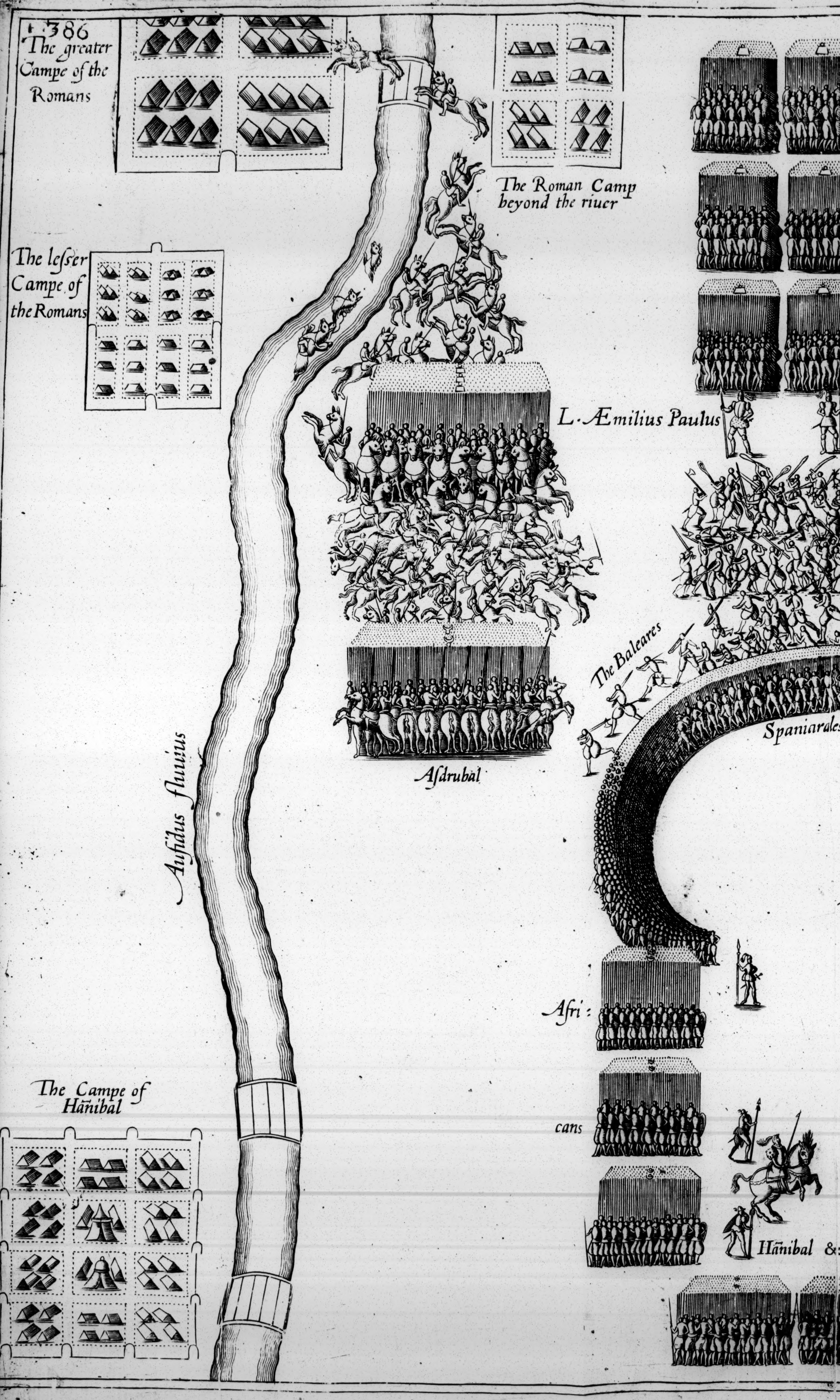
The greater Campe of the Romans
The Roman Camp beyond the riuer
The leſser Campe of the Romans
L·Æmilius Paulus
Aſdrubal
The Baleares
Spaniardes
Aufidus fluuius
Afri:
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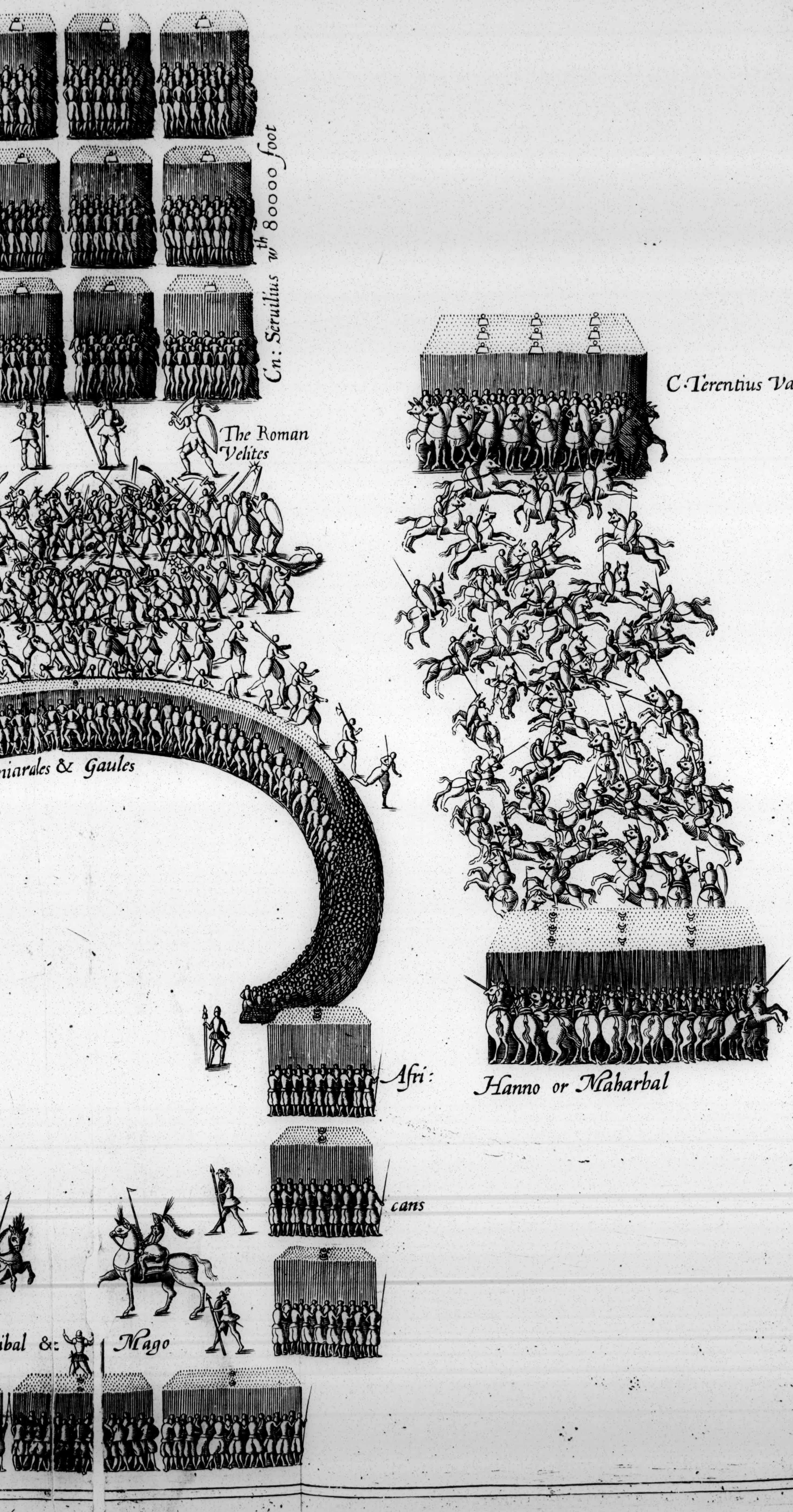
The Campe of Hãnibal
Hãnibal &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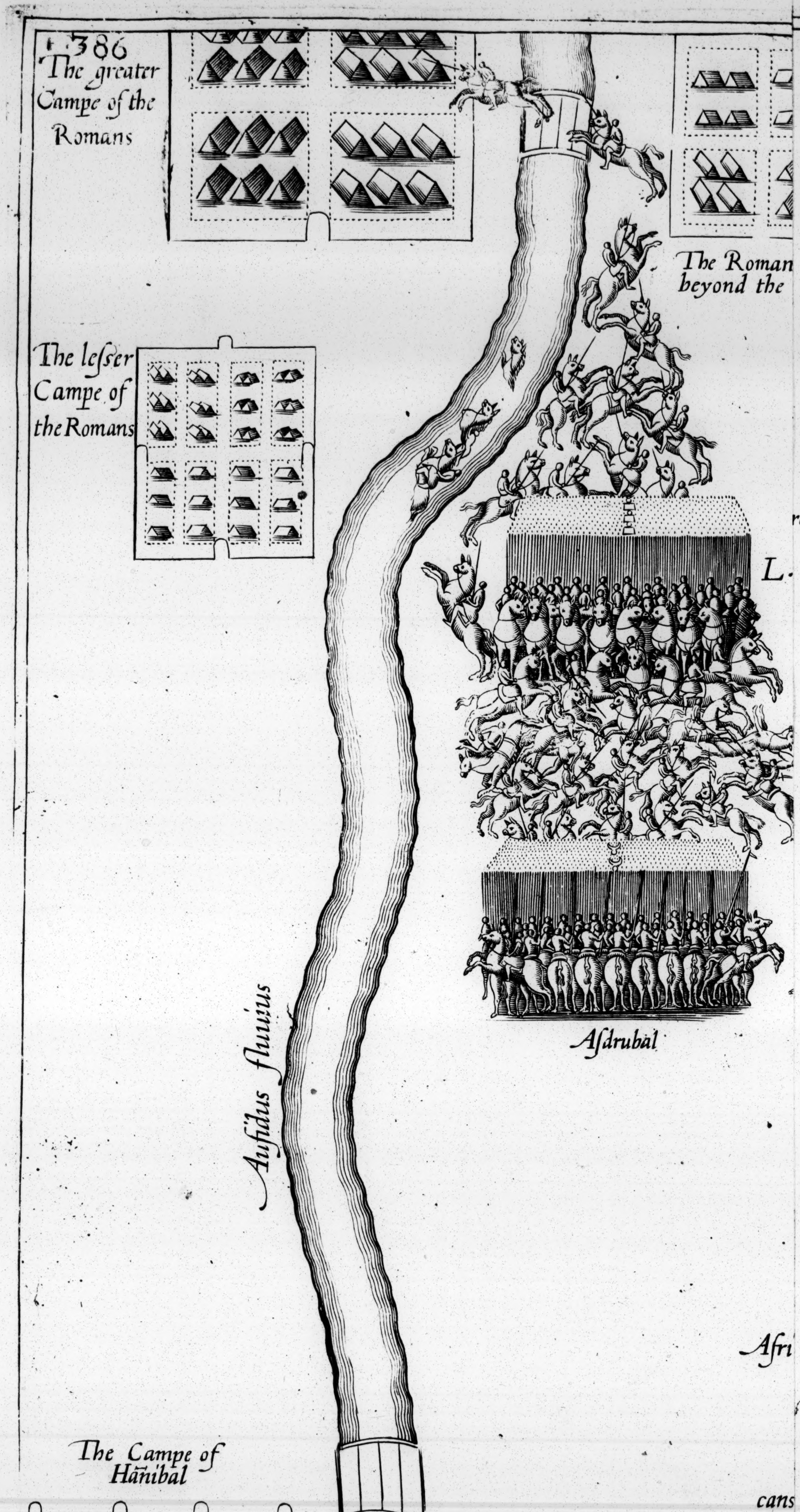
The greater Campe of the Romans
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Aſdrubal
Aufidus fluuius
Afri
cans
The Campe of Hanibal

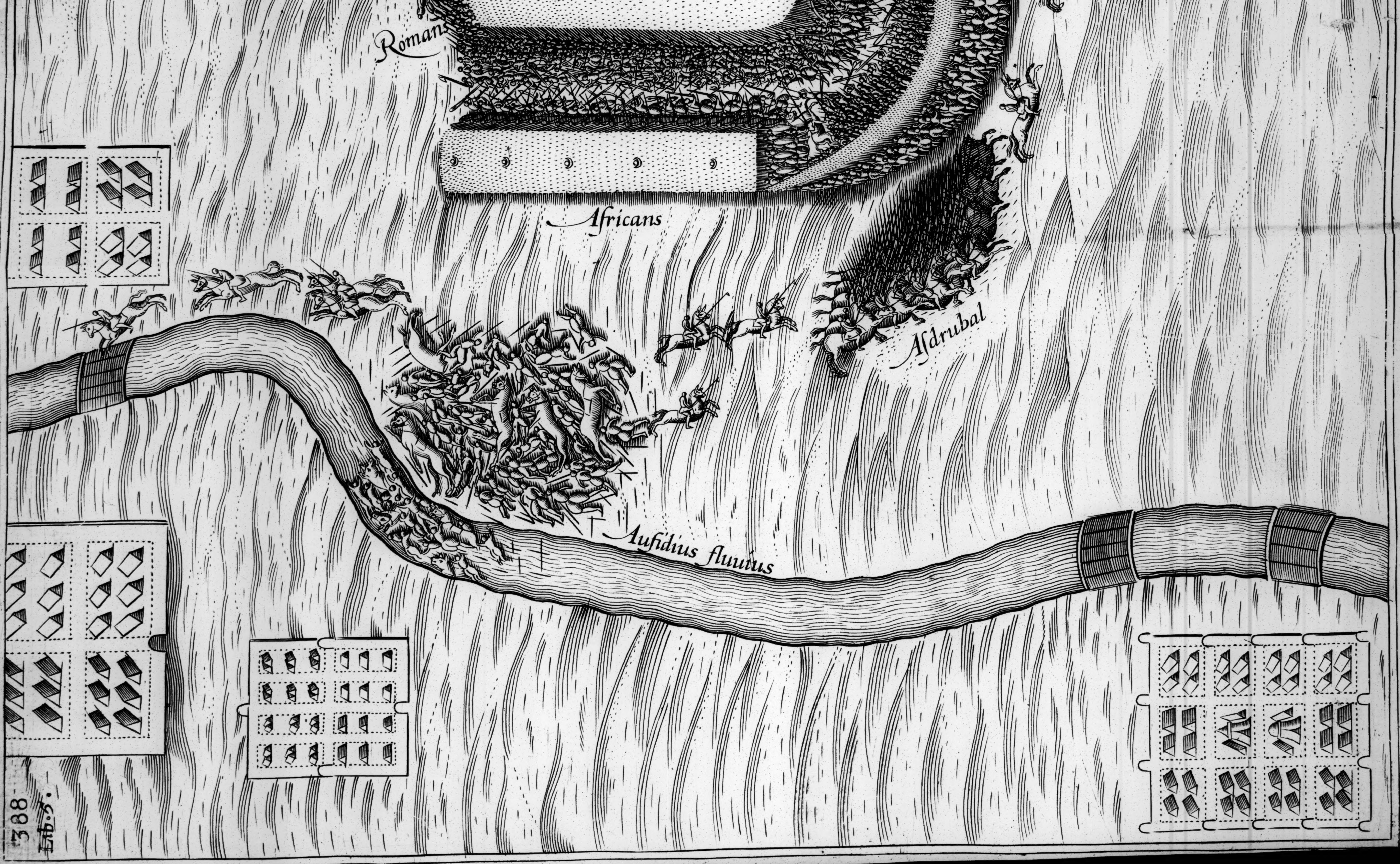
company alighted, thinking that the Conſul had giuen order ſo to doe: as in many battailes, the *Roman* men at armes had left their horſes, to helpe their foot in diſtreſs. When *Hannibal* (for he was neere at hand) perceiued this, and vnderſtood that the Conſul had willed his horſe-men to diſmount; He was very glad of it, and pleaſantly ſaid, *I had rather he would haue deliuered them vnto me, bound hand and foot:* meaning, that he had them now almoſt as ſafe, as if they were ſo bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horſe of his aſſociates, in the left wing, was maruellouſly troubled by *Hanno* (or *Mabarbal*) and the *Numidians*: who beating vp and downe about that great ſandy Plaine, raiſed a foule duſt; which a ſtrong Southwinde, blowing there accuſtomarily, draue into the eyes and mouthes of the *Romanes*. Theſe, vſing their aduantage both of number and of lightneſſe, wearied the Conſul and his followers exceedingly: neither giuing, nor ſuſtaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the firſt they ſeemed to promiſe him an happy day of it. For when the battailes were euen ready to ioyne; fiue hundred of theſe *Numidians* came pricking away from ther fellowes, with their ſhields caſt behinde their backes, (as was the manner of thoſe which yeelded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendred themſelues. This was good lucke to beginne withall, if there had beene good meaning *Varro* had not leiſure to examine them; but cauſed them, vnweaponed as they were, to get them behinde the Armie, where hee bade them reſt quietly till all was done. Theſe crafty aduenturers did as hee bade them, for a while; till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpoſe, for which they had thus yeelded. Vnder their Iackets they had ſhort ſwords and ponyards; beſides which, they found other ſcattered weapons about the field, of ſuch as were ſlaine, and therewithall flew vpon the hindmoſt of the *Romanes*, whileſt all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: ſo that they did great miſchiefe, and raiſed yet a greater terrour. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plaine leuell ground, found meanes to lay an ambuſh at the backe of his enemies. The laſt blow, that ended all fight and reſiſtance, was giuen by the ſame hand which gaue the firſt. *Aſdrubal*, hauing in ſhort ſpace broken the *Romane* troups of horſe, and cut in pieces all, ſaue the Companie of *Æmilius* that ruſhed into the groſſe of his foot, and a very few beſides, that recouered ſome narrow paſſage, between the Riuer and their owne Battalions; did not ſtay to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but fell backe behinde the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came vp to the *Numidians*: with whom he ioyned, and gaue vpon *Terentius*.

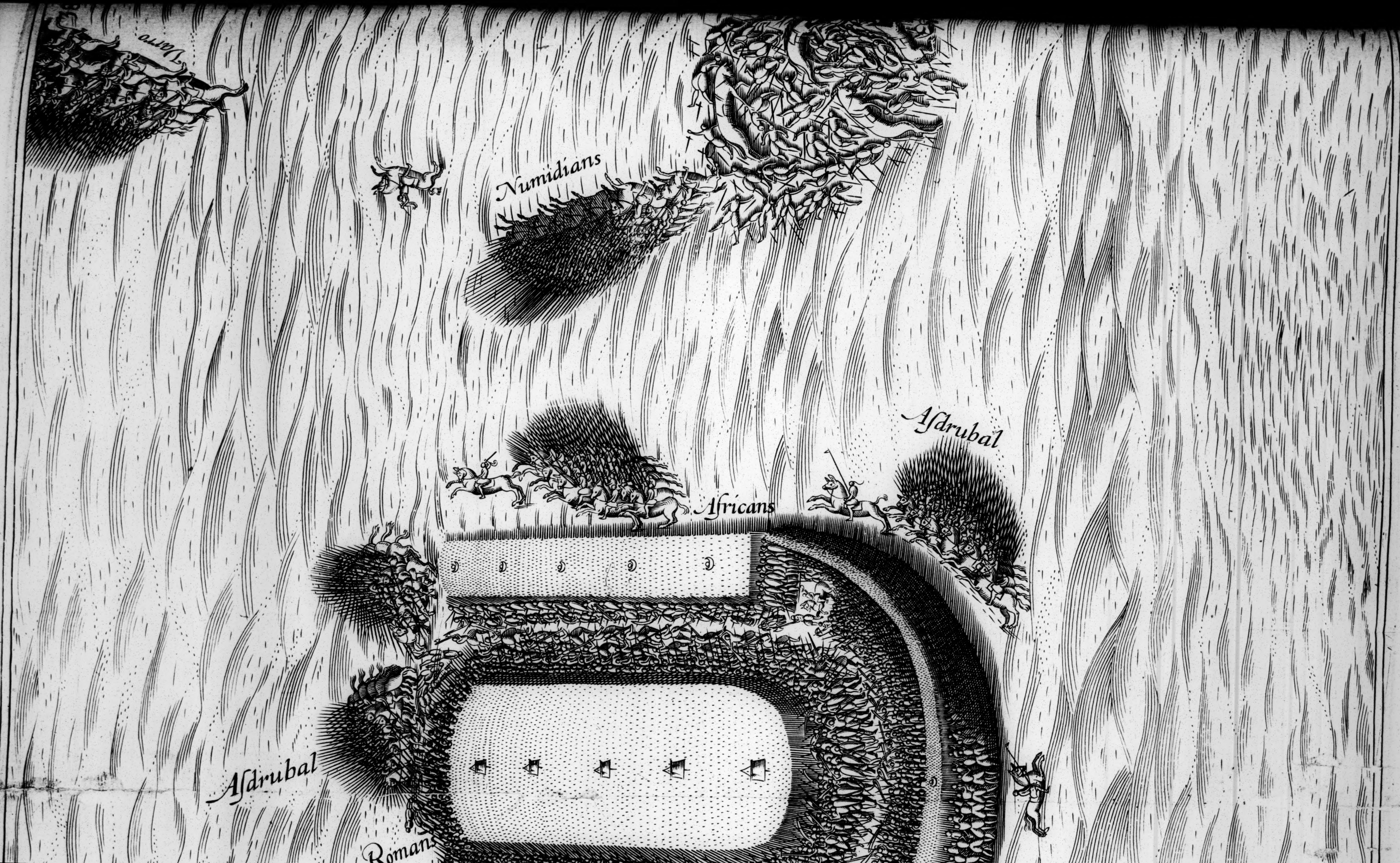
This fearefull cloud, as it ſhewed at the firſt appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other ſide: ſo did it prognoſticate a diſmall ſtorme vnto thoſe, vpon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, hauing wearied themſelues much in doing little, and ſeeing more worke toward, than they could hope to ſuſtaine; thought it the beſt way, to auoid the danger by preſent flight. The Conſull was no leſſe wiſe than they, in apprehending the greatneſſe of his owne perill; nor more deſperate, in ſtriuing to worke impoſſibilities: it being impoſſible, when ſo many ſhranke from him, to ſuſtaine the impreſſion alone, which he could not haue endured with their aſſiſtance. Now hee found, that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to incounter him. But of this; or of ought elſe, excepting haſtie flight, his preſent leiſure would not ſerue him to conſider. Cloſe at the heeles of him and his flying troupes, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Aſdrubal* vnto the purſuit, as fitteſt for that ſeruice. *Aſdrubal* himſelfe, with the *Gaules* and *Spaniſh* horſe, compaſſing about, fell vpon the backes of the *Romanes*; that were ere this hardly diſtreſſed, and in a manner ſurrounded on all parts elſe. Hee brake them eaſily; who before made ill reſiſtance, being incloſed, and laid at on euery ſide, not knowing which way to turne. Heere began a pittifull ſlaughter: the vanquiſhed multitude thronging vp and downe, they knew not whither or which way, whileſt euery one ſought to auoid thoſe enemies, whom he ſay neereſt. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Æmilius*, got vp to horſe, and ſaued themſelues: which though it is hardly vnderſtood how they could doe; yet I will rather beleeue it, than ſuppoſe that *Liuie* ſo reporteth, to grace thereby his Hiſtorie with this following tale. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, galloping along by a place, where hee ſaw the Conſull ſitting all bloudied vpon a ſtone, entreated him to riſe and ſaue himſelfe; offering him his aſſiſtance and horſe. But* Paulus *refuſed it; willing* Lentulus *to ſhift for himſelfe, and not to loſe time: ſaying, That it was not his purpoſe to bee brought againe into iudgement by the People, either as an accuſer of his Colleague, or as guiltie him-*

ſelfe of that dayes loſſe. Further, he willed Lentulus *to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to* Fabius: *willing them to fortifie Rome, as faſt and well as they could; and telling* Fabius, *that hee liued and died mindefull of his wholeſome counſaile.* Theſe words (peraduenture) or ſome to like purpoſe, the Conſul vttered to *Lentulus*, either when againſt his will he was drawne to that Battaile, or when he beheld the firſt defeat of his Horſe; at what time he put himſelfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he ſaid a good while before this; when he thought the Conſull & his troupe, in little better caſe than if they had beene bound. The whole Groſſe of the *Romans*, was incloſed indeede as within a ſacke; whereof the *African* Battalions made the ſides; the *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottome; and *Aſdrubal* with his horſe, cloſed vp the mouth: in which part, they firſt of all were ſhuffled together, and beganne the Rout, wherein all the reſt followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not ſit his horſe, whileſt the battaile yet laſted, and whileſt the ſpaces were ſomewhat open, by which he might haue withdrawne himſelfe; was now (had he neuer ſo well bin mounted) vnable to flie, hauing in his way ſo cloſe a throng of his owne miſerable followers, and ſo many heapes of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It ſufficeth vnto his honour, That in the Battaile he fought no leſſe valiantly, than he had warily before, both abſtained himſelfe, and diſſwaded his fellow-Conſull, from fighting at all. If, when the day was vtterly loſt, it had laine in his power to ſaue his own life, vnto the good of his Countrie, neuer more needing it; I ſhould thinke, that hee either too much diſeſteemed himſelfe; or being too faintly minded, was wearie of the World, and his vnthankefull Citizens. But if ſuch a reſolution were praiſe-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *Engliſh* vertue of the Lord *Iohn Talbot*, *Viſcount Liſle*, ſonne to that famous Earle of *Shrewsburie*, who died in the Battaile of *Chaſtillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grieuouſly, if not mortally, wounded, and accomptable for the ouerthrow receiued: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, vnhurt, eaſily able to haue eſcaped, and not anſwerable for that dayes misfortune, when hee refuſed to forſake his Father; who foreſeeing the loſſe of the battaile, and not meaning to ſtaine his actions paſt by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble ſonne to be gone and leaue him.

In this terrible ouerthrow died all the *Roman* foot, ſaue two or three thouſand, who (as *Liuie* ſaith) eſcaped into the leſſer campe; whence, the ſame night, about ſixe hundred of them brake forth, and ioyning with ſuch of thoſe in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conueyed themſelues away ere morning, about foure thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, partly in whole troups, partly diſperſed, into *Cannuſium*: the next day, the *Roman* Camps, both leſſe and greater, were yeelded vnto *Hannibal* by thoſe that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this eſcape: onely he reports, that the ten thouſand, whom *Æmilius* had left on the Weſt ſide of *Aufidus* (as was ſhewed before) to ſet vpon the campe of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their deſire, which they had well-neere done, the battaile was loſt: and *Hannibal*, comming ouer the water to them, draue them into their owne campe; which they quickly yeelded, hauing loſt two thouſand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the firſt ſight of *Hannibal*, comming vpon them with his victorious Armie, a greater number of theſe did flie; and thereby eſcaped, whileſt their fellowes, making defence in vaine, retired into their campe, and held the enemie buſied. For about *two Legions* they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made vp by addition of others, whoſe fault or fortune was like) that hauing ſerued at *Cannæ*, were afterwards extreamely diſgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their Companions fighting. Of the *Romane* horſe what numbers eſcaped, it is vncertaine: but very few they were that ſaued themſelues in the firſt charge, by getting behinde the Riuer; and *Terentius* the Conſul recouered *Venuſia*, with threeſcore and ten at the moſt in his companie. That hee was ſo ill attended, it is no maruell: for *Venuſia* lay many miles off to the Southward; ſo that his neereſt way thither, had beene through the midſt of *Hannibals* Armie, if the paſſage had beene open. Therefore it muſt needs be, that when once he got out of ſight, he turned vp ſome by-way; ſo diſappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contre*. Of ſuch as could not hold pace with the Conſul, but tooke other waies, and were ſcattered ouer the fields; two thouſand, or thereabouts, were gathered vp by the *Numidians*, and made priſoners: the reſt were ſlaine, all ſaue three hundred; who diſperſed themſelues in flight, as chance led

Liu. l. 19.


Romans
Africans
Asdrubal
Aufidius fluuius


Varro
Numidians
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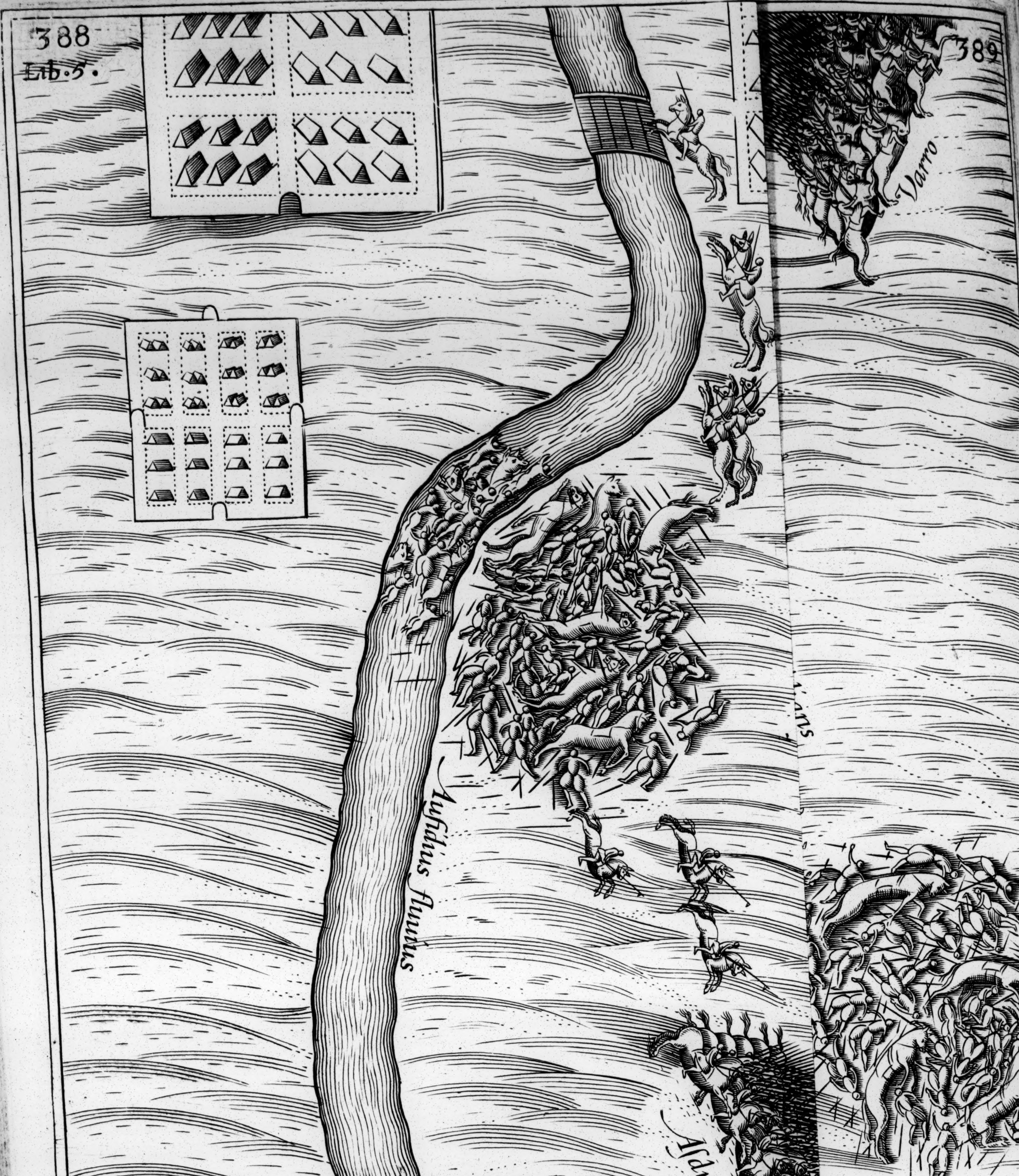
Africans
Asdrubal
Romans


Varro
Aufidus fluvius
ians
Asdrubal

led them, and got into ſundry Townes. There died in this great Battaile of *Cannæ*, beſides *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Conſul, two of the *Romane* Quæſtors or Treaſurers, and one and twentie Colonells or Tribunes of the Souldiers, foureſcore Senators, or ſuch as had borne Office, out of which they were to be choſen into the Senate. Many of theſe were of eſpeciall marke, as hauing beene *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, or *Conſuls*: among whom was *Cn. Seruilius* the laſt yeeres Conſul, and *Minutius*, late maſter of the horſe. The number of priſoners, taken in this battaile, *Liuie* makes no greater than three thouſand foote, and three hundred horſe: too few to haue defended for the ſpace of one halfe houre, both the *Roman* Camps; which yet the ſame *Liuie* ſaith, to haue been ouer-cowardly yeelded vp. We may therefore doe better, to giue credit vnto one of the priſoners, whom the ſame Hiſtorian ſhortly after introduceth, ſpeaking in the Senate, and ſaying, That they were no leſſe then eight thouſand. It may therefore be, that theſe three thouſand were only ſuch as the Enemie ſpared, when the furie of Execution was paſt: but to theſe muſt be added about fiue thouſand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their companie were either ſlaine or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romanes*, eſpecially the conſull *Varro*, had before caſt vp (as we ſay) without their Hoſt; nothing ſo chargeable, as now they finde it. On the ſide of *Hannibal* there died ſome foure thouſand *Gaules*, fifteene hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horſe, or thereabouts: a loſſe not ſenſible, in the ioy of ſo great a victorie; which if he had purſued, as *Maharbal* aduiſed him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the Warre had preſently beene at an end. But hee beleeued not ſo farre in his owne proſperitie; and was therefold told, That *hee knew how to get, not how to vſe, a victorie.*

§. IX.

Of things following the battaile at Cannæ.

NOt without good cauſe doth *Polybius* reprehend thoſe two Hiſtorians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*: who regarding more the pleaſure of them, vnto whoſe honour they conſecrated their trauailes, than the truth of things, and information of poſteritie, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman Quirites*, and *Fathers conſcript*. No man of ſound iudgement will condemne this libertie of cenſure, which *Polybius* hath vſed. For, to recompence his iunioritie, (ſuch as it was) he produceth ſubſtantiall arguments, to iuſtifie his owne Relation; and confuteth the vanitie of thoſe former Authors, out of their owne writings, by conference of places ill co-hering: which paines it is to be ſuſpected, that he would not haue taken, had hee beene borne in either of theſe two Cities, but haue ſpared ſome part of his diligence, and beene contented, to haue all men thinke better and more honourably than it deſerued, of his owne Countrie. The like diſeaſe it is to be feared, that we ſhall hereafter finde in others; and ſhall haue ſome cauſe to wiſh, that either they were ſomewhat leſſe *Roman*, or elſe, that ſome Workes of their oppoſite Writers were extant, that ſo we might at leaſt heare both ſides ſpeake: being henceforth deſtitute of *Polybius* his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But ſince this cannot bee, wee muſt bee ſometimes bold, to obſerue the coherence of things; and beleeue ſo much only to be true, as dependeth vpon good reaſon, or (at leaſt) faire probabilitie. This attentiue circumſpection is needfull at the preſent: ſuch is the repugnancie, or forgetfulneſſe, which we finde in the beſt Narration, of things following the Battaile of *Cannæ*. For it is ſaid, that foure thouſand foot and horſe gathered together about the Conſul *Terentius* at *Venuſia*; that others to the number of ten thouſand got into *Cannuſium*, choſing for their Captaines, yong *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Conſull *Terentius Varro*, ioyning his company vnto thoſe of *Scipio* at *Cannuſium*, wrote vnto the Senate, that he had now well-neere tenne thouſand men about him; that theſe letters of the Conſull were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly riſen, that had beene taking order for pacifying thoſe tumults in the Citie, which grew vpon the firſt bruit of the ouerthrow; and yet, that Embaſſadours from *Capua* (after ſome conſultation, whether it were meet to ſend any, or, without further circumſtance, to ſide with *Hannibal*) were ſent vnto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venuſia*, a prettie while before he wrote thoſe letters, which ouer-tooke (in a maner) at *Rome* the firſt newes of the ouerthrow. Among ſuch incoherences, I hold it the beſt way, to omit ſo much as hath not ſome particular connexion with matter enſuing: mutuall dependencie in things of this nature, being no ſmall argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had ſacked the *Roman* campe, and truſſed vp the ſpoiles, forthwith he diſlodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a diſpoſition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forſake the *Roman partie*, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The firſt Towne that opened the gates vnto him, was *Coſſa*, where hee laid vp his baggage: and leauing his brother *Mago* to take in other places, He haſted into *Campania*. The generall affection of the Multitude, in all the Cities of *Italie*, was inclinable vnto him; not onely in regard of their grieuous loſſes, ſuſtained abroad in the fields, which the *Romanes* themſelues, who could not hinder him from ſpoyling the Countrie, eſpecially the poorer ſort of them, did hardly endure; but in a louing reſpect vnto that great courteſie (as it ſeemed) which he vſed, vnto ſuch of them as became his priſoners. For as at other times, ſo now alſo after his great victorie at *Cannæ*, He had louingly diſmiſſed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being ſo obſtinate, againſt him that had ſought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither ſpared he to win their loue by gifts; pretending to admire their valour; but ſeeking indeed, by all waies and meanes, to make them his, whileſt all other motiues were concurrent. At this time alſo hee began to deale kindely (though againſt his nature) with the *Roman* priſoners; telling them, that hee bore no mortall hatred vnto their Eſtate; but being prouoked by iniuries, ſought to right himſelfe and his Countrie; and fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, ſhould beare ſoueraigne Rule, not, which of them ſhould be deſtroyed. So he gaue them leaue to chooſe ten of their number, that ſhould bee ſent home to treat with the *Fathers* about their ranſome: and together with theſe, hee ſent *Carthalo* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and Generall of his Horſe, to feele the diſpoſition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by ſo much aduerſitie, and could ſtoope vnto deſire of peace. But with the *Romanes* theſe arts preuailed not, as ſhall be ſhewed in due place. The people of *Italie*, all, or moſt of them, ſaue the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not onely wearie of their loſſes paſt, but entertained a deceiueable hope, of changing their olde Societie for a better. Wherefore not onely the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not vntill the former generation vtterly ſubdued, began to re-aſſume their wonted ſpirits; but the *Campans*, a Nation of all other in *Italie* moſt bound vnto the ſtate of *Rome*, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as ſtreightly conioyned, as were any ſaue the *Latines*, changed on a ſudden their loue into hatred; without any other cauſe found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the moſt goodly and fruitfull Prouince of *Italie*, if not (as ſome then thought) of all the Earth: and the Citie of *Capua*, anſwerable vnto the Country, whereof it was Head, ſo great, faire, and wealthie, that it ſeemed no leſſe conuenient a ſeat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, brauerie is the leaſt requiſite vnto ſoueraigne command. The *Campans* were luxurious, idle, aud proud: and valuing themſelues like Iayes by their feathers, deſpiſed the vnfortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there ſome of the principal among them, as in other Cities, that bore eſpeciall regard vnto the Maieſtie of *Rome*, and could not endure to heare of Innouation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately ſo preuailed within *Capua*, that all was gouerned by the pleaſure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calauius* an ambitious Noble-man, whoſe credit grew, and was vp-held by furthering all popular deſires: whereof, the coniunction with *Hannibal* was not the leaſt. Some of the *Capuans* had offred their Citie to the *Carthaginians*, ſhortlie after the battaile of *Thraſymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his iournie into *Campania*; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting vpon him. At that time, either the neereneſſe of the *Romane* Armie, or ſome other feare of the *Capuans*, hindred them from breaking into actuall rebellion. They had indeed no leiſure to treat about any article of new Confederacie: or had leiſure ſerued, yet were the multitude (whoſe inconſtant loue *Hannibal* had wonne from the *Romans*, by gentle vſage, and free diſmiſſing, of ſome priſoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any ſuch negotiation, without aduice of the Senate; which mainely impugned it. So they that had promiſed to yeeld vp their town to *Hannibal*, & meet him on the way, with ſome of their nobility that ſhould aſſure him of all faithfull meaning; were driuen to ſit ſtill, in a great perplexitie: as hauing failed to let in this their new friend, yet ſufficiently diſcouered themſelues, to draw vpon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this caſe were no ſmall number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incenſed againſt their Senate; on whom they caſt all the blame, eaſily pardoning their owne cowardize. The people holding ſo tender a regard of libertie, that euen the lawfull Gouernment of Magiſtrates grieued them, with an imaginary oppreſſion; had now good cauſe to feare leſt the Senators would become their Lords indeed, and by helpe of the *Romans*, bring them vnder a more ſtreight ſubiection, than euer they had endured. This feare, being ready to breake into ſome outrage, *Pacuvius* made vſe of, to ſerue his owne ambition. He diſcourſed vnto the Senate, as they ſate in Councell, about theſe motions troubling the Citie: and ſaid, That he himſelfe had both married a *Roman* Ladie, and giuen his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*: but, that the danger of forſaking the *Roman partie* was not now the greateſt: for that the People were violently bent to murder all the Senate, and after to ioyne themſelues with *Hannibal*; who ſhould countenance the fact, and ſaue them harmeleſſe. This hee ſpake, as a man well knowne to be beloued himſelfe by the People, and priuie vnto their deſignes. Hauing throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging ouer them: Hee promiſed neuertheleſſe to deliuer them all, and to ſet things in quiet, if they would freelie put themſelues into his hands; offering his oath, or any other aſſurance that they ſhould demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then ſhutting vp the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor iſſue forth, without his leaue; He called the people to aſſembly: and ſpeaking as much ill of the Senate, as hee knew they would be glad to heare, hee told them, that theſe wicked Gouernours were ſurpriſed by his policie, and all faſt, ready to abide what ſentence they would lay vpon them. Onely thus much he aduiſed them, as a thing which neceſſity required, That they ſhould chooſe a new Senate, before they ſatisfied their anger vpon the olde. So rehearſing vnto them the names of one or two Senators, he asked what their iudgement was of thoſe. All cried out, that they were worthy of death. Chooſe then (ſaid he) firſt of all ſome new ones into their places. Heereat the Multitude, vnprouided for ſuch an election, was ſilent; vntill at laſt, ſome one or other aduentured to name whom hee thought fit. The men ſo nominated, were vtterly diſliked by the whole Aſſembly; either for ſome known fault, baſeneſſe, and inſufficiencie; or elſe euen becauſe they were vnknown, and therefore held vnworthy. This difficultie in the new Election appearing more and more, whileſt more were to be choſen; (the fitteſt men to be ſubſtituted, hauing beene named among the firſt, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* entreated, and eaſily preuailed with the people, that the preſent Senate might for this time bee ſpared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleſſe) they would make, hauing thus obtained pardon of all offences paſt. Henceforth, not onely the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and eſteemed him their Patron; but the Senators alſo were gouerned by him, to whom they acknowledged themſelues indebted, for ſauing all their liues. Neither did the Senate faile after this by all obſequiouſneſſe, to court the People; giuing the reines vnto their lawleſſe Wil, who elſe were likely to caſt them down: All the City being thus of one minde; onely feare of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battaile at *Cannæ*, this impediment was remooued: and few there were, that would open their mouthes to ſpeake againſt the Rebellion. Yet foraſmuch as three hundred principall Gentlemen of the *Campans*, did then ſerue the *Romanes* in the Iſle of *Sicil*: the Parents and Kinſmen of theſe preuailed ſo far, that Embaſſadors were ſent vnto *Terentius* the Conſul; to ſee his preſent caſe, and what it could miniſter of Hope or Feare. Theſe, whereſoeuer they found him, found him weakely attended, and as weake in ſpirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the ſeruice of their State; and deſired to know what he would command them. But he moſt baſely lamented vnto them the greatneſſe of the *Romane* misfortune: ſaying, that all was loſt; and that the *Campans* muſt now, not helpe the *Romanes*, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themſelues, but, make warre in their defence againſt the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romanes* had ſometimes done for the *Campanes* againſt the *Samnites*. Heereunto he is ſaid to haue added a fooliſh Inuectiue againſt *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of ſlaughtered carkaſes, and to feed vpon mans fleſh; with ſuch other ſtuffe, as onely bewraied his owne feare. As for the *Campans* themſelues, He put them in minde of their preſent ſtrength: they hauing thirty thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe; with monie, and all prouiſions, in aboundance. Thus hee diſmiſſed them, prouder then they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordſhip; whereas before, they were ſomewhat timerous, in aduenturing to ſeeke their owne libertie. Hauing reported this at *Capua*: the ſame Embaſſadors were diſpatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they eaſily made alliance, vpon theſe conditions; That the *Campans* ſhould be abſolutely free, and ruled by their owne Lawes; That no Citizens of theirs ſhould be ſubiect vnto any *Carthaginian* Magiſtrate, in what caſe ſoeuer, whether in War or Peace; and, That *Hannibal* ſhould deliuer vnto the *Campans* three hundred *Romane* priſoners, ſuch as themſelues would chooſe, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicil*.

Againſt all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius* an honourable Citizen oppoſed himſelfe earneſtly: vſing, in vaine, many perſwaſions, to the wilfull and head-ſtrong Multitude; whom he put in minde of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wiſhing them not to change olde friends for new acquaintance. This did hee, when they were ſending Embaſſadors vnto *Hannibal*: and this alſo did hee, when the new Alliance was concluded; but moſt earneſtly, when a *Carthaginian* Garriſon was entring the Towne: at which time hee gaue aduice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it and to cut it in pieces, that by ſuch a notable piece of ſeruice, they might make amends vnto the *Romans*, whom they had forſaken.

Aduertiſement hereof was giuen to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not farre off, ſent for *Magius* to come ſpeake with him in the campe. This *Magius* refuſed: alleaging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from ſubiection vnto any *Carthaginian*; and therfore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon haſted himſelfe towards *Capua*: forbearing to attempt any further vpon *Naples*; which he thought to haue taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the wals too high, & was not well prouided to lay ſiege vnto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great ſolemnitie and pompe: all the people iſſuing forth of the Towne, to behold that great Commander, which had wonne ſo many noble victories. Hauing taken his pleaſure in the ſight of that goodly Citie, and paſſed ouer his firſt Entertainments; He came into their Senate: where he commended their reſolution, in ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke; promiſing, that ere long all *Italie* and *Rome* it ſelfe, ſhould be driuen to acknowledge *Capua* as chiefe, and receiue Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly tooke part with the *Romanes* their enemies; He prayed them, that they would not thinke him a *Campan*, but a Traitor to the State: and vſe him accordingly, giuing ſentence out of hand vpon him, as he deſerued. This was granted: and *Magius* deliuered vnto *Hannibal*; who vnwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his firſt comming, by putting ſo great a man to death, yet fearing that they might ſue for his libertie, if he kept him aliue, thought it beſt to ſend him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* ſetled his friendſhip with the *Campanes*: among whom, onely this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to ſpeake againſt him; being aſſiſted by *Perolla* the ſonne of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would haue murdered *Hannibal*, whileſt he was at ſupper, the firſt night of his comming; had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any ſuch attempt. All the Towne (beſides) were ſo earneſt in the loue of their new Societie, that they are ſaid to haue murdered all the *Romans*, vpon whom at the preſent they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to haue ſmothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The ſame courſe of fortune, with thoſe of *Capua*, ranne ſome other Townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-Citie. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Caſiline*, and *Acerræ*, were the Cities next adioyning, that ſtood out for the *Romans*. Againſt theſe *Hannibal* went, thinking to finde them weakely manned; as they were indeed, though ſtoutly defended.

The *Romanes* at this time were not in caſe, to put Garriſons into all their walled Townes; but were faine to leaue all places, except a few of the moſt ſuſpected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. *Rome* it ſelfe was in extreame feare of *Hannibals* comming, at the firſt report of the ouerthrow at *Cannæ*: and the griefe of that loſſe was ſo generall, and immoderate, that it much diſturbed the prouiſion againſt apparant danger. It was hard to iudge, whether the loſſe alreadie receiued, or the feare of deſtruction preſently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to ſtint the noyſe and lamentable bewailings, whereof the ſtreets were full. Courriers were ſent forth,to bring aſſured tidings how all went: whereof when Letters from the Conſull *Varro* had throughly informed them,they were ſo amazed, that they ranne into barbarous ſuperſtition; and taking direction (as was ſaid) from their fatall bookes,buried aliue two men and women *Gaules* and *Greekes*,in their Oxe-market. If the bookes of *Sibyl* gaue them ſuch inſtructions; we may iuſtly thinke,that *Sibyl* her ſelfe was inſtructed by the Diuell. Yet is it not improbable,that extremity of feare cauſed them to hearken to wicked Sooth-ſaiers;whoſe deteſtable counſels they afterwards,for their own honor, (as aſhamed of ſuch Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embaſſadour was ſent to *Delphi*,to conſult with the Oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire with what prayers & ſupplications they might pacifie the gods,& obtain an end of theſe calamities. This is enough to diſcouer their great feare; though not ſeruing to giue remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicil*,from the Prætor *Octacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if hee found it meet, to paſſe ouer into *Africk*. In theſe were contained newes,of one *Carthaginian* Fleet, that waſted the Kingdome of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet,riding among the Iles *Ægateis*,which was in readines to ſet vpon *Lilybæum*,and the reſt of the *Roman* Prouince,if the Prætor ſtirred aſide to the reſcue of *Hieron*.

In the middeſt of theſe extremities, it was thought needfull to call home *Terentius* the Conſul,that he might name a Dictator,to take ſoueraigne charge of the Weale publique,with abſolute power,as neceſſity required. It muſt needs ſeeme ſtrange, that all ſorts of people went forth to meet the Conſul,and bid him welcome home, giuing him thankes *for that he had not deſpaired of the Weale publique*. But this was done (as may ſeeme) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtleſſe) prouided wiſely, for vpholding the generall reputation. If his comming into the Citie,had renewed the lamentations and out-cries of the people: what elſe would haue followed, than a contempt of their wretchednes,among thoſe that were ſubiect vnto their Dominion? Now in finding this occaſion (though indeed he gaue it not) of beſtowing vpon him their welcome, and thankes; they noyſed abroad a fame, which came perhaps vnto the eares of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might ſeeme grounded on their remaining ſtrength. This therefore was wiſely done. But whereas *Liuie* would haue vs thinke,that it was done generouſly,and out of great ſpirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleeue him not. It was done fearefully,and to couer their griefe: had they dared to ſhew their indignation,they would haue ſtrucke off his head; as in few yeres after, *Cn.Fuluius* had his life brought into queſtion,and was baniſhed by them,being leſſe blame-worthy, for a ſmaller offence. *M.Iunius*,by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*,Maſter of the horſe. Theſe fell preſently to muſtering of Souldiers,of whom they raiſed *foure* new Legions,and a 1000. horſe: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take vp ſome,that were very Boyes. Theſe foure Legions are elſwhere forgotten, in accompt of the forces leuied by this Dictator; and *two* Legions onely ſet downe,that had bin enrolled in the beginning of the yere for cuſtodie of the Citie. So it may be,that theſe two Legions being drawn into the field;foure new ones of *Prætextati*,or ſtriplings, were left in their places.In ſuch raw Souldiers,& ſo few,little confidence was to be repoſed; for which reaſon they increaſed their number, by adding vnto them 8000. ſturdy ſlaues,that were put in hope of liberty,if they ſhould deſerue it by manfull ſeruice. This not ſufficing; the Dictator proclaimed, That whoſoeuer owght mony and could not pay it,or had committed any capitall offence, ſhould forthwith be diſcharged of his debt,or puniſhment,if he would ſerue in the war. To arme theſe Cõpanies,they were fain to take down, out of their Temples and Porches,the ſpoiles of their enemies that had bin there ſet vp: among which,were 6000. Armors of the *Gaules*,that had bin carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*,a little before the beginning of this War. To ſuch mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*,as a due reward of their inſolent oppreſſions, that they were faine to iſſue forth of their own gates,in the habit of ſtrangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*,armed *Roman-like*.

Liu.lib.26.

Liu.lib.22.

Liu.l.23.

About the ſame time it was,that *Carthalo*, with the Agents of the priſoners taken at *Cannæ*,came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded,whileſt he was on the way,to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the meſſengers of the captiues,audience was giuen by the Senate. They made earneſt Petition, to be ranſomed at the publike charge,not onely the teares & lamentation of their poore kinſfolke,but the great need, wherin the City then ſtood, of able Souldiers, commending their ſute; which yet they obtained not. Beſides the generall cuſtome of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and ſtrengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was ouerthrowne, and taken priſoner in the former Warre) not to be too tender of ſuch as had yeelded to the enemy; much was alledged againſt theſe who now craued ranſome: but the ſpeciall point was, that they were wilfully loſt, ſince they might haue ſaued themſelues, as others did. It ſufficed not vnto theſe poore men to ſay, that their offence was no greater than the Conſuls; they were told, that this was great preſumption. The truth was, the State wanted money: and therefore could not want excuſes, whereby to auoid the disburſement: whether it were ſo, or not, that any ſuch Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither muſt wee regard it, that the ſlaues which were armed for the warre, are ſaid to haue coſt more, than the ſumme did amount vnto, that would haue ranſomed theſe priſoners. For this is but a tale, deuiſed to countenance the *Roman* proceedings as if they had beene ſeuere; when as indeed they were ſutable to the preſent fortune, poore, and ſomewhat beggerly. Hereof it is no little proofe, That *Hannibal* valued thoſe *Roman* ſlaues, whom he had taken in the Campe among their Maſters, at no more, than euery one the third part of a common Souldiers ranſome: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat hee thought them current. But if we ſhould ſuppoſe, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargaine for ſlaues might haue beene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with priuate men; yet muſt we withall conſider, that theſe priuate men did onely lend theſe ſlaues for a while vnto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented *to forbeare the price of them* (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchiſed) vntill the War ſhould be ended. If *Hannibal* would haue giuen ſuch long day of payment; it is likely that the *Romans* would haue beene his Chapmen: but ſeeing he dealt onely for ready money, they choſe rather to ſay, We will not giue, than, We cannot. The like auſteritie, vpon the ſame reaſon, but contrary pretence, was vſed toward the ſouldiers that eſcaped from that great Battaile. Theſe were charged for hauing fled: as the priſoners were, for not flying, when they might haue done ſo. True it is, that in ſuch caſes (if euer) that which they call *raggione del Stato* may ſerue for an excuſe: when the Common-wealth being driuen to a miſerable exigent, is faine to helpe it ſelfe, by doing iniuries to priuate men. And ſo dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all thoſe that had ſerued at *Cannæ*, to be tranſported into *Sicil*; and there to ſerue, not as others did, vntill they had fulfilled twenty yeeres in the Warres, or elſe were fifty yeeres of age; but vntill this Warre ſhould be ended, how long ſoeuer it laſted, and that without reward. The ſame thrifty cenſure, was afterwards laide vpon others, for their misbehauiour: but neuer vpon any man of quality, ſaue only (a good while after this, at better leiſure) vpon *Cæcilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-braind fooles his companions; who being frighted out of their wittes, with the terrour of ſo great a loſſe, were deuiſing, after the battaile, which way to runne out of *Italie*, when *Hannibal* as yet had ſcarce one Towne within it. The inequality of this rigour grew ſhortly diſtaſtfull to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by *a Tribune of the People*; neuertheleſſe it was quietly digeſted, the excuſe being no leſſe apparent then the fault.

Liu. lib. 24.

Liu. lib. 25.

M. Iunius the Dictator, hauing diſpatched all needfull buſineſſe within the Citie, tooke the field with fiue and twenty thouſand men. What he did with this Armie, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he ſpent the time about *Campania*: where (as may be preſumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be aſcribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater euill: for of any euill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans* in this their weake eſtate, onely *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Oſtia* with a Fleet, ready to ſet ſaile for *Sicil*, hauing one Legion aboord his ſhips, and fifteene hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp: with which forces hee was to defend that Iland, and doe what harme he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the ouerthrow at *Cannæ*, hee ſent theſe of his new Leuy to *Rome*, for defence of the Citie, and marched haſtily with his Legion toward *Cannuſium*: deliuering the Fleete, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magiſtrates, and chiefe Citizens of *Nola*, to helpe them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the reſt of the *Campanes*) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to auoid this otherwiſe, than by ſeeming to deliberat about the articles of this new Confederacy. Wherefore hee made great iournies thitherward; and arriued euen time enough to preuent the Enemy. Many idle walkes *Hannibal* made, betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: aſſaying by faire words, and terrible threats, the one and the other Citie. *Naples* was ſtrong, and not infected with any the leaſt touch of diſloyalty: had alſo a ſure Hauen; whereby it ſtood in the leſſe feare, of ſuſtaining much inconuenience, by ſpoile of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrie. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable conſideration, That *Hannibal* was Maſter of the field: which if he laid waſte, all the poore people were vtterly vndone. So thought the Multitude: and ſuch talke vſed ſome, that had little feare of their own priuate want or pouerty, but a great deſire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of theſe, one *L. Bantius* was chiefe; a ſtout yong Gentleman, and Souldier of eſpeciall marke, well beloued in the Citie, and one that had done good ſeruice to the *Romans*: but was found by *Hannibal*, halfe dead at *Cannæ*, and after much gentle vſage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly diſmiſſed with liberall gifts. Hee therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greateſt thankes hee could vnto ſo courteous an enemy. *Marcellus* perceiuing this, wrought vpon the ſame eaſie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had beene by chance, ſeemed to wonder, why one that had ſo well deſerued of the *Roman* ſtate, had not repaired vnto him the Prætor, who deſired nothing more than ſuch acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifs, and louing entertainment, being himſelfe alſo a man highly reputed for his perſonall valour, he made this *Bantius* ſo farre in loue with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, againſt the *Romans*, whereof he had not preſently aduertiſement. At the comming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* remoued from about *Nola*; and aſſayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garriſon; vpon confidence whereof they gaue him a peremptorie anſwere, to his diſcontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*: which he tooke by compoſition; and ſo returned backe againe to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore vnto him: who although they durſt not ſtirre in his quarrell, being ouer-awed by the *Roman* Garriſon; yet if they ſaw *Marcellus* hardly beſtead, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies aſſayling him without, like enough it ſeemed, that they would not be wanting vnto the accompliſhment of their owne deſires. He therefore brought his Army cloſe to the Towne, and skirmiſhed often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to doe much good, but onely to make ſhew of a meaning to force the Towne; which he ſought in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night-time there paſſed meſſages betweene him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne ſhould preſently riſe; and ſeizing vpon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was aduertiſed: and fearing, leſt the Conſpirators would ſhortly aduenture, euen to find him buſied within the Citie, whileſt the *Carthaginians* ſhould ſcale the walles; hee thought it the ſureſt way, to cut off the enemies hope, and ſend him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three Companies, within three ſeuerall gates looking towards the enemy: He gaue a ſtreight command, that all the Citizens ſhould keepe their houſes. Thus hee lay cloſe a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder; againſt whom he had cuſtomarily iſſued forth before more early, euery day, to skirmiſh. But when it was further noted, that the walles were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought *Hannibal*, that ſurely all was diſcouered, and *Marcellus* now buſied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bade his men bring ladders, and make ready for the aſſault; which was done in all haſte. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very wals, and thought nothing leſſe, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: ſuddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the beſt and oldeſt of his Souldiers, brake forth vpon them, with a great noiſe, to make his vnexpected ſally the more more terrible. Whileſt the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were ſome of them flying before *Marcellus*, the reſt making head againſt him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like ſort iſſued they of the new leuied Companies, vpon the enemies backes. The ſudden terror was more auaileable vnto the *Romans*, than their force: yet the Execution was ſo great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the braueſt Actes performed in all that Warre; foraſmuch as hereby it was firſt prooued, that *Hannibal* might be ouercome. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a ſtrict accompt of the Citizens of *Nola*: condemning aboue threeſcore and ten of high Treaſon, whoſe heads he ſtrucke off; and ſo leauing the Town in quiet obedience vnto their Senate, went & encamped hard by about *Sueſſula*. *Hannibal* in the meane ſeaſon was gone to *Acerræ*: where being excluded, he thought it no wiſedome to loſe time in perſwaſions, but laide ſiege vnto it, and began on all ſides to cloſe it vp. This terrified the People, who knew themſelues vnable to hold out. Therefore, before his Workes were finiſhed, and they quite ſurrounded; they ſtole out by night, and left him the Towne empty: which he ſacked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Dictator, that he was about *Caſiline*, thither went *Hannibal*: as being vnwilling that an Enemy ſo neere ſhould diſquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant to Winter. It ſeemes, or rather indeed it is plaine, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the ſpirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durſt with a ſmall part of his Army ſeeke out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* ſtrength. Wherefore the ioy of his Enemies, vpon ſo ſlight an occaſion as the death of ſome two thouſand of his men, at the moſt, and thoſe not ſlaine in plaine battaile, but by a ſudden eruption; witneſſeth chiefly, in what great feare they ſtood of *Hannibal*, and how Creſt-fallen they were: that hauing three yeeres ſince demanded at *Carthage*, the body of *Hannibal*, to be deliuered vnto their pleaſure, by his owne Citizens; could now pleaſe themſelues, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmiſh not farre from *Rome* he appeared to be a man, and not reſiſtleſſe. At *Caſilinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Towne, and held it. Fiue hundred of the *Præneſtines* there were, and aboue foure hundred of *Peruſia*, with ſome of the *Latines*. All theſe had the good hap, to come too late to the Battaile at *Cannæ*, being ſent by their ſeuerall States to the Campe: whither whileſt they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and ſent them backe ſorrowfull; for they loued well their Lords the *Romans*, vnder whoſe gouernment they liued happily. So came they all, one after another to *Caſiline*, where they met and ſtayed. Neither had they ſtayed there long, ere they heard newes from *Capua*, How that great Citie became the Ringleader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Caſiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore ſought how to rid their hands of thoſe *Præneſtines* and their fellowes; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laide one for another, at laſt they ſlew all the Towneſmen in a night, and fortified the Weſterne part of the Towne (for it was diuided by the Riuer *Vulturnus*) againſt the Enemy. If they had runne away with the goods, and pretended, that theſe of *Caſiline* were as the reſt of the *Campanes*, all Traitors; they themſelues might haue beene reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their conſtancy in defence of the place witneſſeth, vpon what honeſt reaſons they ſurpriſed it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to haue encountred with greater forces: but theſe few found him more worke then hee expected. Diuers aſſaults hee gaue, but was ſtill repelled with loſſe: and many ſallies they made, with variable euent. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: oppoſing ſo much induſtry to his force, that he was driuen to cloſe them vp, and ſeeke to winne them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Maſter of the horſe, lay with the *Roman* Army higher vp the Riuer: who faine would haue relieued *Caſiline*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome* about ſome matters of Religion, had giuen him expreſſe charge not to fight till his returne. *Marcellus* from *Sueſſula* could not come: his way being ſtopped by the ouerflowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* alſo beſeeching him not to leaue them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water ſtayed his iourney, ſuch entreaties were needleſſe. Neither is it like, that the Dictator tarryed at *Rome* ſo long, as till extreme famine had conſumed the Garriſon in *Caſiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was loſt, becauſe the *Romans* durſt not aduenture to raiſe the ſiege. Barrels of corne were ſent by night, floting down the Riuer; and when ſome of theſe, being carryed awry by an Eddie of the water, ſtucke among the Willowes on the banke, whereby this mannner of reliefe was diſcouered and preuented; *Gracchus* caſt a great quantitie of Nuts into the ſtreame, which faintly ſuſtained the poore beſieged men. At length when all foode was ſpent, and whatſoeuer grew greene vnder the Walles was gathered for Sallets; the *Carthaginians* ploughed vp the ground: whereon the beſieged preſently ſowed Rape-ſeede. *Hannibal* ſeeing this, admired their patience; and ſaide, That he meant not to ſtay at *Caſiline*, vntill the Rapes were growne. Wherefore, though hitherto he had refuſed to hearken vnto any Compoſition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by puniſhing their obſtinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their liues at an indifferent ranſom; which when they had paid, he quietly diſmiſſed them according to his promiſe. Seuen hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Caſiline*, as a Garriſon for defence of the *Campanes*; vnto whom he reſtored it. To the *Præneſtine* Souldiers great thankes were giuen, and louing rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their preſent condition pleaſed them ſo well, that they choſe rather to continue, as they were, in *Præneſte*: which is no weake proofe, of the good eſtate wherein the Cities flouriſhed, that were ſubiect to the *Roman* Gouernment. This ſiege of *Caſiline* was not a little beneficiall to the *Romans*; as hauing long detained *Hannibal*, and conſumed much of his time, that might otherwiſe haue beene better ſpent. For Winter ouer-tooke him, long before hee could diſpatch the buſineſſe: which how to quit with his honour hee knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where hee refreſhed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Hiſtorians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beate the *Romans* in following times, as ſhall appeare hereafter.

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§. X.

Of the great ſupply that was decreed at Carthage to be ſent to Hannibal *into Italie. How by the malice of* Hanno, *and ſloth or parſimony of the Carthaginians, the ſupply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faſter, than of the Romans. Of* Fabius *and other old Roman Hiſtorians, how partiall they were in their writings.*

WHen *Mago*, the ſonne of *Amilcar*, had ſpent ſome time about the taking in of ſuch *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battaile at *Cannæ*; his brother *Hannibal* ſent for him to *Capua*, and thence diſpatched him away to *Carthage*, with the ioyfull meſſage of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generals his brother had fought, what Conſuls he had chaced, wounded, or ſlain; how the ſtout *Romans*, that in the former warre neuer ſhunned any occaſion of fight, were now growne ſo calme, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the onely good Captaine, becauſe he neuer durſt aduenture to come to battaile; That, not without reaſon, their ſpirits were thus abated, ſince *Hannibal* had ſlaine of them aboue two hundred thouſand, and taken aboue fifty thouſand priſoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*, that following the fortune of thoſe great victories, had reuolted vnto the *Carthaginians*. Among the reſt hee magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not onely (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chiefe ſeate of their Dominion in *Italie*: and there he informed them, how louingly his brother had bin entertained, where he meant to reſt that winter, attending their ſupply. As for the warre, Hee ſaid it was euen at an end, if they would now purſue it cloſely, and not giue the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect themſelues, and repaire their broken forces. He willed them to conſider, that the war was farre from home, in the Enemies Countrey; that ſo many battailes had much diminiſhed his brothers Armie; that the Souldiers, who had ſo well deſerued, ought to be conſidered with liberall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of mony, corne, and other neceſſaries; but that theſe things muſt be ſent from *Carthage*: which the victory would require with large amends. Finally hee cauſed the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were ſlaine, to be powred out openly in the Court: which being meaſured, filled (as ſome ſay) three buſhels, or (as others would rather haue it) no more then one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatneſſe of the *Roman* calamity, for as much as none but the * principall of that Order, were accuſtomed to weare that ornament.

* Thus *Liuie* reports it: and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poore, the brauery of priuate men was not altogether ſo great, as the Law would haue permitted; though otherwiſe *Ius Annuli, The wearing of the Ring*, was the generall priuiledge of the *Roman Equites*.

Who ſo conſiders the former *Punicke Warre*, may eaſily finde, that the State of *Carthage* neuer did receiue, in all the durance therof, any ſuch hopefull aduertiſements from their Captaines abroad. Wherefore it is no marueile, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this ioy, *Himilco*, a Senator aduerſe to the faction of *Hanno*, is ſaid to haue demanded of that great perſwader vnto peace with *Rome*, Whether he were ſtill of opinion, that *Hannibal* ſhould be yeelded vp vnto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to giue thanks vnto the gods, for this their good ſucceſſe. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the ſame formall anſwer, which *Liuie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conſcripti*, by a terme proper to the *Romans*, and putting them in minde of his owne ſhamefull ouerthrow receiued at the Ilands *Agateis*: yet the ſumme of his ſpeech appeares to haue been no leſſe malicious, than it is ſet downe, foraſmuch as *Hannibal* himſelfe, at his departure out of *Italie*, exclaimed againſt the wickedneſſe of this *Hanno*; ſaying, that his hatred againſt the *Barchines*, had oppreſſed their Familie, when otherwiſe it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made ſuch a ieſt of theſe victories, as is reported; ſaying, It ill beſeemed him, who had vanquiſhed the *Romans*, to call for more helpe, as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled forſooth with ſpoyle, to make requeſt for meate and money. To theſe cauils, if anſwer were needfull, it might be ſaid, That other booty than of horſes and ſlaues, little was to be found in the *Roman* campe: the beſt of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few [a] ſiluer ſtuds in the bridles and trappings of their horſes. If *Hannibal* had taken any maine conuoy of money and prouiſions, going to ſupply all wants of a great Army in ſome other Prouince, (as the two *Scipio's* are afterwards ſaid to haue done, when they wanne the campe of *Aſdrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spaine*, in his iourney towards *Italy*) then might ſuch an obiection more iuſtly haue been made vnto his demaund of a ſupply. But the moſt likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein he beſt might hope to preuaile, contained a perſwaſion to vſe their fortune with moderation; and now to ſeeke peace, whileſt they had ſo much the better in warre.

What would haue been the iſſue of this counſaile, if it had been followed, it were not eaſie to ſay. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would haue brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely that the faith, ſo often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would haue bin kept entire, when any opinion of good aduantage had called for reuenge of ſo many ſhameful ouerthrowes; ſince after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no ſubmiſſiue behauiour could preſerue *Carthage* from ruine, longer than vntill ſuch time, as *Rome* was at leiſure from all other warres. This Counſaile therefore of *Hanno*, though it might ſeeme temperate, was indeed very peſtilent; and ſerued onely to hinder the performance of a noble reſolution. For it was concluded by a maine conſent of the Senate, that forty thouſand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of ſiluer, ſhould be ſent ouer to *Hannibal*: and that, beſides theſe, twenty thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, ſhould bee leuied in *Spaine*; not onely to ſupply, as need ſhould require, the Armies in that Prouince, but to be tranſported into *Italy*.

This great aide, had it beene as carefully ſent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Hiſtorians would not haue found cauſe, to taxe the rechleſſe improuidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannæ* to *Rome*, or in refreſhing his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next yeeres worke would haue finiſhed the buſineſſe, with leſſe dangerous aduenture; and the pleaſures, which his men enioyed among the *Campanes*, would haue been commended, as rewards by him well thought vpon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be imployed in the following Warre. But either the too much careleſneſſe of thoſe, that were loth to make haſte in laying out their money, before extreame neceſſity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellowes, working vpon the priuate humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commodity, than ſenſe of the publike neede; vtterly peruerted, and made vnprofitable in the performance, the order that had beene ſo well ſet downe. The [b] Elephants were ſent: and ſome money peraduenture; vncertaine it is, how long after. But thoſe great forces of threeſcore thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, came not into *Italy*, till much was loſt of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was firſt conſumed by time, and ſundry accidents of warre. Onely ſome ſmall numbers, no way anſwering vnto the proportion decreed, were ſent into *Spaine*; and the iourney of *Aſdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italie* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many yeeres were paſt, and the *Romans* had recouered their ſtrength.

Heere we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their Citie, both

by

[a] *Liu.lib.22.*

[b] *Liu.l.26.*

by the Tributes receiued from their ſubiects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, ſince the Warre of the Mercenaries; and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greateſt neceſſitie twelue hundred talents; had exceedingly impoueriſhed *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, euen by the expence of ſo much money, as was to be disburſed for redeeming of peace, after the loſſe at *Ægateis*. Yet wee ſee, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, beſides thoſe already on foote, are appointed to the ſeruice in *Italy*, and how little the *Carthaginians* feare the want of money in theſe chargeable vndertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other ſide, hauing three or foure yeeres together beene forced to ſome extraordinary coſt, are faine to goe vpon credit, euen for the price of thoſe ſlaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such aduantage, in meanes to enrich their Treaſury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterran Sea*, euen from *Tyrus* their Mother-Citie in the bottome of the ſtreights vnto the great Ocean, aboue the *Romans*: who liued on the fruites of their ground; and receiued their Tributes from people following the ſame courſe of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leiſure to ſhew it ſelfe, in the deſtruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falſhood, in ſeeking an honeſt colour wherewith to ſhadow the intended breach of faith, diſcouered plainely whence the iealouſie was bred, that this mighty City would againe rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, hauing giuen vp hoſtages, euen before the *Roman* Army did ſet forth, to performe whatſoeuer ſhould be enioyned them, with condition that their City might not bee deſtroyed; and hauing accordingly, when they were ſo required, yeelded vp all their weapons, and engines of Warre; the *Romans* told them plainely, That the Citie of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, ſhould be friendly dealt withall, but the Towne muſt needes be demoliſhed, and remoued into ſome other place, that ſhould bee twelue miles diſtant from the Sea. For (ſaide the *Romans*) this Trade of Merchandize, by which yee now liue, is not ſo fit for peaceable men, ſuch as yee promiſe to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholeſome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conuerſation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though ſugred with gloſing words, plainely ſhewes, what good obſeruation the elder *Cato* had made of the haſty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For when, being demaunded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatſoeuer it were, he added ſtill this concluſion, *Thus I thinke; and that Carthage ſhould be deſtroyed*; Hee may ſeeme, not onely to haue had regard vnto that preſent wealth, which at his being there hee had found in the City, but much more vnto theſe times, and the great height whereunto it roſe, euen ſuddenly as we ſee, out of many calamities, whilеſt the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in caſe to dare ſo terrible a Warre.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more induſtrious and skilfull than the *Romans*; ſo came they farre ſhort of them, in the honourable care of the publike good: hauing euery one, or moſt of them, a more principall regard of his owne priuate benefit. This made them (beſides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the firſt heate of their affection, wherein they concluded to purſue the warre ſtrongly, was ouer-paſt, goe more leiſurely to worke, than had been requiſite in the execution. It was eaſie for *Hanno* to perſwade couetous men, that they ſhould firſt of all defend their owne in *Spaine*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Prouince was ſecured, they might ſend an Army into *Italie*; ſo going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wiſdome, to commit all the ſtrength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, againſt the enemies; or (which perhaps were worſe) to the Gouernment of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who hauing once (if they could ſo do) finiſhed the warre, might eaſily make * *Hannibal* a King, and ſubdue *Carthage*, with the forces that he had giuen them to the conqueſt of *Rome*.

By ſuch malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their owne ſlackneſſe, incredulity, dulnes, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perſwaded rather to make ſmal diſburſements in *Spain*, than to ſet vp all their reſt at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impoſſible, to hold a Countrey of ſo large extent, and ſo open a coaſt as that of *Spaine*, free from all incurſion of the Enemy: eſpecially the affection of the Naturalls being (as in a new Conqueſt) ill eſtabliſhed. A better way therefore it had beene to make a running Warre, by which

* Of ſuch ambition *Hanno* directly accuſed *Hannibal* ſaying that hee made warre that ſo hee might liue compaſſed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himſelfe a King. *Liu. l.21.*

which the *Romans* might haue beene found occupied, euen with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garriſons,or ſome little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet,to defer the proſecution of their maine intendment againſt *Rome* it ſelfe, vntill ſuch time as euery little thorne were pulled out of the ſides of ſo great a Prouince,then muſt *Emporiæ* haue been beſieged and forced: which by reaſon of alliance with the *Maſſilians*,gaue vnto the *Romans*,at all times when they pleaſed, a ready and ſecure Harbour. But the towne of *Emporiæ* was too ſtrong to be wonne in haſte: it had long defended it ſelfe againſt the *Barbarians*;hauing not aboue foure hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great *Spaniſh* Towne of the ſame name,lying without it,that was three miles in compaſſe,very ſtrong likewiſe,and friend vnto the *Græcians*,though not ouer-much truſted. Wherfore to force this towne of *Emporiæ*,that was,beſides the proper ſtrength,like to be ſo well aſſiſted by the *Maſſilians*,*Romans*,and ſome *Spaniards*,would haue beene a worke of little leſſe difficulty, than was the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battaile at *Cannæ*: yea it had beene in effect none other,than to alter the ſeate of the warre; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better iudgement, neere vnto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being ſuch as cauſed it altogether to bee forborne;great folly it was, to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* vtterly out of *Spaine*: whom they might more eaſily haue diuerted thence, and drawne home to their owne doores,by making ſtrong warre vpon their Citie. For euen ſo the *Romans* afterwards remooued *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by ſending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like courſe,they now endeuoured to change the ſeate of the warre, transferring it out of *Italie* into *Spaine*. But the priuate affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwiſe,than as it is acceſſary to their owne purpoſes, did make them eaſily winke at opportunities,and hope, that ſomewhat would fall out well of it ſelfe, though they ſet not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him ſo,were well enough contented to hearken vnto his diſcourſes, as long as they were plauſible,and tended to keepe the purſe full. In the meane while they ſuffered *Hannibal*,and all the noble houſe of *Amilcar*, to weary themſelues in trauaile for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in generall highly commended, but weakely aſſiſted; as if the induſtry of theſe *Barchines* had bin ſomwhat more than needfull. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in generall, were farre leſſe honourable than the people of *Rome*: not onely in gouernment of their ſubiect Prouinces,but in adminiſtration of their owne Eſtate; few of them preferring the reſpect of the Weale publike aboue their priuate intereſt. But as they thriued little in the end, by their parſimony vſed toward their owne Mercenaries,when the former *Roman* warre was finiſhed: ſo the concluſion of this warre preſent,will make them complaine, with feeling ſighes,of their negligence in ſupplying *Hannibal*,after the victory at *Cannæ*; when gladly they would giue all their Treaſures, to redeeme the opportunity,that now they let paſſe,as if it were coſt enough to ſend a few handfuls into *Spaine*.

That both the *Spaniſh* buſineſſe,and the ſtate of *Africk* it ſelfe, depended wholly, or for the moſt part,vpon ſucceſſe of things in *Italie*; the courſe of actions following will make manifeſt. Particularly how matters were ordered in *Spaine* by the *Carthaginian* Gouernours,it is very hard,and almoſt impoſſible,to ſet downe. For though wee muſt not reprehend,in that worthy Hiſtorian *Liuie*, the tender loue of his owne Countrey, which made him giue credit vnto *Fabius* and others: yet muſt we not, for his ſake, beleeue thoſe lies,which the vnpartiall iudgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gaue them originalll. It were needleſſe to rehearſe all that may be found in *Polybius*,concerning the vntruth of that *Roman* Hiſtorian *Fabius*. One example may ſuffice. He ſaith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former warre, That hauing cleane ſpent their ſtrength,and being euen broken with many miſeries, they were glad to ſubmit themſelues vnto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in *the life of Amilcar*,ſet downe by *Æmilius Probus*,That *Eryx* was in ſuch ſort held by the *Carthaginians*,that it ſeemed to be in as good condition,as if in thoſe parts there had not been any warre. Theſe words,being referred to the braue reſolution of the *Carthaginian* ſouldiers,and the ſingular vertue of their Generall infuſing ſuch ſpirit into them; may be taken as not ouer liberall. For in the treaty of peace betweene *Amilcar* and *Catulus*,when the *Roman* firſt of all required,that this Garriſon of *Eryx* ſhould lay downe their Armes, and forſake *Sicil*, threatning, that otherwiſe hee would not talke of any compoſition:

Pol.lib.1.

Amilcar boldly bad him chuſe, whether he would talke of it, or no; for that the Armes, which his Countrey had put into his hands to vſe againſt her Enemies, it was not his purpoſe to yeeld vp vnto them. Now ſince the *Romans*, contrary to their cuſtome vpon like aduantages, were content to let *Amilcar* haue his will, and not to ſtand with him vpon point of honour, whileſt otherwiſe they might quietly rid their hands of him; plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man conſumed with miſeries, as *Fabius* would haue him ſeeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with vntruth: ſaying, that howſoeuer *Amilcar*, and his Souldiers, had endured all extremitie, yet they behaued themſelues as men that had no ſenſe thereof; and were as farre from being either vanquiſhed, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference betweene *Fabius* (as alſo perhaps betweene other old Writers of the *Roman* ſtorie) and thoſe that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty Citie of *Rome*: we muſt take it in good part, that howſoeuer *Liuie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, ioyning very fooliſhly his owne ſhamefull ouerthrow at the Ilands, **Ægateis*, with the great ſeruices of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of thẽ had had a like euent; yet [a] elſewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his owne vnhappy conduct) into the ſame *Hanno* his mouth, making him ſay, That the affaires of *Carthage* went neuer better, than a little before the loſſe of their Fleet in that battaile at Sea: wherein himſelfe was Generall. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*, there is cauſe to wiſh, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like ſtampe, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Liuie* to his *Rome*, had not cauſed him to thinke too well of their relations: which are ſuch as follow.

**Aegateis Inſulas, Erycemque ante oculos proponite, &c. Liu. lib. 21*

[a] *Liu. lib. 23.*

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§. XI.

Strange reports of the Roman victories in Spaine, before Aſdrubal *the ſonne of* Amilcar *followed thence his brother* Hannibal *into Italie.*

IT hath bin ſhewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Conſul, returning from *Gaule* into *Italie*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his deſcent from the *Alpes*, ſent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spaine*. Two *Roman* Legions, with foureteene thouſand foot of the Confederates, and twelue hundred horſe, had been alotted vnto the Conſul, therewith to make warre in *Spaine* againſt *Hannibal*: who ſince he was marching into *Italie* with the ſtrength of his Army, *P. Scipio* beleeued, that a good part of theſe his owne forces might well be ſpared from the *Spaniſh* Expedition; and therefore made bold to carry ſome of the number backe with him, ſending on his brother with the reſt, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himſelfe remained in *Italie* all the time of his Conſulſhip: which being expired, He was ſent Proconſul into *Spaine* by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thouſand men, and a Fleete of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of theſe two Brethren in their Prouince, were very great; and, as they are reported, ſomewhat maruellous. For they continually preuailed in *Spaine*, againſt the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquiſhed in ſo many battailes, and with-drew from their Alliance ſo many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates, that we haue cauſe to wonder, how the enemy could ſo often find meanes to repaire his forces, and returne ſtrong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliuer the Country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might eaſily winne vnto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durſt aduenture to breake it: ſo the ancient reputation of the firſt Conquerors might ſerue to arme the Naturals againſt theſe Inuaders; and to reclaime thoſe, that had reuolted vnto the *Romans*, were it onely by the memory of ſuch ill ſucceſſe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may bee added the *Carthaginian* Treaſure: which eaſily raiſed Souldiers, among thoſe valiant, but (in that Age) poore, and gold-thirſty Nations. Neither was it of ſmall importance, that ſo many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinſmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Warres; or ſeruing the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peraduenture, if wee durſt be bold to ſay it; the victories of the *Scipio's* were neither ſo many, nor ſo great as they are ſet out by *Liuie*. This we may be bold to ſay, That the great Captaine *Fabius*, or *Liuie* in his perſon, maketh an obiection, vnto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Liuie* for him, doth

Liu.lib.28.

doth anſwere, That *if* Aſdrubal *were vanquiſhed, as* Scipio *would ſay, by him in Spaine: ſtrange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to Rome, that the ſame vanquiſhed man ſhould inuade Italie.* And it is indeede an incredible narration, That *Aſdrubal* being encloſed on all ſides, and not knowing how to eſcape out of battaile, ſaue onely by the ſteepe deſcent of Rockes, ouer a great Riuer that lay at his backe, ranne away with all his money, Elephants, and broken troups, ouer *Tagus*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and ſo toward *Italy*; vpon which he fell with more then threeſcore thouſand armed ſouldiers. Neither doe I ſee, how it hangs well together, That he choſe a piece of ground very defenſible, but moſt incommodious for his retrait, if hee ſhould happen to be vanquiſhed; and yet, that he ſent all his money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the Enemy: Or how it could be true, that theſe his Elephants, being ſo ſent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for ſo haue they ſaid to haue done in the laſt battaile between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Campe. Wherefore we can no more then be ſorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this Warre, and *Spaniſh*, (if there were any) being vtterly loſt, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleaſed the *Romans* to tell vs: vnto whom it were no wiſedome to giue too much credit. In this regard, I will ſummarily runne ouer the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*; not greatly inſiſting on particulars, whereof there no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporiæ*, an Hauen towne, not farre within the *Pyrenees*, retaining ſtill the ſame name with little inflection. That by the fame of his clemency, hee allured many Nations to become ſubiect vnto *Rome*, as the ſtorie begins of him, I could eaſily beleeue, if I vnderſtood by what occaſion they had need to vſe his clemency, or he to giue ſuch famous example thereof, being a meere ſtranger, and hauing no iuriſdiction in the Country. Yet is it certaine, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well inſinuate himſelfe into the loue of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better ſucceſſe, for that he ſeemed to haue none other errand, than ſetting them at liberty. This pretext auailed with ſome: others were to be hired with money: and ſome he compelled to yeeld by force or feare; eſpecially, when hee had wonne a battaile againſt *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of accord, made with theſe people, likely it is that he remembred to inſert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances neuer forgate, vnleſſe in long times paſt, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Maieſtatem Pop. Rom. comiter conſeruent*, which is, as *Tullie* interprets it, *That they ſhould gently* (or *kindly*) *vphold the Maieſtie of the people of Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troubleſome: yet implyed it indeed an obſcure couenant of ſubiection. And in this reſpect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *ditionis Romanæ*; *of the Romane iuriſdiction*; though hereafter they will ſay, they had no ſuch meaning. That part of the Countrey wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly ſubdued by *Hannibal* in his paſſage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more eaſily ſhaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Bargutians*; *Hannibal* had found, at his comming among them, ſuch an apprehenſion of the *Roman* greatneſſe, as made him ſuſpect, that any light occaſion would make them ſtart from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore hee not onely appointed *Hanno* Gouernour ouer them, as ouer the reſt of the Prouince betweene *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him alſo their *Lord*; that is, (as I conceiue it; for I doe not thinke hee gaue the Principality of their Country vnto *Hanno* and his Heires,) Hee made him not onely Lieutenant generall ouer them, in matters of Warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but tooke from them all inferiour Officers of their owne, leauing them to be gouerned by *Hanno* at his diſcretion. Theſe therefore had good cauſe to reioyce at the comming of *Scipio*: with whom, others alſo (no doubt) found reaſons to ioyne; it being the cuſtome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their preſent Lords, to throw themſelues indiſcreetly into the protection of others, that many times proue worſe then the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanois*, in the age of our Grand fathers, weary by turnes of the *Spaniards*, and *French*; as more ſenſible ſtill of the preſent euill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater miſchiefe, whereinto they ranne by ſeeking to auoide it. This bad affection of his Prouince, would not ſuffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, *Hannibal* had left vnto him: beſides which it is like, that ſome forces he was able to raiſe out of his Prouince. Therefore he aduentured a battaile with *Scipio*; wherein hee was ouerthrowne and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* beſieged *Stiſſum*, a Towne hard by, and wonne it.

Orat. pro Corn. Balbo.

Liu.lib.21.

Pol.lib.3.

it. But *Aſdrubal* hauing paſſed *Iberus*, and comming too late to the reliefe of *Hanno*, with eight thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, fell vpon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not farre about *Tarracon*, whom he found careleſſe, as after a victory, rouing abroad in the Countrey; and with great ſlaughter draue them aboord their ſhips. This done, hee ranne vp into the Countrey, where he withdrew the *Illergetes* from the *Roman* partie, though they had giuen Hoſtages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the meane ſeaſon was gone to viſit and aide his Fleete: where hauing ſet things in order, he returned backe, and made toward *Aſdrubal*; who durſt not abide his comming, but withdrew himſelfe againe ouer *Iberus*. So the *Illergetes* were compelled by force, hauing loſt *Athanagia* their chiefe Citie, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increaſe the number of their Hoſtages. The *Auſetani* likewiſe, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were beſieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirty dayes; hoping in vaine, that the ſharpe Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would haue made the *Romans* to diſlodge. But they were faine at length to yeeld: and for this their obſtinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of ſiluer. During the ſiege, the *Lacetani* came to helpe their diſtreſſed Neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leauing twelue thouſand of their Company dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how theſe *Lacetani*, that are ſaid to be the firſt which embraced the friendſhip of *Scipio*, ſhould without any cauſe remembred, become *Carthaginian* on the ſudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As alſo it is ſtrange, that all the Sea-coaſt Northward of *Iberus*, hauing lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ, ſubiect vnto Rome*, ſhould in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold Warre againſt *Scipio*, without any reſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I beleeue, that *Aſdrubal*, as it were by a charme, ſtirred vp the *Illergetes*, making them lay aſide all care of their Hoſtages, and take Armes in his quarrell; whileſt himſelfe had not the daring to ſtand againſt *Scipio*, but ranne away, and ſaued himſelfe beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or ſome *Carthaginian* Writer, would haue told it thus: That *Scipio* aduenturing too farre into the Countrey, was beaten by *Aſdrubal* backe to his ſhips, whence he durſt not ſtirre, vntill Winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Prouince, leauing ſome few Garriſons to defend thoſe places, that after *Scipio* wonne, by returning vpon them, vnlooked for, through a deepe ſnow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Illergetes*, and the reſt, we may reaſonably thinke, that they ſought their owne benefit: helping themſelues one while by the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwiſe, vpon ſenſe of iniuries receiued, or apprehenſion of more grieuous tyranny, vnder which they feared to be brought by theſe new Maſters, harkening againe vnto the comfortable promiſes of thoſe, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to liue vnder their owne Countrey Lawes, and not vnder Gouernours ſent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may teſtifie: euen from hencefoorth vnto the dayes of *Auguſtus Cæſar*; till when they were neuer throughly conquered.

Liu.lib.21.

The yeere following this, *Cn.Scipio* had a victorie againſt the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came vpon them vnlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, moſt of their men being on ſhore. All their ſhips, that ranne not two farre on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Maſter of the whole coaſt; landing at pleaſure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victory, aboue one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Eſtates, in *Spaine*, are ſaid to haue ſubmitted themſelues vnto the *Romans*, or giuen Hoſtages: whereby *Aſdrubal* was compelled to flie into the vtmoſt corners of the land, and hide himſelfe in *Lucitania*. Yet it followes; that the *Illergetes* did againe rebell; that *Aſdrubal herenpon came* ouer *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though hauing eaſily vanquiſhed the *Illergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but ſtirred vp againſt him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his ſubiects, and had giuen him Hoſtages. Theſe tooke from the *Carthaginian* three Townes, and vanquiſhed him in two battailes; wherein they ſlue fifteene thouſand of his men, and tooke foure thouſand Priſoners. Then arriued *P.Scipio*, with the ſupply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren ioyntly adminiſtred the buſineſſe in *Spaine*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian Warre*; the two *Scipio's* did *haud cunctanter, without both feare or doubt*, paſſe ouer *Iberus*, and beſieged *Saguntum*. Little cauſe of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already ſubdued many Nations beyond it, and among many others, the ſame *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquiſh *Aſdrubal*.

Aſdrubal. *Boſtar*, the Gouernor of *Saguntum*, a ſimple man, ſuffered himſelfe to be perſwaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the onely way to get the fauour and hearty good will of the Countrey, was by freely reſtoring vnto them their Hoſtages; as reſting, without any pledge, aſſured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being truſted with this meſſage and reſtitution of the Hoſtages, carried them all to the *Roman* Generals: perſwading them, as hee had done *Boſtar*, to make the Liberality their owne. Hereby the *Romans* purchaſed much loue, if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we finde, that all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearſing ſo many particularities, whereof I can beleeue ſo few. But ſince we find no better certainties, we muſt content our ſelues with theſe.

The yeere following was like vnto this: *Aſdrubal* muſt be beaten againe. The two *Scipio's* diuide their forces: *Cn.* makes warre by Land; *P.* by Sea. *Aſdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten foure thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe, out of *Africk*: He repaires his Fleet; and prouides euery way to make reſiſtance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Maſters of his ſhips, reuolt vnto the *Romans*: becauſe they had been chidden the laſt yeere for their negligence, which had betrayed the Nauy. The reuolt of theſe ſhip-maſters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an In-land people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spaine*. Theſe doe much miſchiefe, ſo that *Aſdrubal* is faine to make a iourney to them. His ſudden comming cuts off ſome of them, that were found ſcattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, ſo valiantly aſſaile him, that they driue him, for very feare, to encampe himſelfe ſtrongly on an high peece of ground; whence hee dares not come foorth to giue them battaile. So they take a Towne by force, wherein he had laid vp all his prouiſions; and ſhortly make themſelues Maſters of the Countrey round about. This good ſucceſſe breeds negligence; for which they dearely pay. *Aſdrubal* comes vpon them, takes them vnprepared, beats them, kils the moſt of them, and diſperſeth the reſt; ſo that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*; that *Aſdrubal* ſhould leade his Army forth into *Italy*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to doe, if they had beene informed by his letters in what hard caſe he was; and had ſo weakly ſupplyed him, as is ſhewed before. But thus we find it reported: and that vpon the very rumour of this his iourney, almoſt all *Spaine* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Aſdrubal* therefore ſends word preſently to *Carthage*, That this muſt not be ſo: or, if they will needs haue it ſo, that then they muſt ſend him a Succeſſor, and well attended with a ſtrong Army, which to imploy they ſhould find worke more than enough; ſuch notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much mooued with this excuſe: *Aſdrubal* muſt needes be gone; *Himilco*, with ſuch forces as are thought expedient for that ſeruice both by Land & Sea, is ſent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Aſdrubal* hath now no more to doe, than to furniſh himſelfe with ſtore of money, that he might haue wherewithall to winne the friendſhip of the *Gauls*; through whoſe Countries he muſt paſſe, as **Hannibal** had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly too blame, for not remembring to eaſe him of this care. But ſince it can be no better, he layes great Impoſitions vpon all the *Spaniards* his ſubiects: and hauing gotten together as much treaſure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio's* hearing theſe newes, are carefull how to arreſt him on the way. They beſiege *Ibera* (ſo called of the Riuers name running by it) the richeſt towne in all thoſe quarters, that was confederate with *Aſdrubal*: who thereupon ſteps aſide to relieue it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battaile with him: which they winne the more eaſily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquiſhed at home; than get the victorie, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are ſlaine: and few ſhould haue eſcaped, but that the *Spaniards* ranne away, ere the battailes were fully ioyned. Their Campe the *Romans* take, and ſpoile: whereby (queſtionleſſe) they are maruellouſly enriched; all the money that could be raked together in *Spaine*, being carried along in this *Italian* expedition. This dayes euent ioynes all *Spaine* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Countrey ſtood in doubt before; and puts *Aſdrubal* ſo far from all thought of trauelling into *Italie*, that it leaues him ſmall hope of keeping himſelfe ſafe in *Spaine*. Of theſe exploits aduertiſement is ſent to *Rome*: and *Letters* to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are; That they haue neither money, apparrell, nor bread, wherewith to ſuſtaine their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting: ſo as vnleſſe they may be ſupplyed from

Liu. lib. 23.

Rome, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Prouince. Theſe Letters come to *Rome* in an euill ſeaſon; the State being ſcarcely able, after the loſſe at *Cannæ*, to helpe it ſelfe at home. Yet reliefe is ſent: how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that loue and care, which the priuate Citizens of *Rome* bare vnto the Common-wealth, ſhall be inſerted elſe-where, into the relation of things whereof the truth is leſſe queſtionable. At the comming of this ſupply, the two *Scipio's* purſue *Aſdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What elſe can we thinke, that remember the laſt newes of him, and how fearefully he miſtruſted his owne ſafetie? They find him, and *Mago*, and *Amilcar* the ſonne of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of threeſcore thouſand men, beſieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others, probably coniecture to haue ſtood, where *Carinnena* is now, in the Kingdome of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgis*, afterward called *Forum Iulij*, quite another way) a Towne of the *Illergetes* their neereſt Neighbours, for hauing reuolted vnto the *Romans*. The Towne is greatly diſtreſſed; but moſt of all, for want of victualles. The *Romans* therefore breake through betweene the Enemies Campes, with terrible ſlaughter of all that reſiſt them: and hauing victualled the place, encourage the townſ-men to defend their walls as ſtoutly, as they ſhould anon beholde them fighting manfully with the beſiegers, in their behalfe. So they iſſue forth, about ſixteene thouſand againſt three ſcore thouſand: and killing more of the enemies, than themſelues were in number, driue all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, euery one out of his quarter; and tooke that day, beſides priſoners and other bootie, fiftie and eight Enſignes.

Liu.lib.23.

The *Carthaginian* Armie, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall vpon *Incibili*, that ſtood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning mony by warre, for thus re-enforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondred, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: ſince *Aſdrubal* was lately driuen to poll the Countrey, wanting money of his owne; and being beaten in this iourny, had loſt his wealthy carriages, when his Campe was taken after the battel by *Ibera*. Howſoeuer it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their cuſtome) are beaten againe at *Incibili*: where there were of them aboue thirteene thouſand ſlaine, and aboue three thouſand taken; beſides two and forty Enſignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a maner) all the people of *Spaine* fell from them vnto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antias*, or ſome other Hiſtorian, to whom *Liuy* gaue credit, conquer all *Spaine* twice in one yere, by winning famous victories; whereof theſe good Captaines, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

Liu.lib.23.

The *Romans*, notwithſtanding this large acceſſe of Dominion, winter on their owne ſide of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next yeere, great Armies of the *Spaniards* riſe againſt *Aſdrubal*; and are ouerthrowne by him. *P. Scipio*, to helpe theſe his friends, is forced to make great haſte ouer the Riuer. At *Caſtrum altum*, a place in the mid-way betweene new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of *the great Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* incampeth: and ſtores the place with victualles, being ſtrong and defencible; as intending to make it his ſeate for a while. But the Country round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horſe haue charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off cleare; falling alſo vpon ſome ſtragglers, or ſuch as lagged behind their fellowes in march, they haue cut off two thouſand of them. Hereupon it is thought behouefull, to retire vnto ſome place more aſſured. So *Publ.* withdrawes himſelfe vnto *Mons victoriæ*: that riſing ſomewhat Eaſtward from *Incibili*, ouer-looketh the Southerne Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* purſue him: His brother *Cn.* repaires vnto him; & *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*, with a full Army, arriues to help his Companions. As they lie thus neere incamped together, *P. Scipio*, with ſome light-armed, going cloſely to view the places thereabouts, is diſcouered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdrawes himſelfe to an high piece of ground; where they beſiege him, vntill his brother *Cn.* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Caſtulo*, a great city of *Spaine*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, ioyneth with the *Romans*; though being farre diſtant from them, and ſeated on the head of the Riuer *Bætis*. Neuertheleſſe the *Carthaginians* paſſe ouer *Iberus*, to beſiege *Illiturgi* againe, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garriſon; hoping to win it by famine. We may iuſtly wonder, what ſhould moue them to neglect the rebellion of *Caſtulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying ſo cloſe by them, and to ſeeke aduentures further off, in that very place, wherein they had beene ſo grieuouſly beaten the yeere before. But thither they goe: and thither followes them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes out vpon them the next day, and in two battels kills aboue twelue thouſand, and takes more than a thouſand of them priſoners, with ſixe and thirty Enſignes. This victorie (doubtleſſe) is remarkeable: conſidering that the greateſt *Roman* Legion at this time, conſiſted of no more than fiue thouſand men. The vanquiſhed *Carthaginians* beſiege *Bigarra:* but that ſiege is alſo raiſed by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remoue to *Munda*; where the *Romans* are ſoone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that laſteth foure houres, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory; and a more notable would haue gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* beene wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed; and twelue thouſand men; three thouſand priſoners taken, and ſeauen and fifty Enſignes. The *Carthaginians* flie to *Auringes*; and the *Romans* purſue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquiſheth the *Carthaginians* againe: but kills not halfe ſo many of them, as before; good cauſe why, for there are *fewer* of them left to fight. Notwithſtanding all theſe ouerthrowes, the *Spaniards*, a people framed euen by nature to ſet warre on foot, quickly fill vp the broken troups of *Aſdrubal:* who hauing alſo hired ſome of the *Gaules*, aduentures once more to trie his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten againe: and looſeth eight thouſand of his men; beſides Priſoners, Elephants, Enſignes, and other appurtenances. After ſo many victories, the *Romans* are euen aſhamed, to leaue *Saguntum* enthralled vnto the *Carthaginians*; ſince, in behalfe of that Cittie, they had at firſt entred into this warre. And well may we thinke it ſtrange, that they had not recouered it long before, ſince we may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Countrey once and againe. But it muſt not be forgotten, that they had ere now beſieged *Saguntum*; and were faine (as appeares) to goe their way without it: ſo as they neede not to bluſh, for hauing ſo long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe. At the preſent they wonne *Saguntum*: and reſtore the poſſeſſion thereof vnto ſuch of the poore diſperſed Citizens, as they can finde out. They alſo waſte and deſtroy the Countrey of the *Turdetani*, that had miniſtred vnto *Hannibal* matter of quarrell againſt the *Saguntines*. This laſt action (queſtionleſſe) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be aſſured, that the *Carthaginians* would haue diſturbed them, if they had beene able.

Liv.lib.24.

But ouer-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* haue gotten in *Spaine*, other print or token of all their braue exploits, wee can perceiue none, than this recouery of *Saguntum*: excepting the ſtopping of *Aſdrubals* iourney; which was indeede of greateſt importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they haue landed at *Emporiæ*, an Hauen towne, built and peopled by a Colonie of the *Phocæans*, kinne to the *Maſſilians*, friends to the *Romans*; They haue eaſily wonne to their party, loſt, recouered, and loſt againe, ſome pettie bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perſwaſion, other-whiles by force, and ſometimes by their owne vnſettled paſſions; and now finally they haue won a Towne, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire poſſeſſion, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may eaſily beleeue, that when they tooke *Saguntum* (if they tooke it not by ſurpriſe; which is to be ſuſpected, ſince in this Action we finde no particulars remembred, as when the ſame place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in ſome notable fight. In like ſort alſo muſt we thinke, that all thoſe battailes lately remembred, after euery one of which *Aſdrubal* ſate downe before ſome place, that had rebelled, or ſeemed ready to rebell, were proſperous vnto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the cuſtome of Armies vanquiſhed, to carry the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themſelues within their owne places of ſtrength, and therein to attend the leuie and arriuall of new ſupplies. And ſurely, if the *Romans* had beene abſolute Maſters of the field, when they wonne *Saguntum*, they would not haue conſumed a whole yeere following, in practiſing onely with the *Celtiberians* the next adioyning people. Yet made they this, little leſſe than two yeeres buſineſſe. Of theſe *Celtiberians* we heare before, That they haue yeelded vp themſelues vnto the *Romans*; for ſecuritie of their faith, giuen Hoſtages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made warre againſt the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is ſtrange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expreſſe condition of a great ſumme, hired to ſerue in the *Roman* camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceiue; vnleſſe perhaps in thoſe daies it were the *Roman* cuſtome, or rather the cuſtome of ſome bad Author whom *Liuie* followes, to call euery meſſenger, or ſtraggler, that entred their campe, an Hoſtage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, ſend an Army of thirty thouſand to helpe the *Romans*: out of which, three hundred the fitteſt men are choſen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deale with their Countrey-men that follow *Hannibal* in his warres. But if any of theſe three hundred returne backe into *Spaine*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him ſuch newes of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellowes at home are the leſſe vnwilling to follow *Aſdrubal*, when he ſhall next haue a deſire to leade them into *Italy*. Hereof we finde more than probability, when theſe mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipio's*, preſuming on this acceſſe of ſtrength, diuide their forces, and ſeeke out the Enemies; who lie not farre off with three Armies. *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar*, is neereſt at hand; euen among the *Celtiberians*, at *Anitorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the feare is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being deſtroyed; *Mago* the ſonne of *Giſco*, hearing the newes, will make vſe of their diſtance, which is fiue dayes march, and, by running into the furtheſt parts of the Countrey, ſaue themſelues from being ouer-taken. *Publius* therefore muſt make the more haſte, and take with him the better ſouldiers, that is, two parts of the olde *Roman* Armie; leauing the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his brother. Hee that hath the longer iourny to make, comes ſomewhat the ſooner to his liues end. *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſco*, are not ſtudying how to runne away: they finde no ſuch neceſſity. They ioyne their forces together; meet with *Publius Scipio*; and lay at him ſo hardly, that hee is driuen to keepe himſelfe cloſe within his Trenches: wherein hee thinkes himſelfe not well aſſured. Eſpecially he is vexed by *Maſaniſſa*, Prince of the *Maſſæſyli*, *Numidians* bordering vpon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chiefe honor of this ſeruice is aſcribed, for that hee becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous caſe *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis*, a *Spaniſh* Prince, is coming with ſeuen thouſand and fiue hundred of the *Sueſſetani*, to ioyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be ſtreight ſhut vp, and beſieged, he iſſues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* vpon the way; leauing *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, with a ſmall company to defend the camp. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the firſt encounter. The fight continues ſo long, that the *Numidian* horſe appeare (whom he thought to haue beene ignorant of his departure) and fall vpon the *Romans* on all ſides: neyther are the *Carthaginians* farre behinde; but come ſo faſt vpon him in Reare, that *P. Scipio*, vncertaine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where neede moſt requireth, is ſtrucke through with a lance, and ſlaine: very few of his Army eſcaping the ſame deſtinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty daies after. At his meeting with *Aſdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercenaries all forſake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Countrey. If *Anitorgis*, where *Aſdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beuterus* takes it, a *Celtiberian* towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may iuſtly beleeue, that they were wonne by *Aſdrubal*, and eaſily perſwaded to take as much mony for not fighting, as they ſhould haue had for hazarding their liues. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being vnable to ſtay them; and no leſſe vnable, without their helpe, either to reſiſt the Enemie, or to ioyne with his Brother, maketh a very violent retrait; herein onely differing from plaine flight, that he keeps his men together. *Aſdrubal* preſſeth hard vpon him: and *Mago*, with *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*, hauing made an end of *Publius*, haſten to diſpatch his brother after him. *Scipio* ſteales from them all, by night; but is ouertaken the next day by their horſe, and arreſted, in an open place of hard ſtonie ground, where growes not ſo much as a ſhrubbe, vnfit for defence of his Legions againſt ſuch enemies. Yet a little Hill hee findes of eaſie aſcent on euery ſide; which hee takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with packe-ſaddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Palliſado. Theſe weake defences the *Carthaginians* ſoone teare in ſunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leaue very few of them aliue; that ſauing themſelues, I know not how, within ſome woods adioyning, eſcape vnto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as is before ſaid. It is a terrible ouerthrow, they ſay, out of which no man eſcapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on euery ſide, in ſo bare a ground as affoorded not a ſhrub to couer them, could breake out, and ſhrowd themſelues within woods adioyning, I ſhould much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio's* campe, on the North ſide of *Iberus*, fearefull (as may be ſuppoſed) of his owne life; ſince his Generall, with two parts of the *Romane* Armie, had little hope to remaine long ſafe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a yong *Roman* Gentleman of a notable ſpirit: who hauing gathered together the ſcattered Souldiers, and drawne ſome Companies out of their Garriſons, makes a pretie Armie. The Souldiers, being to chooſe a Generall by moſt voices, preferre this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant, as well they may. For *Aſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Giſco*, comming vpon them; this *L. Martius* ſo encourageth his men, (fondly weeping when he led them forth, vpon remembrance of their more honourable Generals lately ſlaine) and admoniſheth them of their preſent neceſſitie, that he beates the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might haue gotten, but that he wiſely ſounds the retrait; reſeruing the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occaſion. The *Carthaginians* are at firſt amazed, and wonder whence this new boldneſſe growes, in enemies lately vanquiſhed, and now againe little better than taken: but when they ſee, that the *Roman* dares not follow his aduantage, they returne to their former ſecurity; and vtterly deſpiſing him, ſet neither *Corps du gard*, nor Sentinell, but reſt ſecure, as if no enemy were neere. *Martius* therefore animates his ſouldiers with liuely words; and tels them, That there is no aduenture more ſafe, than that which is furtheſt from ſuſpition of being vnder-taken. They are ſoone perſwaded to follow him, in any deſperate peece of ſeruice. So he leades them forth by night; and ſteales vpon the Campe of *Aſdrubal*: where finding no guard, but the enemies faſt a-ſleepe, or very drowzie, Hee enters without reſiſtance, fires their Cabbins, and giues a terrible alarme; ſo that all afrighted, the *Carthaginians* run head-long one vpon another, they know not which way. All paſſages out of their Campe *Martius* hath prepoſſeſſed, ſo that there is no way to eſcape, ſaue by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke vpon it, and run away toward the Campe of *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar*, that lay ſixe miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley betweene their two campes hee hath beſtowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horſe; ſo that into this Ambuſh they fall euery one, and are cut in peeces. But leſt perchance any ſhould haue eſcaped, and giue the alarme before his comming; *Martius* haſtens to be there as ſoone as they. By which diligent ſpeed, He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe: which with no great difficulty hee enters; and partly by apprehenſion of danger which the Enemies conceiued, when they beheld the *Roman* ſhields, foule, and bloudied with their former execution, Hee driues head-long into flight, all that can ſaue themſelues from the fury of the ſword. Thirtie ſeauen thouſand of the enemies periſh in this nights worke; beſides a thouſand eight hundred and thirty, taken priſoners. Heereunto *Valerius Antias* addes, that the campe of *Mago* was alſo taken, and ſeuen thouſand ſlaine: and that in another battaile with *Aſdrubal*, there were ſlaine tenne thouſand more; beſides foure thouſand three hundred and thirtie taken priſoners. Such is the power of ſome Hiſtorians. *Liuie* therefore hath elſewhere well obſerued, That there is none ſo intemperate, as *Valerius Antias*, in multiplying the numbers that haue fallen in battailes. That, whileſt *Martius* was making an Oration to his ſouldiers, a flame of fire ſhone about his head, *Liuie* reporteth as a common tale, not giuing thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captaine *Martius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if with ſo ſmall forces, and in ſuch diſtreſſe, Hee could cleerely get off from the Enemies, and giue them any parting blow, though it were farre leſſe then that which is heere ſet downe.

Of theſe occurrents *L. Martius* ſent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his owne good ſeruice, whatſoeuer it was, but ſetting it out in ſuch wiſe, as the Senate might iudge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in *Spaine*: which the better to intimate vnto them, He ſtiled himſelfe Propretor. The *Fathers* were no leſſe moued with the tidings than the caſe required: and therefore tooke ſuch carefull order, for ſupplying their forces in *Spaine*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies leuied to ſerue in that Prouince, could be ſent away; yet would they not ſtay a tide for defence of the Citie it ſelfe, but ſhipped them in all haſte for *Spaine*. As for that tirle of Propretor, which *Martius* had aſſumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his preſumption in vſurping it: foreſeeing well, that it was a matter of ill conſequence, to haue the ſouldiers abroad make choice, among themſelues, of thoſe that ſhould command Armies and Prouinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was diſpatched away, with all conuenient haſte, into *Spaine*: carrying with him about ſixe thouſand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* Horſe, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about theſe times, the affaires of *Rome* began to proſper in *Italy*; and afforded meanes of ſending abroad ſuch a ſtrong ſupply: otherwiſe, the victories of *Martius* would ill haue ſerued, either to keepe footing in *Spaine*, or to ſtop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alpes*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Army, which was vnder *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found ſurer tokens of the ouerthrowes receiued, than of thoſe miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts vnto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forſaken by moſt of the *Spaniſh* friends: whō how to reclaim, it would not eaſily be deuiſed. Yet *Claudius* aduanced boldly towards *Aſdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Auſetani*, neere enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no iſſue, but onely through a ſtreight, whereon the *Roman* ſeized at his firſt comming. What ſhould haue tempted any man of vnderſtanding to incampe in ſuch a place, I doe not finde: and as little reaſon can I find in that which followed. For it is ſaid, That *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing himſelfe thus lockt vp, made offer to depart forth-with out of all *Spaine*, and quit the Prouince to the *Romans*, vpon condition, that hee and his Armie might be thence diſmiſſed; That he ſpent many dayes, in entertayning parlee with *Claudius* about this buſineſſe; That night by night he conueighed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult paſſages, out of the danger; and that finally taking aduantage of a miſty day, He ſtole away with all his Horſe and Elephants; leauing his Campe empty. If we conſider, that there were at the ſame time, beſides this *Aſdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generalls in *Spaine*; we ſhall finde no leſſe cauſe to wonder at the ſimplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargaine for ſo great a Countrey, with one of theſe three Chieftaines, than at the ſtrange nature of thoſe paſſages: through which the footmen could hardly creepe out by night; the Horſe and Elephants eaſily following them in a darke miſtie day. Wherefore in giuing beliefe to ſuch a tale, it is needfull that we ſuppoſe, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their ſafe departure, to haue been of farre leſſe value. Howſoeuer it was; neither this, nor ought elſe that the *Romans* could doe, ſerued to purchaſe any new friends in *Spaine*, or to recouer the old which they had loſt. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had choſen *Martius* their Propretor, tooke it not well; that the Senate, regardleſſe of their good deſerts, had repealed their election, and ſent a Propretor whom they fancied not ſo well. Some ſuch occaſion may haue moued them to deſire a Proconſul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity, were needfull to worke regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloued memorie of *Cn.* and *Publius* likely to doe good, were it reuiued in one of the ſame Family. Whether vpon theſe, or vpon other reaſons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Prouince; and *Publius* the ſonne of *P. Scipio* ſent Proconſul into *Spaine*.

This is that *Scipio*, who afterward transferred the warre into *Africk*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Countrey. He was a man of goodly preſence, and ſingularly well conditioned: eſpecially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other vertues that purchaſe loue; of which qualities what great vſe he made, ſhall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for thoſe things that are reported of him, ſauouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; How he vſed to walke alone in the *Capitoll*, as one that had ſome ſecret conference with *Iupiter*; How a Dragon (which muſt haue beene one of the gods; and, in likelyhood *Iupiter* himſelfe) was thought to haue conuerſed with his Mother, entring her Chamber often, & vaniſhing away at the comming in of any man; and how of theſe matters he nouriſhed the rumour, by doubtfull anſwers; I hold them no better than fables, deuiſed by Hiſtorians, who thought thereby to adde vnto the glory of *Rome*: that this noble Citie might ſeeme, not onely to haue ſurpaſſed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but alſo in great woorth of one ſingle man. To this ende nothing is left out, that might ſerue to adorne this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter of vnqueſtionable truth,That when a Proconſul was to be choſen for *Spaine*,there durſt not any Captaine of the principall Citizens offer himſelfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of *Rome* were much aſtoniſhed thereat; That when the day of Election came,all the Princes of the Citie ſtood looking one another in the face,not one of them hauing the heart,to aduenture himſelfe in ſuch a deſperate ſeruice; and finally,That this *P.Cornelius Scipio*, being then about foure and twenty yeeres of age,getting vp on an high place where he might be ſeen of all the multitude,requeſted,and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vpon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L.Martius* no better than dreames:& either very vnreaſonable was the feare of all the *Roman* Captaines,who durſt not follow *Claudius Nero*,that not long before was gone into *Spaine* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Prouince,which *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian*,as we heard euen now, was ready to abandon. But vpon theſe incoherences,which I finde in the too partiall *Roman* Hiſtorians,I doe not willingly inſiſt.

P.Scipio was ſent Proconſul into *Spaine*; and with him was ioyned *M.Iunius Syllanus*, as Propretor,and his Coadiutor. They carried with them tenne thouſand foote, and a thouſand horſe,in thirty *Quinquereme Gallies*. With theſe they landed at *Emporiæ*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon* alongſt the Sea-coaſt. At the fame of *Scipio's* arriuall, it is ſaid,that Embaſſages came to him apace from all quarters of the Prouince: which he entertained with ſuch a maieſtie,as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and ſo much the greater was their feare, by how much the leſſe they could giue any reaſon of it. If we muſt beleeue this, then muſt we needes beleeue, that their feare was euen as great as could be: for very little cauſe there was,to be terrified with the fame of ſo young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or,as ſome thinke, all the next yeere) hee did nothing: but ſpent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done,in treating with the *Spaniards*. His firſt enterprize was againſt new *Carthage*: vpon which he came vnexpected, with fiue and twenty thouſand foot,and two thouſand fiue hundred horſe; his Sea-forces coaſting him,and moderating their courſe in ſuch wiſe, that they arriued there together with him. He aſſailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wonne it by aſſault the firſt day. The *Carthaginians* loſt it, by their too much confidence vpon the ſtrength of it: which cauſed them to man it more ſlenderly,than was requiſite. Yet it might haue been well enough defended, if ſome Fiſher-men of *Tarracon* had not diſcouered vnto *Scipio*,a ſecret paſſage vnto the walles; whereof the Townſmen themſelues were either ignorant,or thought (at leaſt) that their enemies could haue no notice. This Citie of new *Carthage*, reſembled the old and great *Carthage* in ſituation; ſtanding vpon a demi-Iland, betweene an Hauen and a great Lake. All the Weſterne ſide of the wals,and ſomewhat of the North,was fenced with this Lake: which the Fiſher-men of *Tarracon* had ſounded; and finding ſome part thereof a ſhelfe, whereon at low water men might paſſe knee-deep,or(at moſt)wading vp to the Nauill, *Scipio* thruſt therinto ſome Companies of his men; who recouered the top of the walles without reſiſtance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it ſelfe by the naturall ſtrength. Theſe falling ſuddenly vpon the backes of the *Carthaginians* within the Citie; eaſily forced a gate,and gaue free entrance to the *Roman* Army. What booty was found within the Towne,*Liuie* himſelfe cannot certainely affirme; but is faine to ſay, That ſome *Roman* Hiſtorians told lies without meaſure,in way of amplification. By that ſmall proportion of riches,which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treaſury,we may eaſily perceiue,how great a vanity it was to ſay, That all the wealth of *Africk* and *Spaine*, was heaped vp in that one Towne. But therein were beſtowed all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages: (or at leaſt of the adioyning Prouinces) whom *Scipio* entreated with ſingular courteſie; reſtoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in ſuch gracious manner, as doubled the thankes due to ſo great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lacetani*, neereſt Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North-ſide of *Iberus*,forſooke the *Carthaginian* party,and ioyned with the *Romans*. The ſpeech of *Indibilis*,King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended: for that he did not vant himſelfe,as commonly fugitiues vſe, of the pleaſure which he did vnto the *Romans*, in reuolting from their enemies;but rather excuſed this his changing ſide,as being thereto compelled by iniuries of the *Carthaginians*,and inuited by the honourable dealing of

Scipio. This temperate eſtimation of his new profeſſed friendſhip, was indeed no vnſure token, that it ſhould be long-laſting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we haue heard before) forſaken the *Carthaginian* party, and ſtoutly held themſelues as friends to *Cn.Scipio*; then could nothing haue beene deuiſed more vaine, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King; excuſing, as new, his taking part with the ſame, when he ſhould haue rather craued pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vncle. Moſt likely therefore it is, that howſoeuer the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten ſome few places among theſe their Neighbours, and held them by ſtrength; yet were the *Romans* neuer maſters of the Country, till this worthy Commander, by recouering their Hoſtages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in ſending them home, won vnto himſelfe the aſſured loue & aſſiſtance of theſe Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generals, when they heard of this loſſe, were very ſorry: yet neuertheleſſe they ſet a good face on the matter; ſaying, That a young man, hauing ſtolne a Towne by ſurpriſe, was too farre tranſported, and ouer-ioyed, but that ſhortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more conuenient temper.

Now if I ſhould here interpoſe mine owne coniecture; I ſhould be bold to ſay, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time buſie, in ſetting forth toward *Italie*; and that *Scipio*, to diuert them, vnder-tooke new *Carthage*, as his Father and Vncle, vpon the like occaſion, ſate downe before *Ibera*. And in this reſpect I would ſuppoſe, that it had not been much amiſſe, if the paſſage ouer the Lake had been vndiſcouered, and the Towne helde out ſome longer while. For howſoeuer that particular Action was the more fortunate, in comming to ſuch good iſſue vpon the firſt day: yet in the generality of the buſineſſe, betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wiſhed, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould be ſtayed from going into *Italy*, than that halfe of *Spaine* ſhould be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to doe, that ſhould hinder his iourney; *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Giſco*, were thought ſufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingring warre of taking and retaking Towne, whileſt the maine of the *Carthaginian* forces, vnder *Aſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterpriſe: euen to fight in tryall of the Empire. But the *Roman* Hiſtorians tell this after another faſhion; and ſay, That *Aſdrubal* was beaten into *Italie*: whither he ran for feare, as thinking himſelfe ill aſſured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but heare the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, ſay they, comming vpon *Aſdrubal*; his Vantcourrers charged ſo luſtily the *Carthaginian* horſe, that they draue them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, euen by that ſmall peece of ſeruice, how full of ſpirit the *Roman* Army was, and how deiected the Enemy. *Aſdrubal* therefore by night retyred out of that euen ground, and occupied an Hill, compaſſed on three ſides with the Riuer, very ſteepe of aſcent, and not eaſie of acceſſe on the foreſide; by which himſelfe got vp, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he ſtrongly incamped himſelfe: and in the mid-way, betweene the top and root of the Hill, was alſo another Plaine; into which he deſcended, more vpon brauery, that he might not ſeeme to hide himſelfe within his Trenches, than for that he durſt aduenture his Army to the hazzard of a battaile, for which this was no equall ground. But ſuch aduantage of place could not ſaue him from the *Romans*. They climed vp the Hill to him; they recouered euen footing with him; droue him out of this lower Plaine, vp into his Campe on the Hill top: whither although the aſcent were very difficult, and his Elephants beſtowed in the ſmootheſt places to hinder their approach; yet compaſſing about, and ſeeking paſſage where it was hardeſt to be found; but much more ſtrongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got vp before them, they draue both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is ſaid, that there was no way to flie. Out of ſuch a battaile, wherein hee had loſt eight thouſand men, *Aſdrubal* is ſaid to haue eſcaped; and gathering together his diſperſed troupes, to haue marched towards the *Pyrenees*, hauing ſent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Neuertheleſſe, *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſco*, are reported after this, to haue conſulted with him about this Warre; and finally to haue concluded, that goe hee needes muſt, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards* as farre as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to haue been true, it ſhal appeare at his comming into *Italy*; whence theſe incoherent relations of the *Spaniſh* affaires, haue too long detained vs.

§. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal *raiſed in all quarters, to the Citie of Rome.* Poſthumius *the Roman Generall, with his whole Army, is ſlaine by the Gaules.* Philip *King of Macedon, enters into a League with* Hannibal, *againſt the Romans. The Romans ioyning with the Ætolians, make warre vpon* Philip *in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him; the better to intend their buſineſſe againſt the Carthaginians.*

WE left *Hannibal* wintering at *Capua*: where he and his new Confederates reioyced (as may be thought) not a little, to heare the good newes from *Carthage* of ſuch mighty aide, as was decreed to be ſent thence vnto him. In former times he had found worke enough, to carry the *Romans* corne into his owne barnes, and to driue away their Cattell to *Geryon*: his victories affording him little other profit, then ſuſtenance for his Army; by making him Maſter of the open field. Hee might perhaps haue forc'd ſome walled townes, in like ſort as he did *Geryon*, & the Caſtle of *Cannæ*: but had he ſpent much time, about the getting of any one place well deẽfded; the hunger, that his Army muſt haue endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill corne were ripe, would haue grieuouſly puniſhed him for ſuch imployment of the Summer. This may haue beene the reaſon, why he forbore to aduenture vpon *Rome*, after his victory at *Cannæ*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the Citie at his firſt comming; want of victuals would haue compelled him to quit the enterpriſe. Yea, many of the people that opened ſo haſtily their gates vnto him, vpon the freſh bruit of his glorious ſucceſſe, would haue taken time of deliberation, & waited perhaps the euent of another battaile: if being, either for want of meanes to force the Citie, or of neceſſaries to continue a ſiege before it, repelled (as might ſeeme) from the walles of *Rome*, he had preſented himſelfe vnto them with a leſſened reputation, ſomewhat later in the yeere; when time to force their obedience was wanting, vnleſſe they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and trauell was paſt, when ſo many States of *Italy* were become his: the yeere following, the *Samnites*, and other old enemies of *Rome*, were like to receiue a notable pleaſure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay ſiege vnto that proud Citie, which ſo long had held them in ſubiection. Thus the winter was paſſed ouer ioyfully, ſauing that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to ſecond the welcome report of thoſe mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promiſed ſupply there arriued no more, than onely the Elephants. How late it was ere theſe came, I finde not: onely we finde, that after this he had aboue thirty of them; whereas all, ſaue one, that he brought ouer the *Alpes*, had beene loſt in his iourney through the Mariſhes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuſe of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make vnto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truely, what miſchiefes the perſwaſion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwiſe, they might perhaps inform him, that it was thought a ſafer, though a farther way about, to paſſe along through *Spaine* and *Gaule*, as he himſelfe had done; and increaſe the Army, by hyring the *Barbarians* in the iourney; than to commit the maine ſtrength of their Citie, to the hazzard of the Seas: eſpecially wanting a commodious Hauen, to receiue the Fleete that ſhould carry ſuch a number of Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with all needfull prouiſions. With theſe allegations *Hannibal* muſt reſt content; and ſeeke, as well as he can, to ſatisfie his *Italian* Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeere ſerued, He tooke the field: and hauing finiſhed what reſted to be done at *Caſilinum*, ſought to make himſelfe Maſter of ſome good Hauen-towne thereabout; that might ſerue to entertaine the *Carthaginian* Fleet; or take from his Enemies at home all excuſe, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the ſame purpoſe, and to doe what elſe was needfull, He ſent *Himilco* vnto the *Locrians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to aſſay all quarters of *Italy*, yea, the Iles of *Sicil* and *Sardinia*; ſince the ſiege of *Rome*, muſt needes be deferred vnto another yere. *Hanno* made an ill iourney of it, being met, or ouer-taken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who ſlue aboue two thouſand of his men; with the loſſe of fewer, than three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* ſped farre better. By helpe of the *Brutians*, his good friends, he won *Petellia* or *Petilia* by force; after it had held out ſome moneths. He won likewiſe *Conſentia*; and *Croton*, that was forſaken by the Inhabitants. Alſo the City of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yeelded vnto him: as did all other places thereabout; except onely the Towne of *Rhegium*, ouer againſt *Sicil*.

The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthy to be recorded, as a notable teſtimony of the good gouernment, vnder which the *Roman* ſubiects liued. As for the *Samnites*, *Campanes*, and others, whoſe earneſtneſſe in rebellion may ſeeme to proue the contrary; wee are to conſider, That they had lately contended with *Rome* for Soueraignty, and were now tranſported with ambition: which reaſon can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did ſend to *Rome* for helpe: where their Meſſengers receiued anſwer from the Senate, That the publike misfortunes had not left meanes, to relieue their Aſſociats that were ſo farre diſtant. The *Petilian* Meſſengers (Embaſſadours they are termed; as were all others, publikely ſent from Cities of the *Roman* ſubiection, that had a priuate iuriſdiction within themſelues) fell downe to the ground, and humbly beſought the *Fathers*, not to giue them away: promiſing to do and ſuffer whatſoeuer was poſſible, in defence of their Towne, againſt the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to conſultation againe: and hauing throughly conſidered all their forces remaining, plainly confeſſed, that it was not in their power to giue any relief. Wherefore theſe Embaſſadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens prouide hereafter for their owne ſafety, as hauing already diſcharged their faith to the vtmoſt. All this notwithſtanding, the *Petilians* (as was ſaid) held out ſome moneths: and hauing ſtriuen in vaine to defend themſelues, when there was no apparent poſſibilitie, gaue to the *Carthaginians* a bloudie victorie ouer them; being vanquiſhed as much by famine, as by any violence of the Aſſailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeed in ſuch ill caſe, that *Hannibal*, with a little helpe from *Carthage*, might haue reduced them into termes of great extremitie. For whereas, in a great brauerie, before their loſſe at *Cannæ*, they had ſhewed their high mindes, by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithſtanding the great warre that lay vpon them ſo neere at hand: it now fell out miſerably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better then at home. *L. Poſthumius Albinus* their Prætor they had ſent, with an Armie of fiue and twenty thouſand, into *Gaule*; to the *Illyrian* King *Pineus* they had ſent for their Tribute due, whereof the pay-day was paſt, willing him, if hee deſired forbearance, to deliuer hoſtages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had ſent, to require, that hee ſhould deliuer vp vnto them *Demetrius Pharius*, their Subiect and Rebell, whom he had receiued. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little ſutable to their former glorious conceits. *Poſthumius* with all his Armie was cut in pieces by the *Gaules*, in ſuch ſort, that ſcarce ten men eſcaped. The manner of his ouerthrow was very ſtrange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gaules*, *Litana*; through which he was to paſſe. Againſt his comming, the Enemies had ſawed the Trees ſo far, that a little force would ſerue to caſt them downe. When therefore *Poſthumius*, with his whole Armie, was entred into this dangerous paſſage, the *Gaules*, that lay about the Wood, began to caſt downe the Trees: which falling one againſt another, bore all downe ſo faſt, that the *Romanes* were ouer-whelmed, Men and Horſes; in ſuch wiſe, that no more eſcaped, than is ſaid before. How this tedious worke of ſawing ſo many Trees, could take deſired effect, and neither be perceiued, nor made fruſtrate, either by ſome winde, that might haue blowne all downe before the *Romanes* entred, or by ſome other of thoſe many accidents, whereto the deuice was ſubiect; I do not well conceiue. Yet ſome ſuch thing may haue beene done: and what failed in the ſtratagem, ſupplied with the Enemies ſword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the ſauage condition, wherewith *Lombardie*, a Countrie now ſo ciuill, was infected in elder times, That of *Poſthumius* his skull, being cleanſed, and trimmed vp with gold, a drinking cup was made, and conſecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy veſſell, for the vſe of the Prieſt in their ſolemnities. Of this great ouerthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*; the amazement was no leſſe then the calamitie. But ſorrow could giue no remedie to the miſchiefe: and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to reuenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none: neither do I finde, that any was a ſecond time demanded; this we finde, That with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus Illyrian* Kings, as alſo with *Gentius*, who reigned within a few yeres following, the *Romans* dealt vpon euen tearmes; entreating their aſſiſtance againſt *Philip* and *Perſeus*; not commanding their duetie, as Vaſſals. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For hauing aſſured his affaires in *Greece*, and enioying leiſure to looke into the doings abroad, He ſent Embaſſadours to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a league, vpon theſe conditions; That the King in perſon ſhould come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, aſſiſt the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* warre, vntill it were finiſhed; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the ſpoile therein to be gotten, ſhould be left entire vnto the State of *Carthage*; And that afterwards *Hannibal* with his Armie ſhould paſſe into *Greece*, and there aſſiſt *Philip*, vntill hee had ſubdued all his Enemies: (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leauing ſemblably vnto him the full poſſeſſion of that country, and the Iles adjoyning. But ſuch prediſpoſition of Kingdoms and Prouinces, is lightly comptrolled by the diuine Prouidence, which therein ſhewes *It* ſelfe not (as *Herodotus* falſly termes it, and like an *Atheiſt)* enuious or malicious, but very juſt and majeſticall; in vp-holding that vnſpeakable greatneſſe of Soueraignty, by which *It* rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The firſt Embaſſadours that *Philip* ſent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: & being examined what they were, aduentured vpon a bold lie, ſaying, That they were ſent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great neceſſitie. Theſe newes were ſo welcome, that the ioy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquiry. So they were louingly feaſted, and freely diſmiſſed with guides that ſhould leade them the way, and ſhew them how to auoyde the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus inſtructed concerning their iourny, fell wilfully into the Campe of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better faſhion; and concluded the buſineſſe, about which they came, vpon the points before remembred. In their returne homeward, they happened againe vnluckily to be deſcried by the *Roman* fleete; which, miſtruſting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gaue them chace. They did their beſt to haue eſcaped: but being ouer taken, they ſuffered the *Romans* to come aboord; and truſting to the lie that once had ſerued them, ſaid it againe, That hauing beene ſent from King *Philip*, to make a league with the People of *Rome*, they were not able, by reaſon of the *Carthaginians* lying betweene, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius* the Pretor, vnto whom they had ſignified the good affection of the King their Maſter. The tale was now leſſe credible than before: and (which marred all) *Giſco Boſtar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were ſent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being preſently detected, made the matter apparant. Wherefore a little inquiſition ſerued to find all out: ſo that at length *Hannibals* owne letters to King *Philip* were deliuered vp, and the whole buſineſſe confeſſed. The Embaſſadours and their followers were ſent cloſe priſoners to *Rome*: where the chiefe of them were caſt into priſon; and the reſt ſold for bond-ſlaues. Yet one of their ſhips that eſcaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon a new Embaſſage was ſent, that went and returned with better ſpeed; concluding, as was agreed before; onely with ſome loſſe of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heauy weight this *Macedonian* warre, in an euill houre, was likely to fall vpon them; when their ſhoulders were ouer-burdened with the loade of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they tooke a noble reſolution; and ſutable vnto that, whereby they kept off the ſtorme, that elſe would haue beaten vpon them from *Spaine*. They judged it more eaſie, with ſmall forces to detaine *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their ſtrength to reſiſt him in *Italy*. And heerein they were in the right. For that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, ioyning with *Hannibal* in ſuch a time, would haue ſufficed to ſhake the allegeance, not onely of the *Latines*, and other their moſt faithfull Subiects, but euen of the *Roman* Colonies that held all priuiledges of the Citie, it will appeare by the following ſucceſſe of things. *M. Valerius* the Pretor, with twenty *Quinquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend vpon the *Macedonian*, and to ſet on foot ſome commotion in *Greece*; or to nouriſh the troubles already therein begunne. *Philip* was buſie about the Sea townes, that looked towards *Italy*, ſetting vpon *Apollonia*; and thence falling vpon *Oricum*; which he wonne, and ſo returned to *Apollonia* againe. The *Epirots* craued helpe of *M. Valerius*: or rather accepted his kind offers; who had none other buſineſſe to doe. The Garriſon that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was ſtrong enough to hold the Towneſ-men in good order; but not to keep out the *Romans*: of whoſe daring to attempt any thing againſt him, on that ſide the Sea, *Philip* as then had no ſuſpition. *Valerius* therefore eaſily regained the Towne; and ſent thence a thouſand men, vnder *Næuius Criſpus*, an vnder-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into *Apollonia*. Theſe made a notable ſallie; and brake into *Philips* Trenches with ſo great ſlaughter, that they forced him to forſake his campe, and raiſe the ſiege. The King purpoſed (as it is ſaid) to haue departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his fleet from *Oricum*, ſtopped vp the mouth of the Riuer; ſo that he was faine to burne his ſhips, (which belike were no better than long boates) and depart ill furniſhed of carriages, by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwayes enemy to the Crowne of *Macedon*: and eaſily perſwaded them (being ſo affected, as hath elſe-where beene ſhewed) to make ſtrong warre on *Philip*; wherein he promiſed them great aſſiſtance from the *Romans*. That which moſt moued the troubleſome ſpirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the *Roman* was as liberall in making promiſe, as if already it had bene his owne. So a league was made betweene them: and afterward ſolemnely publiſhed at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*; and by the *Romans*, in their *Capitoll*. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Corcyra*, in which ſpace *Acarnania* was contained, all the Countrey ſhould be ſubdued, and left vnto the *Ætolians*, the pillage onely to be giuen to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it ſhould be with Prouiſion, to hold no longer than whileſt he abſtained from doing iniurie to the *Romans*, or their Aſſociates. This was indeed the onely point, whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promiſed as much on the *Romans* behalfe, That they ſhould not make peace with the *Macedonian*, vnleſſe it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this league was place reſerued for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to thoſe that had made or fauored the ſide of *Cleomenes* againſt the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleaſure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: the firſt of which reigned at *Pergamus*, in *Aſia* the leſſe, a Prince hereafter much to be ſpoken of; the other two held ſome part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were ſo farre from contending with them, that gladly they ſought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of theſe Aſſociates, are thruſt into the Treatie; rather to giue it countenance, than for any readineſſe which they diſcloſe to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Pretor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet a while the onely men, of whom the *Roman* Generals muſt make much; as the late *French* King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had onely the title of *Nauarre*, was ſaid to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard whereunto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Armie; made a countenance of warre vpon the *Illyrians*, & other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infeſt the Kingdome of *Macedon*; waſted the Country about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*; and ouer-running the *Pelagonians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held ſuſpected, came downe into *Theſſalie*, whence he made ſhew as if he would inuade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to ſtirre vp all the *Greeks* adioyning, againſt the *Ætolians*; whom they generally deteſted as a neſt of Robbers, troubleſome to all the Country. To which purpoſe, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, He left *Perſeus*, his ſonne and heire, with foure thouſand men, vpon their borders: with the reſt of his Armie, before greater buſineſſe ſhould ouer-take and entangle him, He made a long iourney into *Thrace*, againſt a people called the *Medes*; that were wont to fall vpon *Macedon*, whenſoeuer the King was abſent. The *Ætolians*, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could againſt the *Acarnanians*; in hope to ſubdue thoſe their daily enemies, and winne their little Country, ere he ſhould be able to returne. Hereto it much auailed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Ocniadæ* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Townes, conueniently ſituated to let in an Armie; and conſigned them vnto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the ſtout reſolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we ſay) euery Mothers ſonne of them, in defence of their Country; together with the great haſte of the *Macedonian* (who layed aſide all other buſineſſe) to ſuccour theſe his friends; cauſed the *Ætolians* to forſake their enterpriſe. When this Expedition was giuen ouer, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell vpon *Ancyræ*, which they tooke: the *Romans* aſſailing it by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Towne, and the *Romans* the ſpoile.

For theſe good ſeruices *M. Valerius* was choſen Conſul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpicius* ſent in his ſtead, to keepe the warre on foot in *Greece*. But beſides the *Roman* helpe, *Attalus* out of *Aſia* came ouer to aſſiſt the *Ætolians*. Hee was chiefly mooued by his owne iealouſie of *Philips* greatnes: though ſomwhat alſo tickled with the vanity, of being choſen by the *Ætolians* their principall Magiſtrate; which honour, though no better than titularie, he tooke in very louing part. Againſt the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had ſent, being ioyned with the maine power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, theſe his troubleſome neighbours deſired peace of him, and vſed their beſt meanes to get it. But when the day, appoynted for the concluſion thereof, was come: their Embaſſadours, in ſtead of making ſubmiſſion, propoſed vnto him ſuch intolerable conditions, as ill beſeemed vanquiſhed men to offer: and might therefore well teſtifie, that their mindes were altered. It was not any loue of peace, but feare of being beſieged in their owne Townes, that had made them deſirous of compoſition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as euer: and thruſt a garriſon of their owne, and ſome *Roman* friends, into *Elis*; which threatned *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut ouer the ſtreight from *Naupactus*, waſted the Countrey in a terrible brauerie: wherein *Philip* requited them; coming vpon them in great haſte from the *Nemæan* Games (which he was then celebrating) and ſending them faſter away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heate of this contention, *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no leſſe than *Attalus* held ſuſpected the power of *Philip*; ſent a Nauie into *Greece*, to aſſiſt the *Macedonian* partie. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and vpon greater reaſon; as being more intereſſed in the ſucceſſe of his affaires. *Philip* was too weake by Sea: and though he could man ſome two hundred ſhips; yet the veſſells were ſuch, as could not hold out againſt the *Roman Quinqueremes*. Wherfore it behoued him, to vſe the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aide came ſomwhat too late: which might better at firſt haue kept thoſe Enemies from faſtning vpon any part of *Greece*; than afterward it could ſerue to driue them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that Countrey. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needfull that hee ſhould correct the *Eleans*, bad Neighbours to the *Achaians* his principall Confederates. But in aſſailing their Towne, He was encountred by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* garriſon; which draue him backe with ſome loſſe. In ſuch caſes, eſpecially where God intendeth a great conuerſion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had receiued no great detriment, in his retrait from *Elis*: rather he had giuen teſtimonie of his perſonall valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horſe was ſlaine vnder him. He had alſo ſoone after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of foure thouſand; with ſome twentie thouſand head of Cattaile, which they had brought together into a place of ſafetie, as they thought, when their Countrey was inuaded. But it had happened, that in his purſuit of the *Roman* forragers about *Sicyon*, his horſe running haſtily vnder a lowe tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the faſhion of thoſe times) the King wore in his Creſt. This was gathered vp by an *Ætolian*; who carried it home, and ſhewed it as a token of *Philips* death. The horne was well knowne, and the tale beleeued. All *Macedon* therefore was in an vprore: and not onely the Borderers, ready to fall vpon the Country, but ſome Captaines of *Philip*, eaſily corrupted; who thinking to make themſelues a fortune in that change of things, ranne into ſuch treaſon, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuſe. Hereupon the King returned home; leauing not three thouſand men, to aſſiſt his friends the *Achæans*. He alſo tooke order, to haue Beacons erected; that might giue him notice of the Enemies doings; vpon whom he meant ſhortly to returne. The affaires of *Macedon*, his preſence quickely eſtabliſhed. But in *Greece* all went ill-fauouredly: eſpecially in the Ile of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus*, and the *Romans*, the Towne of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arriue to helpe it; where alſo the ſtrong Citie of *Chalcis* was likely to haue beene loſt, if he had not come the ſooner. He made ſuch haſtie marches, that he had almoſt taken *Attalus* in the Citie of *Opus*. This Citie, lying ouer againſt *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had wonne, more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had vſed. Now becauſe the *Roman* ſouldiers had defrauded him in the ſacke of *Oreum*, and taken all to themſelues: it was agreed, that *Attalus* ſhould make his beſt profit of the *Opuntians*; without admitting the *Romans* to be his ſharers. But whileſt he was buſie, in drawing as much mony as he could out of the Citizens: the ſudden tidings of *Philips* arriuall, made him leaue all behinde him, and runne away to the Sea-ſide, where he got aboord his ſhips; finding the *Romans* gone before, vpon the like feare. Either the indignity of this miſaduenture; or tidings of *Pruſias* the *Bithynian* his inuaſion vpon the kingdome of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* returne home, without ſtaying to take leaue of his friends. So *Philip* recouered *Opus*; wonne *Torone*, *Tritonos*, *Drymus*, and many ſmall townes in thoſe parts; performing likewiſe ſome actions, of more brauerie than importance, againſt the *Ætolians*. In the meane ſeaſon, *Machanidas*, the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had beene buſie in *Peloponneſus*; but hearing of *Philips* arriuall, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Ægypt*, went about to chooſe two new Kings, and to conforme themſelues to their old manner of gouernement. But their Eſtate was ſo farre out of tune, that their hope of redreſſing things within the Cittie, proued no leſſe vnfortunate, than had beene their attempts of recouering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a tyrant roſe vp among them: vnto whom ſucceeded this *Machanidas*, & ſhortly after came *Nabis*, that was worſe than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* ſide, for feare of the *Achæans*, that were the chiefe Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of *Tyrant*, and *Lacedæmonian*. But of theſe we ſhall ſpeake more hereafter.

Philip entring into *Achaia*, and ſeeing his preſence had brought the contentment of aſſurance to that Countrey; ſpake braue words to the Aſſembly of their States, ſaying, That he had to doe with an Enemie, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Orcum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*: but could no where finde them, ſuch haſte they made, for feare of being ouertaken. But flight, hee ſaid, was not alwayes proſperous: hee ſhould one day light vpon them; as ere this he ſundry times had done, and ſtill to their loſſe. The *Achaians* were glad to heare theſe words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For hee reſtored vnto their Nation ſome Townes that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewiſe to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, he rendered *Aliphera*. The *Dymæans*, that had beene taken by the *Romans*, and ſold for ſlaues, he ſought out, ranſomed, and put in quiet poſſeſſion of their owne Cittie. Further, paſſing ouer the *Corinthian Gulfe*, hee fell vpon the *Ætolians*: whom he draue into the mountaines and woods, or other their ſtrongeſt holds; and waſted their Country. This done, he tooke leaue of the *Achæans*: and returning home by Sea, viſited the people that were his ſubiects, or dependants: and animated them ſo well, that they reſted feareleſſe of any threatning danger. Then had he leiſure to make warre vpon the *Dardanians*, ill neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom neuertheleſſe he was not ſo far occupied, but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred gallies, whereby to make himſelfe Maſter of the Sea; the *Romans* (ſince the departure of *Attalus*) hauing not dared to meet or purſue him, when he lately ranne along the coaſt of *Greece*, faſt by them where they lay.

This good ſucceſſe added much reputation to the *Macedonian*, and emboldned him to make ſtrong warre vpon the *Ætolians*, at their owne doores. As for the *Romans*; either ſome diſpleaſure, conceiued againſt their Confederates, or ſome feare of danger at home, when *Aſdrubal* was ready to fall vpon *Italy*; cauſed them to giue ouer the care of things in *Greece*, and leaue their friends there to their owne fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore, being driuen to great extremitie, were faine to ſue for peace vnto *Philip*; and accept it, vpon what euer conditions it beſt pleaſed him. The agreement was no ſooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and thirtie fiue gallies, came ouer in great haſte (though ſomewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he turned aſide to *Dyrrachium*, & *Apollonia*; making a great noiſe, as if with theſe his owne forces he would worke wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to viſit him, and found him tame enough. The King preſented him battell, but he refuſed it: and ſuffering the *Macedonians* to waſte the Country round about, before his eyes, kept himſelfe cloſe within the walls of *Apollonia*, making ſome Ouertures of peace: which cauſed *Philip* returne home quietly. The *Romans* had not ſo great cauſe to be diſpleaſed with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philip*, to take in euil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithſtanding the royall offer that he made them, to ſerue their turne in *Italie*, and aſſiſt them, in getting their hearts deſire, before he would expect any requital: they had not ſent any fleet, as in reaſon they ought, and as (conſidering his want of ſufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to ſecure the tranſportation of his Armie, or to free his coaſt from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Pyracies. Onely once they came to his help, which was, at his laſt iourney into *Achaia*. But they were gone againe before his arriuall: hauing done nothing, and pretending feare of being taken by the *Romans*, euen at ſuch time as *Philip*, with his owne Nauie, durſt boldly paſſe by Sea, and found none that durſt oppoſe him. This retchleſſe dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore ſeeme to haue beene one of *Hanno* his trickes, whereof *Hannibal* ſo bitterly complained. For it could not but grieue this malicious man exceedingly, to heare that ſo great a King made offer to ſerue in perſon vnder *Hannibal*, and required the aſſiſtance of the ſame *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the world at pleaſure. Therefore he had reaſon, ſuch as Enuie could ſuggeſt, to perſwade the *Carthaginians* vnto a ſafe and thriftie courſe: which was, not to admit into the fellowſhip of their *Italian* warres ſo mightie a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection vnto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their libertie. Rather they ſhould doe well to ſaue charges: and feede the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promiſes of ſending a fleet and ſome other ſuccours. This would coſt nothing; yet would it ſerue to terrifie the *Romans*, and compell them to ſend part of their forces from home; that might finde this Enemie worke abroad. So ſhould the *Roman* Armies be leſſened in *Italie*; and *Philip*, when once hee was engaged in the warre, be vrged vnto the proſecution, by his owne neceſſitie: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea ſcarce to the labour of giuing him thankes. Now if it might come to paſſe, as *Hannibal* euery day did promiſe, that *Rome*, and all *Italy* ſhould within a while be at the deuotion of *Carthage*: better it were that the Cittie ſhould be free, ſo as the troubleſome *Greekes* might addreſſe their complaints vnto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Iudges betweene them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africke*, ſhould wait vpon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleaſure, in doing ſuch iniuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hatefull in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no leſſe impudent, in fulfilling all requeſts of *Hannibal*. Whether the counſaile of *Hanno* and his fellows, were ſuch as this; or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their owne diſpoſition, without his aduice, were too ſparing, and careleſſe, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; euen in their little courteſie which they moſt pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reaſon, why he beganne the building of an hundred Gallies, as if hee would let them and others know, whereto his proper ſtrength would haue reached, had hee not vainely giuen credit to faithleſſe promiſes. When therefore the *Ætolians* had ſubmitted themſelues already: and when the *Romans* deſired his friendſhip, as might be thought, for very feare of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forſaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to haue ſuccoured them in their neceſſitie, hee might giue ouer the warre, and, without reprehenſion, leaue them to themſelues. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their ſakes: but they deſpiſed him, as if the quarrell were meerely his owne, and he vnable to mannage it.

The vanitie of which their conceits would appeare vnto them: when they ſhould ſee, that with his proper ſtrength he had finiſhed the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeere following it was agreed, by mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* ſhould retaine three or foure Townes of *Illyria*, which they had recouered in this warre, being part of their old *Illyrian* conqueſt: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*; and therefore perhaps inſerted into the couenants, that ſomewhat might ſeeme to haue beene gotten. On the other ſide, the *Atintanes* were appoynted to returne vnder the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably coniectures) the people of the Countrey about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not giue peace, as they would ſeeme to haue done, but accepted it, vpon conditions ſomewhat to their loſſe.

The Confederates and Dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Theſſalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* ſide were named, firſt, the people of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* deſcent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Pleuratus*, an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis*, the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Meſſenians*, and *Athenians*. The *Ætolians* were omitted, belike, as hauing agreed for themſelues before. But the *Eleans* and *Meſſenians*, followers of the *Ætolians*, (and by them, as is moſt likely, compriſed in their League with *Philip*) were alſo inſerted by the *Romans*; that were neuer ſlow in offering their friendſhip to ſmall and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*: they ſtood much vpon their old honour; and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the ſetting downe of their names in this Treatie, ſerued the *Romans* to good purpoſe: foraſmuch as they were a buſie people, and miniſtred occaſion to renew the warre, when meanes did better ſerue to follow it.

§. XIII.

How the Romans beganne to recouer their ſtrength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieuing the publike neceſsities of their Common-weale.

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing ſo many Enterpriſes at once, they followed all by the halues: and waſted more men and money to no purpoſe, than would haue ſerued (if good order had beene taken) to finiſh the whole warre, in farre ſhorter ſpace; and make themſelues Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This errour had become the leſſe harmfull, if their care of *Italy* had beene ſuch as it ought. But they ſuffered *Hannibal*, to wearie himſelfe with expectation of their promiſed ſupplies: which being ſtill deferred from yeere to yeere, cauſed as great opportunities to be loſt, as a Conquerour could haue deſired. The death of *Poſthumius*, and deſtruction of his whole Armie in *Gaule*; the begunne rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuſe*; with great alterations, much to their preiudice, in the whole Iſle of *Sicil*; as alſo that warre, of which we laſt ſpake, threatned from *Macedon*; happening all at one time; and that ſo neerely after their terrible ouerthrow at *Cannæ*, among ſo many reuolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would vtterly haue ſunke the *Roman* State, had the *Carthaginians*, if not the firſt yeere, yet at leaſt the ſecond, ſent ouer to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that euen this diuerſitie of great hopes, appearing from all parts, adminiſtred matter vnto *Hanno*, or ſuch as *Hanno* was, whereupon to worke. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to performe all that was decreed for *Italie*: yet could not that proportion hold, when ſo many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their ſeuerall Armies. This had not beene a very bad excuſe, if any one of the many occaſions offered had beene throughly proſequuted: though it ſtood with beſt reaſon, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the proſperitie of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* warre, ſhould haue beene ſtrengthened; whatſoeuer had become of the reſt. But the ſlender troupes, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the warre in *Spaine*; the lingring aide which they ſent, to vp-hold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already wel-neere beaten downe; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongſt all theſe their attempts) their haſtie catching at *Sicil*: little deſerued to bee thought good reaſons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the reſt had reference. Rather euery one of theſe Actions, conſidered apart by it ſelfe, was no otherwiſe to be allowed as diſcreetly vnder-taken, or ſubſtantially followed; than by making ſuppoſition, That the care of *Italie*, made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things elſe. Yet if theſe allegations would not ſerue to content *Hannibal*, then muſt hee patiently endure to know, that his owne Cittizens were iealous of his Greatneſſe, and durſt not truſt him with ſo much power, as ſhould enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatſoeuer he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himſelfe to Neceſſity; to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes, and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cuma*, and other places: being loth to ſpend his Armie in an hard ſiege, that was to be reſerued for a worke of more importance. Many offers be made vpon *Nola*, but alwayes with bad ſucceſſe. Once *Marcellus* fought a battell with him there: yet vnder the very walls of the Towne; hauing the aſſiſtance of the Cittizens, that were growne better affected to the *Roman* ſide, ſince the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thouſand men *Hannibal* in that fight loſt: which was no great meruaile; his forces being then diuided, and imployed in ſundry parts of *Italie* at once. *Naples* was, euen in thoſe dayes, a ſtrong Citie; and required a yeres worke to haue taken it by force.

Wherfore the earneſt deſire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwaies fruſtrate. Vpon the towne of *Cumæ* they of *Capua* had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They ſent to the chiefe Magiſtrates of the *Cumans*, deſiring them (as being alſo *Campans*) to be preſent at a ſolemne ſacrifice of the Nation, where they would conſult about their generall good: promiſing to bring thither a ſufficient guard, to aſſure the whole Aſſembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made ſhew to entertaine; but priuily ſent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the *Roman* Conſul.

Gracchus was a very good man of warre, and happily choſen Conſul in ſo dangerous a time. His Colleague ſhould haue beene *Poſthumius Albinus*, that was lately ſlaine by the *Gaules*: after whoſe death *Marcellus* was choſen, as being iudged the fitteſt man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman Augures* either found ſome religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at leaſt they fained ſo to haue done, becauſe this was the firſt time, that euer two *Plebeian* Conſuls were choſen together. *Marcellus* therefore gaue ouer the place: and *Q. Fabius Maximus* the late famous Dictator, was ſubſtituted in his roome. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of religion, or Superſtition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, eſpecially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Conſular Armie, waited vpon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the Enemy in field; yet intentiue to all occaſions, that ſhould be preſented. The *Volones*, or *Slaues*, that lately had beene armed, were no ſmall part of his followers. Theſe, and the reſt of his men, He continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Armie skilfull in the exerciſes of warre, than to keepe it from quarrels, that might ariſe by vpbraiding one another with their baſe conditions.

Whileſt the Conſul was thus buſied at *Linternum*; the Senators of *Cumæ* ſent him word of all that had paſſed betweene them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occaſion to fleſh his men, and make them confident againſt the Enemie; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himſelfe into *Cumæ*: whence hee iſſued at ſuch time, as the Magiſtrates of that Cittie were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hamæ*, three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chiefe Magiſtrate of *Capua*, with foureteene thouſand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deuiſing how to ſurpriſe others, than fearing himſelfe to be aſſailed. The Conſul therefore ſuffering none to goe forth of *Cumæ*, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, iſſued out of the towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreſhed with meate and ſleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights ſeruice. So he came vpon the *Capuans* vnawares: and ſlew more than two thouſand of them, together with their Commander; looſing not aboue an hundred of his owne men. Their campe he tooke: but tarried not long to rifle it, for feare of *Hannibal*, who lay not farre off. By this his prouidence, he eſcaped a greater loſſe, than he had brought vpon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hamæ*, forthwith he marched thither: hoping to find thoſe young ſouldiers, and ſlaues, buſied in making ſpoile, and loading themſelues with the bootie. But they were all gotten ſafe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for deſire of gaining it, and partly at the vrgent entreatie of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* aſſailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill ſucceſſe, the *Carthaginians* and their fellowes ſpent, about this towne. They raiſed a woodden Tower againſt it; which they brought cloſe vnto the walls; thinking thereby to force an Entrie. But the Defendants, on the inſide of the wall, raiſed againſt this an high Tower: whence they made reſiſtance; and found meanes at length, to conſume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were buſie in quenching the fire; the *Romans*, ſallying out of the towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and draue them to their trenches, with the ſlaughter of about foureteene hundred. The Conſul wiſely ſounded the Retreat; ere his men were too farre engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readineſſe to requite their ſeruice. Neither would he, in the pride of this good ſucceſſe, aduenture foorth againſt the Enemie; who preſented him battell the day following, neere vnto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore, ſeeing no likelihood to preuaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake vp the ſiege; and returned to his old campe at *Tifata*. About theſe times, and ſhortly after, when *Fabius* the other Conſul had taken the field; ſome ſmall townes were recouered by the *Romans*, & the people ſeuerely puniſhed for their reuolt.

The *Carthaginian* Armie was too ſmall, to fill with garriſons all places that had yeelded; and withall to abide (as it muſt doe) ſtrong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the ſupply from home, that ſhould enable him to ſtrike at *Rome* it ſelfe, was driuen in the meane time to alter his courſe of warre: and, in ſtead of making (as formerly he had done) a generall inuaſion vpon the whole Country, to paſſe from place to place; and wait vpon occaſions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemie, than to him. The Countrey of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grieuouſly waſted by *Marcellus*, in the abſence of *Hannibal*: as alſo was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Conſul; when *Hannibal* hauing followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and receiued there the loſſe before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. Theſe people ſhewed not the like ſpirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the *Romans*, in their owne behalfe, to get the Soueraigntie. They held it reaſon, that they ſhould be protected, by ſuch as thought to haue dominion ouer them: whereby at once they ouer-burdned their new Lords; and gaue vnto their old, the more eaſie meanes, to take reuenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intentiue, as neceſſitie conſtrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Conſulſhip: and ioyned with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appoynted vnto that honour the yeere before. Of theſe two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*: and *Marcellus*, the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and vpon iuſt reaſon, commended, That being himſelfe Conſul, and holding the Election, he did not ſtand vpon nice points of formality, or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but cauſed himſelfe to be choſen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the Citie ſtood of able Commanders. The great name of theſe Conſuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, ſerued to put the *Campans* in feare, that *Capua* it ſelfe ſhould be beſieged. To preuent this, *Hannibal*, at their earneſt entreatie came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, hearkening after newes from *Tarentum*) and, hauing with his preſence comforted theſe his friends, fell on the ſudden vpon *Puteoli*, a Sea-towne of *Campania*; about which he ſpent three dayes in vaine, hoping to haue wonne it. The garriſon in *Puteoli* was ſixe thouſand ſtrong: and did their dutie ſo well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good ſucceſſe, could onely ſhew his anger vpon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which hauing done, and once more (with as ill ſucceſſe as before) aſſayed *Nola*, he bent his courſe to *Tarentum*: wherein hee had very great intelligence. Whileſt hee was in his progreſſe thither; *Hanno* made a iourney againſt *Beneuentum*: and *T. Gracchus* the laſt yeeres Conſul, haſting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battell, *Hanno* had with him about ſeuenteene thouſand foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the moſt part: beſides twelue hundred horſe; very few of which were *Italians*, all the reſt, *Numidians* and *Moores*. Hee held the *Roman* worke foure houres, ere it could be perceiued, to which ſide the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his ſouldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed ſlaues, had receiued from their Generall a peremptory denunciation; That this day, or neuer, they muſt purchaſe their liberty, bringing euery man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The ſweet reward of liberty was ſo greatly deſired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vaine labour, impoſed by their Generall, of cutting off the ſlaine enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindred the ſeruice, by imployment of ſo many hands, in a worke ſo little concerning the victorie. *Gracchus* therefore finding his owne errour, wiſely corrected it: proclayming aloud, That they ſhould caſt away the heads, and ſpare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all ſhould haue libertie immediately after the battell, if they wonne the day. This encouragement made them runne headlong vpon the Enemie; whom their deſperate furie had ſoone ouerthrowne, if the *Roman* Horſe could haue made their part good againſt the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and preſſed ſo hard vpon the *Romans* battell, that foure thouſand of the ſlaues, (for feare either of him, or of the puniſhment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the battell, vnto thoſe that ſhould not valiantly behaue themſelues) retired vnto a ground of ſtrength; yet was he glad at length to ſaue himſelfe by flight, when the Groſſe of his Army was broken; being vnable to remedy the loſſe. Leauing the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thouſand: moſt of which were Horſe; all the reſt were either ſlaine or taken. The *Roman* Generall gaue vnto all his ſouldiers that reward of libertie which he had promiſed: but vnto thoſe foure thouſand, which had recoiled vnto the Hill, he added this light puniſhment; That as long as they ſerued in the wars, they ſhould neither eate nor drink otherwiſe than ſtanding, vnleſſe ſickneſſe forced them to breake his order. So the victorious Armie returned to *Beneuentum*: where the newly enfranchiſed ſouldiers were feaſted in publique by the towneſmen; ſome ſitting, ſome ſtanding, and all of them hauing their heads couered (as was the cuſtome of ſlaues manumiſed) with Caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feaſt (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung vp in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of *Libertie*; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeede the firſt Battell, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had loſt ſince the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italie*: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hamæ*, being things of ſmall importance.

Thus the *Romans* through induſtry, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Eſtate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Cannæ*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treaſurie was ſo poore, that no induſtrie nor art could ſerue to help it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) ſerue, to feede their Townes and Armies; without any ſurpluſage, that might be exchanged for other needefull commodities. Few they were in *Italie*, that continued to pay them tribute: which alſo they could worſe doe than before; as liuing vpon the ſame trade, and ſubiect to the ſame inconueniences, which enfeebled *Rome* it ſelfe. *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yeeld great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* Armies, that lay in thoſe Prouinces, to holde them ſafe, and in good order. As for the Cittizens of *Rome*, euery one of them ſuffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth ſuſtained, and could now doe leaſt for his Countrey, when moſt need was: as alſo the number of them was much decreaſed; ſo as if money ſhould be raiſed vpon them by the *poll*, yet muſt it be farre leſſe, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently conſidering the greatneſſe of the warre within the bowels of *Italie*, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein *Sicil* and *Sardinia* ſtood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the Naturalls declining from the friendſhip or ſubiection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the Eaſterne parts of *Italie*, if they were not at the coſt to finde him worke at home; the greater threats of *Aſdrubal*, to follow his brother ouer the *Alpes*, as ſoone as he could rid himſelfe of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*; and the pouertie of the Common-wealth, which had not money for any one of theſe mortall dangers; were driuen almoſt euen to extreme want of counſell. But being vrged by the violence of ſwift neceſſitie, ſignified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from *Spaine*; they reſolued vpon the onely courſe, without the which the Cittie could not haue ſubſiſted.

They called the people to Aſſembly: wherein *Quintus Fuluius* the Pretor laide open the publique wants; and plainely ſayd, That in this Exigent, there muſt be no taking of money for victuall, weapons, apparrell, or the like things needefull to the Souldiers; but that ſuch as had ſtuffe, or were artificers, muſt truſt the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities, and labours, vntil the warre were ended. Hereunto he ſo effectually exhorted all men, eſpecially the *Publicans* or *Cuſtomers*, and thoſe which in former times had liued vpon their dealing in the common Reuenues, that the charge was vnder-taken by priuate men; and the Armie in *Spaine* as well ſupplied, as if the Treaſurie had beene full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus* the *Roman* Cenſors, taking in hand the redreſſe of diſorders within the Cittie, were chiefly intentiue to the correction of thoſe, that had miſ-behaued themſelues in this preſent warre. They beganne with *L. Cæcilius Metellus*: who, after the battell at *Cannæ*, had held diſcourſe with ſome of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italie*, had beene no better than loſt. After him they tooke in hand thoſe, that hauing brought to *Rome* the meſſage of their fellowes made priſoners at *Cannæ*, returned not backe to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themſelues thereof ſufficiently diſcharged, in that they had ſtepped once backe into his Campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captiues names. All theſe were now pronounced infamous by the Cenſors: as alſo were a great many more; euen whoſoeuer had not ſerued in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appoynted. Neither was the note of the Cenſors at this time (as otherwiſe it had vſed to be) hurtfull onely in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the

Senate, following; *That all ſuch as were noted with infamie by theſe Cenſors, ſhould bee tranſported into Sicil; there to ſerue vntill the end of the warre, vnder the ſame hard conditions, that were impoſed vpon the Remainder of the Armie beaten at Cannæ.* The office of the Cenſors was; to take the Liſt and accompt of the Citizens; to chooſe or diſplace the Senatours; and to ſet notes of diſgrace (without further puniſhment) vpon thoſe, whoſe vnhoneſt or vnſeemly behauiour fell not within the compaſſe of the Law. They tooke alſo an accompt of the *Roman* Gentlemen: amongſt whom they diſtributed the publique Horſes of ſeruice, vnto ſuch as they thought meete; or tooke them away for their misbehauiour. Generally, they had the ouer-ſight of mens liues and manners: and their cenſure was much reuerenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rancke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the moſt that they could doe) cauſing them to pay ſome Dueties to the Treaſurie, from which others were exempted. But beſides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Moralitie, they had the charge of all publique Workes; as mending of High-wayes, Bridges, and Water-courſes; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and ſuch other buildings. If any man encroched vpon the ſtreetes, High-wayes, or other places that ought to be common; the Cenſors compelled him to make amends. They had alſo the letting out of Lands, Cuſtomes, and other publique Reuenues, to farme: ſo that moſt of the Cittizens of *Rome* were beholding vnto this Office, as maintaining themſelues by ſome of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no ſmall helpe to conſerue the dignitie of the Senate: the commonaltie being obnoxious vnto the Cenſors; which were alwayes of that Order, and carefull to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weale being now impoueriſhed by warre, and hauing ſmall ſtore of lands to let, or of cuſtomes that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themſelues much with peruſing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or if they tooke a view of what was requiſite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to ſet any thing in hand, becauſe they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generoſitie of the *Romans*. They that had beene accuſtomed, in more happy times, to vnder-take ſuch peeces of worke, offered now themſelues as willingly to the Cenſors, as if there had beene no ſuch want: promiſing liberally their coſt and trauell; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the warre. In like ſort, the Maſters of thoſe ſlaues, that lately had beene enfranchiſed by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbeare the price of them, vntill the Cittie were in better caſe to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre forth as euerie one was able, the common neceſſitie; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widdowes liuing vnder Patronage, were brought into the Treaſurie; and there the Quæſtor kept a Booke of all that was layed out for the ſuſtenance of theſe Widdowes and Orphans: whileſt the whole ſtocke was vſed by the Cittie. This good example of thoſe which remained in the Towne, preuailed with the Souldiers abroad: ſo that (the poorer ſort excepted) they refuſed to take pay; and called thoſe *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Countrey was in ſo great want.

The twelue hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any iniuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride; yeelded halfe ſo much commoditie, as might be layed in ballance againſt theſe miſeries, whereinto their Eſtate was now reduced. Neuertheleſſe, if wee conſider things aright; the calamities of this Warre did rather enable *Rome* to deale with thoſe Enemies, whom ſhee forthwith vnder-tooke, than abate or ſlacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto ſhe attained, ere the youngeſt of thoſe men was dead, whoſe names wee haue already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* mettall grew more hard and ſolide: and by paring the branches of priuate fortunes, the Roote and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Cittie of *Athens*; when *Xerxes* had burnt the Towne to aſhes, and taken from euery particular Cittizen, all hope of other felicitie, than that which reſted in the common happineſſe of the vniuerſalitie. Certayne it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath iudiciouſly obſerued) That a State, whoſe dimenſion or ſtemme is ſmall, may aptly ſerue to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comes to paſſe, where all regard of domeſticall proſperitie is laid aſide; and euery mans care addreſſed to the benefit of his Countrey. Hereof I might ſay, that our Age hath ſeene a great example, in the vnited Prouinces in the *Netherlands*; whoſe preſent riches and ſtrength grew chiefly from that ill aſſurance, which each of their Townes, or almoſt of their Families, perceiued it ſelfe to hold, whileſt the generality was oppreſſed by the Duke of *Alua*; were it ſo, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme induſtrie, and ſtraining themſelues to fill their publique Treaſurie, they are all growne wealthy, ſtrong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their ſeruices by Land. Wherfore if we valew at ſuch a rate as wee ought, the patient reſolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magiſtrates, with many other Vertues, and aboue all other, the great loue of the Common-weale, which was found in *Rome* in theſe dangerous times: wee may truely ſay, That the Cittie was neuer in greater likelihood to proſper. Neither can it be deemed otherwiſe, than that if the ſame affections of the people had laſted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, ſhould in all reaſon haue beene more deare vnto them, if the riches and delicacies of *Aſia* had not infected them with ſenſualitie, and carried their appetites mainly to thoſe pleaſures, wherein they thought their well-being to conſiſt; if all the Cittizens, and Subiects of *Rome* could haue beleeued their owne intereſt to be as great, in thoſe warres which theſe latter Emperours made for their defence, as in theſe which were mannaged by the Conſuls: the Empire, founded vpon ſo great vertue, could not haue beene throwne downe by the hands of rude *Barbarians*, were they neuer ſo many. But vnto all Dominions God hath ſet their periods: Who, though he hath giuen vnto Man the knowledge of thoſe waies, by which Kingdomes riſe and fall; yet hath left him ſubiect vnto the affections, which draw on theſe fatall changes, in their times appoynted.

§. XIIII.

The Romans winne ſome Townes backe from Hannibal. Hannibal *winnes Tarentum. The ſiege of Capua. Two victories of* Hannibal. *The iourney of* Hannibal *to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.*

AS the People of *Rome* ſtrained themſelues to the vtmoſt, for maintaining the warre: ſo their Generalls abroad omitted no part of induſtrie, in ſeeking to recouer what had beene loſt. The towne of *Caſiline Fabius* beſieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* garriſon; and likely to haue beene relieued by thoſe of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola* had not come to the aſſiſtance of his Colleague. Neuertheleſſe the place held out ſo obſtinately, that *Fabius* was purpoſed to giue it ouer: ſaying, that the enterpriſe was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. Hee ſaid, That many ſuch things, as were not at firſt to haue beene vnder-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be proſequuted vnto the beſt effect. So the ſiege held on: and the towne was preſſed ſo hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein grew fearefull, and craued parlee; offering to giue it vp, ſo as all might haue leaue to depart in ſafetie, whither they pleaſed. Whileſt they were thus treating of conditions: or whileſt they were iſſuing foorth, according to the compoſition already made; (for it is diuerſly reported) *Marcellus* ſeizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to ſword that came in their way. Fiftie of thoſe that were firſt gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Conſul: who ſaued them, and ſent them to *Capua* in ſafety; all the reſt were either ſlaine, or made priſoners. If *Fabius* deſerued commendations, by holding his word good vnto theſe fifty; I know not how the ſlaughter of the reſt, or impriſonment afterward of ſuch, as ſcaped the heate of execution, could be excuſed by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himſelfe, after the *Roman* faſhion, with ſome æquiuocation, but he ſhall pay for it hereafter. In like ſort was *Mount Marſam* in *Gaſcoigne* taken by the Marſhall *Monluc*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whileſt he entertained parlee about compoſition; the beſieged ranne all from their ſeuerall guards, vpon haſtie deſire of being acquainted with the conditions propoſed. The Marſhall therefore diſcouering a part of the walls vnguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all ſaue the Gouernour vnto the ſword. Herein that Gouernour of *Mount Marſam* committed two groſſe errours; the one, in that hee gaue no order for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themſelues in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee, without pledges for aſſurance giuen and receiued. Some ſuch ouer-ſight, the Gouernour of *Caſiline* ſeemeth to haue committed; yet neither the aduantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monluc*, was very honourable.

rable. When this Worke was ended, many ſmall townes of the *Samnites*, and ſome of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recouered: wherein were taken, or ſlaine, about fiue and twenty thouſand of the Enemies; and the Countrey grieuouſly waſted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying ſicke at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the meane while was about *Tarentum*; waiting to heare from thoſe, that had promiſed to giue vp the towne. But *M. Valerius* the *Roman* Propretor had thruſt ſo many men into it, that the traitours durſt not ſtirre. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was faine to depart, hauing wearied himſelfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he waſted not the Countrey, but contented himſelfe with hope, that they would pleaſe him better in time following. So hee departed thence toward *Salapia*: which he choſe for his wintring place; and beganne to victuall it, when Summer was but halfe paſt. It is ſaid, that he was in loue with a yong Wench in that towne, in which regard if he beganne his winter more timely, than otherwiſe he required, He did not like the *Romans*; whom neceſſitie enforced, to make their Summer laſt as long, as they were able to trauell vp and downe the Country.

About this time beganne great troubles in *Sicil*, whither *Marcellus* the Conſul was ſent, to take ſuch order for the Prouince, as need ſhould require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Conſulſhip, we will ſpeake hereafter.

The new Conſuls, choſen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the ſonne of the preſent Conſul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the ſecond time. The *Romans* found it needfull for the publique ſeruice, to imploy often-times their beſt able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the warre, to recontinue their Officers, and chooſe ſuch, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any diſtance of time, which was otherwiſe required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant vnto his ſonne: which was perhaps the reſpect, that moſt commended his ſonne vnto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the campe, and his ſonne rode foorth to meete him: eleuen of the twelue Lictors, which carried an axe with a bundle of rods before the Conſul, ſuffered him, in regard of due reuerence, to paſſe by them on horſe-backe, which was againſt the cuſtome. But the ſonne perceiuing this, commanded the laſt of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Conſul on his feet. The father cheerefully did ſo; ſaying, *It was my minde, ſonne, to make triall, whether thou diddeſt vnderſtand thy ſelfe to be Conſul.* *Caſsius Altinius* a wealthy Cittizen of *Arpi*, who, after the battell at *Cannæ*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that towne, ſeeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend; came priuily to this Conſul *Fabius*, and offered to render it backe vnto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Conſul purpoſed to follow old examples: and to make this *Altinius* a patterne to all traitors; vſing him, as *Camillus* and *Fabricius* had done thoſe, that offered their vnfaithfull ſeruice againſt the *Faliſci*, and King *Pyrrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and ſayd, it was a matter of dangerous conſequence, That it ſhould be thought more ſafe to reuolt from the *Romans*, than to turne vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee ſhould be ſent to the towne of *Cales*, and there kept as priſoner; vntill they could better reſolue, what to doe with him, or what vſe to make of him. *Hannibal*, vnderſtanding that *Altinius* was gone, and among the *Romans*, tooke it not ſorrowfully; but thought this a good occaſion, to ſeize vpon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet, that hee might ſeeme rather ſeuere, than couetous, he ſent for the wife and children of *Altinius* into his camp: where hauing examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitiue, partly, and more ſtrictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the treaſon, to be burnt aliue; and tooke all their goods vnto himſelfe. *Fabius* the Conſul ſhortly after came to *Arpi*: which hee wonne by *Scalado*, in a ſtormy and rainy night. Fiue thouſand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the towne; and of the *Arpines* themſelues, there were about three thouſand. Theſe were thruſt formoſt by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; when it was vnderſtood, that the *Romans* had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the townſ-men ſuſpected; and therefore thought it no wiſedome, to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gaue ouer fight, and entertained parlee with the *Romans*: proteſting, that they had beene betrayed by their Princes; and were become ſubiect to the *Carthaginians*, againſt their wills. In proceſſe of this diſcourſe, the *Arpine* Pretor went vnto the *Roman* Conſul: and receiuing his faith for ſecurity of the Towne, preſently made head againſt the garriſon. This notwithſtanding; like it is, that *Hannibals* men continued to make good reſiſtance. For when almoſt a thouſand of them, that were *Spaniards*, offered to leaue their companions, and ſerue on the *Roman* ſide, it was yet couenanted, That the *Carthaginians* ſhould be ſuffered to paſſe forth quietly, and returne to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and ſo *Arpi* became *Roman* againe, with little other loſſe, than of him that had betrayed it. About the ſame time, *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Pretors: and vnto *Cneus Fuluius*; another of the Pretors, an hundred & twelue Gentlemen of *Capua* offred their ſeruice; vpon no other condition, than to haue their goods reſtored vnto them, when their cittie ſhould be recouerd by the *Romans*. This was a thing of ſmall importance: but conſidering the generall hatred of the *Campans* toward *Rome*, it ſerued to diſcouer the inclination of the *Italians* in thoſe times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of thoſe mighty ſuccours, that had beene promiſed from *Carthage*. The *Conſentines* alſo, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, which had yeelded themſelues to *Hannibal*, returned againe to their olde allegeance. Others would haue followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a *Publican* had made himſelfe a Captaine, and gotten reputation by ſome petty exploits in forraging the Countrey, was ſlaine by *Hanno*, with a great multitude of thoſe that followed him. *Hannibal* in the meane while had all his care bent vpon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it ſeemed that it would ſtand him in good ſtead, for drawing ouer that helpe out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to ſend. Long he waited, ere hee could bring his deſire to paſſe: and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to preuaile by intelligence; He contented himſelfe, with taking in ſome poore townes of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found meanes to accompliſh their purpoſe, and his wiſh. One *Phileas*, that was of their conſpiracie, who lay at *Rome* as Embaſſadour, practiſing with the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, and ſuch as had the keeping of them, conueighed them by night out of the Cittie. But hee and his company were the next day ſo cloſely purſued, that all of them were taken, and brought backe to *Rome*, where they ſuffered death as traitors. By reaſon of this crueltie, or ſeueritie, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans*, more generally and earneſtly than before. As for the Conſpirators, they followed their buſineſſe, the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention ſhould happen to be diſcouered. Wherefore they ſent againe to *Hannibal*: and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the ſame compoſition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two the chiefe among them, vſed much to goe forth of the towne on hunting by night; as if they durſt not take their pleaſure by day, for feare of the *Carthaginians*. Seldome or neuer they miſſed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it readie for their hands, that they might not ſeeme to haue beene abroad vpon other occaſion. From the campe of *Hannibal*, it was about three dayes iourny to *Tarentum*, if he ſhould haue marched thither with his whole Armie. This cauſed his long abode in one place the leſſe to be ſuſpected: as alſo to make his Enemies the more ſecure, Hee cauſed it to be giuen out, that he was ſicke. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were growne careleſſe of ſuch his neighbourhood, and the Conſpirators had ſet their buſineſſe in order; He tooke with him ten thouſand the moſt expedite of his horſe and foot; and long before breake of day, made all ſpeed thitherward. Fourescore light horſe of the *Numidians* ranne a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for feare leſt he, and his troupe following him, ſhould be diſcouered. It had beene often the manner of ſome few *Numidian* horſe, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Gouernour, when he heard tell in the euening, that ſome *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a ſigne, that *Hannibal* was not as yet diſlodged; and gaue order, that ſome companies ſhould be ſent out the next morning, to ſtrip them of their bootie, and ſend them gone. But when it grew darke night; *Hannibal* guided by *Philomenes*, came cloſe to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to ſhew his arriuall; *Nico*, that was within the towne, anſwered him with another light, in ſigne that he was ready. Preſently *Nico* beganne to ſet vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whiſtling (as was his maner) called vp the Porter; bidding him make haſte, for that he had killd a great Bore, ſo heauy, that ſcarce two men could ſtand vnder it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entred two young men, loaden with the Boare; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter ſtood wondering at the largeneſſe of the beaſt, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Boare-ſpeare: and letting in ſome thirtie armed men, fell vpon all the watch; whom when hee had ſlaine, he entred the great gate. So the Armie of *Hannibal*, entring *Tarentum* at two gates, went directly toward the Market-place, where both parts met. Thence they were diſtributed by their Generall, and ſent into all quarters of the citty, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Cittizens. For better performance hereof *Hannibal* willed the Conſpirators, that when any of their friends appeared in ſight, they ſhould bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the towne was in an vproare: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was vnskilfully ſounded by a *Greeke* in the Theater: which helped the ſuſpition, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to ſpoyle the Towne; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Gouernour fled into the Port: and taking boate, got into the Citadell, that ſtoode in the mouth of the Hauen; whence hee might eaſily perceiue the next morning, how all had paſſed. *Hannibal*, aſſembling the *Tarentines*, gaue them to vnderſtand, what good affection hee bore them; inueighed bitterly againſt the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppreſſors; and ſpake what elſe hee thought fit for the preſent. This done: and hauing gotten ſuch ſpoile as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, hee addreſſed himſelfe againſt the Citadell; hoping that if the Garriſon would ſally out, hee might giue them ſuch a blow, as ſhould make them vnable to defend the Peece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when hee beganne to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a brauerie ſallying foorth, gaue charge vpon his men: who fell backe of purpoſe according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and ſo farre from their ſtrength, as they durſt aduenture. Then gaue *Hannibal* a ſigne to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpoſe: and fiecely ſetting vpon the Enemie, draue him backe with great ſlaughter, as faſt as hee could runne; ſo that afterwards hee durſt not iſſue forth. The Citadell ſtood vpon a Demi-Iland, that was plaine ground; and fortified onely with a ditch and wall againſt the Towne, whereunto it was ioyned by a cawſey. This cawſey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like ſort againſt the Citadell; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his helpe, to keepe themſelues from all danger thence. His worke in few dayes went ſo well forward, without impediment from the beſieged, that he conceiued hope of winning the Peece it ſelfe, by taking a litle more paines. Wherfore he made ready all ſorts of engines, to force the place. But whileſt he was buſied in his workes, there came by Sea a ſtrong ſupply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of preuailing; & made him returne to his former counſaile. Now foraſmuch as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the hauen, and could not paſſe forth, whileſt the *Romans* held the Citadell: it ſeemed likely, that the towne would ſuffer want, being debarred of accuſtomed trade and prouiſions by Sea: whileſt the *Roman* garriſon, by help of their ſhipping, might eaſily be relieued, and enabled to hold out. Againſt this inconuenience, it was rather wiſhed by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the hauen; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all ſupply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Towne ſtanding in plaine ground, and their ſtreetes being faire and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies ouer Land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he vndertooke, and effected: whereby the *Roman* garriſon was reduced into great neceſſitie; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* often-times otherwiſe buſied, than his affaires required.

Thus with mutuall loſſe on both ſides, the time paſſed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily ſtronger, *Q. Fuluius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately choſen Conſuls, prepared to beſiege the great Cittie of *Capua*. Three and twentie Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and haſtie growth from that want of men, and of all neceſſaries, whereinto the loſſe at *Cannæ* had reduced them. But to fill vp theſe Legions, they were faine to take vp yong Boyes, that were vnder ſeuenteene yeeres of age: and to ſend Commiſſioners aboue fifty miles round, for the ſeeking out of ſuch Lads as might appeare ſeruiceable, and preſſing them to the wars; making yet a Law, That their yeeres of ſeruice, whereinto they were bound by order of the Cittie, ſhould be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning ſo young, as if they had beene of lawfull age.

Before the *Roman* Armie drew neere, the *Campans* felt great want of victuall, as if they had already beene beſieged. This happened partly by ſloth of the Nation, partly by the great waſte and ſpoyle, which the *Romans* had in fore-going yeeres made vpon their grounds. They ſent therefore Embaſſadours to *Hannibal*; deſiring him to ſuccour them ere they were cloſed vp, as they feared to be ſhortly. Hee gaue them comfortable words: and ſent *Hanno* with an Armie to ſupply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; againſt which they ſhould be ready with all maner of carriages, to ſtore themſelues with victualls, that hee would prouide. Neither did he promiſe more than hee performed. For he cauſed great quantitie of graine, that had beene layd vp in Citties round about, to be brought into his campe, three miles from *Beneuentum*. Thither at the time appoynted came no more than fortie Carts or Wagons, with a few packe-horſes; as if this had beene enough to victuall *Capua*. Such was the retchleſneſſe of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angrie hereat: and told them they were worſe than very beaſts; ſince hunger could not teach them to haue greater care. Wherefore he gaue them a longer day; againſt which he made prouiſion to ſtore them throughly. Of all theſe doings word was ſent to the *Roman* Conſuls, from the Cittizens of *Beneuentum*. Therefore *Q. Fuluius* the Conſul, taking with him ſuch ſtrength as he thought needfull for the ſeruice, came into *Beneuentum* by night; where with diligence hee made inquirie into the behauiour of the Enemie. Hee learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Armie was gone abroad to make prouiſions; that ſome two thouſand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their campe; ſo that little good order was kept: all thought being ſet vpon a great harueſt. Hereupon the Conſul bade his men prepare themſelues to aſſaile the Enemies campe: and leauing all his impediments within *Beneuentum*, hee marched thitherward ſo early in the morning, that hee was there with the firſt breake of day. By comming ſo vnexpected, hee had wel-neere forced the Campe on the ſudden. But it was very ſtrong and very well defended: ſo that the longer the fight continued, the leſſe deſire had *Fuluius* to loſe more of his men in the attempt; ſeeing many of them caſt away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore hee ſayd, that it were better to goe more leiſurely and ſubſtantially to worke; to ſend for his fellow-Conſul with the reſt of their Armie; and to lie betweene *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* ſhould depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieue them. Being thus diſcourſing, and about to ſound the retrait; hee ſaw, that ſome of his men had gotten ouer the Enemies Rampart. There was great bootie; or (which was all one to the ſouldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Campe. Wherefore ſome Enſigne-bearers threw their Enſignes ouer the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, vnleſſe they would endure the ſhame and diſhonour following ſuch a loſſe. Feare of ſuch ignominy, than which nothing could be greater, made the Souldiers aduenture ſo deſperately; that *Fuluius*, perceiuing the heate of his men; changed his purpoſe, and encouraged thoſe that were ſomewhat backeward, to follow the example of them, that had alreadie gotten ouer the Trenches. Thus the Campe was wonne: in which were ſlaine aboue ſixe thouſand; and taken, aboue ſeuen thouſand, beſides all the ſtore of victualls, and carriages, with aboundance of bootie, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This miſaduenture, and the neerer approach of both the Conſuls, made them of *Capua* ſend a pittifull Embaſſage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the loue, that hee was wont to proteſt vnto their Cittie; and how hee had made ſhew, to affect it no leſſe than *Carthage*. But now, they ſaid, it would be loſt, as *Arpi* was lately, if hee gaue not ſtrong and ſpeedie ſuccour. *Hannibal* anſwered with comfortable words: and ſent away two thouſand horſe, to keep their grounds from ſpoile, whileſt he himſelfe was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadell, partly by the diſpoſition, which he ſaw in many townes adioyning, to yeeld vnto him. Among the hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being ouer-taken, ſuffered death for their attempt; were ſome of the *Metapontines*, and other cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that Eaſterne part of *Italy*, which was called of old *Magna Græcia*. Theſe people took to hart the death of their hoſtages, and thought the puniſhment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as ſoone as the *Roman* garriſon was taken from them, to defend the citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would haue done the like, vpon the like reaſon, had not ſome companies laine in their

Towne; which they feared that they ſhould not be able to maſter. Neuertheleſſe, they helped themſelues by cunning: inuiting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were neare at hand: againſt whom whileſt they proffered their ſeruice to *Atinius*, the *Roman* Captaine, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, cloſed vp their gates. A little formality they vſed in pretending feare, leſt the Enemy ſhould breake in together with the *Romans*, in ſauing *Atinius* himſelfe, and ſending him away by Sea; as alſo in conſulting a ſmall while (becauſe perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practiſe) whether they ſhould yeeld to the *Carthaginian*, or no. But this diſputation laſted not long: for they that had remoued the chiefe impediment, eaſily preuailed in the reſt; and deliuered vp the towne to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good ſucceſſe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in thoſe quarters, whileſt the Conſuls fortifying *Beneuentum* to ſecure their backes, addreſſed themſelues vnto the ſiege of *Capua*.

Many diſaſters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterpriſe. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of warre, that had of late been twice Conſul, was ſlaine, either by treachery of ſome *Lucans*, that drew him into ambuſh, or by ſome *Carthaginian* ſtragglers, among whom he fell vnawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himſelfe, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* ſent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneuentum*, there to ſecure the backe of the Army that ſhould beſiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hindrance of that buſines. The *Volones* or *Slaues* lately manumiſed, forſooke their Enſignes, and went euery one whither he thought good, as if they had beene diſcharged by the deceaſe of their Leader; ſo that it asked ſome labour to ſeeke them out, and bring them backe into their camp. Neuertheleſſe, the Conſuls went forward with their work: and drawing neare to *Capua*, did all acts of hoſtility which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua*, gaue them an hard welcome, wherein aboue fifteene hundred *Romans* were loſt. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Conſuls, and had the better; inſomuch that he cauſed them to diſlodge. They remoued by night, and went ſeuerall wayes: *Fuluius* towards *Cannæ*; *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who hauing led him a great walke, fetcht a compaſſe about, and returned to *Capua*. It ſo fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula* a ſtout man, and one that with good commendations had diſcharged the place of a *Centurion*, lay with an Army not farre from thence, where *Hannibal* reſted, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vants to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be truſted with the leading of fiue thouſand men. The *Fathers* were vnwilling in ſuch a time, to reiect the vertue of any good Souldier, how meane ſoeuer his condition were. Wherefore they gaue him the charge of eight thouſand: and he himſelfe being a proper man, and talking brauely, gathered vp ſo many voluntaries, as almoſt doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gaue proofe of the difference, betweene a ſtout *Centurion*, and one able to command in chiefe. He and his fellowes were all (in a manner) ſlaine, ſcarſe a thouſand of them eſcaping. Soone after this *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fuluius*, a *Roman* Pretor with eighteene thouſand men, was in *Apulia*, very careleſſe, and a man inſufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he haſted, to viſit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine ſtrength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when hee ſhould haue cut off thoſe forces, that lay in the Prouinces about, vnder men of ſmall ability. Coming vpon *Fuluius*, he found him and his men ſo iolly, that needes they would haue fought the firſt night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he beſtowed *Mago* with three thouſand of his lighteſt armed, in places thereabout moſt fit for ambuſh. Then offering battell to *Fuluius*, hee ſoone had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to eſcape aliue; leauing all, ſaue two thouſand of his followers, dead behind him.

Theſe two great blowes, receiued the one preſently after the other, much aſtoniſhed the *Romans*. Neuertheles, all care was taken, to gather vp the ſmall reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Conſuls ſhould goe ſubſtantially forwards with the ſiege of *Capua*; which was of great conſequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other reſpects. The two Conſuls ſate downe before the towne and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Pretors, came with his Army from *Sueſſula* to their aſſiſtance. They made Proclamation, That whoſoeuer would iſſue out of *Capua* before a certaine day prefixed, ſhould haue his pardon , and be ſuffered to enioy all that vnto him belonged : which day being paſt,there ſhould be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliouſly reiected;the *Capuans* relying on their owne ſtrength, and the ſuccours attended from *Hannibal.* Before the Citty was cloſed vp , they ſent Meſſengers to the *Carthaginian* ; which found him at *Brunduſium.* He had made a long iourney, in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadell: of which expectation failing, he turnd to *Brunduſium*,vpon aduertiſement that he ſhould be let in. There the *Capuans* met him , told him of their danger with earneſt words; and were with words as brauely re-comforted. Hee bade them conſider, how a few dayes ſince he had chaſed the Conſuls out of their fields;and told them,that he would preſently come thither againe, and ſend the *Romans* going, as faſt as before. With this good anſwer the Meſſengers returned, and hardly could get backe into the Citty; which the *Romans* had almoſt entrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himſelfe, hee was of opinion,that *Capua*,being very wel manned,and heartily deuoted vnto his friendſhip,would hold out a long time ; and thereby giue him leiſure, to doe what he thought requiſite among the *Tarentines*, and in thoſe Eaſterne parts of *Italy*; whilſt the *Roman* Army ſpent it ſelfe in a tedious ſiege. Thus he lingred;and thereby gaue the Conſuls time,both to fortifie themſelues at *Capua*,and to diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates in *Rome*;whileſt he himſelfe purſued hopes, that neuer found ſucceſſe.

Claudius and *Fuluius*,when their terme of office was expired,were appointed to continue the ſiege at *Capua*; retaining the ſame Armies as Proconſuls. The towneſ-men often ſallied out ; rather in a brauerie , than likelihood to worke any matter of effect ; the Enemy lying cloſe within his Trenches,as intending,without other violence, to ſubdue them by famine. Yet againſt the *Campan* horſe (for their foote was eaſily beaten) the *Romans* vſed to thruſt out ſome troupes, that ſhould hold them skirmiſh . In theſe exerciſes the *Campans* vſually had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemie; who ſcorned to take foile at the hands of ſuch Rebells. It was therefore deuiſed, that ſome actiue and couragious yong men, ſhould learne to ride behinde the *Roman* men at armes; leaping vp, and againe diſmounting lightly, as occaſion ſerued. Theſe were furniſhed like the *Velites*, hauing each of them three or foure ſmall darts : which, alighting in time of conflict, they diſcharged thicke vpon the Enemies horſe ; whom vanquiſhing in this kinde of ſeruice , they much diſheartned in the maine. The time thus paſſing, and famine daily increaſing within the Citty , *Hannibal* came at length , not expected by the *Romans* : and taking a Fort of theirs,called *Galatia*, fell vpon their Campe. At the ſame time the *Capuans* iſſued with their whol power,in as terrible maner as they could deuiſe: ſetting all their multitude of vnſeruiceable people on the walls, which with a loud noyſe of Pans and Baſons, troubled thoſe that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* oppoſing himſelfe to the *Campans*, eaſily defended his Trenches againſt them; and ſo well repreſſed them, that he draue them at length backe into their Citty. Neuertheles, in purſuing them to their gates. He receiued a wound , that accompanied him in ſhort ſpace after to his graue. *Q. Fuluius* was held harder to his taske, by *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginian* army. The *Roman* camp was euen at poynt to haue bin loſt : and *Hannibal* his Elephants,of which he brought three and thirty,were either gotten within the rampart,or elſe (for the report varies) being ſome of them ſlaine vpon it,fell into the ditch;and filled it vp in ſuch ſort, that their bodies ſerued as a bridge vnto the Aſſailants . It is ſayd, that *Hannibal* in this tumult cauſed ſome fugitiues,that could ſpeake *Latine* wel,to proclaime aloud, as it were in the Conſuls name , That euery one of the Souldiers ſhould ſhift for himſelfe , and flie betimes vnto the next hills, foraſmuch as the Camp was already loſt. But all would not ſerue. The fraud was detected : and the Army,hauing ſitten there ſo long , had at good leiſure ſtrongly intrenched it ſelfe, ſo as little hope there was to raiſe the ſiege by force.

This did extreamely perplex the *Carthaginian* . The purchaſe of *Capua* had (as was thought) withheld him from taking *Rome* it ſelfe : and now his deſire of winning the *Tarentine* citadel, had wel-neere loſt *Capua* ; in reſpect of which , neither the Citadell, nor the City of *Tarentum*,were to haue been much regarded. Falling therefore into a deſperate anger with himſelfe and his hard fortune , that of ſo many great victories he had made no greater vſe : on the ſudden he entertained an haughty reſolution , euen to ſet vpon *Rome* ; and carry to the walls of that proud Citty , the danger of warre that threatned *Capua*. This he thought would be a meane, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or one of them at leaſt, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they roſe from the ſiege with their whole Army; then had he his deſire: If they diuided their forces; then was it likely, that either he, or the *Campans*, ſhould well enough deale with them apart. Neither did he deſpaire, that the terrour of his coming might ſo aſtoniſh the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter ſome part or other of the Citty. His onely feare was, leſt the *Campans*, being ignorant of his purpoſe, ſhould thinke he had forſaken them; and thereupon forthwith yeeld themſelues to the Enemy. To preuent this danger, he ſent letters to *Capua* by a ſubtile *Numidian*: who running as a fugitiue into the *Roman* Campe, conueighed himſelfe thence ouer the innermoſt Trenches into the Cittie. The iourney to *Rome*, was to be performed with great celerity: no ſmall hope of good ſucceſſe, reſting in the ſuddenneſſe of his arriuall there. Wherefore he cauſed his men, to haue in a readineſſe ten dayes victualls; and prepared as many boates, as might in one night tranſport his Armie ouer the Riuer of *Vulturnus*. This could not be done ſo cloſely, but that the *Roman* Generalls by ſome fugitiues had notice of his purpoſe. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate which was therewith affected, according to the diuerſitie of mens opinions, in a caſe of ſuch importance. Some gaue counſell to let alone *Capua*, yea and all places elſe, rather than to put the towne of *Rome* into perill of being taken by the enemy. Others were ſo farre from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could thinke, that *Hannibal*, being vnable to relieue *Capua*, ſhould iudge himſelfe ſtrong enough to winne *Rome*; and therefore ſtoutly ſayd, That thoſe Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the Citty, would ſerue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and ſend him thence, if he were ſo vnwiſe, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters ſhould be ſent to *Fuluius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the preſent were in *Rome*: who, ſince they knew beſt, what the ſtrength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were beſt able to iudge, what was needfull to oppoſe him. So it was referred vnto the diſcretion of theſe Generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought behouefull: & if it might conueniently be, neither to raiſe their ſiege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much aduenture. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fuluius* took fifteene thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, the choiſe of his whole Army: with which he haſted toward *Rome*; leauing *App. Claudius*, who could not trauell by reaſon of his wound, to continue the ſiege at *Capua*.

Hannibal, hauing paſſed ouer *Vulturnus*, burnt vp all his boats; and left nothing that might tranſport the Enemy, in caſe he ſhould offer to purſue or coaſt him. Then haſted he away toward *Rome*, ſtaying no longer in any one place, than hee needes muſt. Yet found he the Bridges ouer *Liris* broken downe, by the people of *Fregellæ*: which as it ſtopped him a little on his way; ſo it made him the more grieuouſly to ſpoyle their lands, whiles the Bridges were in mending. The neerer that hee drew to *Rome*, the greater waſte hee made: his *Numidians* running before him; driuing the Countrey, and killing or taking multitudes of all ſorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The meſſengers of theſe newes came apace, one after another into the Citie; ſome few bringing true aduertiſements; but the moſt of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the ſtreets, and Temples in *Rome*, were peſtered with women, crying and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, becauſe they could do none other good. The Senators were all in the great market, or place of Aſſembly; ready to giue their aduice, if it were asked, or to take directions giuen by the Magiſtrates. All places of moſt importance were ſtuffed with ſouldiers: it being vncertaine, vpon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the middeſt of this trepidation, there came newes that *Quintus Fuluius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was haſting to the defence of the city. The Office of a Proconſul did expire, at his returne home, and entry into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fuluius* might loſe nothing by comming into the Citty in time of ſuch neede, an Acte was paſſed, That hee ſhould haue equall power with the Conſuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arriued at *Rome*, one ſoone after another: *Fuluius* hauing beene long held occupied in paſſing ouer *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiuing impediment in his iourney, as much as the Country was able to giue. The Conſuls, and *Fuluius*, incamped without the Gates of *Rome*, attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew neerer and greater; ſo tooke they more carefull and eſpeciall order againſt all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the Riuer *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the Towne; whence he aduanced with two thouſand horſe, and rode along a great way vnder the walls, viewing the ſite thereof, and conſidering how he might beſt approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Story ſaith) was driuen away, without doing, or receiuing any hurt. Many tumults roſe in this while among the people; but were ſuppreſſed by care and diligence of the Senators. Aboue the reſt one accident was both troubleſome, and not without perill. Of *Numidians* that had ſhifted ſide, and fallen (vpon ſome diſpleaſures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were ſome twelue hundred then in *Rome*: which were appoynted by the Conſuls, to paſſe through the Towne, from the Mount *Auentine* to the Gate *Collina*, where it was thought that their ſeruice might be vſefull, among broken wayes, and Garden walls lying in the ſuburbs. The faces of theſe men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred ſuch miſtaking, as cauſed a great vproare, among the people: all crying out, that *Auentine* was taken, and the enemy gotten within the walls. The noyſe was ſuch, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the ſtreets were ſo full of cattaile, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adioyning, that the paſſage was ſtopt vp: and the poore *Numidians* pittifully beaten from the houſe toppes, with ſtones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the deſperate multitude, that would haue run out at the gates, had it not beene certaine who lay vnder the walls. To remedy the like inconueniences, it was ordained, *That all which had beene Dictators, Conſuls, or Cenſors, ſhould haue authoritie as Magiſtrates, till the Enemy departed.* The day following *Hannibal* paſſed ouer *Anien*, and preſented battell to the *Romans*, who did not wiſely if they vndertooke it. It is ſayd, that a terrible ſhowre of raine, cauſed both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to returne into their ſeuerall Campes: and that this hapned two dayes together, the weather breaking vp and clearing as ſoone as they were departed aſunder: certaine it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes prouiſion, could not endure to ſtay there, vntill his victuals were all ſpent. In which regard, the *Romans*, if they ſuffered him to waſte his time and prouiſions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well aduiſed men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is ſayd) by ſome accident of weather, the commendations muſt be giuen to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibals* coming to the City, how great ſoeuer it was at the firſt, yet after ſome leiſure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared leſſe than the firſt apprehenſion had formed them, was much and ſoone abated. Hereunto it helped wel, that at the ſame time, the ſupply appointed for *Spaine*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, was ſent out of the towne, & went forth at the gate, whilſt one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Panick terrors*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cauſe knowne, or no cauſe anſwerable to the greatnes of the ſudden conſternation; it is a good remedy to do ſomewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it ſuch, as men haue faſhioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cauſe his ſouldiers to diſarme themſelues, when they were all on a ſudden in a great feare of they wiſt not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a fooliſh vproare in his army, by proclaiming a reward vnto him, that could tell who had ſent the Aſſe into the campe. But in this preſent example of the *Romans*, appeares withall a great magnanimity: whereby they ſuſtained their reputation, & augmented it no leſſe, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might ſeeme to haue beene diminiſhed. Neither could they more finely haue checked the glorious conceipts of their enemies, and taken away the diſgrace of that feare, which clouded their valour at his firſt coming; than by making ſuch demonſtrations, when once they had recouered ſpirit, how little they eſteemed him. To this purpoſe therefore that very peece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay incamped, was ſolde in *Rome*: and ſolde it was nothing vnder the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had beene in time of peace. This indignity comming to his eare, incenſed *Hannibal* ſo much, that he made port-ſale of the Siluer-ſmiths ſhoppes, which were neere about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his owne title to the houſes within the Towne, were no whit worſe, than any *Roman* Cittizens could be vnto that piece of ground, whereon he raiſed his Tent. But this counter-practiſe was nothing worth. The *Romans* did ſeeke to maniſeſt that aſſurance, which they iuſtly had conceiued; *Hannibal*, to make ſhew of continuing in an hope, which was already paſt. His victualls were almoſt ſpent: and of thoſe ends, that he had propoſed vnto himſelfe, this iourny had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore hee brake vp his Campe: and doing what ſpoile he could in the *Roman* Territorie, without ſparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten; he paſſed like a tempeſt ouer the Countrey, and ranne toward the Eaſterne Sea ſo faſt, that he had almoſt taken the Cittie of *Rhegium* before his arriuall was feared or ſuſpected. As for *Capua*, he gaue it loſt: and is likely to haue curſed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus diſabled him to relieue that faire Citie; ſince hee had no other way to vent his griefe.

Q. Fuluius returning backe to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that whoſo would yeeld, before a certaine day, might ſafely doe it. This, and the very returne of *Fuluius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gaue the *Capuans* to vnderſtand, that they were abandoned, and their caſe deſperate. To truſt the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, euery mans conſcience of his owne euill deſarts, told him, that it was a vanitie: and ſome faint hope was giuen, by *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, Captaines of the *Carthaginian* Garriſon within the Towne, that *Hannibal* ſhould come againe; if meanes could onely be found, how to conuey ſuch Letters vnto him, as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was vndertaken, by ſome *Numidians*: who running, as fugitiues out of the Towne, into the *Roman* Camp, waited fit opportunitie to make an eſcape thence with their packets. But it hapned ere they could conueigh themſelues away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Towne; and the Letters of *Boſtar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement entreatie vnto *Hannibal*, that hee would not thus forſake the *Capuans* and them. For (ſayd they) wee came not hither to make warre againſt *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but againſt the *Romans*: whoſe Legions whereſoeuer they lie, there alſo ſhould the *Carthaginian* Armie be readie to attend them; and by taking of ſuch courſe, haue wee gotten thoſe victories at *Trebia*, *Thraſymene*, and *Cannæ*. In fine, they beſought him, that hee would not diſhonour himſelfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his onely care, that the Cittie ſhould not be taken in his ful view: promiſing to make a deſperate ſally, if he would once more aduenture to ſet vpon the *Roman* Campe. Such were the hopes of *Boſtar* and his fellow.

But *Hannibal* had already done his beſt: and now beganne to faint vnder the burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he proteſted) hee was vanquiſhed by *Hanno* and his Partiſans in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like caſes, that ſome of thoſe which were beſieged in *Capua*, had beene ſent ouer by the *Hannonians*, to obſerue the doings of *Hannibal*, and to checke his proceedings. If this were ſo, iuſtly might they curſe their owne malice, which had caſt them into this remedileſſe neceſſitie. Howſoeuer it were, the Letters directed vnto *Hannibal*, fell (as is ſhewed) into the *Roman* Proconſuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all ſuch counterfait fugitiues, as carried ſuch meſſages, whipt them backe into the Towne. This miſerable ſpectacle brake the hearts of the *Campans*; ſo that the multitude crying out vpon the Senate, with menacing termes, cauſed them to aſſemble, and conſult, about the yeelding vp of *Capua* vnto the *Romans*. The braueſt of the Senators, and ſuch as a few yeeres ſince had beene moſt forward in ioyning with *Hannibal*, vnderſtood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them inuited the reſt home to ſupper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drinke to them ſuch an health, as ſhould ſet them free from that cruell reuenge, which the Enemies ſought vpon their bodies. About ſeuen and twentie of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their liues together, by drinking poyſon. All the reſt hoping for more mercie than they had deſerued, yeelded ſimply to diſcretion. So one of the Towne-gates was ſet open; whereat a *Roman* Legion with ſome other companies, entring, diſarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* garriſon; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to goe forth into the *Roman* campe: at their coming thither, the Proconſuls laid yrons vpon them all, and commanding them to tell what ſtore of gold and ſiluer they had at home, ſent them into ſafe cuſtodie; ſome to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the generall multitude, they were reſerued vnto the diſcretion of the Senate: yet ſo hardly vſed by *Fuluius* in the meane while, that they had little cauſe of hope or comfort in this aduerſity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought euen to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately receiued: yet was he not inexorable to the *Campans*; as hauing loued them wel in former times, and hauing giuen his daughter in mariage to that *Pacuuius*, of whom we ſpake before. But this facility

Liu. Libr. 30.

his Colleague, made *Fuluius* the more haſtie in taking vengeance: for feare, leſt vpon the like reſpects, the *Roman* Senate might proue more gentle, than he thought behouefull to the common ſafetie, and honour of their State. Wherefore he tooke the paines, to ride by night vnto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where he cauſed all the *Campan* priſoners to ſuffer death; binding them to ſtakes, and ſcourging them firſt a good while with rods; after which he ſtrucke off their heads.

b This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all townes of *Italy* the leſſe apt to follow the vaine hope of the *Campans*: and bred a generall inclination, to returne vpon good conditions to the *Roman* ſide. The *Atellans, Calatines*, & *Sabatines*, people of the *Campans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made alſo now the like ſubmiſſion, for very feare, & want of ability to reſiſt. They were therefore vſed with the like rigour, by *Fuluius*: who dealt ſo extremely with them all, that he brought them into deſperation. Wherefore ſome of their young Gentlemen, burning with fire of Reuenge, got into *Rome*: where they found meanes by night-time, to ſet on fire ſo many houſes, that a great part of the city was like to haue bin conſumed. The beginning of the fire in diuers places at once, argued that it was no caſualtie. Wherefore libertie was proclaimed vnto any ſlaue, and other ſufficient reward to any free man, that ſhould diſcouer who thoſe Incendiaries were. Thus all came out; and the *Campans* being detected by a ſlaue of their owne (to whom, aboue his liberty promiſed, was giuen about the ſumme of an hundred marks) had the puniſhment anſwerable to their deſerts. *Fuluius* hereby being more and more incenſed againſt this wretched people, held them in a maner as priſoners within their walls: and this extreme ſeuerity cauſed them at length to become Suppliants vnto the *Roman* Senate; that ſome period might be ſet vnto their miſeries. That whereupon the Senators reſolued in the end, was worſe than all that which they had ſuffered before. Onely two poore women in *Capua* (of which one had beene an harlot) were found not guiltie of the late rebellion. The reſt were, ſome of them, with their wiues and children, ſold for ſlaues, and their goods confiſcated; others laid in priſon, and reſerued to further deliberation: but the generalitie of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certayne day, and confined vnto ſeuerall places as beſt liked the angry victors. As for the towne of *Capua*, it was ſuffered to ſtand, in regard of the beauty and commodious ſite: but no corporation or forme of politie, was allowed to be therein; onely a *Roman* Prouoſt was euery yeere ſent to gouerne ouer thoſe that ſhould inhabit it, and to doe iuſtice. This was the greateſt act, and moſt important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great loſſes in the preſent warre. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to ſhine with a more dimme light, than before: his oile being farre ſpent; and that which ſhould haue reuiued his flame, being vnfortunately ſhed; as ſhall be told in place conuenient.

§. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a partie in Sardinia and Sicil, held warre againſt the Romans in thoſe Iſlands, and were ouercome.

WHileſt things paſſed thus in *Italy*, the commotions raiſed in *Sardinia* and *Sicil* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end, by the induſtrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and ſudden: aboue thirty thouſand being vp in armes, ere the *Roman* forces could arriue there to ſuppreſſe it. One *Harſicoras* with his ſonne *Hioſtus*, mightie men in that Iland, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promiſed the aſſiſtance of his Countrey. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterpriſe ſo careleſſe, as in the reſt of their maine vndertakings, about the ſame time. Yet it had beene better, if their care had bin directed vnto the proſecution of that maine buſineſſe in *Italie*; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would haue ſufficed, if they could haue hindered the *Romans* from ſending an Armie into *Sardinia*. *Harſicoras* with his followers might well enough haue ſerued to driue out *Quintus Mutius* the Prætor, who lay ſicke in the Prouince; and not more weake in his owne body, than in his traine. But whileſt they ſought reuenge of that particular iniurie, whereof the ſenſe was moſt grieuous; they neglected the opportunitie of requiting thoſe that had done them wrong, and of the ſecuring themſelues from all iniuries in the future. Their fortune alſo in this enterpriſe was ſuch; as may ſeeme to haue encouraged them from being at the like charge, in caſes of more importance. For whereas they ſent ouer *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed, *the Bald*, with a competent fleet and armie; aſſiſted in this Expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Margo* a Gentleman of the *Barchine* houſe, and neere kinſman to *Hannibal*: it ſo fell out, that the whole fleet by extremity of foule weather, was caſt vpon the *Baleares*: ſo beaten and in ſuch euill plight, that the *Sardinians* had euen ſpent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquiſhed, ere theſe their friends could arriue to ſuccour them.

Titus Manlius was ſent from *Rome* with two and twenty thouſand foot, and twelue hundred horſe, to ſettle the eſtate of that Iland, which he had taken in, and annexed vnto the *Roman* dominion, long before this, in his Conſulſhip. It was a laudable cuſtome of the *Romans*, to preſerue and vp-hold in their ſeuerall Prouinces, the greatneſſe and reputation of thoſe men, and their families, by whom each Prouince had beene firſt ſubdued vnto their Empire. If any iniurie were done vnto the Prouincialls; if any grace were to be obtayned from the Senate; or whatſoeuer accident required the aſſiſtance of a Patron: the firſt Conquerour, and his race after him, were the moſt readie and beſt approued meanes, to procure the benefit of the people ſubdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very ſure intelligence, in euery Prouince, and had alwayes in readineſſe fit men to reclaime their Subiects, if they fell into any ſuch diſorder, as would otherwiſe haue required a greater charge and trouble. The comming of *Manlius*, retayned in obedience all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was *Harſicoras* ſo ſtrong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not haue made vp that number of two and twenty thouſand, whereof we haue ſpoken before: hee landed at *Calaris* or *Carallis*, where mooring his ſhips, he paſſed vp into the Countrey, and ſought out the Enemie. *Hyoſtus*, the ſonne of *Harſicoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Armie left vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrey, to draw in more friends to their ſide. This young Gentleman would needes aduenture to get honour, by giuing battell to the *Romans* at his owne diſcretion. So hee raſhly aduentured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom hee receiued a terrible ouerthrow; and loſt in one day aboue thirtie thouſand of his followers. *Hyoſtus* himſelfe, with the reſt of his broken troupes, got into *Cornus*, the chiefe Towne of the Iſland: whither *Manlius* purſued them. Very ſoone after this defeature came *Aſdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*: too late to winne all *Sardinia* in ſuch haſte as hee might haue done, if the tempeſt had not hindered his voyage; yet ſoone enough, and ſtrong enough to ſaue the Towne of *Cornus*, and to put a new ſpirit into the Rebells. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himſelfe backe to *Calaris*: where he had not ſtayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (ſuch of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craued his aſſiſtance; their Countrey being waſted by the *Carthaginians*, and the Rebells, with whom they had refuſed to ioyne. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*: where if hee had ſtayed a little longer, *Aſdrubal* would haue ſought him out with ſome blemiſh to his reputation. But the fame of *Aſdrubal* and his company, appeares to haue bin greater than was their ſtrength. For after ſome triall made of them in a few ſkirmiſhes, *Manlius* aduentured all to the hazard of a battaile; wherein he ſlew twelue thouſand of the enemies; and tooke of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians*, three thouſand. Foure houres the battell laſted, and victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Iſlanders, whoſe courages had beene broken in their vnproſperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of yong *Hyoſtus*, and of his father *Harſicoras*, that ſlew himſelfe for griefe, together with the captiuity of *Aſdrubal* himſelfe, with *Mago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*, made the victory the more famous. The vanquiſhed Armie fled into *Cornus*; whither *Manlius* followed them, and in ſhort ſpace wonne the Towne. All other Cities of the Iſle that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*, and yeelded vnto the *Roman*; who impoſing vpon them ſuch increaſe of tribute, or other puniſhment, as beſt ſorted with the nature of their ſeuerall offences, or their ability to pay, returned backe to *Calaris* with a great bootie, and from thence to *Rome*, leauing *Sardinia* in quiet.

The warre in *Sicil* was of greater length, and euery way more burdenſome to *Rome*: as alſo the victorie brought more honour and profit, for that the *Romans* became thereby, not onely ſauers of their owne, as in *Sardinia*; but Lords of the whole Country, by annexing the citie and dominion of *Syracuſe*, to that which they enioyed before. Soone after the battell of *Cannæ*, the old King of *Syracuſe* died; who had continued long a ſtedfaſt friend vnto the *Romans*, and greatly relieued them in this preſent warre. He left his Kingdome to *Hieronymus* his grand-child; that was about fifteene yeares of age; *Gelo* his ſonne, that ſhould haue bin his heire, being dead before. To this young King his ſucceſſour, *Hiero* appoynted fifteene tutors: of which the principall were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themiſtius*, who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The reſt were ſuch, as he iudged moſt likely to preſerue the Kingdome, by the ſame arte, whereby himſelfe had gotten and ſo long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* waxing weary of ſo many coadiutors, beganne to commend the ſufficiencie of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeares; and ſayd; that he was able to rule the kingdome without help of any Protector. Thus by giuing ouer his owne charge, he cauſed others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the king wholly into his hands; which came to paſſe, in a ſort, as he deſired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aſide all care of gouernement, gaue himſelfe wholly ouer to his pleaſures: or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitie, it was onely in matter of exterior ſhew, as wearing a Diademe with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby hee offended the eyes of his people, that had neuer ſeene the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his ſonne. But much more he offended them, when by his inſolent behauiour, ſutable to his outward pompe, he gaue proofe, that in courſe of life, he would reuiue the memory of Tyrants dead long ſince, from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. He grew proud, luſtfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him: ſo that ſuch of his late tutors as could eſcape him by flight, were glad to liue in baniſhment: the reſt, being moſt of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to auoyde the danger of his diſpleaſure, that ſeemed worſe than death it ſelfe. Onely *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraſo* continued in grace with him, and were his Counſailers, but not of his Cabinet. Theſe, howſoeuer they agreed in other points, were at ſome diſſenſion about that maine point of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleaſures, which was ſet on change: but *Thraſo*, hauing more regard of his honour and profit, was very earneſt to continue the amitie with *Rome*. Whilſt as yet it remained ſomewhat doubtful, which way the King would incline: a conſpiracie againſt his perſon, was detected by a groome of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the vndertakers. Long it was ere he would ſpeake any thing: but yeelding (as it ſeemed) in the end, vnto the extremitie of the torture; he confeſſed, that he had beene ſet on by *Thraſo*; whom he appeached of the treaſon, together with many more, that were neare in loue or place vnto *Hieronymus*. All theſe therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeede the Conſpirators, walked boldly in the ſtreetes, and neuer ſhrunke for the matter: aſſuring themſelues, that the reſolution of *Theodorus* would yeeld to no extremitie. Thus they all eſcaped, and ſoone after found meanes to execute their purpoſe. The King himſelfe, when *Thraſo* was taken out of the way, quickly reſolued vpon ſiding with the *Carthaginians*, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when firſt they grow Maſters of themſelues, loue to ſeeme wiſer than their fathers, by taking different courſes. And the liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great neceſſitie, had of late been ſuch, as might haue beene termed exceſſiue, were it not in regard of his prouidence; wherein he tooke order for his owne Eſtate, that depended vpon theirs. But the young Nephew, taking little heede of dangers farre off, regarded onely the things preſent; the weakeneſſe of *Rome*; the preualent fortunes of *Carthage*; and the much money that his grand-father had layed out in vaine, to ſhoulder vp a falling houſe. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entred into good correſpondence with him; that was maintayned by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* borne, but grand-children of a baniſhed *Syracuſan*. Theſe grew into ſuch fauour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they liſted. So that when *App. Claudius* the *Roman* Pretor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betweene the people of *Rome*, and the King of *Syracuſe*; his Meſſengers were diſmiſſed with an open ſcoffe. For *Hieronymus* would needs haue them tell him the order of the fight at *Cannæ*, that he might thereby learne how to accommodate himſelfe, ſaying, That he could hardly beleeue the *Carthaginians*;

ſo wonderfull was the victory as they reported it. Hauing thus diſmiſſed the *Romans*, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league: with condition, at firſt, that a great part of the Iſland ſhould be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he ſhould reigne ouer all *Sicil*; and the *Carthaginians* reſt ſatisfied, with what they could get in *Italie*. At theſe doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly ſtirre: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoued not the *Romans*, to entertaine more quarrells, than were enforced vpon them by neceſſitie; and partly (as may ſeeme) for that the reputation, both of himſelfe, and of his Cittie, had receiued ſuch blemiſh, by that which hapned vnto him in his iourney, as much diſcountenanced him when hee came into *Sicil*, and forbade him to looke bigge. The money that *Hiero* had beſtowed formerly vpon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieue them in their neceſſitie, this *Appius* was to carry backe vnto him: it being refuſed by the *Roman* Senate, with greater brauerie than their preſent fortune would allow. But in ſtead of returning the money with thankes, as he had bin directed, and as it had bin noiſed abroad that he ſhould doe: the warre againſt *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we haue ſpoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aſide their vaine-glorie, and ſend word after him, that he ſhould conſigne that mony ouer to *Marcus Valerius*; of whoſe voyage into *Greece*, the Cittie had not otherwiſe wherewith to beare the charge. This was done accordingly, and here by *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious oſtentation of the *Roman* magnanimitie, into ſuch a pittifull tune of thankeſgiuing, as muſt needs haue bred ſorrow and commiſeration, in ſo true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were deliuered after his death, matter of paſtime & ſcorne, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whileſt *Hieronymus* was more deſirous of warre, than well reſolued how to begin it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great innouation in the ſtate of *Syracuſe*; which thereby might haue proſpered more than euer, had it beene wiſely gouerned. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom wee ſpake before, were ſent about the Country with two thouſand men, to ſollicite the Townes, and perſwade them to ſhake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himſelfe with an Armie of fifteene thouſand horſe and foot, went to *Leontium*, a citty of his owne Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Iſland fall to him in all haſte, and accept him for Soueraigne. There the Conſpirators took him on the ſudden, as he was paſſing through a narrow ſtreet: and ruſhing betweene him and his guard, ſtrooke him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaymed: and the ſound of that word ſo ioyfully anſwered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronymus*, had little courage to reuenge their Maſters death. Yet for feare of the worſt, a great largeſſe was promiſed vnto the Souldiers, with rewards vnto their Captaines; which wrought ſo effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned vp; the Army, as in deteſtation of his bad life, ſuffered his carkaſſe to lie vnburied. Theſe newes ranne quickely to *Syracuſe*: whither ſome of the Conſpirators, taking alſo of the Kings horſes, poſted away; to ſignifie all that had paſſed, to ſtirre vp the people to libertie, and to preuent *Andronodorus*, if he or his fellowes would make offer to vſurpe a Tyranny. The *Syracuſians* hereupon preſently tooke Armes, and made themſelues maſters of their owne Citty. *Andronodorus* on the other ſide fortified the Palace, and the Iſland: being yet vncertayne what to doe; betweene deſire of making himſelfe a ſoueraigne Lord, and feare of ſuffring puniſhment, as a Tyrant, if his enterpiſe miſ-carried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cheriſhed him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that well knowne Prouerbe, which *Dionyſius* had vſed; *That a Tyrant ſhould keepe his place, till he were haled out of it by the heeles, and not ride away from it on horſe-backe*. But feare, and better counſaile preuailed ſo farre; that *Andronodorus*, hauing ſlept vpon the matter, diſſembled his affections, and deferred his hope vnto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a ſpeech vnto the people: telling them, that he was glad to ſee, how prudently they behaued themſelues in ſo great a change; that hee had ſtood in feare, leſt they would not haue contayned themſelues within the bounds of diſcretion; but rather haue ſought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that ſince he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to rauiſh their liberty perforce, but to wed it vnto them for euer; he was willingly come to them forth of his ſtrength, and ſurrendred vp the charge committed vnto him, by one that had been an euill maſter both to him and them. Hereupon great ioy was made, and Pretors choſen (as in former times) to gouerne the Cittie; of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chiefe. But ſuch was his deſire of Soueraignty, and ſo vehement were the inſtigations of his wife, that ſhortly hee beganne to practiſe with ***Hippocrates***, ***Epicides***, and other Captaines of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himſelfe ſtrong by their help, that were leaſt pleaſed with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had beene with the *Syracuſian* Pretors, and told them, that being ſent from ***Hannibal*** to ***Hieronymus***, they according to inſtructions of their Captaine, had done him, whileſt he liued, what ſeruice they could; and that now they were deſirous to returne home. They requeſted therefore that they might be friendly diſmiſſed; and with a conuoy, that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and ſet them ſafe at *Locri*. This was eaſily granted; both for that the *Syracuſian* Magiſtrates were well contented to earne thankes of *Hannibal*, with ſuch a little courteſie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickely of this troubleſome couple, which were good ſouldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwiſe lewd men. It was not the deſire of theſe two *Sicilians*, to be gone ſo haſtily as they made ſhew; they were more mindfull of the buſineſſe, for which *Hannibal* had ſent them. Wherefore they inſinuated themſelues into the boſoms of ſuch as were moſt likely to fill the Army with tumult; eſpecially of the *Roman* fugitiues, and thoſe that had cauſe to miſtruſt what ſhould become of themſelues, when the *Romans* and *Syracuſians* were come to agreement. Such inſtruments as theſe, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as alſo of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. Hee found *Themiſtius*, that had married *Harmonia* the ſiſter of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like paſſions of his owne, and of his wife. But in ſeeking to increaſe the number of his adherents, he reuealed the matter to one, that reuealed all to the reſt of the Pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themiſtius*, entring into the Senate, were ſlayne out of hand: and afterward accuſed to the People, of all the euill which they had done, whileſt *Hieronymus* liued, as by his authority; and now ſince attempted, in ſeeking to vſurp the tyranny themſelues. It was alſo declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were acceſſary to this dangerous treaſon: and that the vnquiet ſpirits of theſe women would neuer ceaſe to worke, vntill they had recouered thoſe royall ornaments and Soueraigne power, whereof their family was now diſpoſſeſſed. Theſe daughters therefore of *Hiero* & *Gelo* were alſo condemned to die; and executioners preſently ſent by the enraged people, to take away their liues. *Demarata*, and *Harmonia* had perhaps deſerued this heauy ſentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Soſippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered together with her two yong daughters, in the haſty execution of this raſh iudgement. Her huſband *Soſippus* was a louer of the Common-wealth; and in that reſpect ſo hated by *Hieronymus*, that being ſent Embaſſador to king *Ptolomie*, *&c.* he durſt not returne home, but ſtayed in *Ægypt* as a baniſhed man. This conſideration, when it was too late, together with ſome pitifull accidents accompanying the ſlaughter, ſo affected the multitude; that (pardoning themſelues) all cryed out vpon the authors of ſo foule a butchery. Being thus incenſed againſt the Senate; and knowing not otherwiſe how to ſatisfie their anger, they called for an election of new Pretors, in the roome of *Andronodorus* and *Themiſtius*, that were lately ſlaine: meaning to ſubſtitute ſuch in their places, as the Senators ſhould haue litle cauſe to like. At the election were preſent a great rowt, not onely of the poorer Citizens, but of ſouldiers that preſſed into the throng. One of theſe, named *Epicides* Pretor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the leſſe that the olde Pretors and Senators approued this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall cry forced them to be accepted. Theſe being made Pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, betweene the *Syracuſians* and the *Romans*. But hauing ſtriuen in vaine, and ſeeing that the People ſtood in feare of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus*, that was lately come into *Sicil*; they gaue way vnto the time, and ſuffered the old league of *Hiero* to be re-confirmed, which afterward they purpoſed to diſſolue by practiſe. The *Leontines* had ſome need of a garriſon; and to them was ſent *Hippocrates* the Pretor, attended by ſuch fugitiues, and mercenary ſouldiers, as were moſt burdenſome to *Syracuſe*. Thither when he came, he began to doe many acts of hoſtility againſt the *Romans*: firſt in ſecret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly vnderſtanding the purpoſe of theſe two brethren, ſent word vnto the *Syracuſians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would neuer be kept ſincerely, vntill this turbulent paire of brethren were expelled the Iſland. *Epicides* fearing to ſuſtaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more deſirous to ſet forward the warre, than to excuſe any breach of peace; went himſelfe vnto the *Leontines*, whom he perſwaded to rebell againſt the *Syracuſians*. For he ſaid, that ſince they had all of late ſerued one Maſter, there was little reaſon why the *Leontines* ſhould not be enfranchiſed by his death, aſwel as the *Syracuſians*; yea or much rather, all things conſidered; ſince in their ſtreetes the Tyrant was ſlayne, and liberty firſt proclaymed. Wherefore, ſince they of *Syracuſe* were not contented to enioy the freedome purchaſed among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reaſon, that they ſhould beare Dominion ouer thoſe that had broken the Chaine, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his aduice was, that ſuch their arrogancie ſhould be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by preſcription. Hereunto occaſion was giuen by one article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* & *Syracuſians*. For it was agreed, *That all which had beene ſubiect to* Hiero *and* Hieronymus, *ſhould henceforth be Vaſſals vnto the State of Syracuſe*. Againſt this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; *Epicides* told them, that in this noueltie of change, they had fit opportunity to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had loſt not many ages before. Neither was it vnreaſonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had beene ſubdued by the ſame hand, which tooke liberty from the *Syracuſians*. But ſeeing they had long ſince yeelded vnto *Syracuſe*, and beene ſubiect vnto that Cittie, by what forme ſoeuer it was gouerned; this claime of libertie was rather ſeaſonable, than iuſt. Neuertheleſſe, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approued: in ſo much that when meſſengers came ſoone after from *Syracuſe*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done againſt the *Romans*, and to denounce vnto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they ſhould get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither elſe they liſted, ſo that they ſtayed not in *Sicil*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requeſted the *Syracuſians*, to make any bargaines for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themſelues bound to obſerue the couenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory anſwer was forth-with reported vnto *Marcellus* by the *Syracuſians*; who offered him their aſſiſtance in doing iuſtice vpon the *Leontines* their Rebells; with condition, That when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. *Marcellus* required no better ſatisfaction: but forth-with tooke the buſineſſe in hand, which he diſpatched in one day. At the firſt aſſault, *Leontium* was taken: all ſaue the Caſtle, whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled; and ſtealing thence away by night, conueyed themſelues into the towne of *Herbeſus*. The firſt thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had wonne the Towne, was the ſame, which other *Roman* Captains vſed after victory, to ſeeke out the fugitiue *Roman* ſlaues and renegados, whom he cauſed all to die: the reſt both of the Towneſ-men and Souldiers, he tooke to mercy, forbearing alſo to ſtrip or ſpoyle them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary ſort. It was ſayd, that he had ſlaine, Man, Woman, and Childe, and put the Towne to ſacke. Theſe newes met the *Syracuſian* Army vpon the way, as it was going to ioyne with *Marcellus*, who had ended his buſineſſe before. About eight thouſand Mercenaries there were, that had beene ſent forth of *Syracuſe*, vnder *Soſis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the Pretors, to ſerue againſt the *Leontines* and other rebels. Theſe Captains were honeſt men, and well affected to their Countrey: but the Souldiers that followed them, had thoſe diſeaſes, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-ſouldiers (as now they termed thoſe againſt whom they went) had beene ſo cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it beſt, to turne their vnquiet thoughts another way, and ſet them a-worke in ſome place elſe: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their ſeruice. So towards *Herbeſus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this miſchiefe, deuiſing what further harme they might doe; but now ſo weakely accompanyed, that they ſeemed vnable to eſcape the puniſhments belonging to their offences paſt. Hereof the two brethren were no leſſe well aware: and therefore aduentured vpon a remedy little leſſe deſperate than their preſent caſe. They iſſued forth of *Herbeſus* vnarmed, with Oliue branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and ſo preſented themſelues to the Army. Six hundred men of *Creet* were in the vantguard;

that had beene well vſed by *Hieronymus*, and ſome of them greatly bound vnto *Hannibal*, who had taken them priſoners in the *Italian* warre, and louingly diſmiſſed them. Theſe *Cretians* therfore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheare, ſaying, That no man ſhould doe them harme, as long as they could vſe their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a ſtand; and the rumour of this accident, ranne ſwiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the matter by ſeuerity, which would not ſerue. For when they commanded theſe two traitors to be layd in yrons; the exclamation was ſo violent againſt them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne, vncertaine what courſe to take, vnto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deuiſed a tricke, whereby to help himſelfe, and better the vncertayne caſe wherein he ſtood. He cauſed Letters of his owne penning, to be intercepted by ſome of his moſt truſty *Cretans*, directed (as they made ſhew) from the *Syracuſian* Pretors, to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the ſword among the *Leontines*: but that it farther behoued him, to make the like diſpatch of al the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuſe*; which were offenſiue, all of them in generall, to the liberty of the Citty, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epiſtle was openly rehearſed, the vproare was ſuch, that *Soſis* and his fellow Pretor, were glad to forſake the Campe, and flie for their liues. All the *Syracuſians* remayning behinde, had beene cut in peeces by the enraged ſouldiers, if the two Artificers of the ſedition had not ſaued their liues; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than for any good will. They perſwaded alſo a miſchieuous knaue that had ſerued amongſt the *Leontines*, to iuſtifie the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the newes to *Syracuſe*, as an eye-witnes. This incenſed not onely the multitude, but ſome of the Senate; and filled the whole towne with cauſeleſſe indignation. In good time (ſayd ſome) was the auarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like ſort gotten into *Syracuſe*, would haue dealt much worſe, where their greedy appetites might haue beene tempted with a farre greater booty. Whileſt they were thus diſcourſing, and deuiſing how to keepe out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates, exhorting the Cittizens to let him in, vnleſſe for want of helpe, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Pretors with the beſt and wiſeſt of the Senate, would faine haue kept him out: but the violence of the ſouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-ſtrong fury of thoſe within the towne, that laboured to breake it open. So he entred and immediately fell vpon the Pretors, whom (being forſaken by all men) he put to the ſword, and made ſlaughter of them and their followers vntill night. The next day hee went openly to worke: and after the common example of Tyrants, gaue liberty vnto all ſlaues and priſoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worſt and baſeſt ſort, made himſelfe and his brother Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuſe*.

When *Marcellus* was aduertiſed of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to ſit ſtill, and attend the further iſſue. He ſent Embaſſadours to *Syracuſe*, that were not admitted into the Hauen, but chaſed out as enemies. Then drew he neare with his Army: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the towne, ſent before him, ſome to require a parlee. Theſe were entertained without the walls by the two new Pretors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpoſe to do hurt, but in fauour of the *Syracuſians*, which were oppreſſed by Tyrants; and to puniſh thoſe, that had murdered and baniſhed ſo many of the principall Cittizens. Wherefore they required, that thoſe worthy men, their Confederates, which were chaſed out of the Towne, might be ſuffered to returne and enioy their owne; as alſo that the Authors of the great ſlaughter lately committed, might be deliuered vp. Hereto *Epicides* briefly anſwered, That if their errand had beene to him, he could haue told what to ſay to them: but ſince it was directed vnto others, they ſhould doe well to returne, when thoſe to whom they were ſent, had the gouernement in their hands. As for the warre which they threatned; he told them; they ſhould finde by experience, That to beſiege *Syracuſe*, was an other manner of worke, than to take *Leontium*. Thus hee ſent them gone; and returned backe into the Citty. Immediately beganne the ſiege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quicke and eaſie winning of *Leontium* did put *Marcellus* in hope, that ſo long a circuit of wals as compaſſed *Syracuſe*, being manned with no better kinde of Souldiers, than thoſe with whom he had lately dealt, would in ſome part or other, be taken at the firſt aſſault. Werefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his beſt both by Land and Sea. Neuertheleſſe all his labour was diſappointed; and his hope of preuailing by open force, taken from him by the ill ſucceſſe of two or three of the firſt aſſaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any ſtrength of the Citie, that bred ſuch deſpaire of haſtie victorie. But there liued at that time in *Syracuſe*, *Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the requeſt of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinſman, had framed ſuch engines of Warre, as being in this extremitie put in vſe, did more miſchiefe to the *Romans* than could haue beene wrought by the Canon, or any inſtruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age beene knowne. This *Archimedes* diſcourſing once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were poſſible to remooue the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were ſome other earth, or place of ſure footing, whereon a man might ſtand. For proofe of this bold aſſertion, he performed ſome ſtrange workes; which made the King entreat him to conuert his ſtudie vnto things of vſe; that might preſerue the Citie from danger of enemies. To ſuch Mechanicall workes, *Archimedes*, and the Philoſophers of thoſe times, had little affection. They held it an iniury done vnto the liberall ſciences, to ſubmit learned Propoſitions, vnto the workemanſhip, and gaine, of baſe handi-crafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author: who greatly blamed ſome Geometricians; that ſeemed vnto him to prophane their ſcience, by making it vulgar. Neither muſt we raſhly taſke a man ſo wiſe as *Plato*, with the imputation of ſupercilious auſterity, or affected ſingularitie in his reprehenſion. For it hath beene the vnhappy fate of great inuentions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were publiſhed: and being once made knowne, to be vnder-valued; as falling within compaſſe of the meaneſt wit; & things, that euery one could well haue performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his diſcouerie, with the much different ſorts of neglect, which he vnder-went before and after it) in a familiar and moſt homely example, we may ſee moſt apparent proofe. He that lookes vpon our *Engliſh Brewers*, and their Seruants, that are daily exerciſed in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one ſay, that the making of Malt, was an inuention, proceeding from ſome of an extraordinary knowledge in naturall Philoſophie. Yet is not the skill of the inuentors any whit the leſſe, for that the labor of workmanſhip growes to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may bee ſaid of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being deuiſed, and bettered, by great Scholers and wiſemen, grew afterward corrupted by thoſe, to whom the practice fell; that is, by ſuch, as could ſlubber things eaſily ouer, and feede their workemen at the cheapeſt rate. In this reſpect therefore, the Alchymiſts, and all others, that haue, or would ſeeme to haue any ſecret skill, whereof the publication might doe good vnto mankinde; are not without excuſe of their cloſe concealing. For it is a kinde of iniuſtice, that the long trauells of an vnderſtanding braine, beſide the loſſe of time, and other expence, ſhould be caſt away vpon men of no worth; yeeld leſſe benefit vnto the Author of a great worke, than to meere ſtrangers; and perhaps his enemies. And ſurely, if the paſſion of Enuie, haue in it any thing allowable and naturall, as hauing Anger, Feare, and other like Affections: it is in ſome ſuch caſe as this; and ſerueth againſt thoſe, which would vſurpe the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to indue them. Neuertheleſſe, if we haue regard vnto common charitie, and the great affection that euery one ought to beare vnto the generality of mankinde, after the example of him *that ſuffereth his Sunne to ſhine vpon the iuſt, and vniuſt*: it will appeare more commendable in wiſe men, to enlarge themſelues, and to publiſh vnto the world, thoſe good things that lye buried in their owne boſomes. This ought ſpecially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it ſome dangerous cunning, that may bee peruerted by euill men to a miſchieuous vſe. For if the ſecret of any rare *Antidote*, contained in it the skill of giuing ſome deadly and irrecouerable poyſon: much better it were, that ſuch a iewell remaine cloſe in the hands of a wiſe and honeſt man; than being made common, binde all men to vſe the remedie, by teaching the worſt men how to doe miſchiefe. But the works which *Archimedes* publiſhed, were ſuch as tended vnto very commendable ends. They were Engines, ſeruing vnto the defence of *Syracuſe*; not fit for the *Syracuſians* to carry abroad, to the hurt & oppreſſion of others. Neither did he altogether publiſh the knowledge, how to vſe them, but reſerued ſo much to his owne direction; that after his death more of the ſame kinde were not made, nor thoſe of his owne making were employed by the *Romans*. It ſufficed vnto this worthy man, that he had approued vnto the vulgar, the dignitie of his Science; and done eſpeciall benefit to his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was beſides his purpoſe.

Marcellus had cauſed certaine of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be faſtned together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wall. Againſt theſe, *Archimedes* had ſundrie deuices; of which any one ſort might haue repelled the aſſaylants: but all of them together ſhewed the multiplicitie of his great wit. He ſhot heauy ſtones & long pieces of timber, like vnto the yards of ſhips; which brake ſome of the Gallies by their force and weight. Theſe afflicted ſuch as lay farre off. They that were come neerer the walls, lay open to a continuall volly of ſhot, which they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoyſted vp, ſhaking out all the men, and afterward falling downe into the water. Some by ſtrange Engines were lifted vp into the ayre; where turning round a while, they were broken againſt the walls, or caſt vpon the rockes: and all of them were ſo beaten that they durſt neuer come to any ſecond aſſault. In the like ſort was the Land-armie handled. Stones & timber, falling vpon it like haile; did not onely ouer-whelme the men, but brake downe the *Roman* engins of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to giue ouer the aſſault. For remedie hereof it was conceiued, that if the *Romans* could early before day get neere vnto the walls: they ſhould be (as it were) vnder the *point blancke*, and receiue no hurt by theſe terrible Inſtruments; which were woond vp hard to ſhoot a great compaſſe. But this vaine hope coſt many of the aſſaylants liues. For the ſhot came downe right vpon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great ſlaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were vnable to tarry by it) euen till they were gotten very farre off. This did ſo terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceiued any peece of timber, or a ropes end, vpon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engines were readie to diſcharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to ouercome theſe difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare; againſt the cauſe whereof he knew no remedie. If the engines had ſtood vpon the walls, ſubiect to firing, or any ſuch annoyance from without; hee might haue holpen it by ſome deuice, to make them vnſeruiceable. But all, or the moſt of them were out of ſight, being erected in the ſtreetes behinde the walls; where *Archimedes* gaue directions how to vſe them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all prouiſion of victualls, both by Land and by Sea.

This was a very deſperate peece of worke. For the enemies hauing ſo goodly an Hauen; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were ſtrong by Sea, willing to ſupply them: were not likelie ſo ſoone to bee conſumed with famine, as the beſiegers to bee wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before ſo ſtrong a City, hauing no probabilitie to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counſell to follow, this was thought the beſt, and moſt honourable courſe.

In the meane while, *Himilco*, Admirall of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicil*, being by *Hippocrates* aduertiſed of theſe paſſages, went home to *Carthage*, and there ſo dealt with the Senate, that fiue and twentie thouſand Foote, three thouſand Horſe, and twelue Elephants, were committed vnto his charge, wherewith to make warre vpon the *Romans* in *Sicil* by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many that had anciently belonged vnto the *Carthaginians*, did yeeld vnto him. To remedie this miſchiefe, and to ſtay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turne vnto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Armie, roſe from *Syracuſe*, and went from place to place about the Iſland. He tooke *Pelorus* and *Herbeſus*, which yeelded vnto him. He tooke alſo *Megara* by force and ſackt it: either to terrifie others that were obſtinate, eſpecially the *Syracuſians*, or elſe becauſe *Rome* was at this time poore, and his Armie muſt haue ſomewhat to keepe it in heart. His eſpeciall deſire was to haue ſaued *Agrigentum*: whither he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned backe toward *Syracuſe*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for feare of the *Carthaginian* that was too ſtrong for him. The circumſpection that he vſed, in regard of *Himilco*; ſtood him in good ſtead, againſt a danger that he had not miſtruſted. For *Hippocrates*, leauing the charge of *Syracuſe* vnto his brother, had lately iſſued out of the Citie, with ten thouſand foote, and fiue hundred horſe, intending to ioyne his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell vpon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an eaſie victorie, againſt the diſperſed and halfe vnarmed *Syracuſians*. The reputation heereof helped a little to keepe the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, ioyning with *Hippocrates*, ranne ouer all the Iſland at his pleaſure, and preſented battaile to *Marcellus*, euen at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wiſely refuſed it. *Bomilcar* alſo a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Hauen of *Syracuſe*, and victualled the Citie. After this, the diſpoſition of the Iſlanders changed ſo againe, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which eſcaped from *Himilco*, and ſafely arriued at *Marcellus* his Campe: yet many places reuolted vnto the *Carthaginians*, and ſlew or betraied the *Romane* Garriſons.

In the midſt of theſe troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus* leauing ſome of his Armie before *Syracuſe*, that hee might not ſeeme to haue giuen ouer the ſiege, went vnto *Leontium*, where he lay intentiue to all occaſions. In the beginning of the Spring he ſtood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of beſieging *Syracuſe*, or to turne all his forces to *Agrigentum*, againſt *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly haue impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuſe*, as vnable to preuaile: & he himſelf was of an eager diſpoſition, euer vnwilling to giue ground, or to quit, as not faiſible, an enterpriſe that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuſe*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth ſomewhat, which might fulfill his deſire. Eſpecially he aſſaied to preuaile by treaſon; againſt which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracuſian* Gentlemen that were in his Campe; exhorting them to practiſe with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not eaſie for them to doe, becauſe the Towne would harken to no parlee. At length a ſlaue vnto one of theſe baniſhed men, making ſhew to runne away from his Maſter, got into *Syracuſe*; where hee talked in priuate with ſome few, as hee had beene inſtructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to haue intelligence within the Citie: whence the Conſpirators vſed to ſend him aduertiſement of their proceedings, by a fiſher-boat that paſſed forth in the night: but when they were growne to the number of foureſcore, and thought themſelues able to effect ſomewhat of importance, all was diſcouered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one *Damaſippus* a *Lacædemonian*, that had beene ſent out of the Towne as an Embaſſador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*; was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very deſirous to ranſome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpoſe, not farre from the walls. There, one of the *Romanes* looking vpon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Arte of Geometrie, fell to numbring the ſtones: and, making an eſtimate of the height, iudged it leſſe than it had beene formerly deemed, Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who cauſing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a conuenient time. It was the weakeſt part of the Towne, and therefore the moſt ſtrongly garded: neither was there hope to preuaile by force againſt *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by ſurpriſe. But a fugitiue out of the Towne brought word, that a great feaſt was to be held vnto *Diana*, which was to laſt three daies: and that, becauſe other good cheare was not ſo plentifull within the Citie, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large diſtribution of Wine. A better opportunitie could not bee wiſhed. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the dead of the Feſtiuall night, came vnto the walls, which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuſe* was diuided into foure parts (or fiue, if *Epipolæ* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as diſtinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten ſome peeces, he had the commoditie of a better and ſafe lodging, with good ſtore of bootie; and better opportunitie then before, to deale with the reſt. For there were now a great many, as well of thoſe in *Acradinia* & the Iſland, inner parts of the Towne, as of thoſe that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to harken vnto compoſition, as being much terrified by the loſſe of thoſe parts, which the *Romans* had taken and ſackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they did, vnto thoſe that were ſheltred vnder ſtrong houſes: although it may ſeeme, that the inner walls were not altogether vnfurniſhed of his helpe; ſince they held out a good while and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitiues and Renegados, were more carefull than euer to defend the reſt of the Citie: being ſure to be rewarded with cruell death, if *Marcellus* could preuaile. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was ſent away to *Carthage*, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell vpon the olde Camp of the *Romans*, whileſt *Epicides* ſallied out of *Acradinia* vpon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made ſuch defence in each part, that the Aſſailants were repelled. Neuertheleſſe, they continued to beſet *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as ſtreightly beſieged, as hee himſelfe did beſiege the Towne. But the peſtilence at length conſumed, together with the two Captaines, a great part of the Armie, and cauſed the reſt to diſlodge. The *Romans* were (though ſomwhat leſſe) afflicted with the ſame peſtilence, in ſo much that *Bomilcar* did put the Citie of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were ſent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no deſire to doe his Countrie ſeruice: but his courage was not anſwerable to his good will. Hee arriued at *Pachynus* with a ſtrong fleet: where he ſtaid; being loth to double the Cape; for that the windes did better ſerue the enemie than him. Thither ſailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuſe*: to acquaint him with the neceſſities of the Citie; and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was readie for him, hee ſtood off into the deepe; and ſailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durſt not *Epicides* returne into *Syracuſe*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the iſſue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The *Sicilian* ſouldiers that remained aliue of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as neere as they could ſafely, vnto *Marcellus*; and ſome of them, in a ſtrong Towne three miles off. Theſe had done what good they could to *Syracuſe*, by doing what hurt they could vnto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the ſtate of *Sicil* was giuen as deſperate by the *Carthaginians*: they ſent Embaſſadors to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themſelues, and for the Towne. Heereunto *Marcellus* willingly gaue eare: for hee had ſtaied there long enough; and had cauſe to feare, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither ſtrong againe. Hee therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they ſhould be Maſters of their owne, enioying their libertie and proper lawes; yet ſuffering the *Romanes* to poſſeſſe whatſoeuer had belonged vnto the Kings. Heereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death; new Pretors choſen; and the gates euen ready to bee opened vnto *Marcellus*: when ſuddenly the *Roman* fugitiues diſturbed all. Theſe perceiuing their owne condition to be deſperate, perſwaded the other Mercinarie ſouldiers, That the Citizens had bargained onely for themſelues, and betraied the Armie to the *Romans*. Wherefore they preſently tooke Armes, and fell vpon the new choſen Pretors; whom they ſlue, and made election of ſixe Captaines that ſhould command ouer all. But ſhortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting only the fugitiues. The Treatie was therefore againe ſet on foot, and wanted little of concluſion: which yet was delaied; eyther by ſome feare of the Citizens, that had ſeene (as they thought) proofe of the *Roman* auarice in the ſack of *Epipolæ*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by ſome deſire of *Marcellus* to get the Towne by force, that he might vſe the libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly ſubiect to *Rome*. *Mericus* a *Spaniard* was one of the ſixe Captaines, that had been choſen in the laſt commotion: a man of ſuch faith, as vſually is found in Mercinaries; holding his owne particular benefit aboue all other reſpects. With this Captaine, *Marcellus* dealt ſecretly: hauing a fit inſtrument, of the ſame Nation, one *Belligenes*; that went in company with the *Romane* Embaſſadors, daily paſſing to and fro. This craftie Agent perſwaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had alreadie gotten all *Spaine*: and that if euer he purpoſed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in *Spaine*, or any where elſe; it was now the onely time to do it; by conforming himſelfe to the will of the *Roman* Generall. By ſuch hopes the *Spaniſh* Captaine was eaſily wonne, and ſent forth his owne brother among the *Syracuſian* Embaſſadours to ratifie the couenant with *Marcellus*.

This vnder-hand dealing of *Marcellus* againſt the *Syracuſians*, cannot well be commended as honeſt: neither was it afterwards throughly approued at his comming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had beene ſuch, as deſerued not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrie: much leſſe, that the miſeries of his people, oppreſſed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Army of Mercinaries, ſhould miniſter vnto the people of *Rome*, aduantage againſt them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts againſt the hired ſouldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld vnto the time, and obey thoſe Miniſters of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Armie. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had beene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of *Rome*. They had lately ſlaine many the principall of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themſelues had alſo beene ſlaine, both lately and in former times, becauſe of this their deſire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the Raſcalitie, and ſome ill aduiſed Perſons ioyned with the ſouldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occaſion of the ſlaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in thoſe parts of their owne Citie which was taken? Ought therefore the *Romane* Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the *Syracuſians*, to make a bargaine vnder-hand againſt them, with a Captaine of the Mercinaries? Theſe things were obiected againſt *Marcellus*, at his returne home. But the Senators thought it a great deale better, to comfort the *Syracuſians* with gentle words, & promiſe of good vſage in time to come; than to reſtore the bootie, and giue ouer the Dominion of a Citie, ſo great, wealthy, ſtrong, and many waies important. Neuertheleſſe if we conſider the many inconueniences and great miſchiefes whereunto *Syracuſe* was obnoxious; both by euill neighbours, and by that very forme of politie, after which it was gouerned: wee may truely affirme, That it receiued no ſmall benefit, by becomming ſubiect vnto *Rome*. For thereby it was not onely aſſured againſt all forraine enemies, domeſticall conſpiracies, and ſuch Tyrants as of olde had reigned therein: but freed from the neceſſitie of baniſhing, or murdering, the moſt worthie Citizens; as alſo from all factions, inteſtine ſeditions, and a thouſand the like miſeries, that were wont to grow out of the iealouſie, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enioyed that City, from her firſt foundation, any ſuch long time of happineſſe, as that wherein it flouriſhed, when it reſted ſecure vnder the protection of *Rome*; and was no more moleſted, by the diſeaſe of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his victorie it was throughly cured. But ſuch benefit, ariſing from wrongs done, ſerues not to make iniuſtice the more excuſable: vnleſſe we ſhould approue the anſwer of that Thiefe, who being found to haue ſtollen a ſiluer cup from a ſicke man, ſaid, *Hee neuer leaues drinking*.

By the treaſon of *Mericus*, the *Roman* Armie was let into poſſeſſion of all *Syracuſe*: wherein, the booty that it found, was ſaid to haue bin no leſſe, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it ſelfe; that maintained warre by Land and Sea againſt them. All the goodly workes and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuſe* was maruellouſly adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left vntouched; ſaue only the houſes of thoſe baniſhed men, that had eſcaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, euen by *Marcellus* himſelfe. He was ſo buſie about his Geometrie, in drawing figures, that hee harkened not to the noyſe, and vprore in the Citie; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* tooke heauily the death of him; and cauſed his body to be honourably buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his life-time) was placed a Cylinder & a Sphere, with an inſcription of the proportion between them; which hee firſt found out. An Inuention of ſo little vſe, as this may ſeeme, pleaſed that great Artiſt better, than the deuiſing of all thoſe engins, that made him ſo famous. Such difference is in the iudgement of learned men, and of the vulgar ſort. For many an one would thinke the monie loſt, that had bin ſpent vpon a ſonne, whoſe ſtudies in the Vniuerſitie had brought forth ſuch fruit, as the proportion between a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuſe*, all the Townes in *Sicil* yeelded vnto the *Romans*, except *Agrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately ſent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good peeces of ſeruice, had added ſome credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* ſide; and withall made his owne name great. By his perſwaſions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* aduentured to meet *Marcellus* without the Towne, and not behaue themſelues as men expecting to bee beſieged. Neither was hee more valiant in counſell, than in execution. Once and againe he ſet vpon the *Romanes*, where they lay encamped, and droue them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred enuie in *Epicides* and *Hanno*: eſpecially in *Hanno*, that hauing beene lately ſent from *Carthage*, with commiſſion and authoritie from the State, thought himſelfe wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; In that hee had ſent vnto him this *Mutines*, to be his Companion, & to take vpon him, like as good a man as himſelfe. The indignitie ſeemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to ſtep aſide vnto *Heraclea*, for the pacifying of ſome troubles there among the *Numidians*; aduiſed (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemie, vntill his returne. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight: and offered battell vnto *Marcellus*, before he ſought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuſe*, as need required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deale with thoſe that came againſt them. But whatſoeuer diſproportion was betweene the two Armies; farre greater were the oddes betweene the Captaines. For howſoeuer the people of *Carthage* would giue authoritie by fauour; yet could they not giue worth and abilitie, in matter of warre. The *Numidians*, hauing before conceiued ſome diſpleaſure againſt their Captains: and being therefore ſome of them gone away to *Heraclea*; were much more offended, when they ſaw that the vaine-glorious enuy of *Hanno* carried him vnto the fight, vpon a fooliſh deſire to get victorie, without the helpe of *Mutines* their Countriman. Wherefore they ſent vnto the *Roman* Generall, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpoſe to ſhew themſelues his enemies that day, but onely looke on, and ſee the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had beene miſuſed. They made good their promiſe, and had their deſire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their meſſage, did ſo luſtily ſet vpon the enemies, that hee brake them at the firſt charge; and with the ſlaughter of many thouſands, droue them backe into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could haue beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of Warre than himſelfe, and not haue hazarded a battell without need; the *Romans* would ſhortly haue beene reduced into termes of great difficultie in their *Sicilian* warre. For *Marcellus* was ſhortly after to leaue the Prouince; and ſoone vpon his departure, there landed in the Iland a ſupply of eight thouſand foote, and three thouſand *Numidian* horſe, that were ſent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Armie drew manie of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Armie conſiſting (for the moſt part) of the Legions of *Cannæ*, tooke it very hainouſly, that no good ſeruice done, could bring them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as baniſhed men, they were ſent farre from home, & not ſuffered to return back to *Rome* with their General. *Mutines* had pacified his Countrimen the *Numidians*; & like an honeſt man, did what hee could for thoſe whom he ſerued, without contending againſt the fooliſh pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might haue bene, if the Armie lately ouerthrowne had beene entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Pretor, vſed all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. Hee recouered thoſe In-land Townes that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from ouer-running all the Country; yet hee hindred the Country from reuolting vnto *Mutines*. Aboue threeſcore Townes, great and ſmall, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*: of which *Agrigentum* was the principall, and farre bigger than any of the reſt. Thence iſſued *Mutines* as often as hee pleaſed, in deſpight of the *Romanes*: not onely to the ſuccour of his owne adherents, but to the great waſte of thoſe that followed the contrarie part. But *Hanno*, in ſtead of being pleaſed with all theſe good ſeruices, was filled more and more with enuie, againſt the man that performed them. Hee had (belike) receiued inſtruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to ſuffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to haue ſhare in the honour of theſe *Sicilian* Warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently ſupplied; whileſt *Italie* was neglected, that ſhould haue beene regarded more then all the reſt. Wherefore to ſhew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint vnto him an Aſſiſtant, or Director: Hee tooke away from *Mutines* his charge, and gaue it to his owne ſonne; thinking thereby to diſcountenance the man, and make him little eſteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrarie: and this ſpightfull dealing, occaſioned the loſſe of whatſoeuer the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*. For the *Numidians* were ſo incenſed by the indignitie offered vnto their Countriman, being ſuch a braue Commander, that they offered him their ſeruice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth abſolutely at his owne diſpoſition. *M. Valerius Læuinus*, the *Romane* Conſull, was newly come into the Prouince, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke theſe indignities; but being, neither a *Carthaginian*, nor fauored by thoſe that bore all the ſway in *Carthage*: He thought it the wiſeſt way, to play the beſt of his owne game, and forſake that Citie, which was likely to periſh by the euill counſell that gouerned it. He did not therefore, as his Countrimen had lately done, content himſelfe to ſee his Aduerſaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious ouer-weening: and to ſuffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part; but conſpired againſt them to deliuer vp *Agrigentum*, and to helpe to expell them vtterly out of *Sicil*. The Conſull was glad of his friendſhip; and carefully followed his aduertiſements. Neither was there much cunning needefull, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had vndertaken, For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly ſeize vpon a gate; whereat they let in ſome *Roman* Companies, that lay neere in a readineſſe for the purpoſe. *Hanno*, when firſt he heard the noyſe, thought it had beene no worſe matter, than ſome ſuch tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haſte to pacifie the trouble, he ſaw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among thoſe diſcontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betooke himſelfe to flight: and ſauing himſelfe, with *Epicides*, in a ſmall Barke, ſet ſaile for *Africke*; leauing all his Armie and Adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercie of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued maſters of the whole Iland.

Læuinus the Conſul hauing taken *Agrigentum*, did ſharpe execution of iuſtice vpon all the Citizens. The principall of them he ſcourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the reſt of them he ſold for ſlaues, and confiſcated their goods; ſending home to *Rome* the monie that was raiſed of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein *Rome* ſtood in no leſſe neceſſity of gold, than of ſteele: which may haue beene the reaſon, why *Læuinus* dealt ſo cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Neuertheleſſe the fame of ſuch ſeueritie bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*; ſo that in great haſte they ſought to make their peace. About fortie Townes yeelded themſelues quickly vnto the *Romans*; twentie were deliuered vp by Treaſon; and ſixe onely ſtaied to be wonne by force. Theſe things done, *Læuinus* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about foure thouſand men from *Agatirna*; that were a companie of out-lawes, bankrouts, and baniſhed men, accuſtomed to liue by ſpoyle of others, in theſe troubleſome times. He beſtowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italie*, where they might exerciſe their owne occupation againſt the *Brutians*; a theeuiſh kinde of people, that were enemies vnto thoſe of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he liued in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipio's* in their iournie againſt *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is ſaid) very eſpeciall ſeruice. So by this enterpriſe of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* waſted much of their forces, that with greater profit might haue beene emploied in *Italie*: leauing yet vnto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire poſſeſſion of this Iland; which they wanted when it began.

§. XVI.

How the warre paſſed betweene the Romans and Hannibal *in Italie, from the taking of Capua to the great victorie at Metaurus.*

SHortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good ſeruices done in the Iland of *Sicil*, he had granted vnto him the honour of the leſſer Triumph, which was called *Ouation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: becauſe he had not finiſhed the warre, but was faine to leaue his Armie behinde him in the Prouince. He ſtaied not long in *Rome*, before he was againe choſen Conſull together with *M. Valerius Læuinus*, who ſucceeded him in the gouernment of *Sicil*, and was, at the time of his election, making warre againſt King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made againſt the Conſul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracuſians*, for that which he had done vnto them: they alledging their great friendſhip to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their Citie did neuer willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppreſſed by ſuch Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that liued in *Syracuſe*. The Conſul, on the other ſide, reckoned the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoane themſelues to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their neceſſitie; and not vnto the *Romans* whom they had kept out. Thus each part hauing ſome good matter to alledge, the Senate made ſuch an end of the controuerſie, as beſt agreed with the benefit of their owne Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not reſtoring the bootie that he had taken, nor making the *Syracuſians* free from their ſubiection, but comforting them, with gentle words, and hopefull promiſes, as hath beene ſhewed before. The two new Conſuls, *Macellus* and *Læuinus*, were appointed to make warre, as their lots ſhould fall out; the one in *Italie*, the other in *Sicil*. The Iſle of *Sicil* fell vnto *Marcellus*; which Prouince he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracuſians* (whoſe cauſe had not as yet beene heard in the Senate) might not ſeeme hindred by feare, from vttering their grieuances freely. Afterwards, when his buſineſſe with them was diſpatcht, he gently vndertooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie, to the great benefit of their Countrie in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Conſul, was ſent into *Sicil*, whoſe doings there haue beene already rehearſed: but *Marcellus* was emploied againſt *Hannibal*.

Before the Conſuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with preſſing of Souldiers to the warre, and moſt of all, with getting Mariners for their Nauie. They were all of the poorer ſort, that vſed to be emploied in Sea-ſeruices; eſpecially in rowing. Theſe could not liue without preſent wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treaſurie to giue them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they ſhould be ſet out at the expence of priuate men; who, in this neceſſitie of the State, were driuen to ſuſtaine all publike charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into ſedition; had not the Conſuls deferred the matter vnto further conſideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a caſe of ſuch extremitie. For manifeſt it was, that the multitude had already endured ſo much, as well it could vndergoe; and ſomewhat more, than could with honeſty haue beene impoſed vpon it. Neuertheleſſe it was impoſſible to maintaine the warre againſt the *Carthaginians*, or to keepe the *Macedonian* out of *Italie*, without a ſtrong fleet. Wherefore, ſome were of opinion; That, ſince the common Treaſure was ſo emptie, the people muſt be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At laſt the Conſuls began to ſay, That no perſwaſions would be ſo effectuall with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Conſuls, like it was, that the People alſo would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That euery one of them ſhould bring forth, and put into the Treaſurie, all the mony that he had; and that no Senator ſhould keepe any veſſell of gold, or plate whatſoeuer; excepting one Salt-ſeller, and a Bowle wherewith to make their offerings vnto the gods; as alſo a Ring for himſelfe, with ſuch other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as euery one did vſe, and thoſe of as ſmall value as might be. This aduice of the Conſuls was not more thankefully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded; and haſtily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonaltie refuſe to doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For ſince the publike neceſſitie could no otherwiſe be holpen; euery one was contented, that his priuate eſtate ſhould run the ſame fortune with the Common-wealth; which if it ſuffered wracke, in vaine could any particular man hope to enioy the benefit of his proper ſubſtance. This magnanimitie deſerued well that greatneſſe of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Conuenient order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the Citie againſt *Hannibal*; and *Læuinus* toward *Sicil*. The armie of *Hannibal* was greatly diminiſhed, by long and hard ſeruice: neither did his *Carthaginians* ſeeme to remember him, and thinke vpon ſending the promiſed ſupply, or any ſuch proportion as he needed. His credit alſo among his *Italian* friends, was much weakned, by the loſſe of *Capua*: which gaue them cauſe to looke vnto themſelues; as if in his helpe there were little truſt to be repoſed, when they ſhould ſtand in neede. This he well perceiued; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he muſt thruſt Garriſons into all Townes that he ſuſpected, and thereby ſo diminiſh his armie, that he ſhould not be able to keepe the field: or elſe he muſt leaue them to their owne fidelity, which now began to wauer. At length his iealouſie grew ſo outragious, that he ſacked, and waſted, thoſe places that he was vnable to defend: thinking that the beſt way to enrich himſelfe; and make vnprofitable, to his enemies, the purchaſe from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and ſome of thoſe, whom before hee had leaſt cauſe to doubt. The towne of *Salapia* yeelded vnto *Marcellus*; and betrayed vnto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horſe, the beſt of all that ſerued vnder *Hannibal*; which was a greater loſſe, then the Towne it ſelfe. *Blaſius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his deſire to effect; without getting the conſent of one *Daſius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Daſius* in priuate; and was by him accuſed vnto *Hannibal*. But when he was conuented and charged of Treaſon, hee ſo ſtoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, ſo vehemently preſſed his accuſer with the ſame fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deuiſed out of meere malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and ſeeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This notwithſtanding, *Blaſius* did not ceaſe to preſſe his aduerſarie anew, and vrge him from time to time, with ſuch liuely reaſons; that he who could not be beleeued by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the fauour of *Marcellus*. Preſently after this, the Conſul tooke by force, *Maronea* and *Meles*, Townes of the *Samnites*; wherein he ſlew about three thouſand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not looke to all at once: but was faine to catch aduantages, where hee might get them; the *Romans* now being growne ſtronger in the field than he. The beſt was, that his *Carthaginians*, hauing wearied themſelues with ill ſpeede in many pettie enterpriſes, and laid aſide all this while the care of *Italie*, to follow buſineſſe of far leſſe importance; had now at length reſolued, to ſend preſently the great ſupply, that had beene ſo long promiſed and expected. This if they had done in better ſeaſon; *Rome* it ſelfe might haue beene ſtrucken downe, the next yeere after that great blow receiued at *Cannæ*. But ſince that which is paſt cannot be amended; *Hannibal* muſt force himſelfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mightie ſuccour would come time enough. For *Maſaniſſa* was at *Carthage* with fiue thouſand *Numidians*, ready to ſet ſaile for *Spaine*: whither when he came, it was appointed, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould forthwith take his iournie into *Italie*, of which there had beene ſo long talke. Theſe newes did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their beſt; the *Romans* to preuent the threatning miſchiefe, and winne as much as they could vpon *Hannibal*, before the comming of his brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrarie, to hold his owne, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fuluius*, a *Roman* Pretor, lay neere vnto *Herdonea* to get the Towne by practice. It was not long, ſince, neere vnto the ſame place, another *Cn. Fuluius* had loſt his Armie. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; and came to *Herdonea* ere *Fuluius* heard newes of his approach. As ſoone as he came, he offered battaile to the *Roman* Pretor; who accepted it with more haſte than good ſpeede. The *Roman* Legions made good reſiſtance a while, till they were compaſſed round with the *Carthaginian* horſe. Then fell they to rowt; and great ſlaughter was made of them. *Fuluius* himſelfe, with twelue *Tribunes* or *Coronels*, were loſt: of the common Souldiers, that were ſlaine, the number is vncertaine; ſome reporting ſeuen, others thirteene thouſand. The Towne of *Herdonea*, becauſe it was at point to haue yeelded vnto *Fuluius*, *Hannibal* did ſet on fire: and putting thoſe to death that had practiſed with the Enemie, carried away the multitude; whom he beſtowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Conſul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good cheere; for that hee would ſhortly abate the enemies pride. Hee followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and ouertaking him at *Numiſtro* in the Countrie of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battell: which beginning at nine of the clocke in the morning, laſted vntill night; and ended, by reaſon of the darkeneſſe, with vncertaine victorie. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venuſia* they met, and had many skirmiſhes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* remoued often; and ſought to bring the enemie within danger of ſome ambuſh. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet aduenture nothing, but by open day-light, and vpon faire ground.

Thus paſſed the time away, vntill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fuluius*, hee that latelie had taken *Capua*, were choſen Conſuls. *Fabius*, conſidering how much the *Romane* affaires were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purpoſed that yeere to beſiege *Tarentum*: which if he could winne; like it was, that ſcarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the command of thoſe Legions that ſerued vnder him the yeere before) to preſſe the *Carthaginian* ſo hard, as he might haue no leiſure to helpe

Tarentum. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himſelfe, to deale with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannuſium*, and thence from place to place: deſiring euer to come to battaile, but vpon equall tearmes. The *Carthaginian* had not minde to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemie with skirmiſh; as being deſirous to keepe his Armie ſtrong vntill the comming of *Aſdrubal.* Yet could he not auoide the importunity of *Marcellus*; nor brooke the indignity of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men to be luſtie, and to beat ſoundly this hot-ſpirited *Roman* Captaine, that would neuer ſuffer them to be at quiet; vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; tooke ſixe Enſignes; and ſlew of the *Romans* almoſt three thouſand, among which were ſome of marke. *Marcellus* was ſo impatient of this diſhonour, that he rated his men, as Peſants, and baſe cowards: telling them, that they were the firſt of the *Roman* Legions, which had beene beaten by *Hannibal,* by plaine force and manhood; without being circumuented by any ſtratageme. With theſe, and many other the like words, which they were aſhamed to heare, he did ſo vexe them; that thinking themſelues better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than ſuch diſpleaſure of their Generall; they beſought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once againe to fight. He did ſo: and placing thoſe Companies foremoſt, that had loſt their Enſignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victory; whereof the newes might be at *Rome*, before the report of their ſhamefull ouerthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to ſee that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight againe; ſince all other motiues continued the ſame, and his men had beene hartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were ſtirred vp with deſire of reuenge, and of repairing their honor loſt, which affections gaue a ſharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were growne dull, and wearie by ſeeing themſelues diſappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithſtanding their late victory, as ready to moleſt them as before. In this ſecond battaile *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchaſed at ſo deare a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal,* had great cauſe to vaunt, the ſecond night. For if eight thouſand of the *Carthaginians* were ſlaine, and three thouſand of the *Roman* ſide, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than euen to recompence the late receiued ouerthrow: eſpecially ſince the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was ſo great, as diſabled *Marcellus* from purſuing *Hannibal*; who diſlodged by night. Neuertheleſſe it ſufficed, that *Fabius* the Conſul hereby got leiſure, to follow his buſineſſe at *Tarentum* without any diſturbance. *Q. Fuluius* the other Conſul, about the ſame time, tooke in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans,* and *Volſcentes*, that willingly yeelded themſelues, and betrayed the Garriſons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Townes: whom *Fuluius* entertained in louing ſort; gently rebuking them for their errours paſt, without puniſhing thoſe that had beene authours, or buſie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* theeues, which *Læuinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then alſo ſet on worke to beſiege *Caulonia*, a Towne of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might ſerue to diuert *Hannibal*, from the ſuccour of *Tarentum.*

Q. Fabius the Conſul, hauing taken *Manduria* a Towne of the *Salentines*, ſate downe before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that ſeemed needfull to carry it, either by aſſault or long ſiege. Of the Garriſons in the Towne, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, vnder a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in loue with a *Tarentine* wench; whoſe brother ſerued vnder *Fabius.* Hereof, ſhe gaue notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* ſide; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her louer was. But her brother made the Conſul acquainted with theſe newes: and ſaid, that if the *Brutian* were farre in loue, he might perhaps be wonne, by intreaty of his Miſtris, to doe what ſhe would haue him. The Conſul hearing this; and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his ſouldier to conuey himſelfe into the Towne as a fugitiue; and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his deſire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captaine: and partly by his owne perſwaſions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his ſiſter; wanne him to betray the Towne to the *Romans.* When they had agreed vpon the buſineſſe, and reſolued how to order it; the ſame Souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Conſul with his proceedings: telling him in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conueniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gaue an alarme to the Citie; eſpecially about thoſe parts of the wall, which were fartheſt from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make reſiſtance in thoſe places, where the noiſe did threaten them with greateſt likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himſelfe with the choice of his men, came in great ſilence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the *Romans* to get vp, and breake open the next gate; whereat the Armie was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* ſouldiers, made head againſt *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as hapneth in like caſes, where the maine confidence is already taken away) not very obſtinately. *Nico, Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with thoſe that before had let in *Hannibal*, vſed now the laſt of their courage in dying againſt the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garriſon within the Towne, offered himſelfe priſoner: hoping to be well vſed, becauſe of hoſpitalitie that had paſſed betweene his Father and the Conſul. But he was ſlaine by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the ſword; in ſuch ſort, that they ſpared few of the *Brutians*. This ſlaughter of the *Brutians*, was thought to haue beene made by appointment of the Conſul, to the end that he might ſeeme to haue wonne the Towne by force and not by treaſon: though he thereby failed of his purpoſe; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preſerued his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treaſurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curioſities, that were in the Citie, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of ſome Idols, that ſeemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in ſuch habit and poſiture as if they were fighting: he ſaid, Let vs leaue vnto the *Tarentines* their angrie gods.

Hannibal being gotten cleare from *Marcellus*, fell vpon thoſe that beſieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his comming: but he was ſo neere, that they were faine to betake them to a Hill, which ſerued to no other purpoſe, than to beare off the firſt brunt. There they defended themſelues a little while, and then they yeelded. When this buſineſſe was done, he haſted away to relieue *Tarentum*. But when he came within fiue miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was loſt. This grieued him: yet he ſaid no more than this, *The Romans haue alſo their* Hannibal; we haue loſt *Tarentum* in ſuch ſort as we got it. That he might not ſeeme to turne backe amazed, or in any feare of the victorious Conſul; he incamped a few dayes together, ſo neere as he was vnto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himſelfe how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He cauſed the chiefe of the *Metapontines* to write vnto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; with condition, that he ſhould in that reſpect, forgiue them all offences paſt. Theſe letters were ſent by two yong men of the ſame Citie; who did their errand ſo well, that the Conſul wrote backe by them vnto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they ſhould expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leiſure, made ready his ambuſhes for the warie *Fabius*. But whether ſome ſecret notice of the plot were giuen; or whether indeede (as it is related) ſome tokens in ſacrificing, terrified the ſuperſtitious *Roman*; the iourny to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the ſame two Meſſengers were emploied againe: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they diſcouered all.

This yeere was happy to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got euery where; ſaue onely at *Caulonia*; where they loſt a company of ſuch lewd fellowes, that it may ſeeme good fortune, to haue ſo beene rid of them. But their common pouerty, & diſability to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italie*: of which, twelue refuſed to contribute any longer to the warres. For it was conſidered; that the Legions of *Cannæ*, and thoſe vnhappy Companies, that had beene beaten vnder the one and the other *Cn. Fuluius*, were tranſported into *Sicil*; where they liued, in a ſort, as baniſhed men. This grieued their friends at home, and made them reckon vp the more diligently thoſe other miſeries which they daily felt. Ten yeeres together they had beene exhauſted with leuies of men, and impoſitions of mony: in euery of which yeeres they had receiued ſome notable ouerthrow. In this caſe the leaſt that they could feare; or rather the beſt that they could hope; was, to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made priſoners. For *Hannibal* did gently ſend home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did baniſh from their homes, thoſe that had eſcaped. It was therefore likely to come to paſſe within a while, that they ſhould be all conſumed: ſince new Souldiers were daily preſſed forth of their Townes; and the old ones neuer returned. Such talke was frequent among thoſe of the Colonies: eſpecially where they that were tranſported into *Sicil*, had moſt compaſſionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Townes, to the number of twelue, That they ſhould boldly deny vnto the *Romans* their farther helpe. This was thought the likelieſt way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwiſe they ſaw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* liued. When the Conſuls heard the Embaſſadors of theſe Townes make ſuch declaration, and proteſt their diſabilitie of giuing any farther helpe; they were much amazed. They willed the Embaſſadours to returne home, and bring a better anſwere, foraſmuch as this was none other than treaſon: they bade them to conſider, that the people were not *Campans* or *Tarentines*, but the off-ſpring of the *Romans*; and no leſſe partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not ſerue: the Embaſſadours continuing to proteſt, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteene Colonies did not imitate theſe twelue; but ſhewed themſelues willing to vndergoe whatſoeuer ſhould be layed vpon them, without ſhrinking vnder the burden. This their offer was ſo highly pleaſing to the Conſuls; that the Embaſſadors of thoſe faithfull Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Aſſembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good ſeruices, this their preſent loue vnto the State was magnified, and thankes accordingly beſtowed vpon them; with promiſe, that it ſhould not be forgotten. As for the Embaſſadors of thoſe twelue Colonies, that refuſed to contribute; it was thought beſt, neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to diſmiſſe them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leaue them to their owne conſideration of their ill deſeruing.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of theſe twelue people would haue wrought in thoſe that were ſo willing to helpe the State, if *Aſdrubal* had been then comming into *Italie*. For then muſt the *Romanes* haue betaken themſelues wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their ſubiects, they employed their forces in the conqueſt of *Italie*, with hopefull and fortunate ſucceſſe. Neuertheleſſe, they were faine to open their moſt priuie treaſurie; and thence take out the gold that had beene layed vp to ſerue them in caſes of greateſt extremitie. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was deliuered to *Fabius* the Conſull, to ſet him well out againſt the *Tarentines*; all the reſt was ſent into *Spaine* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Armie; and to prouide, that *Aſdrubal* might not paſſe from thence into *Italie*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not ſpend all his money; finding ſuch eaſie ſucceſſe at *Tarentum*, as was ſhewed before. But to ſtop the iourney of *Aſdrubal*; neither the money ſent into *Spaine*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could ſuffice. Neuertheleſſe it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this yeere, & the next were ſpent, before his comming; and they better prepared, then at leſſe warning they could haue beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amiſſe to note, That ſince the *Romans*, being in ſo great neceſſitie of money, were driuen to furniſh the Armie in *Spaine*, with the greateſt part of all their ſtocke that was left: it muſt needs be, that either the bootie taken in new *Carthage*, was far leſſe then fame had reported it; or elſe that *Scipio* had not as yet wonne it: howſoeuer *Liuie* rather inclines to thoſe, who ſay that he got it ſoone after his arriuall.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintius Criſpinus*, were choſen Conſuls after *Fabius* and *Fuluius*. In their yeere it was, that *Aſdrubal* tooke his iourney out of *Spaine*, though he came not into *Italie* vntill the yeere following. After the great battaile at *Cannæ*, *Hannibal* had loſt much time about *Cumæ* and *Naples*, in ſeeking to make himſelfe Maſter of a good hauen, for the landing of thoſe ſuccours that were promiſed from *Carthage*. The hope that he repoſed in *Philip*, cauſed him to turne his principall care to the Eaſterne parts of *Italie*; where he made ready a faire entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had beene ready to come. But ſince his hope was vaniſhed, and the long promiſed ſuccour of *Aſdrubal* was (though farre later then had beene expedient) ready to arriue: he began to deale with the people of *Hetruria*, through whoſe Countries his brother was to paſſe, that therein he might make a partie againſt the *Romans*. The loſſe of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Townes, might haue terrified all other of the *Italian* Towns, from harkening to any ſollicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the pouerty of the *Roman*, and the wearineſſe of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Armie comming, then that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italie*; did embolden many of the *Hetrurians*, eſpecially the *Aretines*, to take ſuch counſel as they thought moſt expedient for themſelues, without regard of their fidelitie to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of their conſpiracie, ſent *Marcellus* the new choſen Conſul into *Hetruria*: whoſe comming did ſo terrifie them, that they reſted quiet for a while. All the yeere following they were deuiſing how to breake out: as contrariwiſe the *Roman* Propretors; partly by terrour of ſeuere iudgements and inquiſitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they viſited all ſuſpected places, kept them honeſt againſt their wils; and tooke many Hoſtages for better aſſurance. The two Conſuls had an earneſt deſire, to make ſtrong warre vpon *Hannibal* without more temporiſing: perſwading themſelues, that in battaile they ſhould be too ſtrong for him. *Criſpinus* had further his particular deſire, to make his Conſulſhip notable by the winning of ſome good Towne: as *Fuluius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the ſiege of *Locri*; one of the beſt Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italie*: and brought thither all ſorts of engines; ſending for a fleet out of *Sicil* to helpe him. But *Hannibal* was not ſlow to relieue the Citie: the fame of whoſe approach, made *Criſpinus* deſiſt from his enterpriſe and retire vnto his Colleague, that lay at *Venuſia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Conſuls daily offered battaile. This great man of warre had no neede to ſtand vpon his reputation: which was alreadie ſo confirmed, that his refuſing to fight, was not likely to be aſcribed vnto feare; but rather deemed as part of his wiſdome. He entertained the Conſuls with many light skirmiſhes, and ſought to take them at ſome aduantage; reſeruing his owne numbers as full as he could, vnto a time of greater employment. In this lingring manner of War, *Marcellus* tooke no pleaſure: but ſought to compell the Enemy to battaile, whether he would or no. The Admirall of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicil*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded againe to aſſaile the Towne of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began to trifle away the time at *Venuſia*. To the ſame purpoſe a part of the Garriſon that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to goe by Land to the aſſiſtance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behinde him. He laid an ambuſh in the way, betweene *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell: and hauing loſt aboue three thouſand of their company, were well glad, the reſt of them, to quit their enterpriſe, and ſaue their owne liues within *Tarentum*. As for the Conſuls, it was the deſire of *Hannibal*, to waſte their Armie by little and little: which to doe, he neglected no aduantage. There lay betweene him and them an Hillocke, ouer-growne with wood, that ſeemed fit to couer a number of men: who lying there vndiſcerned, might fall vpon ſuch, as ſhould ſtraggle from the *Roman* campe; and cut them off. Therefore he ſent thither by night ſome companies of *Numidians*: whom hee willed to keepe themſelues cloſe, and attend their beſt aduantage. To this piece of ground, the Conſuls thought it fit to remoue their Campe: *Marcellus* thinking that he neuer lay neere enough vnto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the ſon of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principall men: and not many more than two hundred horſe, moſt of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinell gaue warning of their approach to his fellowes; who diſcouered not themſelues, vntill they had ſurrounded the Conſuls and their traine. The Conſuls, as neceſſity compelled them, defended themſelues: hoping to be quickly relieued from their campe that was neere at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the firſt: and left them in that great danger, to the weake aſſiſtance of no more than fortie horſe-men, that were of the Colonie of *Fregellæ*. Theſe *Fregellans* abode by the Conſuls; and did what they could to haue brought them ſafe off. But when *Marcellus* was ſtricken thorow with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then began euery one to ſhift for himſelfe, and eſcape as they might. *Criſpinus* the other Conſull, had his deaths wound, being ſtricken with two Darts; and yong *Marcellus* was likewiſe wounded; yet theſe two recouered their campe: The reſt of the Colonels and Officers; together with the Lictors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Conſuls, were all ſlaine or taken. To the dead body of the Conſull *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gaue honourable Funerall, according to the cuſtome of thoſe times: and beſtowing his aſhes in a ſiluer pot, couered it with a crowne of gold; and ſo ſent them to yong *Marcellus* to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Preſently after this, *Criſpinus* bethought himſelfe, how that the ſignet Ring of *Marcellus* was fallen into the cuſtody of *Hannibal*; who might vſe it, to his owne purpoſes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore he ſent word vnto all the Townes about; that his Colleague was ſlaine, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wiſhing them in that regard, to giue no credit vnto any letters therewithall ſigned. This prouidence of *Criſpinus* was not more than requiſite. For his Meſſenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Meſſenger arriued there ſent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and ſealed with the captiue Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpoſe to come the ſame night vnto *Salapia*; where hee willed, that the Souldiers of the Garriſon ſhould be in a readineſſe, for ſuch employment as he ſhould thinke needefull. The deuice was plaine: and no leſſe plaine was the reuengefull minde, which he bare againſt that Citie; becauſe of his braue *Numidian* companies, that had therein beene betraied. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themſelues, how to take their Enemy in his owne ſnare. They ſent backe the Meſſenger, which was a *Roman* fugitiue; without letting him perceiue any ſigne of diſtruſt in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readineſſe, for the entertainment of ſuch a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of *Roman* fugitiues armed *Roman*-like, leading the way. Theſe all talking Latine together, called vnto the Watch, & bade open the gate; for the Conſul was there. The gate was opened, faire and leiſurely, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needes it muſt be, to let them enter. But when ſixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to haue taken others, were taken themſelues; being laied at on all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus ouer-reached with this ſtratageme, haſted away to *Locri*; whereunto *Cincius* the Admirall of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicil*, did lay hard ſiege. The firſt appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrors, made the *Romans* in all confuſed haſte, run to their ſhips: leauing all their engines, and whatſoeuer was in their campe, to the enemies diſpoſition.

The *Roman* Senate hearing of theſe accidents, ſent vnto *Criſpinus* the ſuruiuing Conſul, & requeſted him to name a Dictator, that might take charge of the Common wealth, and diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates, with other buſineſſe; whereunto himſelfe was diſabled by his hurts. He did ſo: and ſoone after died. Then was it thought needefull, that new Conſuls ſhould be choſen out of hand: foraſmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay ſo neere vnto the Enemy, without any Generall. Eſpecially it was deſired, that Election ſhould be made of ſuch men, as were not onely valiant, but well aduiſed: ſince the beſt, and moſt fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by loſing himſelfe ſo ſtrangely, had giuen them a faire warning, not to commit their Armie vnto raſh heads. Among thoſe that ſtood for the Conſulſhip, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the moſt eminent. He was of great Nobilitie, a good Souldier, and one, whoſe many ſeruices in this preſent warre, did forcibly commend vnto the place. Yet he ſeemed a little too violent; and one, whoſe temper needed the allay of a more ſtaied wit. The fathers therefore endeauoured to ioyne vnto him in the Conſulſhip *M. Liuius*: one that had borne the ſame Office, long before. This *M. Liuius* had beene Conſul with *L. Æmilius Paulus*, in the yere foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Conſulſhip, wherein they did good ſeruice, they had both of them beene called into iudgement by the People: and this *Liuius* condemned; *Æmilius* hardly eſcaping. Though it hath beene once already noted; yet I cannot forbeare to remember it againe: how it pleaſed God, to vpbraid the vnthankefull *Romans*, with the malicious iudgement, giuen by their multitude vpon honourable men. For in the battaile of *Cannæ*, it was apparant, what lamentable effects, the memorie of their iniuſtice wrought: when *L. Æmilius* rather choſe to yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greateſt ouerthrow that euer fell vpon the State of *Rome*, than by reſiſting the pernicious courſes of *Terentius Varro*, to caſt himſelfe anew vpon the danger of the popular furie. As for *M. Liuius*, hee is euen now readie, and will ſo continue, to tell the People of their faults in a diuers manner. Eight yeeres together after his condemnation had hee beene abſent out of the Citie, and liued in his Countrie Grange; ſtill vexing himſelfe with the indignitie of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Læuinus*, being Conſuls two or three yeeres agoe, had brought him into *Rome*: where he liued priuate in diſcontented ſort, as might appeare, both by his careleſneſſe in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Cenſors, to pull his haire, and come into the Senate: where he vſed to ſit ſilent, and ſignifie his aſſent or diſlike to what was propoſed, either in ſhort formall words, or in paſſing from ſide to ſide, when the houſe was diuided. At length it hapned, that in ſome buſineſſe weightily concerning one that was his kinſman; he ſtood vp, and made a ſet ſpeech: whereby he drew all the *Fathers* to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had beene. The Senate was much altered ſince he had left it; many braue men were loſt; new ones were choſen; ſuch as rather ſerued to fill vp the number, than to anſwere to the dignitie of the place: and they that were left of ancient ſtanding, had euen ſpent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all began to ſay; that it was great pittie, ſo worthy and able a man, as this *Liuius*, had beene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common wealth ſtood in great neede, yet had not vſed in this dangerous warre. Now ſeeing that the Conſuls ought, one of them, to be choſen a *Patrician*, the other, of neceſſitie a *Plebeian*: and ſince, neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Læuinus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be ioyned with *Claudius Nero*: euery one was of opinion, that there could not be choſen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Liuius*. But *Liuie* would not endure to heare of this. He ſaid it was vnreaſonable, that one condemned as a diſhoneſt man, ſhould afterwards be choſen Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to truſt him with one Conſulſhip, what meant they then to offer him another? With theſe, and the like phraſes he reſiſted their deſires: till by perſwaſions, and examples rehearſed, of ſuch as had patiently digeſted iniuries done by the People, and repaied good for euill; hee was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which *Themiſtocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: reſembling himſelfe to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughes whereof men breake in faire weather; but run vnder it for ſhelter in a ſtorme. Such vnthankefulneſſe, to well-deſeruing men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much vnlike, of *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spaine* his dealing with the Duke of *Alua*. For although he had committed the Duke to priſon, vpon ſome ſmall offence conceiued, without all regard of his former deſerts; yet when his intended conqueſt of *Portugal*, required the ſeruice of a man, more then ordinarily ſufficient; he ſtood no longer vpon the ſcanning of late diſpleaſures; but employed the ſame Duke, whom he had newly diſgraced. Thus is wiſedome often taught by neceſſitie.

It was a dangerous yeere toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Liuius* were choſen Conſuls. *Aſdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited onely, to haue the wayes of the *Alpes* thawed by warme weather, for his paſſage into *Italy*. The *Romans* vſed at this time the ſeruice of three and twentie Legions: and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had knowne how to leuie and maintaine them. Of theſe which they had, foure ſerued in *Spaine*, two in *Sicil*, and two in *Sardinia*: the reſt were ſo diſpoſed, in ſeuerall parts of *Italie*, where neede ſeemed to require, that onely two Legions were left to each of the Conſuls. But the Conſuls were men of execution: and would not be tied to the punctuall obſeruance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Liuius* would not ſtirre out of *Rome*; againſt ſo mightie a power as followed *Aſdrubal*; vntill he had firſt obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be ſpared from other imployments; and thoſe, or the moſt of them, choſen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to ſerue vnder *Lucius Porcius* a Pretor of that yeere, among the *Ciſalpine Gaules*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Liuius*; to whom the warre againſt *Aſdrubal* was alotted. So might alſo two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, neere vnto *Tarentum*, vnder another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Armie, that was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. Neuertheleſſe the Conſuls, by the eſpeciall inſtance of *Liuie*, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne diſcretion. For newes came, that *Aſdrubal* was already paſſing the *Alpes*; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Countrie about *Genua*, with their Neighbour people, were in readineſſe to ioyne with him; and *L. Porcius* ſent word, that he would aduenture no further, then hee ſafely might. When all was ordered, as themſelues thought beſt, the two Conſuls went forth of the Citie; each, his ſeuerall way. The People of *Rome* were now quite otherwiſe affected, than they had beene, when *L. Æmylius Paulus* and *C. Terentius Varro*, were ſent againſt *Hannibal*. They did no longer take vpon them, to direct their Generals; or bid them diſpatch, and winne the victorie betimes: but rather they ſtood in feare; leſt all diligence, wiſdome and valour ſhould proue too little. For ſince few yeeres had paſſed, wherein ſome one of their Generals had not beene ſlaine; and ſince it was manifeſt, that if either of theſe preſent Conſuls were defeated, or put to the worſt; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith ioyne, and make ſhort worke with the other: it ſeemed a greater happineſſe than could be expected, that each of them ſhould returne home Victor; and come off with honour, from ſuch mightie oppoſition, as he was like to finde. With extreame difficultie had *Rome* held vp her head, euer ſince the battaile of *Cannæ*: though it were ſo, that *Hannibal* alone, with little helpe from *Carthage*, had continued the warre in *Italie*. But there was now arriued another ſonne of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his preſent Expedition, had ſeemed, a man of more ſufficiencie than *Hannibal* himſelfe. For, whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, ouer great Riuers and Mountaines, that were thought vnpaſſable, *Hannibal* had loſt a great part of his Armie: this *Aſdrubal*, in the ſame places, had multiplied his numbers; and, gathering the people that he found in the way, deſcended from the *Alpes* like a rowling Snow-bal, farre greater than he came ouer the *Pyrenees* at his firſt ſetting out of *Spaine*. Theſe conſiderations and the like, of which feare preſented many vnto them; cauſed the people of *Rome*, to wait vpon their Conſuls out of the Towne; like a penſiue traine of Mourners: thinking vpon *Marcellus* and *Criſpinus*, vpon whom in the like ſort they had giuen attendance the laſt yeere; but ſaw neither of them returne aliue, from a leſſe dangerous warre. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gaue his accuſtomed aduice to *M. Liuius*, that he ſhould abſtaine from giuing, or taking battaile, vntill he well vnderſtood the Enemies condition. But the Conſul made him a froward anſwere, and ſaid, That he would fight the very firſt day: for that he thought it long, till he ſhould either recouer his honour by victory; or by ſeeing the ouerthrow of his owne vniuſt Citizens, ſatisfie himſelfe with the ioy of a great, though not an honeſt, reuenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Excerpt. E. Polyb. hiſt. l. 10 & 11.

Of the ouerthrow that *Aſdrubal* receiued in *Spaine* by *Scipio*, a little before he tooke his iournie into *Italie*; ſuch mention hath already beene made, as agreed with the report of that noble Hiſtorian *Liuie*. Yet I thinke it not amiſſe to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his hiſtorie concerning that accident. *Aſdrubal* had wreſtled with many difficulties in *Spaine*; by reaſon of thoſe Captaines that were ſent from the Citie of *Carthage*, to ioyne with him in the adminiſtration of that Prouince: they being, as it may ſeeme, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to ſay, thus farre forth Traitors, that they preferred the aduantage of their owne ſide, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthie ſonne of *Amilcar*, and how they hindred his courſes vndertaken, it cannot be knowne: ſince of thoſe bookes, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled theſe matters, there are to vs remaining onely a few broken pieces. But by the ſpightfull dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicil* with *Mutines*, a better man of warre than himſelfe, whom *Hannibal* had ſent into the Iland: we may conceiue, that againſt the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needefull, by theſe miſchieuous Partiſans of *Hanno*, to vſe the violent oppoſition of more earneſt malice. Neuertheleſſe *Aſdrubal* was a good *Patriot*: and therefore endured patiently ſuch indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digeſt. His iournie into *Italie* being reſolued vpon: he lay with part of the Armie at *Betula*, not farre from the mines of ſiluer; whence hee was to furniſh his expedition. Thither came *Scipio*: and draue him out of his Campe, though hee were ſtrongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captaines could, or would, come to his aſſiſtance. The ouerthrow ſeemes not to haue beene ſo great, as it muſt haue beene ſuppoſed, if no way lay open to thoſe that fled. Rather it appeares, that *Aſdrubal* dealt like a prouident man, and ſeeing that his Campe was likely to be forced, ſent away all his mony, with his Elephants before him: but ſtaied behinde himſelfe to ſuſtaine the *Romans* awhile, vntill his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his deſire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together: and retired in ſuch ſort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to purſue him, and ſo paſſed ouer *Tagus*. Then taking vnto him the forces aſſigned for his Expedition, he marched away toward the *Pirenees*: leauing the care of *Spaine* vnto his brother *Mago*, and to *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*; that thought himſelfe the fitteſt man for the adminiſtration thereof. Faine would *Scipio* haue ſtopped him on his iournie, by ſending to defend againſt him the ordinary way of the Mountaines. But whether *Aſdrubal* tooke another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had ſet to keepe the *Pyrenées* (as the defence of hard paſſages commonly ſorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any ſuch impediment. Comming into *Gaule*, and following the ſteps of his brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, ſo well affected, either to him or to his monie, that no paſſages were defended againſt him, nor any ſort of reſiſtance made; but he, and his Armie, well entertained, and their number much increaſed, by acceſſe of ſuch as were deſirous to take his pay. Of theſe he had the better choyce: for that hee was driuen to Winter in their Countrie; whileſt that the paſſages of the *Alpes* were cloſed vp with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewiſe, that had ſo greatly moleſted *Hannibal* in his iournie ouer the *Alpes*; were eaſily won to take part with *Aſdrubal*, when he trauailed through their Countrie. For theſe poore men, at the firſt comming of *Hannibal*, were verily perſwaded, that it was his purpoſe to rob them of their cattaile, and to make ſpoyle of that little wealth, which they had painefully ſcraped together out of the deſolate rocks. But now in proceſſe of time, they were better informed. Therefore vnderſtanding, that there were two mightie Cities, farre disioyned aſunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the *Alpes* did onely lye in the way: they gladly condeſcended, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cauſe, was afterward found in the *Ciſalpine Gaules*. The *Lygurians* alſo ioyned with *Aſdrubal*: and ſo would the *Hetrurians* haue done; if he had arriued in their Countrie. There was no other *Roman* Armie neere, then *L. Porcius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did *Aſdrubal* ſet vpon *Placentia* a *Roman* Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible, by the deſtruction of that Towne. But there he loſt a great deale of time, and finally was driuen to quit the enterpriſe: by vndertaking which, he gaue the *Roman* Conſuls leiſure to make ready for him; and cauſed his brother *Hannibal* (who vpon the firſt bruit of *Aſdrubal* his ſo timely, and eaſily paſſing the *Alpes*, was about to leaue his wintring camps, and goe forth to meet with him) to ſit ſtill awhile, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haſte.

C. Claudius Nero the *Roman* Conſul, made what ſpeede he could, to meet with *Hannibal*, and ſtop him from ioyning with his brother. He had about fortie thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe: with which he daily offered battaile to the *Carthaginian*; and had of him the better in many skirmiſhes. *Hannibal* was once driuen to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, into the Countrie of the *Brutians*, there to encreaſe his forces; which were otherwiſe too weake for the iournie intended. Afterward comming to *Grumentum*, a Towne of the *Lucans*; he there fought vnproſperouſly with *Nero* the Conſul. Neuertheleſſe he got off, and marched away to *Venuſia*. But *Nero* followed him; and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore he was driuen to returne to *Metapontum*: where ioyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Armie, he aſſaied againe to make way by force to his brother. So he paſſed onward, and came againe to *Venuſia*, hauing *Nero* ſtill at his heeles. Thence went he ouer the Riuer *Aufidus* to *Canuſium*, where he ſate downe, not farre from the place, in which he had obtained his moſt memorable victory. There alſo did *Nero* ſit downe by him: and both of them reſted, without making offer to fight. It ſeemed perhaps vnto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countrie very well; that his brother might, with little impediment, ouer-come the way to *Canuſium*: where if he could once againe deale with both the Conſuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reaſon to hope for ſuch another victory, as once hee had gotten in the ſame open Countrie. If this had ſo fallen out; *Rome* would haue beene vndone for euer. But the *Carthaginians* ſhould not haue needed to wiſh any ſecond victory, in the naked Champans about *Cannæ*; if ſuch an armie, as this which *Aſdrubal* now brings, had come to ſecond *Hannibal*, when he was in his full ſtrength; and the *Romans* not able to keepe the field. Wherefore this worthy Generall had good reaſon afterward to ſay, that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the ſupply, did beat him out of *Italie*; which elſe no power of the *Romans* could haue done.

Whileſt *Nero* waited vpon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Armie that was comming to their ſuccour: he was aduertiſed of

Aſdrubal his approach; by Letters and Meſſengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. Theſe gaue notice, that *Aſdrubal* had left the ſiege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithſtanding all oppſition that could be made by *Liuie* the Conſul. Of theſe newes *Claudius Nero* was nothing ioyfull. For if *Hannibal* could once be ioyned as head, vnto that great body of an Armie, which *Aſdrubal* brought with him: it was moſt apparant, that howſoeuer the fortune of *Rome* ſhould auoid, for the preſent, any great calamitie; yet the very continuance of ſo ſtrong a warre at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithfull Aſſociates, to faint vnder the burden; as twelue of the thirtie *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he reſolued, that it were better to make any deſperate aduenture, than to ſuffer the coniunction of two ſuch maleuolent Planets: whoſe peſtilent influence, if not on the ſuddaine, yet within few yeeres, was like to worke moſt lamentable effects. It ſeemed apparant, that his Colleague was vnable to ſtay the progreſſe of *Aſdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readineſſe, that could doe ſeruice in ſuch a needefull caſe; excepting thoſe, that were already employed vnder the two Conſuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himſelfe to his owne charge, which was the warre againſt *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoued him, to helpe where more neceſſity required; and to carry part of his forces vnto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet ſince the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* bretheren, was farre more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth; it ſeemed the beſt way to put Fortune in truſt, with that which was of the leſſe importance. Sixe thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe he therefore tooke, that were the very choyce of his Armie: and making ſhew, as if he would onely ſtep aſide, to doe ſome ſmall piece of ſeruice neere at hand; away he poſted as faſt as he could, to aſſiſt his fellow Conſul. His Meſſengers ranne before him, to giue warning to all Townes by which hee was to paſſe, that they ſhould be ready to meet him, with victuals, and all other neceſſaries for his Armie. *Liuius* the other Conſul, at that time, lay incamped, neere vnto *Sena Gallica*; and *Aſdrubal* within halfe a mile of him. In ſixe dayes *Nero* had finiſhed his iournie thither; and when he drew neere, ſent Meſſengers before him, to giue notice of his comming. *Liuie* thought it fitteſt that he ſhould ſtay in ſome place of couert vntill darke night, and then enter ſecretly into the campe: leſt the Enemy, perceiuing this acceſſe of ſtrength, ſhould accordingly frame his counſailes. This was done: and a token giuen, that the Colonels, Captaines, and all Souldiers, aſwell horſe as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him; ſhould be lodged and entertained by men of their owne ſort. Their Companie was ſomewhat increaſed by Voluntaries that ioyned with them on the way. Neuertheleſſe, it was not needefull, that the Quarter which receiued them, ſhould be enlarged; ſince they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counſaile of warre: wherein ſome were of opinion, that it was beſt for theſe new-arriued Companies, to refreſh themſelues a few dayes after their wearie iournie, before they ſhould be drawne forth to battaile. But againſt this, *Nero* was very earneſt: and beſought his Colleague, to make vſe of him out of hand; that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere *Hannibal* ſhould haue notice of his abſence. The Souldiers alſo of *Nero*, were full of ſpirit; perceiuing that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: foraſmuch as the battaile would not haue beene vndertaken, without this their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counſaile brake vp, that the ſigne of battaile ſhould be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate ouer the Generals pauilion.

Aſdrubal was no leſſe willing than the *Romans* to come to battaile, hauing long deſired it, and hitherto not found occaſion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies countenance: it ſeemed to him, that they were more than they had beene; and ſome of their armes and horſes looked as though they had wanted dreſſing, after a long iournie. Hereupon he beganne to with-draw his Armie backe into the Campe: and gaue order, that if no priſoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet ſhould there good obſeruation be made, whether the enemies campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might ſhew their forces to be increaſed. The campe, as hath beene ſaid, was not extended: but the trumpet, that ſounded onely once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the Pretor, did now, contrary to former cuſtome, ſound twice in the quarter of *Liuius* the Conſul. Hereat *Aſdrubal* greatly muſed: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders; held this for a ſure token, that the other Conſul was there arriued. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were aliue, and in good caſe, hee was not able to coniecture: but thought it the beſt way, to goe leiſurely to worke, till hee might be better informed. Vpon confidence in his owne forces, hee had not cared hitherto, how neere he lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himſelfe perhaps with ouer-ſtrongly fortifying his owne Campe. Yet when hee now perceiued, that ſomewhat was fallen out beſide his expectation, he changed his reſolution; and held it no diſhonour to remoue a little further off. So hee diſlodged ſecretly by night, intending to get ouer the Riuer *Metaurus*; whereby to keepe himſelfe as long as he could, from neceſſitie of battaile. But whether it were ſo, that his guides did ſteale away from him in the dark, ſo that he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heauie, and hindred his ſpeede: farre he had not gone, ere the Conſull *Nero* was at his heeles with all the *Roman* horſe, and ſtaied him from paſſing any further. Soone after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Conſul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battaile. *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing himſelfe ouer-taken with neceſſitie to fight; omitted no care and circumſpection. His *Gaules*, in whom he repoſed leaſt confidence, he placed in his left wing vpon a Hill, which the Enemie ſhould not, without much difficultie, be able to climbe: in the right wing he ſtood himſelfe with his *Africans* & *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed in the midſt; and his Elephants, he beſtowed in the front of his battailes. On the *Roman* ſide, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing; *Liuius* of the left; and *Porcius* of the battaile. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well vnderſtood, how much depended vpon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of ſafety there was vnto the vanquiſhed. Onely the *Romans* herein ſeemed to haue had the better in conceipt, and opinion; That they were to fight with men deſirous to haue fled from them. And, according to this preſumption, came *Liuius* the Conſul with a proud brauery, to giue charge on the *Africans*: by whom he was ſo ſharply entertained, that the victory ſeemed very doubtfull. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were ſtout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* alſo were a hardy Nation, and not accuſtomed to giue ground; which they needed the leſſe, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midſt. *Liuius* therefore, and *Porcius*, found ſtrong oppoſition: and with great ſlaughter on both ſides, preuailed little or nothing. Beſides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their firſt rankes; and put them in ſuch diſorder, as the *Roman* Enſignes were driuen to fall backe. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vaine againſt a ſteepe Hill, was vnable to come to blowes with the *Gaules*; that ſtood oppoſite vnto him, but out of danger. This made *Aſdrubal* the more confident; who ſeeing his owne left wing ſafe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impreſſion on the other ſide, vpon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero*, perceiuing that the place wherein he ſtood, was ſuch as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; tooke a part of his forces, and led them round behinde the forces of *Porcius* and *Liuius*: which hauing compaſſed, he fell vpon *Aſdrubal*, and charged him in the flanke. Here beganne the victory to be manifeſt on the *Roman* ſide. For *Nero*, finding none to reſiſt him in front, ranne all along the depth of *Aſdrubal* his battaile: and falling vpon the skirts thereof, diſordered the Enemies, and put all to rowt. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on euery ſide, the greateſt part was ſlaine. The *Ligurians* and *Gaules* eſcaped as they could; and ſaued themſelues by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken aliue: the reſt were ſlaine; ſome by the Enemies weapons; others by their owne guides that rode on them. For when any of them, being ſore wounded, beganne to waxe vnruly, and ruſh backe vpon their own battailes following them: the guide had in readineſſe a Mallet, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gaue them a ſtroke betweene the eares, in the ioynt of the neck, next vnto the head; wherewith he killed the beaſt vpon the ſuddaine. This ſpeedy way of preuenting ſuch harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the ſquadrons following them; is ſaid to haue beene the deuice of *Aſdrubal* himſelfe; who died in this battaile.

Great commendations are giuen to *Aſdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Liuie*. He is ſaid at all times to haue ſhewed himſelfe worthy of *Amilcar* his father, and *Hannibal* his brother; to haue ſtriuen with great patience, againſt many difficulties; whereinto he fell by the meanes of thoſe Captaines that were ſent from *Carthage* into *Spaine*; to haue performed in this laſt battaile all duties of a worthy Generall; and finally when hee ſaw the loſſe irreparable, to haue ridden manfully into the thickeſt of his Enemies; where fighting brauely, he was ſlaine. Of the number that died with him in this battaile, the report of *Liuie*, and of *Polybius*, doe very much diſagree. For *Liuie* ſaith, that the *Carthaginians* had no leſſe an ouerthrow, than was that, which they gaue to the *Romans* at *Cannæ*; that fiftie ſixe thouſand of them were ſlaine, fiue thouſand and foure hundred taken priſoners; and aboue foure thouſand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captiues with them, deliuered, and ſet at libertie. He ſaith alſo, that of the *Romanes* and their Aſſociates there were ſlaine eight thouſand: and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not onely in other kindes, but in gold and ſiluer. Concerning the bootie; *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to haue beene as rich as *Liuie* reporteth it; for *Aſdrubal* came well ſtored with monie. But *Polybius* (who had no deſire to make this battaile of *Metaurus*, a parallel vnto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thouſand of the *Carthaginian* ſide, and two thouſand of the *Roman*, to haue beene ſlaine. The number of the priſoners hee doth not mention: but only ſaith, That ſome of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken aliue; and that all the reſt died in the battaile. Whereby it may ſeeme that they were all *Barchines*: foraſmuch as they preferred the honour of themſelues, and of their Countrie, aboue their liues.

The ioy of this victorie was no leſſe in *Rome*, then had beene the feare of the euent. For euer ſince it was knowne in what ſort *Nero* had left his Armie; the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his comming thither. Men thought it ſtrange, that the Conſul ſhould make ſuch a great aduenture, as thus to put the one halfe of all the *Roman* forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* ſhould chance to haue notice of this his departure; and either purſue him, or ſet vpon the Armie that ſtaied behinde, much weakened, and without a Generall? Thus did they talke; yet reſeruing their cenſure vnto the ſucceſſe; with libertie to approue or condemne, according to the iſſue. In the meane time the people filled the Market-place; the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counſaile, waiting ſtil ready at hand vpon the Magiſtrates: as if ſome great matter were likely to fal out, that would aske euery ones helpe. In briefe, they were all ſo full of melancholy, that when firſt newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleeue it. Afterwards when Meſſengers arriued from the Conſuls, with Letters contayning all that had paſſed: there was not onely great and ioyfull concourſe of all ſorts of men vnto the Temples, but the very face of the Citie was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their priuate buſineſſe; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborne to doe) and attending their owne affaires in ſuch wiſe, as if *Hannibal* were already driuen out of *Italie*.

Nero returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of *Aſdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* priſoners bound; ſent two of them looſe to giue *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. Theſe two priſoners might haue ſerued well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the miſaduenture, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Aſdrubal*: eſpecially ſince *Hannibal*, in honourable, and farre different manner, had giuen buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea to all the *Roman* Generals, whoſe carkaſſes fell into his hands. But it may ſeeme, that howſoeuer the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous diſpoſition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their loue vnto the Commonweale; yet in dealing with Enemies, they were farre more ciuill, and leſſe prone to the inſolencie of reuenge. The beſt excuſe of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the ſudden terrour of ſuch a ſpectacle, than by the ſimple relation of that which had paſſed, to make a deepe impreſſion of feare into the *Carthaginians*. It may alſo be ſaid, That hee forgot himſelfe, being ouer-ioyed with the greatneſſe of his proſperitie. For it was the battaile of *Metaurus* that weighed downe the ballance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the loweſt Ebbe, ceaſed not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* hauing loſt in this vnhappy fight (beſides that worthy Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that ſo long ſuſtained him in *Italie*; with-drew himſelfe into the Countrie of the *Brutians*: and thither hee cauſed all the *Lucans* that were of his partie to remooue; as likewiſe all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For hee wanted men to defend ſo many places as hee held at the preſent; becauſe they lay too farre aſunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a leſſer compaſſe in the vtmoſt corner of *Italie*; it being a Countrie of much faſtneſſe, and the people exceedingly deuoted to his ſeruice. In this buſineſſe *Nero* gaue him no memorable impediment: either becauſe *Hannibal* was too ſtrong for him, hauing all his forces vnited; or becauſe it is likely that this remoue of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harueſt was gathered in; at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Liuius* the other Conſul tarried among the *Ciſalpine Gaules* vntill the end of Summer; there to ſet things in ſuch order as he thought requiſite: which done, he wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Armie in that Prouince; but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well diſcharge the place. For this cauſe, he deſired leaue to returne home; and that hee might bring his Armie with him. The Senate well vnderſtood his meaning: which was, to haue the honour of triumph, as hee well deſerued. But foraſmuch as it was well knowne, what intereſt *Nero* had in the late victorie: order was giuen, that not onely *Liuie* with his Armie ſhould come home; but likewiſe *Nero*; though leauing his Armie behinde him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof *Liuie* made the greater ſhew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; becauſe in his Prouince, and vpon his day of command, the victorie was gotten; his Armie alſo being preſent at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horſe-backe, and without ſuch attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victorie was in a manner wholly aſcribed vnto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generalls, the due acknowledgement of their good ſeruice. For they were commended vnto the People, as men worthy to be choſen Conſuls: and Conſuls they were choſen for the yeere following. But nothing was done by them, worthie of memorie, in their Conſulſhip. Neither indeed from this yeere, which was the thirteenth of the preſent warre, vntill the eighteenth yeere wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italie*; ſaue only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by ſurpriſe. For *Hannibal* wanted ſtrength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little minde to prouoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceiued of him; that though all about him went to ruine, yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himſelfe vpright. And ſurely very notable are the commendations giuen vnto him by *Polybius*; whom *Liuie* therein followes: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the moſt warlike, he obtained ſo many victories by his owne good conduct: and that leading an Armie, compounded of ſo many ſundrie Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greekes*; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in ſuch good order, that they neuer fell to ſedition among themſelues, or againſt their Generall. But that which *Liuie* addes hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he ſuſtained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, vpon the hungry ſoile of the *Brutians*: which, when it was beſt manured in time of peace, could hardly ſuffice to nouriſh the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparant, that by his proper worth and vertue, hee kept his Armie in ſuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatneſſe of reward and bootie: ſince, after the death of *Aſdrubal*, he made no inuaſion vpon the wealthier parts of *Italie*; but held himſelfe ſtill among the poore *Brutians*. Where we muſt leaue him, vntill hee be drawne into *Africk* by *Scipio*; whoſe doings will henceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

§. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio *the Roman, made entire conqueſt of Spaine.*

†. I.

How the Carthaginians were driuen by Scipio *from the Continent into the Iſle of Gades.*

Mago and *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*, took vpon them the charge of *Spaine*, when *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar* departed thence into *Italie*. Theſe agreed together, that *Mago* ſhould make a voyage to the *Baleares*; there to leuie a ſupply of men: and *Aſdrubal* with-draw himſelfe into *Luſitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill meanes to follow; being altogether vnacquainted in thoſe parts. *Mago* had ſoone ended his buſineſſe, and returned into *Spaine*: where hee met with one *Hanno* (the ſame perhaps that had lately beene employed in *Sicil*) who brought new forces out of *Africk*, and came to ſucceed in place of *Aſdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not vnlikelie that *Spaine* was now the better, and more readily furniſhed with men, and all things needfull from *Carthage*; when that ſonne of *Amilcar*, whoſe authoritie had beene greateſt, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approue it ſelfe, againſt that noble race of Warriors; when it ſhould appeare, that things did proſper much the better by being left vnto the handling of other men. Whether it were vpon deſire to make good ſome ſuch opinion raiſed of him at home, or whether vpon confidence in the forces that he brought ouer: *Hanno* tooke the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purpoſing afreſh to ſet vpon the *Romans*. So he entred into the Country of the *Celtiberians*, not very farre from new *Carthage*: where, by monie, and other perſwaſions, he leuied aboue nine thouſand men.

P. Scipio in the meane while contained himſelfe in the Eaſterne parts of *Spaine*: attentiue, as it may ſeeme, to the proceedings of *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar*; againſt whom, he is reported by ſome Writers to haue ſent part of his forces into *Italie*, to the aſſiſtance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Liuius* the Conſuls. But hearing of the leuie made by *Hanno* and *Mago*, among the *Celtiberians*: he ſent *M. Syllanus* the Propretor, with ten thouſand foot and fiue hundred horſe. *Syllanus* got intelligence by ſome fugitiue *Celtiberians*, who became his guides, that their Countrimen encamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great diſorder: as men fearing no danger, becauſe they were at home. Wherfore as cloſely as he was able, he drew neere to theſe *Celtiberians*: and falling vpon them on the ſuddaine, gaue them ſuch an ouerthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* comming to their ſuccour, in ſtead of heartning and reinforcing them, became partakers of the loſſe. *Mago* ſaued himſelfe with all the horſe, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thouſand: and in ten daies iourney brought them ſafe to *Aſdrubal*. The reſt of the *Africans* were either ſlaine or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill lucke to be taken priſoner; though he kept himſelfe out of the fight vntill all was loſt. As for the *Celtiberians*, they knew better how to make ſhift; and ſaued moſt of themſelues by running into the woods.

It could no otherwiſe be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italie* ſtood, by the comming thither of *Aſdrubal*. Ten thouſand foot and eighteen hundred horſe he did therefore ſend out of *Spaine* (as it is reported by ſome Authors) to the defence of his owne Countrie: or was perhaps about to ſend them; and thereupon remained at new *Carthage*, intentiue to the neceſſitie and ſucceſſe of his Countrimen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of this Summer, then might hee well aduenture, to take in hand the entire conqueſt of *Spaine*; which muſt needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of ſuch an ouerthrow. The *Spaniſh* Souldiers that ſerued vnder *Hannibal*, and thoſe that had beene ſent ouer into *Africke*; were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Countrie was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noyſed abroad, That all which had followed *Aſdrubal* into *Italie*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his Armie was cloſed vp in a ſtreight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behoue the *Spaniards* to conforme themſelues vnto the will of the Victors. That it was the ſucceſſe of things in *Italie*, which gaue ſuch confidence vnto *Scipio*; it is the more probable, becauſe hee tooke not this great enterpriſe in hand, vntill the Summer was almoſt ſpent. *Aſdrubal* therefore vſed the benefit of the ſeaſon; and by diſpoſing his Armie into many Garriſons; hindred the enemy from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the yeere, cauſed *Scipio* to returne backe: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* tooke by aſſault the Towne of *Oringis*.

Againſt the next yeeres danger, *Aſdrubal* prepared a great Armie: and ſpared not coſt, nor trauaile, in ſtrengthening himſelfe, for the triall of his laſt fortune in *Spaine*. With ſeuentie thouſand foot, foure thouſand horſe, and two and thirtie Elephants, he tooke the field: which number I beleeue, that he could hardly haue raiſed, without boldly denying the truth of thoſe reports that came from *Italie*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions too weake to encounter with ſuch a multitude. Wherefore hee iudged it needfull to vſe the helpe of his *Spaniſh* friends. But the death of his Father and Vncle, that were caſt away by the treaſon of ſuch falſe *Auxiliaries*, made him on the other ſide very doubtfull, of relying vpon thoſe, that might perhaps betray him in his greateſt neede. Yet ſince one *Colchas*, that was Lord of eight and twenty Townes, had promiſed him the laſt Winter, to raiſe three thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe for his ſeruice: he reſolued to make vſe of thoſe, and ſome few others, that might helpe to make a ſhew; and yet not bee able to doe any great harme, if they would reuolt. So with fiue and forty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, hee ſought out the Enemie; neere vnto whom hee encamped. At his firſt comming, *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* fell vpon him; with hope to take him vnprepared, whileſt he was making his lodgings. But he layed certaine troups of horſe in couert: which breaking vpon them vnexpected; cauſed them to fall off. They made at firſt an orderly retreat: but being more hardly preſſed, they ſhortly betooke themſelues to plaine flight. After this encounter, which added ſome courage to the *Romans*, and abated the preſumption of the *Carthaginians*, there were daily skirmiſhes betweene the horſe and light armature, on both ſides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Aſdrubal* drew forth his Armie, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to ſhew that he durſt fight, yet not proceeding any farther. Thus they continued many daies: *Aſdrubal* being ſtill the firſt that iſſued forth in the morning; and the firſt that, in the euening, withdrew himſelfe into his Trenches. The *Spaniſh Auxiliaries* were placed on both ſides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midſt, with their Elephants before them; and oppoſite to theſe on the other ſide were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at farre diſtance, many daies together: it grew to bee the common opinion, that they ſhould ſhortly meet in the ſame forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies long before deſigned. But *Scipio* when he purpoſed indeed to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and withall, came forth earlier then he had beene wont. He cauſed his men and horſes, to be well fedde betimes in the morning before day: and then ſent forth his horſe and light armature, to traine out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies emptie: vſing herein the ſame tricke, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his father in the battaile of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he beſtowed in the wings; his *Spaniards*, in the battaile. *Aſdrubal* ſent forth his horſe in all haſte, to entertaine the *Romans*; whileſt he himſelfe arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, vpon which hee encamped. In the skirmiſhes of the horſe it could not bee diſcerned which part had the better: ſince being ouer-preſſed on either ſide, they had a ſafe retrait vnto their foote; and one troope ſeconding another by courſe, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: becauſe his men, hauing well fed themſelues, were like to hold out better then the Enemie. But about noone hee cauſed his wings to aduance a good pace; leauing their battaile of *Spaniards* farre behinde them, that came on leiſurely, according to direction. The *Spaniſh* Mercenaries that ſtood in *Aſdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, ſaue only in number, to the *Latine* and *Romane* Souldiers, that came againſt them; for they were freſh Souldiers, leuied in haſte; and fighting onely in reſpect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the ſame time, by the *Roman Velites*, and by ſome cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the ſame purpoſe, they were ſorely preſſed; and with much difficultie made reſiſtance. The *Carthaginians* would faine haue ſuccoured them; but that they durſt not ſtirre out of their places, becauſe of the *Spaniſh* battell which was comming againſt them; though it were as yet farre off. Thus the beſt part of *Aſdrubal* his Armie ſtood idle, vntill the wings were broken. For, had he aduentured to meet with the *Spaniards*, hee muſt haue caſt himſelfe into the open ſpace that lay before him betweene the *Romane* wings: to the depth whereof when hee had arriued, hee ſhould haue found himſelfe incloſed in ſuch ſort, as was the Conſull *Paulus* at the battaile of *Cannæ*. Wherefore hee did onely imploy his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ranne, as chance ledde them, and troubled both parts; or thoſe perhaps the more, that were the more vnwilling to kill them. In proceſſe of the fight, the *Romans*, who had well refreſhed their bodies in the morning, endured luſtie; when the others beganne to faint with trauell and heate of the day.

Wherefore perceiuing their aduantage, they followed it the more hotly : and gaue not ouer, till they had forſt the enemie to change his pace and run from him. *Aſdrubal* did his beſt to haue made an orderlie retrait; and afterward againe, to haue cauſed his men turne head, at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not ſuffer the victorie to be ſo extorted from them : neither was it eaſie to put freſh courage into the vanquiſhed; ledde by the obſtinate paſſion of feare which harkens to no perſwaſion. The Campe of *Aſdrubal* had that day beene taken; if a ſtorme of raine, which fell violently on the ſodaine, and bred ſome ſuperſtition in the *Romans*, had not cauſed them to giue ouer.

The ſame night *Aſdrubal* gaue no reſt to his men : but cauſed them, hungrie, and ouerlaboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein he feared to be aſſaulted. But little aſſurance could he haue in the ſtrength of his Trenches; when he had loſt the hearts of his *Spaniſh* Souldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his ſubiects : many followed this example; and ſoone after, two ſtrong Townes were yeelded vp to *Scipio*, and the Garriſons betraied. It ſeemes that the peruerſe fortune of this late battaile, whereupon *Aſdrubal* had ſet his reſt, bred in the *Spaniards* a diſpoſition, to beleeue the more eaſily thoſe reports which they heard from *Italie*. For henceforward, they neuer did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Aſdrubal*, perceiuing this, withdrew himſelfe, and marched away faſter then an ordinarie pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, and ouertaking the *Carthaginians* with his horſe, cauſed them ſo often to make ſtand, that they were at length attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruell ſlaughter : for there was no reſiſtance made, but all fell to rout, ſaue onely ſeuen thouſand that with *Aſdrubal* himſelfe recouered a very ſtrong piece of ground, which they fortified in haſt. The place he made ſhift a while to defend : but wanting there neceſſaries to ſuſtain himſelfe long, he was forſaken by ſome of thoſe few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore hee reſolued to make ſhift for one ; and ſtealing from his Companie by night away to the Sea-ſide, that was not farre thence; hee tooke ſhipping, and ſet ſaile for *Gades*. When *Scipio* vnderſtood that *Aſdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe to beſiege their Campe (which was not taken in haſte, for *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* ſtaied in it) whileſt hee with the reſt of the Armie did what was needfull in the Countrie abroad. It was not long, ere *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* followed *Aſdrubal* to *Gades* : and their Army diſperſed it ſelfe; ſome flying ouer to the *Romanes*; other taking what way they liked. So vpon all the Continent of *Spaine*, there were onely three Townes left, *Illiturgi*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapa*, that made continuance of warre againſt the *Romans* : of which onely *Caſtulo* had a *Carthaginian* Garriſon; conſiſting of ſuch as had ſaued themſelues by flight in the late ouerthrows. Hereby it ſeemes, that the report of thoſe Hiſtorians was ill grounded, who ſaid, that *Caſtulo* yeelded long ſince vnto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* tooke a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the laſt three Townes that held out on the *Carthaginian* ſide. *Illiturgi* had ſometimes beene inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their deuotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earneſtly the *Carthaginian* fortune; it not onely rebelled; but with great crueltie betraied, and ſlue, the poore men that eſcaped thither from the ouer-throwes. *Aſtapa* was a Towne that ſtill adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and which was worſe, had thriuen by the ſpoyle of the *Romanes* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the next yeere) *Scipio* went againſt theſe, and tooke himſelfe *Illiturgi* and *Caſtulo* : *Illiturgi* by aſſault, and with a generall ſlaughter of the Inhabitants; *Caſtulo*, by treaſon of one *Cerdubellus*. *Aſtapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather deſtroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raiſed in the Market-place : whereinto was throwne all the gold, & ſiluer, with whatſoeuer elſe was precious; the women and children ſtanding by it vnder a ſure guard; that ſhould kill and burne them if the *Romans* got into the Towne. This prouiſion being made : all the Inhabitants that could beare Armes, ruſhed forth deſperately, and fell vpon the *Roman* campe; where ſtriuing beyond their power, they were euery one ſlaine. Then was the Towne forth-with ſet on fire, by thoſe that had taken charge to doe it : and many of the *Romans* conſumed with the flame; whileſt they ruſhed ouer-haſtily to catch the gold, and ſiluer, which they ſaw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Aſdrubal, being beaten into the Iland of *Gades*, found no cauſe of long ſtay there : but returned home to *Carthage*, with ſeuen Gallies; leauing *Mago* behinde him, to wait vpon occaſion, if any ſhould be offered. He viſited in his way home, *Syphax* King of the *Maſæſili*, a people of the *Numidians*; hoping to win him to the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his euill *Angel*, in the Kings Port: who, landing at the ſame time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, hauing driuen the *Carthaginians* out of *Spaine*, did forth-with bethink himſelfe, how to finiſh the war; by putting them to the like diſtreſſe in *Africke*. Hereunto it ſeemed that the helpe of *Syphax* would be much auaileable: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and ſuſtained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might eaſily be moued to ſeeke reuenge. He had alſo bin beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that ſent him ouer a Captaine into *Africke*; who inſtructed him ſo, well in marſhalling his forces, as hee thereby often became victorious. Vpon theſe reaſons the *Numidian* King ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and made league with the Citie in time of great extremitie. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceiued hope of laying a good foundation to the warre, which he intended in *Africk*; vpon the friendſhip of this ill Neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cauſe he ſent ouer *C. Lælius* his Embaſſador, to deale with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italie*, and had nothing now at all to doe in *Spaine*; eaſily perſwaded the King to take part with thoſe that had the better, and were without queſtion his better friends. Onely *Syphax* requeſted that the *Roman* Generall ſhould viſite him in perſon, to conclude the League; by which hee was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treatie. Hereto *Scipio* condeſcended; thinking the friendſhip of ſo great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not farre diſtant from *Spaine*, well worthy of the aduenture. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he tooke Sea: and arriued in the Kings Port, at the ſame time, with *Aſdrubal*. This would haue been very dangerous to him, had he been deſcried by his Enemies further at Sea: but in the Hauen they forbare to make offer one vpon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; ſeeing at one time, two ſuch Captaines of two moſt powerfull Cities, came to deſire his friendſhip. He would haue brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excuſed himſelfe, by want of ſuch Commiſſion from the Senate. Hee feaſted them together: and ſhortly diſmiſſed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into Couenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funerall games held by Scipio. *A Duell betweene two Spaniſh Princes. A digreſſion, concerning Duells.*

S*cipio* returning into *Spaine*, and reſting that winter, tooke vengeance the next yeere, vpon thoſe of *Illiturgi, Caſtulo,* and *Aſtapa*, as hath beene ſaid before. The Conqueſt of the Countrie being then in a manner at an end; hee performed at new *Carthage*, with great ſolemnity, ſome Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memorie of his Father and Vncle, with funerall games, eſpecially of thoſe that fought at ſharpe, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that hee ſhould trouble himſelfe with preparing ſlaues for that ſpectacle, to hazard their liues, as was vſed in the Citie of *Rome*: for there were enow, that either offered themſelues as voluntaries, or were ſent from their Princes; to giue proofe in ſingle combat, of the valour that was in their ſeuerall Countries. Some alſo there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwiſe end, agreed to referre the deciſion of their Controuerſies, to trial of the ſword, in ſingle fight. Among theſe, the moſt eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orſua*, Coſen-germans: that contended for the principality of a Towne called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers ſonne: wherefore he claimed the Lordſhip, as eldeſt of the houſe; after the manner of our *Iriſh Taniſtrie*. But the father of *Orſua* ſtood latelie ſeized of the Principality: which though himſelfe receiued by the death of his elder brother; yet this his ſonne would not let it goe backe; but claimed to hold it as heire vnto his father, & old enough to rule. Faine would *Scipio* haue compounded the matter. But they anſwered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had alreadie laboured in vaine, to take vp that quarrell; and that neither God, nor Man, but onely *Mars*, their God of battaile, ſhould be Vmpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was alſo the ſtronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, eaſily vanquiſhed the foole-hardineſſe of the yonger.

Such combats haue beene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of *Troy*; by *Theſeus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as alſo of two more at the Warre of *Troy*, the one betweene *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other, betweene *Hector* and *Aiax*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Hebrewes*: whereof that betweene *Dauid* and *Goliah*; and others performed by ſome of *Dauids* worthies, againſt thoſe that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Vnto the ſame kinde appertaines the fight, betweene twelue of the Tribe of *Iuda*, and as many of the *Beniamites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the *Horatij*, againſt the three brethren *Curatij* that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and ſhortly after, of *Valerius Coruinus* with two Champions of the *Gaules*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of leſſe importance, as hauing only reference to brauerie. In *England* there was a great Combat fought betweene *Edmond Ironſide* and *Canutus* the *Dane*, for no leſſe matter than the Kingdome. The vſe of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times; almoſt vpon euery occaſion, great or ſmall. In the reigne of *Edward* the third, who ſuſtained the party of *Mounfort* againſt the *Earle of Bloys* contending for the Duchie of *Brittaine*; there was a fight, for honor of the Nations, betweene thirtie of the *Britons*, and thirtie *Engliſh*: two of which *Engliſh*, were *Caluerlie* a braue Captaine; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* wars, and did highly honour his bloud, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is deſcended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Italian* Hiſtories. Moſt of them haue bin combats of brauerie, and of *gayeté de cœur*, as the *French* terme it; for honour of ſeuerall Nations; for loue of Miſtreſſes; or whatſoeuer elſe gaue occaſion vnto men, deſirous to ſet out themſelues. But beſides thoſe of this ſort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either vpon accuſation for life; or vpon triall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which we ſpake euen now, betweene *Corbis* and *Orſua*. Vnto theſe (me thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the reſt, the combat vpon Wager; ſuch as were that betweene *Dauid* and *Goliah*; or that betweene the *Horatij* and *Curatij*: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one after the other, is aduentured vpon the head of Champions. Vpon an accuſation for life, there was a combat appointed betweene the Lord *Henrie of Bulinbrooke* Duke of *Hereford*, and *Moubray* Duke of *Norfolke*. There was a combat performed by Sir *Iohn Anſley* and one *Cattrington*: whom *Anſley* charged with treaſon: and proued it vpon him by being victorious. The like was fought betweene *Robert of Mountfort*, and *Henrie* of *Eſſex*. The like alſo, between a *Nauarrois*, & one *Welch* of *Grimsby*, whom the *Nauarrois* accuſed of treaſon: but, being beaten in fight, confeſſed that he had belied him, and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our triall by battell doe determine, that the falſe accuſer, if he bee vanquiſhed, ſhall ſuffer the puniſhment which had beene due to the offender, if the accuſation had beene proued; I cannot affirme. But wee euery where finde, That if he which is accuſed of treaſon, or, according to the cuſtomes of *Normandie*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of Places (offences puniſhed by death) be ouercome, Hee ſhall ſuffer the paines appointed for thoſe crimes. In combats for triall of *right*, it is not ſo: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in perſon, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramor* and *Low*, or offered to do, in the reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*. And in this caſe, hee that is beaten, or yeeldeth, loſeth onely his cauſe, not his life. Neither are the combats, vpon accuſation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are thoſe of brauerie; but in *Campe cloſe*, that is, within railes. Now this triall by combat was ſo ordinarie in *France*, before the time of S. *Lewis* and *Philip the faire* his grand-child, as euery Lord of Fee, Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Iuriſdiction. And it ſeemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lord, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorialls of the Chamber of Accompts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by conſent of the Lord, were taken vp, each of the parties ſhould pay two ſhillings ſixe pence; but if it were performed, then ſhould the partie vanquiſhed forfeit an hundred and twelue ſhillings. And vpon this cuſtome grew the *French* Prouerbe, which they vſe when as any man hath had an hard or vniuſt iudgement; ſaying, That *hee was tried by the Law of Loray, or Berne*; *ou le battu paye l'amende*, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of theſe frequent

An.21.*Ric*.2.

An.3.*Rich*.2.

An.9.*Henr*.2.

* *Si homines de Loraico Vadia Duelli temorè dederint*, &c.

trials by battaile, that great learned man *Yuo*, Biſhop of *Chartres*, did often complain, and ſpecially againſt the *French* Church-men: as appeares by * his letters to the Biſhop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the iudgement of their Churches, that had ratified ſuch challenges of combat. But this libertie and kinde of triall, was retrencht by S. *Lewes*, and *Philip* the *faire*; ſo that no man could decree, or grant it, ſaue the King himſelfe. It hath ſince been granted, though more ſparingly, by the *French* Kings; as to the Lord of *Carouges* againſt *Iaques le Gris*; and to *Iulian Romero* the *Spaniard*, againſt *Moro*, his Countriman: wherein Sir *Henrie Kneuet*, Father of the Lord *Kneuet* now liuing, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victorie; and laſtly to the Lord of *Chaſt*. Now in thoſe Challenges, vpon accuſation of Treaſon, Murder, or other offence deſeruing death, (and in thoſe only) the rule held, That *le defendeur eſtoit tenu de propoſer ces deffenſes per vne dementir*; *The defendant was bound to plead not guiltie, by giuing the accuſer the Lie*: otherwiſe it was concluded, that the Defendant did *taiſiblement confeſſer le crime*, *ſilently confeſſe the crime*. But after ſuch time as *Francis* the *French* King, vpon ſome diſpute about breach of Faith, had ſent the *Lie* vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fift, thereby to draw him to a perſonall combat: euerie pettie Companion in *France*, in imitation of their Maſter, made giuing of the *Lie* mortalitie it ſelfe; holding it a matter of no ſmall glorie, to haue it ſaid, That the meaneſt Gentleman in *France*, would not put vp, what the great Emperor *Charles* the fift had paciently endured.

* *Clerici veſtri nuper ad nos reuertētes, qui cauſæ Comitis* Theobaldi Aurelianis *interfuerunt, retulerunt nobis, quod quidā miles Domini* Rodulphi *quendam militē Comitis ad Monomachiū prouocauerit, & hanc prouocationem Eccleſiæ veſtræ iudicio confirmaueris &c.*

From this beginning is deriued a challenge of combat, grounded vpon none of theſe occaſions that were knowne to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Triall of Right, the Wager vpon Champions, or the Obiection and Refutation of capitall offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe ſo many Duells, as are founded vpon meere priuate Anger, yea or vpon matter *ſeeming* worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duelliſts. So that in theſe daies, wherein euery man takes vnto himſelfe a Kingly libertie, to offer, accept, and appoint perſonall combats; the giuing of the *Lie*, which ought to be the Negation onely in accuſations for life, is become the moſt fruitfull root of deadly quarrells. This is held a word ſo terrible, and a wrong ſo vnpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the bloud of him that giues it. Thus the faſhion, taken vp in haſte by the *French* Gentlemen, after the patterne of their King, is growne to be a cuſtome: whence we haue deriued a kinde of Art and Philoſophie of quarrell; with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea there are (among many no leſſe ridiculous) ſome ſo myſticall curioſities herein, as that it is held a farre greater diſhonour, to receiue from an enemy a ſlight touch with a Cane, than a ſound blow with a Sword: the one, hauing relation to a ſlaue; the other to a ſouldier. I confeſſe that the difference is pretty: though for my own part, if I had had any ſuch Italianated enemie in former times, I ſhould willingly haue made with him ſuch an exchange; and haue giuen him the point of honour to boot.

But let vs examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lie*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the moſt tender in receiuing it. I ſay, that the moſt of theſe, who preſent death on the points of their ſwords to all that giue it them, vſe nothing ſo much in their conuerſation and courſe of life, as to ſpeake and ſweare falſly. Yea it is thereby, that they ſhift and ſhuffle in the World, and abuſe it. For how few are there among them, which, hauing aſſumed & ſworne to pay the monies & other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promiſe, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them that are not *Lyers by Record*, by being ſued in ſome Court or other of Iuſtice, vpon breach of word, or bond? For he which hath promiſed that he will pay money by a day; or promiſed any thing elſe, wherein hee faileth; hath directly lied to him, to whom the promiſe hath beene made. Nay, what is the profeſſion of loue that men make now-a-daies? What is the vowing of their ſeruice, and of all they haue, vſed in their ordinarie complements, and (in effect) to euery man whom they bid but good-morrow, or ſalute, other than a courteous and court-like kinde of lying? It is (ſaith a wiſe *French-man*, deriding therein the Apiſh cuſtome of his Countrie) *vne marché & complot fait enſemble ſe mocquer, mentir, & piper les vns les autre*; *A kinde of merchandiſe, and complot made among them, to mock, belie, and deride each other*: and ſo farre now-a-daies in faſhion, and in vſe; as he that vſeth it not, is accounted either dull, or Cynicall. True it is notwithſtanding (omitting the old diſtinction) that there is great difference betweene theſe mannerly and complementall lies, with thoſe which are ſometime perſwaded by neceſſity vpon breach of promiſe; and thoſe which men vſe out of cowardiſe and feare: the latter confeſſing themſelues to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other ſtiled the moſt villanous. But now for the *Lie* it ſelſe, as it is made the ſubiect of all our deadly quarrells in effect: to it I ſay, That whoſoeuer giueth another man the *Lie*, when it is manifeſt that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainouſly taken, than to tell him, hee hath broken any promiſe which he hath otherwiſe made. For he that promiſeth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promiſed, that hee will performe it; and, in not performing it, he hath made himſelfe a Lier. On the other ſide, He that giues any man the *Lie*, when he himſelfe knowes that he, to whom it is giuen, hath not lied; doth therein giue the *Lie* directly to himſelfe. And what cauſe haue I, if I ſay that the Sunne ſhines when it doth ſhine, and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it's midnight; to proſecute ſuch an one to death, for making himſelfe a fooliſh Ruffian, and a Lier in his owne knowledge? For he that giues the Lie in any other diſpute, than in defence of his Loyaltie, or Life; giues it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not denie but it is an extreame rudeneſſe to taxe any man in publike with an vntruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his preiudice againſt whom the vntruth is vttered:) but all that is rude, ought not to bee ciuilized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a *French* cuſtome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counſaile of God. But you will ſay, that theſe diſcourſes ſauour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to feare God or Hell: whereas he that is truly wiſe, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing elſe to be feared. For againſt an Enemies ſword, we ſhall finde ten thouſand ſeuen-penie-men (waged at that price in the wars) that feare it as little, or perchance leſſe, then any profeſt Sword-man in the world. *Diligentiſſima in tutela ſui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent preſeruer of it ſelſe.* It is (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) a mediocritie betweene doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pœna: ſic nec fortem pugna; ſed cauſa; As it is not the puniſhment that makes the Martyr: ſo it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cauſe.* In which, whoſoeuer ſhall reſoluedly end his life, reſoluedly in reſpect of the cauſe, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrie: as hee may iuſtly bee numbred among the Martyrs of God; ſo may thoſe that die with malicious hearts, in priuate combats, be called the Martyrs of the Deuill. Neither doe wee indeed take our owne reuenge, or puniſh the iniuries offered vs, by the death of the iniurious. For the true conqueſt of reuenge is, to giue him, of whom we would be reuenged, cauſe to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death vpon our owne conſciences; *Animaſq; in vulnere ponere; And to drowne our ſoules in the wounds and bloud of our enemies.* Heereupon you will againe aske me, if I condemne in generous and noble ſpirits the defence of their honors, being preſt with iniuries? I ſay that I doe not, if the iniuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Chriſtian Kings and States; do fauour him that is aſſailed, in the ſlaughter of the Aſſailant. You will ſecondlie aske me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honor to ſatisfie the challenger in priuate combat? I anſwer that he is not: becauſe (omitting the greateſt, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directlie contrarie and oppoſite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion ouer it, which can iudge it, which can deſtroy it; except you will ſtile thoſe Acts honourable, where the Hang-man giues the Garland. For, ſeeing the Lawes of this Land haue appointed the Hang-man to ſecond the Conqueror; and the Laws of *God* appointed the *Deuill* to ſecond the conquered dying in malice: I ſay that he is both baſe, and a foole, that accepts of any *Cartel* ſo accompanied. To this perchance it will be anſwered, That the Kings of *England* & other Chriſtian Kings, haue ſeldome taken any ſuch aduantage ouer men of quality; who vpon euen termes haue ſlaine their priuate enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combuſtion they haue not often done it; ſo did our Noble-men & Gentlemen in former ages, in all important iniuries, ſue vnto the King, to approue themſelues by battaile and publique combat. For as they dared not to braue the Law; ſo did they diſdaine to ſubmit themſelues vnto the ſhamefull reuenge thereof; the ſame reuenge (becauſe it deteſteth murder) that it hath declared againſt a common Cut-purſe or other Theeues:

Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for ſuch offenders; Yet is not the Man-ſlaier freed by his pardon. For theſe two remedies hath the partie grieued notwithſtanding; that is, to require iuſtice by Grand Aſſize, or by battaile, vpon his appeale, which (ſaith Sir *Thomas Smith*) is not denied; and hee further ſaith (for I vſe his owne words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the Man-ſlaier) be conuinced either by Great Aſſize or by Battaile, vpon that appeale; the Man-ſlaier ſhall die, notwithſtanding the Princes pardon. So fauourable (ſaith the ſame learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to iuſtice, and to the puniſhment of blood violently ſhed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men and Gentle-men ſhall be repaired in honor, where an enemie taking the ſtart either in words or blowes, ſhall lay on them an infamie vnſufferable? I ſay that a Marſhalls Court will eaſily giue ſatisfaction in both. And if wee hold it no diſgrace to ſubmit our ſelues for the recouery of our Debts, Goods, & Lands; and for all things elſe, by which the liues of our ſelues, our wiues, and children, are ſuſtained, to the Iudges of the Law; becauſe it may be fellonie, to take by violence euen that which is our owne: why ſhould wee not ſubmit our ſelues vnto the Iudges of honour in caſes of honour; becauſe to recouer our reputation by ſtrong hand, may be murder? But yet againe it may bee obiected, That the loſſe of honour ought to bee much more fearefull vnto vs, than either the loſſe of our goods, of our lands, or of our liues; and I ſay ſo too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeed, and that which ought to be ſo deare vnto vs, other than a kinde of hiſtorie, or fame following actions of vertue; actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and vnder-taken for the publike good? In theſe he that is imployed and truſted, if hee faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other baſe affection; it is true that he loſeth his honor. But the acting of a priuate combate, for a priuate reſpect, and moſt commonly a friuolous one, is not an action of vertue; becauſe it is contrarie to the law of God, and of all Chriſtian Kings: neither is difficult; becauſe euen and equall in perſons and armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrarie; becauſe the loſſe or mutilation of an able man, is alſo a loſſe to the Commonweale.

Sir *Thomas Smith* in his Com.wealth of *Engl.*

Now that a Marſhall of *England* hath power to ſaue euery mans fame and reputation, as farre as reputation may ſuſtaine iniurie by words, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any euill words that wee haue giuen, and to confeſſe that wee haue done him wrong vnto whom wee haue giuen them, is a ſufficient ſatisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than ſufficient. For he that giues ill words in choller, and ſuddenly denies them, or repents himſelfe of them vpon aduiſement; hath the diſaduantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeed not to be giuen but to thoſe that are ſeruile, whether ſufficient recompence will be made for them, it ſhall appeare by a notable example of a moſt worty Gentleman *Monſieur de Pleſsis*, that was ſtricken in *France* not long ſince by a Baron of the ſame Nation. The ſatisfaction which was giuen him by a iudgement of the Conſtable and Marſhalls of *France*, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Conſtable gaue iudgement, *M. de Pleßis* was ſet in a chaire vnder the degrees where the Conſtable and Marſhalls ſate: the Baron, who had giuen him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a ſword with the point towards himſelfe, and in his left hand the like cudgel or baſtinado, wherewith he had ſtricken *M. de Pleßis*; both which weapons he deliuered into *Pleſsis* hands, ſubmitting himſelfe to ſuch reuenge, as it ſhould pleaſe him to take with either of thoſe weapons; the Conſtable and Marſhalls (hauing formerly left it to the will of *Pleſsis*, to vſe his owne diſcretion in the reuenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reaſon to pleaſe himſelfe, as one beforehand in point of honor, who ſtruck *M. de Pleſsis*, like a Ruffian comming behinde him, and hauing the aduantage of companie, and his horſes readie) ſhifted himſelfe away on the ſodaine, but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himſelfe in this ſhamefull manner: or whether *Monſieur de Pleßis* (of whoſe valour no man doubted) had not farre iuſter cauſe to reſt ſatisfied, ſince he might at his pleaſure haue beaten or wounded his enemie, but forgaue him: let any wiſe man iudge. To this if it be ſaid, That the Baron was conſtrained to make his ſubmiſſion; that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntarie; and therefore no diſgrace vnto him: I anſwere, that one may ſay as well, that it is no diſgrace to a Theefe, when hee is brought to the Gallowes, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, becauſe his repentance alſo is conſtrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no diſgrace in reſpect of a force, but in reſpect of the fact: which (but for our ſinnes to God) makes all repentance ſhamefull; becauſe all forced repentance is inflicted vpon vs for ſomewhat vnworthy of a Gentleman and of an honeſt man. Nay, voluntarie repentance it ſelfe, as it hath relation to men, ariſeth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weakeneſſe. Certainelie, as wiſe men, and valiant men, doe rather deride pettie iniuries or ſuddaine iniuries, that are not offered from malice forethought, than reuenge them: ſo men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly ſuſpect their owne valor; and rather deſire, that thereby the world ſhould beleeue them to be of great daring, than know any ſuch reſolution in themſelues. For hee that knowes himſelfe indeed to be an honeſt man, ſcornes to hunt after opinion.

Now the ſame power which the Conſtable and Marſhalls of *France* haue, hath alſo a Marſhall of *England*, or his Deputies; by whoſe iudgement, in all diſputes of honour, euery mans reputation may be preſerued; we may therefore as well ſubmit our ſelues to the Iudge of honour in all diſputes of honour, as we doe ſubmit our ſelues in all controuerſies of liuelihood and life, to the Iudges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the inſtitution of this Court of Cheualrie in *England*, in *France*, and elſewhere; was no leſſe charitable than politike. For the bloud of man, violently ſpilt, doth not bring forth *honie-bees*, as that of Bulls doth, which ſting but the fingers or the face: but it produceth that monſtrous beaſt, *Reuenge*, which hath ſtung to death, and eaten vp of ſeuerall Nations, ſo many noble perſonages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God vpon ſupreme Gouernours, than the permiſſion.

His Maieſtie therefore (which *Henrie* the fourth of *France* alſo endeuored) hath done a moſt Kingly and Chriſtian-like deede in *Scotland*, which the moſt renowned of all his Predeceſſors could neuer doe: in beating down, and extinguiſhing, that hereditarie proſecution of malice, called *the deadly feud*; a conqueſt, which ſhall giue him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power, for euer-more. And we haue cauſe to hope, that his royall care ſhall bee no leſſe happy in preuenting the like miſchiefe, which threatens *England*, by the audacious, common, and braue, yet outragious vanitie of Duelliſts.

Vnto this that I haue ſpoken of lying, and of man-ſlaughter, it muſt be added, That each of theſe are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproofe and vengeance proportionably, more or leſſe, in their ſeuerall degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of neceſſitie vpon breach of promiſe, or complementall lies; and ſuch pernicious lies, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are vttered by falſe witneſſes: the former ſort, being excuſable by weakeneſſe or leuitie; the latter, being altogether deteſtable. No leſſe, if not more, difference there is, betweene killing of a man in open field, with euen weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile*, *dolo* or *per inſidias*; though our Lawes doe not much diſtinguiſh them in puniſhment. For in the latter, God, forſa-
Exod. 21. king his owne priuiledge, commandeth, that the *guilefull* murderer be drawne by force,
from the protection of his Altar. Neither is euery guilefull murder performed by the
ſword, nor by *ouert* violence: but there is a guilefull murder alſo, by poyſoning; and by
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The laſt Acts of Scipio *in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is choſen Conſul.*

THe laſt buſineſſe that troubled *Scipio* in *Spaine*, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangerouſly ſicke, in ſuch ſort, that the rumor of his death ranne currant throughout *Spaine*. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, pettie Kings, that had forſaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed *Scipio* awhile before, to take armes againſt the *Romans*. They were vainely perſwaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driuen out, they themſelues ſhould become the mightieſt in all *Spaine*. But ſeeing now, that things were no way anſwerable to the greatneſſe of their hopes; they thought it beſt, to take the preſent aduantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they raſhly fell vpon the *Sueſſetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the *Romans*; and waſted their Countrie. Part of the *Roman* Armie lying at *Sucro*, in ſtead of making head againſt theſe Rebels, grew to be affected with the like diſtemper. They had not reaped ſuch profit of their *Roman* conqueſts, as might ſatisfie their deſires; or as they thought eaſie to be gotten, if they might be their owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought, that the time ſerued very well, to enrich themſelues with the ſpoile of the Countrie. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greateſt of all, driuing away their Colonels, that ſhould haue bridled their furie; they choſe out of their owne number two baſe fellowes, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Vmber*, to their Commanders. Theſe tooke vpon them all the Enſignes of Proconſuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had beene like to that, wherein *Lucius Martius* was choſen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two *Scipio's*. But whileſt they were deuiſing, what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themſelues, in a time of ſuch combuſtion as was expected; there arriued more certaine newes, that *Scipio* was both aliue, and in good health. There came alſo new Colonels, ſent vnto them from their Generall: who mildely rebuking their want of conſideration, and ſeeming to be glad that they had no further ouer-no diſgrace in reſpect of a force, but in reſpect of the fact: which (but for our ſinnes to God) makes all repentance ſhamefull; becauſe all forced repentance is inflicted vpon vs for ſomewhat vnworthy of a Gentleman and of an honeſt man. Nay, voluntarie repentance it ſelfe, as it hath relation to men, ariſeth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weakeneſſe. Certainelie, as wiſe men, and valiant men, doe rather deride pettie iniuries or ſuddaine iniuries, that are not offered from malice forethought, than reuenge them: ſo men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly ſuſpect their owne valor; and rather deſire, that thereby the world ſhould beleeue them to be of great daring, than know any ſuch reſolution in themſelues. For hee that knowes himſelfe indeed to be an honeſt man, ſcornes to hunt after opinion.

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The laſt Acts of Scipio *in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is choſen Conſul.*

THe laſt buſineſſe that troubled *Scipio* in *Spaine*, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangerouſly ſicke, in ſuch ſort, that the rumor of his death ranne currant throughout *Spaine*. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, pettie Kings, that had forſaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed *Scipio* awhile before, to take armes againſt the *Romans*. They were vainely perſwaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driuen out, they themſelues ſhould become the mightieſt in all *Spaine*. But ſeeing now, that things were no way anſwerable to the greatneſſe of their hopes; they thought it beſt, to take the preſent aduantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they raſhly fell vpon the *Sueſſetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the *Romans*; and waſted their Countrie. Part of the *Roman* Armie lying at *Sucro*, in ſtead of making head againſt theſe Rebels, grew to be affected with the like diſtemper. They had not reaped ſuch profit of their *Roman* conqueſts, as might ſatisfie their deſires; or as they thought eaſie to be gotten, if they might be their owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought, that the time ſerued very well, to enrich themſelues with the ſpoile of the Countrie. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greateſt of all, driuing away their Colonels, that ſhould haue bridled their furie; they choſe out of their owne number two baſe fellowes, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Vmber*, to their Commanders. Theſe tooke vpon them all the Enſignes of Proconſuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had beene like to that, wherein *Lucius Martius* was choſen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two *Scipio's*. But whileſt they were deuiſing, what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themſelues, in a time of ſuch combuſtion as was expected; there arriued more certaine newes, that *Scipio* was both aliue, and in good health. There came alſo new Colonels, ſent vnto them from their Generall: who mildely rebuking their want of conſideration, and ſeeming to be glad that they had no further ouer-ſhot themſelues; led them to *Carthagena*, there to receiue their pay. Before their comming, *Scipio* had reſolued to doe exemplarie iuſtice on the principall offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in feare, of what they had deſerued. Therefore hee cauſed *Syllanus* to make ready the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition againſt *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*; Hee cauſed *Albius* and *Atrius* with ſome thirtie other of their Complices, to be ſecretly apprehended in their lodgings; Hee called the Mutiners to aſſembly; and hauing them vnarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his Companies, prepared for the purpoſe; he bitterly inueighed againſt them all, as Traitors. This done; *Albius*, and *Atrius*, with the other priſoners, were haled to the ſtake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the *Roman* cuſtome toward ſuch offenders. The reſt of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thouſand, were cauſed to take their oath of obedience anew; and receiued euery man his pay when hee was ſworne.

Mandonius and *Indibilis* continued in armes; notwithſtanding that they had certaine word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could haue beene contented to bee quiet: but by the ſeueritie vſed to the *Roman* Souldiers, they ſtood in feare, as being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder meaſure. *Scipio* went againſt them; and found them in a Valley, that was ſcarce large enough to hold all their Armie. In the entrance thereof hee fought with them: and ſending *Lælius* with all his horſe to fetch a compaſſe about the Hills, & charge them in reare; he ouerthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this, no hope remaining to preſerue themſelues and their eſtates, otherwiſe then by making ſubmiſſion. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly crauing pardon, both for himſelfe, and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his requeſt; yet ſo, that they were taught to acknowledge themſelues leſſe free Princes then formerly they had beene.

Afterward *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Maſaniſſa*; who ſecretly promiſed to do him all ſeruice, if the People of *Rome* would ſend him to make War in *Africk*. Vnto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*; that letting all care of *Spaine* alone, he ſhould thence depart with his fleet into *Italie*; and there wage an Armie of *Gaules*, and *Ligurians*, to ioyne with *Hannibal*. For this purpoſe, was money ſent vnto him from *Carthage*; and he himſelfe laid hold vpon all that he could finde in the Towne of *Gades*; without ſparing either priuate men, the common treaſury, or the Temples. In his voyage thence, he landed at *Carthagena*; hoping to haue taken it by ſurpriſe. But he failed in the attempt; and was ſo beaten to his ſhips, that he returned backe to repoſe himſelfe a while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and ſpoyle that hee had made at his taking leaue of them, would not ſuffer him againe to enter into their Citie. By this he foreſaw, that it would not be long ere they became *Roman*. Wherfore ſending Meſſengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vncourteous dealing, he allured their Magiſtrates forth vnto him; whom, notwithſtanding all the excuſe that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, hee followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spaine* farewell for euer.

The Iſle and Citie of *Gades*, was yeelded to the *Romans*, preſently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliuer vp the Prouince, to thoſe that were ſent from *Rome* to ſucceede him therein: and himſelfe with ten ſhips returned home. At his comming to *Rome* he made ſuite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denyed him: for that it had as yet beene granted vnto no Proconſul; excepting to ſuch, as receiued that dignitie after a Conſulſhip, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulſe: the election of new Conſuls being then in hand, by generall voice of the Citie *P. Cornelius Scipio* was choſen Conſul; and *P. Licinius Craſſus* ioyned with him. This *Craſſus*, being high Prieſt, or Biſhop of the *Romans*; might not, by the cuſtome of thoſe times, go farre frō the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their ſuperſtition: though *Cæſar*, and others, who in ages following held the ſame Office; were ſtayed by no ſuch religious impediment, from being farre, and long abſent. Hereby it came to paſſe, that *Scipio* deſiring to haue the warre tranſferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to loſe that honourable charge, by any miſchance of lot, in the diuiſion of Prouinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment ſo farre off.

§. XVIII.

Scipio *obtaines leaue to make warre in Africk. His preparations. Of* Maſaniſſa *who was ioyned with* Scipio. *The victories againſt* Aſdrubal *and* Syphax.

PVb. *Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, entring into their Conſulſhip, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* ſhould bee allowed, to beſtow part of the money which hee had brought out of *Spaine* into the treaſurie; vpon the ſetting forth of ſolemne plaies, that he had vowed to make, whileſt hee was buſied in his *Spaniſh* warres. This helped well to reuiue the memorie of his victories already gotten; and to giue hope vnto the People of greater victories in the warre, which hee intended to make in *Africk*. To the ſame purpoſe, did the *Spaniſh* Embaſſages auaile much in the Senate, eſpecially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions, highly and deſeruedly; ſaying, That they were the moſt happy of all their Countrimen, ſince they being preſent, had ſeene him choſen Conſul, and ſhould carry home ſuch ioyfull newes. The *Saguntine* Embaſſadoures were louingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to *Rome*, though coſtly it were both to them, and to the *Romanes*, had well deſerued. Neuertheleſſe, when *Scipio* propoſed, that *Africk* might be decreed vnto him for his Prouince: there wanted not many, euen of the principall men, that vehemently gainſaid him. Of theſe was Q. *Fabius Maximus* the chiefe: who ſeemes to haue bene troubled with that diſeaſe; which too often cauſeth men renowned for long approoued vertue, to looke aſquint vpon the actions of thoſe, that follow them in the ſame kinde. Hee alleaged many reaſons againſt the purpoſe of the Conſul: whereof the chiefe were, That the treaſurie was vnable to ſuſtaine the charges of a warre in *Africk*; and that it was extremely perillous to hazard ſo great forces, where they could not at pleaſure bee recalled vnto the defence of *Rome* it ſelfe, if need required. Hereunto hee added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as alſo concerning the honour of the Conſul; which would (he ſaid) be greater in ſetting *Italy* free from enemies, then it could be in doing any harme to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to eleuate the *Spaniſh* warres, as of leſſe moment than the intended voiage againſt *Carthage*; nor withall to lay great blame vpon *Scipio*, for hauing ſuffered *Aſdrubal* to paſſe into *Italy*: ſhewing, that it was greatly to be feared, leſt the like might happen againe; and that a new Armie, notwithſtanding the good ſucceſſe of *Scipio* (if it hapned to be good) might be ſent from *Carthage*, to the vtter endangering of *Rome*, whilſt the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the maine point which hee vrged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that yere a Prouince: which the Conſul neuertheleſſe propounded in ſuch wiſe, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other ſide, inſiſted vpon this one point; That it was better to make an offenſiue, than a defenſiue warre: eſpecially againſt ſuch as the *Carthaginians*; who being ill prouided of able men at home, did furniſh themſelues by helpe of money, with leuies made abroad. As for the care of *Italie*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would be as well able to diſcharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promiſing to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his owne home: and taxing as ciuilly as he could, the enuy of *Fabius*, which withſtood ſuch a gallant enterpriſe; he propoſed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much altercation there was about the manner of his proceeding: for aſmuch as it was noyſed abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his minde, he would carry it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who reſented in this honourable man a little ſpice of that arrogancie, which in following ages, grew to bee much hotter in thoſe that had commanded long abroad. But in concluſion, *Scipio* referred himſelfe wholly vnto the Senates good will and pleaſure; whereby he obtained thus much, That the Iſle of *Sicil* might be appointed vnto him for his Prouince; with leaue to paſſe ouer into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voiage, made the *Roman* Senate haue little care to furniſh out *Scipio* to the warre, by him intended vpon *Africke*. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, comming on the ſuddaine from the *Baleares* to *Genua*, and winning the Towne, bred a feare of no leſſe terrible inuaſion vpon *Italy*, than that which *Aſdrubal* had lately made. Hee could not indeed raiſe any great Armie of the *Ligurians*; for that hee found them diſtracted with ciuill warres. Therefore hee was driuen to make choice of his partie; and to helpe thoſe whom he thought fitteſt for his turne, againſt the others. This troubleſome buſineſſe, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly haue ſpared; yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the vnſteady *Gaule*, readie to enter into his pay. Hereupon the diſperſed Legions of the *Romans*, that vnder Proconſuls, and Pretors, lay ready to bee employed where need ſhould require; were directed vnto the borders of *Lombardie* and *Liguria*, there to make head againſt *Mago*. But all his menaces paſſed away in vapour. For a fleet either comming to his ayde from *Carthage*, or by him ſent thither (the report is vncertaine) loaden with the booty that he had taken; fell into the hands of the *Roman* Pretor, that gouerned in *Sardinia*. This did much diſable him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with ſtore of money, heartning him in his proceedings: yet ſome impediments which he found, and that fatall voiage of *Scipio* into *Africke*, diſturbed all; and made him bee recalled home.

Againſt *Hannibal*, was nothing done this yeere. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Hiſtorians haue beene pleaſed to take notice. Onely it is ſaid, that he ſpent the Summer by the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, where he raiſed an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in *Punike*, and *Greeke* letters. Such accompt of winnings paſt, is commonly in Gameſters that are at the height of their fortune, a cauſe of remiſſion, and careleſneſſe; in thoſe that are vpon the loſing hand, a cauſe both of the ſame for the preſent, and ſhortly after of deiection, when they finde a notable change. A great peſtilence, infeſting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Campe, is ſaid to haue beene the occaſion of this yeeres idleneſſe, which fell out not much amiſſe for the Citie of *Rome*, that was maruailouſly empoueriſhed by this warre; and had already tried the vtmoſt way to defray the charges, which grew inſupportable. To relieue the preſent neceſſitie, it was well thought vpon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many yeeres ſince confiſcated) ſhould be ſold, or let out: in which bargaine, that the Citie might receiue no loſſe; the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, vnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was giuen to *Scipio*. Neither was hee allowed to make preſſe of Souldiers for his *African* voiage; neither did he ouer-much labour to obtaine it. That which the Senate refuſed, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themſelues; that were therein wiſer than the Senate. It is vſually found in Councels of eſtate, that the buſie, or obſtinate heads of a few, doe carrie all the reſt. And many times men make a ſurrender of their owne iudgements, to the wiſedome that hath gotten it ſelfe a name, by giuing happie direction in troubles forepaſt. Therefore, he that repoſeth himſelfe vpon the aduice of many, ſhall often finde himſelfe deceiued: the counſaile of thoſe many being wholly directed by the empire of a few, that ouer-ſway the reſt. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature ſorted well with the buſines, that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Vnto him therefore *Q. Fuluius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne olde in following one courſe; from which they could not ſhift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduiſe, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needfull reſolution of *Scipio*: in ſuch ſort, that beſides his *Roman* forces, he had from diuers parts of *Italie* about ſeuen thouſand Voluntaries. Hee had alſo prouiſion from the ſeuerall Townes; Corne, Iron, Canuas for ſailes, Axes, Beede-hookes, Hand-milles, and the like implements, Firre for building of ſhips, many thouſands of Targets, Helmets, & Speares of all kindes: euery place furniſhing him with that commoditie, which it beſt could affoord.

Vnto this willingneſſe of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correſpondent. In the compaſſe of fiue and fortie dayes, he had both feld his Timber, built, and lanched twentie *Trireme*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; wherewith he tranſported his Armie into *Sicil*. In *Sicil* hee found, beſides other forces, two Legions, that had ſerued at *Cannæ*: which were olde Souldiers, and (as he himſelfe well knew) not guilty of the ouerthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heauy cenſure. They had ſerued vnder *Marcellus* and *Lauinus*, at the taking of many Cities, and ſtrong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good vſe to him in *Africk*, where would be ſtore of ſuch employment. For increaſing the number of his horſe, he preſſed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthie yong men, and ſuch as loued well their eaſe. Theſe he afterward diſcharged from the Warre, highly to their contentment: but with condition that they ſhould deliuer their Horſe and Armes, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought ouer with him for the purpoſe. Whilſt he was prouiding, to haue things in a readines for *Africk*, the baniſhed *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* ſide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recouer their Citie. Some handicrafts mẽ, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri* (for there were two in the Towne) being takẽ priſoners by the *Romans*, promiſed to betray the place, if they might be ranſomed, & rewarded. *Scipio* being aduertiſed of this, gaue order to haue the attempt made by night: which happily ſucceeded; and that Citadell was ſurpriſed. The other Citadell was ſtrongly defẽded by the *Carthaginian* Garriſõ, which ſent to *Hannibal* for aide. The *Romans* in like ſort, fearing leſt their owne paucitie ſhould make them too weake for *Hannibal*, craued helpe of the Conſul *Scipio*. The Towneſmen were doubtfully affected: but the beſt, and moſt of them inclinining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the comming of *Scipio* cauſed thence to depart; and cauſed likewiſe the *Carthaginian* Garriſon to abandon the other Cittadell. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in cuſtodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* vnto the *Roman* Senate; not onely againſt thoſe of the Garriſon: but much more againſt *Pleminius* the Captaine, who gaue bad example, and was worſe than all the reſt. Beſides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies: the Temple of *Proſerpina*, that had a great fame of ſanctitie, was ſpoyled by theſe barbarous Theeues. The *Locrians* therefore aduiſed the Senate to make preſent amends to the goddeſſe for this ſacriledge: ſaying, that the like had neuer beene committed, without notorious reuenge by her taken vpon the Authors. The Senate gaue good eare to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redreſſed the iniuries done vnto them; ſent for *Pleminius*, with other principall the offendors, whom they caſt into priſon, and vſed according to their deſerts: as alſo they reſtored vnto *Proſerpina* her money twice told. But olde Q. *Fabius* was not herewithall contented. Hee laid much of the blame vpon *Scipio*, that had placed ſuch a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully hearkened to the complaints made againſt him, but ſuffered him to runne on in theſe his wicked courſes. By the ſharpe inuectiue that *Fabius* made, others tooke courage to ſpeake what they pleaſed, as well againſt the demeanour of *Scipio*, as againſt the diſſoluteneſſe of his Armie; which lay, as they ſaid, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindfull of any ſeruice toward, nor fit for it if neede ſhould require. Finally, things were ſo farre vrged, that tenne Legates were ſent ouer into *Sicil*, together with the Pretor appointed for that Iland; two of the *Tribunes*, and one of the *Ædiles*; who ſhould examine theſe matters; and either cauſe the Generall to returne into *Italie*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was: they found him ſo well prepared againſt *Carthage*, as that they haſtned him on his iourney, and gaue him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had already employed *Lælius* in *Africk*; rather to make diſcouerie, than to worke any other great effect of warre. Hee tooke a great bootie: and ſtrucke no little terrour into the *Carthaginians*; who ſaw their affaires to be vpon termes of change. But the greateſt fruit of his iourney was, That ſpeaking with *Maſaniſſa*, he well informed himſelfe of the ſtate of *Africk*; and knew what was to be expected of thoſe two Kings, that had promiſed to ioyne with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Maſaniſſa* his reuolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made vnder-hand with the *Romans*: *Liuie* doth profeſſe, That there was no ſuch euident cauſe thereof at the preſent; but that the long continuance of his faith and conſtancie, in following times, muſt helpe to proue, that this his change, was not without ſome good cauſe. But *Appianus* (an Hiſtorian farre inferiour to *Liuie*, both in Worth and Time) giues one reaſon ſo probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of neceſſary trueth. Onely the doubt is, How it could any way come to paſſe; that the knowledge of ſuch a matter ſhould haue eſcaped the diligence of *Liuie*, if it had beene true: vnleſſe we ſhould beleeue, that he wilfully forbare to rehearſe a Tragedie; the ſorrow whereof would cauſe men to thinke amiſſe of *Scipio*. Howſoeuer it was, thus* *Appian* tels it: and many circumſtances of things done, confirme it. *Aſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Giſco*, had a faire daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Maſaniſſa* loued. *Maſaniſſa*, being brought vp at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly gentleman of perſon, and excellent in qualities, was choſen by *Aſdrubal* to bee his ſonne-in law.

When

Liu.l.28.

* *Appian. Alexan. de Bell. Punic.*

When the virgin was betrothed vnto him, hee went into *Spaine*, and there did great ſeruice. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Aſdrubals* daughter to be a matter of State: and beſtowed her vpon *Syphax*; without ſtanding to acquaint her father or *Maſaniſſa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mightie Prince; and for that the indignitie of the repulſe, had made him become their enemie. Hereof *Maſaniſſa* was aduertiſed: and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, ſecretly as hee thought; yet not ſo ſecretly, but ſome notice was taken of it: which would haue coſt him his life, had he not with great circumſpection conueighed himſelfe home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may beleeue *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things paſt, and following. Onely it ſeemes, that howſoeuer *Sophoniſba* the daughter of *Aſdrubal*, was promiſed by the *Carthaginians* vnto *Syphax*: yet ſince this their courteſie proceeded from feare, Hee thought it wiſedome to continue and increaſe the ſame their feare, by making faire promiſes to the *Romans*; vntill *Aſdrubal had ſent for his daughter* from *Carthage*, and the marriage was conſummated. In other matters concerning the warre it ſelfe, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Liuie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appeares by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Liuie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed vnto his reports.

Liu. lib. 29.

Maſaniſſa was the ſonne of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whoſe father dying, the Crown deſcended by order of the Country, vnto *Deſalces* the brother, not vnto *Maſaniſſa* the ſonne. But this Vncle of *Maſaniſſa* ſhortly dyed: and his elder ſonne, who tooke poſſeſſion of the Kingdome, was vanquiſhed, and ſlaine in battaile by a Rebel, that made himſelfe Protector ouer the yonger which was a childe. The Traitor fortified himſelfe againſt *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe returne hee feared; by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not ſerue: Hee, and his Pupill, were diſpoſſeſſed of their Eſtates by *Maſaniſſa*; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloued for the memorie of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reaſon ſhould haue beene glad, that *Maſaniſſa*, who had done them notable ſeruice, was thus confirmed in his Eſtate: had they not beene guiltie of the iniurie by them done vnto him, whilſt his Vncle or Couſin reigned, and he ſeemed vnlikely to ſtand them in any ſtead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his owne malice towards his Corriual, warred vpon him; and ouer-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuertheleſſe *Maſaniſſa* ſtill retained the hearts of his people: and thereby remained ſtrong enough, to infeſt both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though hee was often put in diſtreſſe, by great forces that were ſent againſt him. He therefore keeping much about the leſſer *Syrtis*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians* and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the comming of the *Romans*: yet ſo, as he made long roades ouer all the Countrey, euen as farre as to *Hippo*; and when *Lælius* arriued thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to haſten on *Scipio* to the inuaſion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whoſe great aide and ſuccour was repoſed more hope of good ſucceſſe, than could bee expected from the good will of poore *Maſaniſſa*; ſent an Embaſſage into *Sicil* about the ſame time, which was little pleaſing vnto *Scipio*. He excuſed himſelfe of his promiſe lately made: and ſignified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That he could not chooſe but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein hee was borne and reigned; and for the defence of his beloued wiues Countrie, if it were inuaded. Neuertheleſſe he promiſed to remaine a Neuter; ſo long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held warre abroad, farre enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This meſſage haſtened *Scipio* in his Expedition, much more than any perſwaſion could haue done. For the promiſed aſſiſtance of *Syphax* had not a little aduanced his enterpriſe; in procuring both the aſſent of the Senate, and the forwardneſſe of many Aduenturers. Leſt therefore the fayling of this hope, ſhould worke too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the beſt way to preuent all diſcourſe, and ſet the warre vndertaken immediatly on foot. The Embaſſadours he diſmiſſed in all haſte, with letters to their King: wherein he willed him to conſider, that what hee had promiſed, hee had alſo ſworne; and therefore ſhould doe well to make it good. Hauing ſent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together, and bade them make readie for the voyage; which hee intended no longer to deferre. For, ſaide hee, *Maſaniſſa* hath beene with *Lælius*: and *Syphax* hath newly ſent to me; greatly wondring vpon what I ſhould thus ſtay; and ſaying, That they will prouide for themſelues, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale preuented all further inquiſition, that might elſe haue beene made concerning the meſſage of theſe Embaſſadors; whoſe followers had beene ſeene walking vp and downe *Syracuſe*. And leſt any thing ſhould afterwards breake out, that might hinder the buſineſſe, *Scipio* immediately ſent about his fleet vnto *Lilybæum*: and requeſting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Pretor in *Sicil*, to meete him there; haſted thither with his Armie. At *Lilybæum* he agreed with the Pretor, about the diuiſion of the Legions between them; which to leaue behinde for defence of the Iland; and which to carry with him into *Africk*. What numbers he tranſported, it is not certaine: ſome Hiſtorians reckoning onely ten thouſand foot, and two and twentie hundred horſe; others increaſing them to fiue and thirtie thouſand, horſe and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their courſe, I hold it needleſſe to ſet them down: ſince they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither hee, when hee tooke his voyage into *Spaine*, nor others vpon like occaſions, haue omitted; they being alſo word for word ſet downe by an Hiſtorian, who borrowed them from *Liuie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This *Roman* Armie landed in *Africk*, neere to a Fore-land then called the *faire Promontorie*: which how farre it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compaſſe, I cannot preciſely affirme; becauſe it is vncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercurie*, and lay to the North-eaſt of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by Weſt. The comming of *Maſaniſſa* vnto *Scipio* at his firſt arriuall, helpes to confirme the opinion of *Xylander*: who thinks the *faire Promontorie* to haue been the ſame, that was alſo called *Mercuries Cape*, ſince with little difficultie *Maſaniſſa* might come thither frō the leſſer *Syrtis*, whereabout was his common abiding. But foraſmuch as without any memorable impediment ſoone after his arriuall, *Scipio* encamped before *Vtica*, that ſtood Weſtward from *Carthage* beyond the Riuer *Bagradas*: it may rather ſeeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Vtica* was not long. This is alſo ſtrongly proued; for that out of *Carthage* were ſent, the next day, fiue hundred horſe to trouble him in his diſembarking. Neither was it ſo hard for *Maſaniſſa*, that roued about the Countrie with a troupe of horſe, to finde out the *Romans*, though they landed farre from the place to the which hee vſually reſorted, like as before hee had met with *Lælius* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would haue beene for *Scipio*, with his Armie and Carriages, to ouer-come the trouble of a long iourney, and fetch a great compaſſe to *Vtica*, by Land; when hee might haue diſembarqued nearer vnto it. Neuertheleſſe it may paſſe as a coniecture, That *Scipio* came firſt of all to *Emporia*, a plentifull Region about the leſſer *Syrtis*; ſince he gaue charge to the Maſters of his ſhips, at the ſetting forth from *Lilybæum*, to ſhape their courſe for that coaſt. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for ſuſtenance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well prouided to make reſiſtance. Thus much perhaps *Maſaniſſa* had ſignified vnto *Lælius*, when he ſpake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howſoeuer they made braue promiſes, would not come ſtrong enough to fight *at head*. But when hee ſaw their fleet and Army to bee ſuch, as not onely ſerued to inuade the Lands of *Carthage*, but threatned a conqueſt of the Citie, and whole Eſtate: then might he better aduiſe them to ſet ſayle for *Vtica*, and make warre vpon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were leuied, or to be leuied in haſte. *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſco*, the ſame that had lately beene chaſed out of *Spaine* by *Scipio* was their beſt man of warre. And good enough perhaps hee was thought by *Hanno* and his fellowes, of whoſe faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobilitie, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him paſſeable. He was then with the King his ſon-in law, working him (no doubt) againſt the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* & to him, informing them of the Inuaſion: entreating the one of them to giue aſſiſtance, and commanding the other to make his repaire vnto the Citie, where he was choſen Generall. But ere theſe could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troupe of *Carthaginian* horſe, that were ſent out of the Citie to diſturbe his landing; and ſlaine *Hanno* a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had alſo taken and ſacked a Towne of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, beſides other bootie, hee tooke eight thouſand priſoners; all which hee conueighed aboord his Hulks or ſhips of burden, and ſent them backe loaden into *Sicil*. He tooke likewiſe a Towne called *Salera*, which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with foure thouſand *Numidian* horſe: whoſe ſeruice being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceiue the vnskilfulneſſe of their Leader, that had thus houſed them. Wherefore he ſent *Maſaniſſa* before him: who rode vp to the gates; and, by making a brauado, trained out the improuident *Hanno* ſo farre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was eaſily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken, or ſlaine. With thoſe that fled, the *Romans* entred *pell-mell* into the towne, which preſently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to *Vtica*, a Citty of great importance, * of which mention hath beene formerly made, and ſate downe before it. Forty dayes he ſpent about it, aſſayling it both by Land and Sea, and vſing all his engines of battery whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of preuayling. And now the Summer was quite ſpent: ſo that it was time for him to chooſe a place, and fortifie his Winter-Campe, which muſt be well ſtored againſt the yeare following. Whileſt thus neceſſity vrged him to leaue *Vtica*: and ſhame of taking the repulſe in his firſt great enterpriſe, rather than any hope of better ſucceſſe, cauſed him to ſtay there: *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* gaue him the honour of a faire pretence to leaue the ſiege. *Aſdrubal* had made a Leuie of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe: yet aduentured not with this ill-trained Army to draw neare vnto the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him vnto *Carthage* fifty thouſand foot, and tenne thouſand horſe: which ioyning vnto the forces of *Aſdrubal*, they marched brauely toward *Scipio*; who thereby tooke occaſion to diſ-lodge. He choſe for his Winter-campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Nauie. His foot-men hee lodged on a Promontorie, ioyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horſe-men hee beſtowed vpon lower ground, on the other ſhoare: in the bottome of the Creeke he moted his ſhips; and there he quartered the mariners, with all that belonged vnto the Fleet. The whole campe he ſtrongly fortified, and ſo attended the ſeaſon of the yeare, when it ſhould ſerue him againe to fight. Of cattaile and other bootie *Maſaniſſa* had brought in great ſtore, by driuing the Countrey, before the comming of *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corne alſo hee had gotten ſome: and great ſtore was ſent him from *Sicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewiſe apparrell for his Souldiers, was ſent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though ſcarce enough to ſerue turne, for that it was a matter of more coſt. The ſhippes that brought theſe things, he freighted homewards with ſuch part of his booty, as he could beſt ſpare; eſpecially with captiues to be ſold for ſlaues. *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neare vnto *Scipio*: not ſo ſtrongly fortifying themſelues, as did the *Romans*, either for that they wanted the ſeuere inſtitution, which the *Romans* vſed in the diſcipline of warre, or for that they preſumed vpon their multitude, againſt which they found in *Scipio* no diſpoſition to iſſue foorth of his ſtrength, and fight. So the Winter paſſed without action.

* Lib.c.2 ſect.3.

When Spring drew neare, *Scipio* thought it good to aſſay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhappes hee might be wonne by perſwaſions to forſake the *Carthaginians*. It was conſidered, that thoſe *Barbarians* were naturally vnconſtant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had giuen proofe before this of his much leuitie. It might therefore be hoped, That hauing wearied himſelfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and being peraduenture no leſſe weary with ſatiety of his wife, who had cauſed him to enter into this warre: he might be moued with a little entreatie to withdraw himſelfe home into his Kingdome, and reſt a *Neuter*. But it is not vnlikely, that ſuch a friend as this King, had beene highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was neare at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleaſed him, or as he had beene inuited, to make a ſtep thither and repoſe himſelfe a while: his wife Queene *Sophoniſba* lying alſo there at the ſame time, to cheriſh him in his reſolution. Howſoeuer it were, *Syphax* did onely make an ouerture of peace: propounding it as reaſonable, That *Hannibal* ſhould be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like ſort ſhould quietly depart out of *Africke*, and ſo make an end of the warre: wherewith now both *Africke* and *Europe* were diſquieted. Vnto this would not *Scipio* at the firſt giue eare: yet being preſſed earneſtly by many meſſages from *Syphax*, and deſiring to continue the inter-courſe of Embaſſadors; he began to make ſhew, as if he would conſider of the motion. He was giuen to vnderſtand by thoſe whom he had ſent vnto the king, That the Enemies had their campes without any great defence of earth, full of woodden Cabbins,and couered with boughes: and that the *Numidians*,ſuch of them as came firſt with *Syphax*, vſed couerings of Mattes and Reedes; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaues : vnder which they lay careleſly without their Trenches. Vpon this aduertiſement hee bethought himſelfe,That it would not be hard for him to ſet their campes on fire, and thereby giue them a notable ouerthrow. Without helpe of ſome ſuch ſtratageme, he fore-ſaw that it would be a worke of great difficulty for him, to proceede in his warres when time ſhould ſerue. It was a plaine open Countrey wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great aduantage of him in number, eſpecially in horſe; which, vpon ſuch ground, could not be reſiſted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought vpon the matter;the more needfull he found it for himſelfe, to make ſome ſudden attempt vpon their Campe. To this end he ſent many Embaſſadours, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeede of purpoſe to diſcouer all that might concerne the intended ſurpriſe.With theſe Embaſſadors he ſent, as Attendants, many olde Souldiers diſguiſed like ſlaues; that wandering (as it were) idlely vp and downe the Campe, might obſerue the wayes and entrances, with whatſoeuer elſe was needefull. When he had learned as much as he deſired: vpon the ſudden he ſent word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, foraſmuch as he could not get the conſent of his Councell of warre; without whoſe approbation, all that himſelfe could doe, was no more,than the good will of one man. This he did,to the end that, without any breach of faith, hee might put his deſigne in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* were very penſiue; as hauing lately perſwaded themſelues, that their trouble was almoſt at an end. But ſince it could be no better, they beganne to deuiſe, by what arte they might draw *Scipio* out of his Campe, and prouoke him to battaile in thoſe Plaines. This if they could doe, they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refuſall of peace, as did *Marcus Atilius* after the like preſumption. But if he ſhould refuſe to come forth of his Trenches, what elſe remained than to beſiege him? which they themſelues were well able to do by land; and the *Carthaginian* fleete ſhould doe by Sea, that was making ready for the purpoſe. By ſuch diſcourſes theſe two comforted themſelues; recompencing (in conceipt) the loſſe of their hopes paſt, with that of victory to come. But herein they were extreamly and worthily diſappointed: for that conſulting about the future, they prouided not againſt preſent danger, but continued in the ſame negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long diſcourſe of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to doe ſomewhat againſt *Vtica*. Two thouſand Souldiers he had made ready, and appoynted to take the ſame peece of ground,whereon he lay againſt *Vtica* before. This he did, partly to keep ſecret that which he had in hand, leſt being ſuſpected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to haue notice of it;partly to hinder thoſe of *Vtica* from ſetting vpon the few, that he purpoſed to leaue behinde him in his Campe. He cauſed his men that night to ſuppe well, and betimes; that they might be ready for the iourney. After ſupper, he appoynted ſuch Companies as hee thought fit,to the defence of his Campe; all the reſt of the army he led forth,about nine of the clocke at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him ſeauen miles and an halfe: whom he purpoſed to vndertake himſelfe with the one halfe of his army; the other halfe he committed to *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, whom he ſent before him to ſet vpon the campe of *Syphax*,that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of *Syphax* ſhould be on a light fire,ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might ſeeme to haue taken hold by caſualty vpon the *Numidians*, that lay farther off: whereas if it firſt appeared in the camp of *Aſdrubal*, it would be ſuſpected as the doing of enemies, and giue *Syphax* warning to look to himſelfe. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched faire and ſoftly;that *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, who had a longer iourney,and were to fetch a compaſſe about for feare of being diſcouered, might haue time to get before him,& do their feat. It was about two or three of the clocke in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not onely the *Numidians*, but their King himſelfe,imputed vnto caſualty; as thinking themſelues ſafe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interpoſed betweene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, ſome, ſtarting halfe aſleepe; and others, that had ſitten vp late at drinking, ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But ſo great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly vnderſtand in what caſe they were, nor giue any remedie to the miſchance, as it was ſuppoſed. Many were ſmothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the ſudden miſchiefe, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that eſcaped the fire, fell vpon the enemies ſword, which was ready to receiue them. Eſpecially *Maſaniſſa*, that beſt knew the Country, did great execution vpon them; hauing layd all the wayes, by which hee foreſaw that they would ſeeke to eſcape. The *Carthaginians* perceiuing this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull miſchance: ſo that ſome ranne out to helpe the poore *Numidians*; carrying onely what would ſerue to quench the fire. Others ranne vp to the Rampart: where, fearleſſe of any danger towards themſelues, they ſtood beholding the greatneſſe of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would haue it. He therefore loſt no time: but ſetting vpon thoſe that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed ſome, and purſued the reſt backe into their campe, which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Aſdrubal* ſeeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not ſtand to make reſiſtance, but ſhifted onely for himſelfe, and eſcaped with a few of his horſe about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had beene taken in ſuch a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would haue iudged him worthy to be crucified. It would then haue beene ſayd, that with leſſe than one halfe of thirty thouſand men, hee might at leaſt haue giuen ſome bad recompence, to them that were taking paines in kindling theſe fires, had he not beene only carefull how to ſaue his owne fearefull head. Neuertheleſſe *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is moſt likely to haue beene true, That if *Aſdrubal*, or any of thoſe about him, would haue ſtriuen to ſhew valour, when the Campe was once on fire: He ſhould not thereby haue done any manner of good, becauſe of the tumult and conſternation. I ſhall not need to tell what a fearefull thing it was, to heare the cries of ſo many thouſands that periſhed by fire and ſword, or to beholde the cruell flame that conſumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirmes) none *that hath being* is able to deſcribe. It is enough to ſay, That of thoſe many thouſands very few did eſcape; which accompanied *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* in their ſeuerall wayes of flight. Beſides theſe alſo there were ſome ſcatterers, eſpecially of the *Numidians*, that ſaued themſelues in the darke: but they were not many, as after ſhall appeare. Surely it muſt needs haue beene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwiſe made away, and what numbers eſcaped in the darke of night. Wherefore *Liuie*, who in the reſt of this Relation, as often elſewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may ſeeme to haue followed ſome leſſe worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in caſting vp the ſumme. For hee reckons onely two thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe, to haue eſcaped; forty thouſand to haue periſhed by ſword or fire; and aboue ſixe thouſand to haue bin taken priſoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre ſhort of foure ſcore and thirteene thouſand, which were in theſe two Campes.

Excerpt. e Pol. libr. 14.

Aſdrubal, putting himſelfe into the next towne that was very ſtrongly fortified, thought there to finde the *Romans* worke, vntill the *Carthaginians* at good leiſure might repaire their Army. He had with him no more than two thouſand foote, & fiue hundred horſe: which hee thought ſufficient to defend the Towne; if the Towneſ-men would not be wanting to themſelues. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earneſt in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeelde. Vnto this diſputation, he well foreſaw, that the arriuall of *Scipio* would ſoone giue an end. Wherfore, leſt they ſhould lay hold vpon him, and ſeeke the Victors fauour by deliuering him vp; he ſhrunke away betimes, and made all haſte to *Carthage*. As for the towne, which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his firſt comming: and thereby preſerued it ſelfe from all manner of loſſe. The two next Townes adioyning would needs be valiant, and make countenance of warre: but their ſtrength not being anſwerable, they were ſoone taken by *Scipio*; who abandoned them to the pleaſure of his Souldiers. This being done, hee returned to the ſiege of *Vtica*.

The *Carthaginians* were ſore troubled, as they had good reaſon; when, in ſtead of either Peace or Victorie, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of ſuch a lamentable ouerthrow. Neceſſitie enforced them to make haſtie prouiſion for the future: but how to doe it, few of them ſaw any meanes. Some gaue aduice to craue peace of *Scipio*: others, to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italie*; but the moſt, and they which finally preuailed, were of opinion, That notwithſtanding the loſſe of this Armie, they might well defend themſelues againſt the *Romans*, by raiſing new forces: eſpecially, if *Syphax* would not leaue them. It was therefore concluded, That they ſhould bend all their care this way, leuying in all haſte an other Armie; and ſending Embaſſadours to deale with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Towne called *Abba*, not paſſing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the ſame their infortunate Commander, *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſco*, was employed to make new leuies of men: and Queene *Sophoniſba* went forth with Embaſſadours to her husband *Syphax*; who hauing gathered together as many as he could of his ſubiects that had eſcaped from the late ſlaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne kingdome. *Sophoniſba* laboured ſo with her husband, that at length ſhe wonne him to her owne deſire. And it fell out at the ſame time, that foure thouſand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought ouer to ſerue in *Africke*. Of theſe were made ſuch braue reports, as if their courage, and the armes which they vſed, were not to be reſiſted. Euen the multitude within *Carthage* beleeued theſe tales, and were more glad than they had cauſe to be; which is great wonder, ſince in one Age, the whole country of *Spaine* had beene twice conquered; firſt, by the *Carthaginians* themſelues, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* theſe tales preuailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours helped with a lie; ſaying, That there were come ten thouſand of theſe terrible *Spaniards*. Vpon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered ſuch ſpirit, that in thirty dayes they made vp an Armie, conſiſting wel-neare of thirty thouſand men, reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians* in the number. So they incamped in a Region called *The Great Fields*, about fiue dayes iourney from *Vtica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Vtica* thither, to viſit them: leauing behinde him his impediments, with ſome part of his Armie, to make a ſhew of continuing the ſiege. Two or three dayes after the meeting of both armies, paſſed away in skirmiſh, without any great thing done. It had now beene time for *Aſdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman*, *Fabius*, and ſeeke to weary out the Enemy by delayes. But either (which is likely) he was a farre worſe Commander, or elſe, it was not in his power to giue ſuch directions as beſt pleaſed himſelfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battaile: wherein the *Romans* were marſhalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, hauing their *Italian* horſe in the right wing; and *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary ſide, *Aſdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; and the *Spaniards*, the battaile. The victory was gotten without many blowes: for the vntrayned followers of *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*, could not ſuſtayne the firſt charge of the *Italians*, or of *Maſaniſſa*, Onely the *Spaniards* fought a long time, euen vntill they were all in a manner ſlaine: rather as men deſperate, and not hoping for mercy, ſince they were thus come ouer to fight againſt *Scipio*, who had otherwiſe deſerued of them, than vpon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obſtinacy was beneficiall to thoſe that fled; for that it hindred the *Romans* from making any great purſuit. Hereby *Aſdrubal*, and *Syphax* eſcaped: *Aſdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home to his owne kingdome: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, hauing thus gotten the maſtery of the field, tooke counſaile about the proſecution of the warre. It was reſolued vpon as the beſt courſe, That he himſelfe, with part of the Army, ſhould attempt the Citties round about him: and that *Maſaniſſa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lælius*, with ſome of the *Roman* Legions, ſhould follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take reſt within his owne Kingdom, where eaſily elſe he might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This aduice, it ſeemes that *Maſaniſſa* gaue: who knew beſt the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The leaſt that could be expected, was his reſtitution into his owne kingdome, vſurped by *Syphax*: which to accompliſh, it no leſſe concerned the *Romans* at the preſent, than it did himſelfe. According to this order concluded, *Lælius* was ſent away with *Maſaniſſa*: and *Scipio* ſtayed behinde, carrying the warre from towne to towne. Many places yeelded for feare; many were taken by force; and all the ſubiects of *Carthage* wauered in their fidelity; as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of thoſe vnreaſonable burdens, which their proud Maſters had layd vpon them for maintenance of the warre in *Spaine* and *Italy*. What to do in this caſe the *Carthaginians* could hardly reſolue. Fortune was their Enemy; they had loſt their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durſt they make bold to trouble their owne ſubiects with any violent exaction of men or money; who neuertheleſſe of their owne free will were likely to giue little help. Very much it grieued them to ſend for ***Hannibal*** out of *Italy:* yet ſince there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embaſſadours ſhould be forthwith ſent to call him home. Some there were that gaue aduice, to ſet out a fleete againſt that of *Scipio*, that rode before *Vtica*, weakely manned, and eaſie to be taken, whilſt *Scipio* himſelfe was buſied in the Inland Countries. Some were of opinion, That it ſhould be their principall care, to fortifie by all meanes the Citty of *Carthage:* vpon the ſafety whereof they ſaid all depended: adding, that whileſt they were true, and at vnitie among themſelues, they might well enough ſubſiſt, and expect thoſe opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtleſſe) would preſent them. Theſe counſels were not reiected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the Citty, and for the attempt vpon the *Roman* fleet at *Vtica*. Neuertheleſſe, it was conſidered, that hereby they ſhould onely protract the warre; without any aduancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victory, no, though it ſhould fall out, that all the ſhippes at *Vtica* might be taken or deſtroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning ***Hannibal***, That hee ſhould immediately come ouer into *Africke*, as the laſt refuge of *Carthage*. The Councell was no ſooner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themſelues to the execution of that which was decreed: ſome, to the fortification of the towne: ſome, to make ready the Fleet; and ſome, appoynted thereunto, forthwith to embarque themſelues for *Italie*.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* comes to *Tunes*, a Cittie in thoſe dayes very ſtrong, and ſtanding in proſpect almoſt of euery part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather ſome defencible peece adioyning, he eaſily tooke; the garriſon forſaking it, and running away as ſoone as he drew neare. But whileſt he was about there to incampe, and fortifie himſelfe againſt the Citty, he might perceiue the *Carthaginian* Fleete ſetting forth, and making towards *Vtica:* What this meant, he readily conceiued; and ſtood in great feare, leſt his owne ſhips, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heauily loden with engines of battery, and wholly diſpoſed in ſuch order, as was moſt conuenient for aſſaulting the towne) ſhould make bad reſiſtance, againſt a fleet appointed for that ſpeciall ſeruice. Wherefore he haſted away towards *Vtica*, to aſſiſt with his preſence in this needfull caſe. It fell out well, that he had ſent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he ſhould haue come too late. Neither could he indeed haue beene there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had vſed ſuch diligence as was conuenient. But they reſted one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Vtica*, they tarried a while to make a brauado; preſenting themſelues in order of battell, as if the *Romans* would haue put forth to Sea againſt them. But *Scipio* had no ſuch intent: he thought it would be ſufficient, if he could preſerue his Gallies. As for the pleaſure of their brauerie at Sea; it ſhould little auaile the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and loſt their whole eſtate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his ſhips of burden, and faſtning them together with cables, in foure ranks, one behinde another, made a foure-fold bridge ouer the Channell of the Hauen; whereon he placed a thouſand of his choice men, with ſtore of Darts, and other caſting weapons, to make defence. Some open ſpaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other ſmall Veſſells, might runne out and backe againe vpon any aduantage or need: but theſe he couered with planckes, vſing the maſts and yards of his ſhips in ſtead of rafters, to ioyne all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it ſelfe not be torne aſunder. Scarce was this worke finiſhed, when the *Carthaginians*, ſeeing none iſſue forth againſt them, came into the Hauen. The fight betweene them and the *Romans* that were in the Hulkes, was rather like to the aſſaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that ſtood vpon the bridge, had ſure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole ſtrength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their gallies, that were lower and vnſteady, could not doe. But the *Roman* Frigots & long boats, aduenturing forth from behind the Bridge, were greatly ouer-borne by the force of the gallies; and were one occaſion of that ſmall loſſe which followed. They that ſtood vpon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them, nor yet could freely beſtow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for feare of hurting theſe their friends, that were intangled & mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grapling hooks, hanging at Iron chains. Theſe they threw vpon the maſts & yards which ſerued as arches to ioyne the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all aſunder; in ſuch ſort, that one ſhip followed another, and all the firſt ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to ſaue themſelues as haſtily as they could, by ſhifting into the next ranke of ſhips, that lay behinde them vntouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themſelues any further in this laborious worke: but hauing haled away ſixe ſhips of burden, and towed them out of the Hauen, returned home to *Carthage*. Their wel-come was greater than their victory: becauſe among ſo many grieuous loſſes, onely this exploit had ſucceeded wel; though it were of ſmall importance.

Whileſt things thus paſſed about *Carthage*, *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, in their iourney againſt *Syphax*, found as good ſucceſſe as could be deſired. The fame of the victories already gotten, reſtored *Maſaniſſa* to his kingdome, without farther contention: the *Maſæſyli*, his ſubiects, ioyfully receiuing him, and forſaking the vſurpers. But here they ſtayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had ſuch abundance of men and horſes, that he felt not greatly the loſſes paſt: and therefore, being ſolicited by *Aſdrubal* and *Sophoniſba*, he prepared againe for warre. But beſide the inſtigation of his beloued wife; the loſſe of the *Maſæſyli* would let him take no reſt: neither was it the purpoſe of *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, to giue him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no leſſe vnwillingly from that which they haue gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in poſſeſſion, be the title vnto ſome part neuer ſo vniuſt. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that ſhee had vomited vp her owne guts, when it was onely the garbage of ſome other fowle, that ſhe had haſtily ſwallowed, and was not able to digeſt. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, beleeued the Kingdome of the *Maſæſyli* to be part of his entrailes: *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* will ſhortly giue him ſomewhat that ſhall make him caſt his gorge. For to this purpoſe chiefly are they come ſo farre. It concerned the *Romans* to diſpoſſeſſe (if it might be) that King, whoſe falſe and hollow friendſhip towards them, had beene conuerted into ſtrong enmity; as alſo to ſet in his place another, who might do them ſuch good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done vnto the *Carthaginians*. How eaſily this might be effected, *Maſaniſſa* knew beſt, as being well acquainted with the nature of thoſe Countries; wherein, euen to this day, though there be many ſtrong townes, yet the fortune of a battell is enough, to tranſlate the kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came againſt them with no leſſe an Army, than his former, and marſhalled in the *Roman* order; according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman* Centurion, long agoe ſent vnto him out of *Spaine* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight couragiouſly. They were a rabble of all ſorts, gathered vp in haſte: and few of them had ſeene warre before. Encamping neare vnto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that ſome ſmall troupes of horſe on both ſides, encountred one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worſt, were ſeconded by other of their fellowes. By continuance of the skirmiſh, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: ſo that at length *Syphax*, vnwilling to diſ-hearten his men by taking any foyle at their firſt meeting with the Enemy, came vp with all his horſe, which were the beſt part of his forces, and therewith ouer-charged *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe numbers were farre leſſe. But whileſt he was proſecuting his hope of victory: ſome *Roman* ſquadrons of Foot came againſt him through their owne Troupes of horſe; which fell to the ſides, and made a lane for them. So their battaile ſtanding now more firme, than a little before; *Syphax* was vnable, though he laboured much in vaine, to make them giue ground. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and his Troupes grew confident vpon this aſſiſtance: and charging afreſh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, cauſed him to giue backe. Herewithall the Legions came in ſight: which terrified ſo the *Numidian* horſe, that they beganne preſently to diſ-band. Faine would *Syphax* haue ſtayed them from flight: and to that end made head in perſon againſt the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be aſhamed to leaue him. But it fell out vnhappily, that hee was caſt from his horſe, which receiued a wound, and ſo taken priſoner. Of others that were ſlaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It ſufficed, that they forſooke the place, and fled, and that their king, vpon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Maſaniſſa* told *Lælius*, that this victory ſhould make an end of the *Numidian* warre, if preſently they haſted away to *Cirta* the chiefe citty of the kingdome; whither he himſelfe deſired to be ſent before with the Horſe, carrying *Syphax*, along with him. Hereunto *Lælius* agreed. *Maſaniſſa* coming to *Cirta*, before any newes of the Kings miſchance was there arriued, called out the chiefe of the City to parlee: wherein by many faire promiſes and threats, but eſpecially by ſhewing vnto them *Syphax* bound, he preuayled ſo farre, that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him; and euery one ſtroue to get his fauour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the reſt, Queene *Sophonisba* yeelded herſelfe into his hands, and vehemently beſought him, that ſhe might not be deliuered vp vnto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, ſo commended her ſuite, that *Maſaniſſa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promiſe, married her himſelfe that very day: thereby to preuent *Lælius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwiſe of her, ſince ſhee was his wife. But *Lælius*, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainouſly, ſo that at firſt he would haue haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other priſoners, and haue ſent her vnto *Scipio*. But being ouer-intreated by *Maſaniſſa*, he ſuffered the matter to reſt a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio's* diſcretion: to whom he ſent away *Syphax* and other captiues immediately; followniɡ ſhortly after himſelfe with *Maſaniſſa*, when they had done what was needfull in the kingdome.

At the comming of *Syphax* there was great ioy in the *Roman* Campe: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field: and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Aſdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together ſought his friendſhip: with ſuch other commemoration of his paſt and preſent fortune, miniſtring to euery one a large argument of diſcourſe. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moued him, not onely to forſake the *Roman* friendſhip, but to make warre vpon them, vnprouoked. He briefly anſwered, That his wife had moued him ſo to doe; calling her a Fury, and a peſtilent creature: and ſaying, That *Maſaniſſa* was no wiſer than himſelfe, ſince he had now taken the ſame woman to his wife, who would ſhortly draw him to the ſame courſes. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and ſtood in great doubt, leſt this perillous woman ſhould depriue him of *Maſaniſſa*, as ſhe had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius* came vnto him: both of whom together he louingly welcommed; and highly commended in publique, for their notable ſeruice in this Expedition. Then taking *Maſaniſſa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him vnderſtand, that the *Romans* had title to her head, and that ſhe was a miſchieuous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he entreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memory of his great ſeruices already done; (for which he ſhould be highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence vpon little reaſon. *Maſaniſſa* bluſht, and wept: and finally promiſed to be gouerned by *Scipio*, whom he neuertheleſſe entreated, to thinke vpon his faith giuen to *Sophonisba*, that ſhe ſhould not be deliuered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his owne Tent, where, after ſome time ſpent in agony, he called vnto him a ſeruant of his that had the cuſtody of his poyſon (which Princes vſed then to haue in a readineſſe, againſt all miſchances that might make them vnwilling to liue:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, ſent it vnto her with this meſſage; That gladly he would haue had her to liue with him as his wife: but ſince they who had power to hinder him of his deſire, would not yeeld thereto, he ſent her a cup, that ſhould preſerue her from falling aliue into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and eſtate, and accordingly to take order for her ſelfe.

At the receit of this Meſſage and Preſent, ſhe onely ſayd; That if her husband had no better token to ſend vnto his new wife, ſhe muſt accept of this; adding, That ſhe might haue dyed more honourably, if ſhe had not wedded ſo lately before her funerall. And herewithall ſhe boldely dranke off the poyſon. Thus *Liuie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and ſets it downe agreeably to that which hath beene ſpoken before, concerning the præcontract betweene *Maſaniſſa* and *Sophonisba*. He ſayth, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embaſſadours from *Cirta* met with *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* vpon their way thither, yeelding vp their Citty, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her owne priuate, ſent meſſengers to excuſe her marriage with *Syphax*, as made againſt her will, by compulſion of thoſe in whoſe power ſhe was. *Maſaniſſa* readily admitted this excuſe; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had receiued information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perſwaſion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*; he fell out about her with *Maſaniſſa* at his returne; and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* ſayd, ſhe was his owne wife, and vnto him betrothed many yeares before. But *Scipio* would not heare of this: or if it were true, yet he ſaid it was no reaſon, that *Maſaniſſa* ſhould keepe her in poſſeſſion, as long as it was diſputable, vnto whom ſhe might appertaine. Wherfore he willed him firſt of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime vnto her, wherein he ſhould haue no wrong. Herewithall he ſent to fetch her away: and *Maſaniſſa* accompanyed the meſſengers, as it were to deliuer her: but making her acquainted with the neceſſity, gaue vnto her a cup of poyſon, wherewith ſhe ended her life, before they came that ſhould haue apprehended her. So he ſhewed vnto the *Romans* her dead body, which he royally interred. The ſudden violence of *Maſaniſſa* his loue, and the ready conſent of *Sophoniſba* to marry with him: adde not ſo much credit vnto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other euident cauſe (which *Liuie* notes) *Libr. 28.* of the ſudden falling out betweene him and the *Carthaginians*, vnder whom he had bin trained vp, and done them great ſeruice. Howſoeuer it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragicall accident, ſent for *Maſaniſſa*, and comforted him as well as he could, leſt his melancholy ſhould leade him to ſome inconuenience. Hauing therefore gently rebuked him for his raſhneſſe, he brought him foorth in preſence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and ſhewing how highly he had deſerued of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King, and gaue vnto him a Crowne of gold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeede the ready way to diuert his thoughts from the ſad remembrance of that which was paſt, vnto the more chearefull contemplation of good fortune, that beganne to ſmile vpon him.

This was the firſt time that the *Romans* took vpon them to create or proclaime a king. Which honour though *Maſaniſſa* well deſerued: yet would not the Title haue redounded vnto his great benefit; neither ſhould he haue beene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recouered poſſeſſion of his Country, together with the greateſt part of *Syphax* his dominions. It ſeemeth not vnlikely, that had he remained a Neuter in theſe warres, and ſuſtained himſelfe with his troupe of horſe, in ſuch ſort as he did before the comming of the *Romans*; he might neuertheleſſe haue recouered his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne ſubiects, without other helpe, when *Syphax* had once or twice beene vanquiſhed. As for the enlargement of his kingdome, it was not more than he deſerued: neither were the *Romans* then in caſe, to make a conqueſt of *Numidia* for themſelues; neither could they haue wiſhed a fitter opportunity, than of ſuch a man, vpon whom to beſtow it, that was their aſſured friend, and paſſable withall among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Maſæſyli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the ſame Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noyſed abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themſelues, in a politicke ſort of grauitie, tooke highly vpon them; as if euen their ſaluting him by the name of *King*, had beene a matter of great conſequence. He thriued indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, encroaching vpon his neighbours on all ſides; but moſt of all vpon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little diſpleaſed. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the ſonne of *Syphax* (of whom we ſhall ſhortly ſpeake more) which held ſome peece of his fathers kingdome, deſiring friendſhip of the *Romans*, and promiſing by all meanes to deſerue their loue, requeſted therewithall, that they would call him *King*. But though it were ſo, that neuer any before him had made this a matter of ſuit: yet the *Roman* Senate was *puntilious* herein, and anſwered very grauely, *Liu. lib. 31.* That it was not their cuſtome to giue the honour of that appellation, ſaue onely vnto ſuch Kings, as had greatly deſerued of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; & in proceſſe of time grew ſo proud of this their imaginary prerogatiue, that they imputed as a ſingular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vpon them, the ſalutation by * *that name*, though it *Cæſars Comm. libr. 1.* were not accompanyed with any other fauour or profit thence redounding.

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians deſire Truce, and breake it.

THe *Carthaginians* were extreamely diſmayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befalne their good friend *Syphax*; and vnderſtood that *Maſaniſſa* their immortall enemy, had got poſſeſſion of his kingdome. To increaſe their feare, *Scipio* returned againe to *Tunes* in view of their Citty: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begunne at his laſt being there. The *Carthaginians*

nians had neither forces, nor courage, to withſtand him: but their hearts ſo failed them; that they ſent forth vnto them thirty Embaſſadors, Princes of the citie, which were their Priuy Councell, to make ſuite for peace. Theſe being admitted into the preſence of *Scipio*, did not onely proſtrate themſelues on the ground; but kiſſed the * feet of him, and of thoſe that ſate in Councell with him.

Excerpt. è Polib. lib. 15. Liu. lib. 30.

Anſwerable to this baſe adoration was their ſpeech that followed. They confeſſed themſelues to haue vniuſtly broken the Peace betweene them and *Rome*; and to haue deſerued whatſoeuer puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe the *Romans* to inflict vpon them. Yet they humbly beſought *Scipio* and the reſt, that in common regard of thoſe misfortunes, whereto all men are ſubiect, they would ſhew mercy vnto the Citty of *Carthage*, and let it remaine, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Cittizens, had now twice deſerued to be ouerthrowne. Herewithal they did not forget, to lay the blame vpon *Hannibal*: who without their appoyntment had begunne the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citty. By this it appeares, that theſe Embaſſadours were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long deſired worke in hand, of ſuing vnto the *Romans* for peace. Whatſoeuer they were, it muſt needes be that they were moſt inſolent men ouer thoſe that were ſubiect vnto their power: for they would not haue made ſuch adoration to the *Romans*, in their owne neceſſity; vnleſſe they themſelues had expected the like, where they had the aduantage.

It was not vnknowne to *Scipio*, or to his aſſiſtants, in what poore caſe the citty of *Rome* then was; and how vnable to defray the charges of continuing the warre. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding the loſſe of ſo many Armies, in ſuch ill caſe, as the *Romans* themſelues had very lately beene. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Cittie farre ſtronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* reſolution: and therefore diſtruſted the walles of *Carthage*; though *Vtica*, a weaker Cittie, had all this while held out againſt *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though ſo often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their ſubmiſſion, and tolde them, That though hee came into *Africke*, to make a conqueſt, and not a Peace: yet hauing the Conqueſt as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they deſired; for thereby ſhould all Nations vnderſtand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of Iuſtice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he impoſed vpon them, were theſe: That they ſhould render vp vnto him all the priſoners that they had taken, together with all Renegadoes and fugitiue ſlaues: That they ſhould withdraw their Armies out of *Italie* and *Gaule*: That they ſhould not meddle in *Spaine*, nor yet in any Iland betweene *Italie* and *Africke*: That they ſhould deliuer vp all their ſhippes of warre, ſaue twentie; and that they ſhould pay a great ſumme of money, with certaine hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat and barley. To conſider of theſe Articles, he gaue them three dayes: and when they had approued them, he granted a Truce; that they might ſend Embaſſadours vnto the *Roman* Senate.

This done, *Maſaniſſa* was diſmiſſed, and went home into his kingdome, as if the warre had beene already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before ſent with *Lælius* vnto *Rome*: where the fame of theſe victories filled men with ioy, and gaue hope, that the long endured miſeries would be ſhortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were ſet open, and an holy day appoynted for thankeſgiuing and ſupplication to their gods. *Lælius* was accompanied with Embaſſadors from King *Maſaniſſa*: who gratulating the happy ſucceſſe of the *Romans* in their *African* warre, and giuing thankes vnto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* vnto their Maſter, made requeſt for the *Numidians*, ſuch as were now his ſubiects and priſoners in *Rome*, that they might be beſtowed vpon him, who by rendring them to liberty, ſhould doe an acte very plauſible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The *Roman* Senate were not behind with *Maſaniſſa* in complement: but ſhewing themſelues to be highly pleaſed with all that *Scipio* had done, and ſhould do for him, they called him King againe; releaſed his *Numidians* that were captiues; and ſent him two purple Caſſocks, that had each of them one gold button, with ſuch other Preſents, as in time of their pouerty might ſerue to teſtifie their good will. Scarcely were theſe and *Lælius* gone from *Rome*, when the newes came, that Embaſſadors from *Carthage* were arriued to deſire peace. Theſe Embaſſadors were not admitted into the cittie, but were lodged without: vntill *Lælius* being ſent for, came backe from *Oſtia*, to be preſent when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience giuen them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that ſtood in the Suburbs. The errand of theſe Embaſſadours, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their Citty, was onely to winne time, and get reſpite for warre; vntill *Hannibal* and *Mago* ſhould come out of *Italie*, either to chace the *Romans* out of *Africke*, or to obtaine peace for *Carthage*, by terrour of their great names and Armies, vpon more eaſie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle diſcourſe of the League, that was concluded betweene them and *Luctatius Catulus*, at the end of the former warre. This League they ſaid, all things well conſidered, did ſtill remaine in force: neither had there ſince beene any warre at all, betweene the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was onely *Hannibal*, that, without any leaue from *Carthage*, had of his owne head beſieged and razed the Towne of *Saguntum*: and after that aduentured in like ſort, without Commiſſion, to paſſe the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being ſo, their Meſſage was none other, than to deſire, that the League before ſpoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter ſtand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cauſe to wonder at this tale, hearing theſe Embaſſadours make (as it were) a ieaſt of a warre, that had beene ſo terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many queſtions, concerning that Peace made by *Luctatius*, and other paſſages following betweene the two Citties. But they excuſed themſelues by their age: (for they were all yong men) and ſaid, That thoſe things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but colluſion, and that they ſought no other than to gaine time, vntill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were ſent home in company of *Lælius*, without any concluſion at all of peace; and, in effect, without anſwere. This notwithſtanding, wee finde in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiuing aduertiſement from *Scipio*, of that which had paſſed betweene him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treatie of peace, approued the Conditions by him propounded, and gaue him licence thereupon, to proceede vnto concluſion. This may with good reaſon be beleeued, ſince it was not vnknowne, that if the warre continued, all theſe goodly hopes muſt reſt vpon the moſt vncertaine iſſue of one battell betweene *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune ſhould be auerſe to them, their forces in *Africke* were no better than quite loſt.

Excerpt. è Polib. lib. 15.

Matters thus hanging in ſuſpence, before the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours came backe from *Rome*, a Fleete out of *Sicil*, wherein were two hundred ſhippes of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africke*, to victuall the *Roman* Campe, was ouer-taken by foule weather at Sea, and hardly eſcaping wrecke, was diſperſed, and driuen aground in diuers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, euen in view, and vnder command of the Cittie. There was at that time, as wee finde in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victualls in *Carthage*, which cauſed the people to crie out vpon their Magiſtrates, that they ſhould not let ſuch a booty eſcape them; ſaying, that the danger of famine was greater and worſe, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were ſo that hunger vrged them, or that they yeelded to their owne greedy deſires: the multitude in *Carthage* vnderſtood (as it ſeemes) that all this diſcourſe of Peace in hand, was no better than meere mockery, and therefore cared not for obſeruation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewiſe in *Alexandria*, for all the raſcality, together with women and boyes, to be medling in vproares; the clamors of the boyes being in ſuch tumults no leſſe violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if little regard were had of reaſon, or of honour, in any ſuch commotion. A Fleete was ſent out vnder *Aſdrubal*, to gather vp the diſperſed *Roman* ſhippes of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recouered the ſtation whereto their campe adioyned) and bring them into *Carthage*; which was done. *Scipio* was heereat much offended: not onely for the loſſe, and for that the Towne was thereby relieued; but for that by this breach of Truce, he fore-ſaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the warre, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he ſent Embaſſadours vnto them, both to require ſatisfaction for the iniury done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had ſo much deſired. Theſe gaue the *Carthaginians* to vnderſtand, That Letters were come from *Rome* vnto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; vpon thoſe conditions which he had propounded. But (ſaid they) *we hold it ſtrange, That ye, who ſo lately haue caſt your ſelues to the ground before vs, & kiſſed our feet,*

App. de bello Punico.

Excerpt. e Polib. lib. 15.

after an vn-uſuall manner of humilitie, confeſsing your ſelues to haue perfidiouſly broken the League that was betweene vs, and thereby to haue deſerued ſuch puniſhment as is due vnto Rebels; ſhould ſo ſoone forget what ye then vttered, and runne headlong againe into the ſame crimes, for which yee acknowledged your ſelues worthy to be deſtroyed, hauing onely recourſe vnto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repoſe in Hannibal, *that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amiſſe, that yee ſhould conſider, how long hee hath bin pent vp in a corner of Italy, among the Brutians; where he is in a manner beſieged, and vnable to ſtirre: ſo that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greateſt need. Or let it be ſuppoſed, that he were now in Africke, and ready to giue vs battaile: yet ſhould it well agree with your wiſedome, to doubt what might befall; remembring that he is a man, and not inuincible. Now if it ſhould happen that he were ouercome, what refuge haue ye left vnto your ſelues againſt heereafter? What gods will yee either ſweare by, to be beleeued, or call vpon in your miſery? What words, & lamentable geſture will ye henceforth vſe, to moue compaſsion? Surely yee haue already waſted all your force of perſwaſion, and ſhall not againe deceiue vs, if ye refuſe the grace, whereof at this preſent ye are capable.* It is no maruell though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themſelues vpbraided with the baſe demeanor of their Embaſſadours. For it was not the generall opinion of the Cittie, that the Truce was broken by themſelues: though it had pleaſed *Hanno*, or ſuch as were of his faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of ſubmiſſion; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all iuſtification of matters paſt. And indeed it ſeemes, that the *Roman* Embaſſadours were very much delighted, in the rehearſall of that point which was yeelded vnto them; as knowing that thereon depended the iuſtice of the quarrell. But the *Carthaginians* tooke this in ſo ill part, that hardly they could refraine from doing violence vnto the men, who had vſed vnto them ſuch inſolent ſpeeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in ſome ſort appeaſed; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian* (I know not why) calles *Hanno the Great*; or by the very reuerence, due vnto the place of thoſe that had vttered ſuch liberall words. So they were diſmiſſed in friendly ſort, although it were without anſwere to their Propoſition. There were alſo two gallies appointed for their ſafe conuoy home; though with little intent of good vnto their perſons. *Aſdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men ſailed from *Carthage* towards *Vtica*. He, whether onely deſirous to pleaſe the multitude, of whoſe diſpoſition he was informed, or whether directed by publique order to cut off theſe Embaſſadours in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the riuer *Bagradas*. Their Conuoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wiſhed them a good voyage; and ſo tooke leaue of them, as if they had beene then in ſafety, ſince the *Roman* Campe was euen in ſight. The Embaſſadours tooke this in ill part, not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themſelues too much neglected, foraſmuch as their attendants did ſo abruptly leaue them. But no ſooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Aſdrubal* fell vpon them, in ſuch manner, as they might well diſcerne his purpoſe; which was to haue ſtemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a Quinquereme, that had more bankes of Oares, than had any Gallie of *Aſdrubal*, they ſlipt away, and made him ouer-ſhoot himſelfe. Yet hee gaue them chace; and had well-neare ſurpriſed them. But they diſcouerd ſome *Roman* Companies on the ſhoare ouer againſt them, and therefore aduentured to runne their veſſell aground: whereby they ſaued their owne liues, though a great part of their company were ſlaine, or hurt. This practiſe of the *Carthaginians* was inexcuſable: and for the ſame cauſe perhaps were the Citizens heartned in ſuch a diſhonorable attempt, by thoſe that were deſirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might be driuen to ſtudie nothing elſe, than how to get the victory, as hauing none other hope remayning. Yet likely it is, that the ſame feare, which had cauſed them to make ſuch earneſt ſuite for peace, would alſo haue cauſed them to be better aduiſed, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie: had they not beene giuen to vnderſtand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Africke*, in whom they repoſed no ſmall confidence; but verily perſwaded themſelues, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themſelues contented with more eaſie conditions, than were thoſe that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

§. XX.

In what ſort Hannibal *ſpent the time after the battaile of Metaurus. The doings of Mago in Italie.* Hannibal *and* Mago *called out of Italie. How the Romanes were diuerſly affected by* Hannibals *departure.*

EVer ſince the loſſe of that battaile at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remained in the Countrey of the *Brutians*; waiting for another ſupply from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Conſuls that ſucceeded vnto *Claudius* and *Liuius*, by whom *Aſdrubal* was ouercome and ſlaine, were contented to be quiet all their yeere. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio* ought worthie of remembrance againſt *Hannibal*: being hindred by the peſtilence that was in his Armie. *Sempronius* the Conſul who followed *Licinius*, and *Cn. Seruilius Cæpio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earneſtly bent to haue done ſomewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitleſſe. In ſome skirmiſhes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in ſome, the worſe: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by ſtealth; his care being more to preſerue his Armie, than to keepe thoſe places that were weake.

The *Romans* had at this time ſo many great pieces of worke in hand, that their chiefe enemie was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent vpon *Africk*, wherein they were at no ſmall charges to maintaine the Armie, which (as was hoped) ſhould bring the warre to a ſhort and happy concluſion. They ſtood neuertheleſſe in much feare of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who tooke exceeding paines among the *Ligurians* and *Gaules* to raiſe an Armie, wherewith to kindle anew the warre in *Italie*, that beganne to waxe cold. *Mago* ſolicited alſo the *Hetrurians*, and found them ſo readie to ſtirre in his behalfe, that if he could haue entred their Countrey ſtrong, it might haue proued no leſſe needfull for *Scipio* to returne home out of *Africk*, than ſhortly it was for *Hannibal*, to make ſpeed vnto the defence of *Carthage*. Theſe dangers cauſed the *Romanes* to employ one of their Conſuls or Proconſuls, with an Armie, among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gaules*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: for aſmuch as it was vncertaine, vpon which ſide *Mago* would breake out. Being thus buſied, it is no wonder though they forbore to ouercharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*; when things were in ſome readines for his ſetting forwards, he met in the Countrey of the *Inſubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconſul, and *P. Quintilius Varus* one of the Prætors. With theſe he fought a battaile, wherein though his vertue ſhewed it ſelfe worthie of his father and brethren; yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtfull; in ſuch ſort that the *Roman* Commanders began to diſtruſt the iſſue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor, taking vnto him all the *Roman* Horſe, thought to haue ſhaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the ſame time gaue a loud ſhout: and ſtrained themſelues hard; as if at that brunt the victorie ſhould haue beene carried before them But *Mago* oppoſed his Elephants to the Horſe: the ſeruice of thoſe beaſts being fitter for ſuch vſe, than againſt the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, ſent, and braying of theſe Elephants, did ſo affright the Horſe, that they ſtarted aſide, and were ſcattered ouer the field; their Riders being vnable to manage them. Hereby the *Numidians* got aduantage vpon them: whoſe manner of fight was more auaileable againſt thoſe that were looſe, than againſt the Troupes that were cloſe and thick. Then fell the Elephants vpon the Legions: which entertained them after the accuſtomed manner, with a ſhowre of darts, and killed foure of them; cauſing all the reſt to giue backe. This notwithſtanding, the ſame Legions were ſo vehemently preſſed by the Enemie; that more for ſhame of running away, than by any great force to make reſiſtance, they held their ground. The Proconſul therefore brought vp thoſe forces, which hee had kept vnto the laſt, to ſuccour where neeed ſhould moſt require. Againſt theſe *Mago* employed ſome of his *Gaules*, whom hee had in readineſſe for the like occaſion. But theſe *Gaules* diſcharged their parts very ill. They were ſoone beaten off; and recoiled ſo haſtily, that they brought feare vpon all the reſt. When *Mago* ſaw that his men began to ſhrinke, Hee put himſelfe in the head of his Armie; and held them ſo well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemie. But at length hee receiued a grieuous wound in his thigh; whereof ſhortly after hee dyed. Hee was taken vp, and carried out of danger by ſome of his owne men: the reſt of them, after little further reſiſtance, prouided euery one for himſelfe: So the *Romans* obtained victorie, not without great coſt; as purchaſing the death of about fiue thouſand enemies, with the loſſe of two thouſand and three hundred of the Prætors Armie, beſides thoſe that dyed of the Proconſuls Legions; alſo beſides diuers Colonels, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hote peece of ſeruice. Neither were there any priſoners taken; whereby it may ſeeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recouered ſome ground that might aſſure them from purſuit. How euer it were, this victorie would haue much imported for the aſſurance of *Italie*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer haue permitted theſe valiant ſonnes of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himſelfe (by eaſie iournies, becauſe of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embaſſadours from *Carthage* attending him: who gaue him to vnderſtand the pleaſure of their Citie, which was, That both hee and *Hannibal* ſhould preſently repaire home with all their forces; not ſtaying any longer to thinke vpon the conqueſt of *Italie*, ſince *Carthage* it ſelfe was readie to be loſt. He obeyed this Commandement, and embarqued ſhortly his Armie; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the ſame time *Hannibal* receiued the like command from *Carthage* to returne into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnaſhing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were readie to burſt out, whileſt the Embaſſadors were deliuering their errand. When their meſſage was done; He told them, That *this was yet plaine dealing. For*, ſaid He, *They that now directly bid mee come home, haue long agoe done their beſt to hale me out of Italie; though more cloſely and crookedly they went to worke, by ſtopping the ſupply, that ſhould haue enabled me to manage the Warre heere.* Scipio *therefore ſhall not need to bragge, that he hath drawne me home by the heeles: it is* Hanno, *that hath wrought this noble feat; and ouerwhelmed the Houſe of the Barchines, for lacke of other meanes to doe it, with the ruine of Carthage.* He had before prepared a Fleet in readineſſe, doubting that, which after came to paſſe: wherein he embarqued, beſides his owne men, as many of the *Italians*, as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were, that ſhrunke backe from him, and refuſed to doe ſeruice in this Expedition: of whom ſuch as he could take he ſlew; not ſparing thoſe that fled into the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, which had been held an inuiolable Sanctuarie vnto that day. He was indeed then wholly tranſported with rage; and departed out of *Italie* no leſſe paſſionate, then men are wont to be, when they leaue their owne Countries to goe into exile. Hee looked backe vnto the ſhore: accuſing both gods and men; and curſing his owne dulneſſe, in that hee had not led his Armie from *Cannæ*, hotte and bloudied as it was, directly vnto the Walls of *Rome*. With ſuch vexation of ſpirit He quitted the poſſeſſion of *Italie*; wherein he had liued almoſt halfe his time.

If it could haue beene foretold vnto the *Romans*, in the firſt beginning of this Warre, with what exceeding ioy in times following they ſhould entertaine the newes of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italie*: they would (I thinke) leſſe earneſtly haue preſſed the *Carthaginians* to ſend him ouer thither. When ſure aduertiſement was brought vnto the Citie, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Armie: an Holliday was appointed for thankſgiuing vnto their gods; and extraordinarie great ſacrifices publikely made, for ioy of ſuch happy tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did ſtill remaine the ſame, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his comming into *Africk*, would finde *P. Scipio* other manner of worke, than he had beene troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his owne Countrie, than euer he was able to performe abroad in a land of ſtrangers. The remoue of the war from their owne dores, and the conceit of that victorie for which they hoped; was enough to make them preſume further, than at other times they would haue done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embaſſadors brought vnto them a great maſſe of Gold and Siluer, together with ſome Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spaine*: onely the *Carthaginian* priſoners were accepted; the treaſure was rendred back vnto the *Saguntines* that had ſurpriſed it. Vpon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of thoſe monies, that had beene borrowed in time of more neceſſitie from priuate men. Hence alſo proceeded the ſeuere chaſtiſement, laid vpon thoſe 12. Colonies, that for want either of meanes, or of good will, had refuſed to giue aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced, to giue double the number of Foot to that which they had beene wont to ſet out for the Warres, with a proportion of Horſe anſwerable to the verie moſt of their abilitie. So confident were the *Romans* growne (though their wealth were not as yet ſutable to the greatneſſe of their ſpirit) vpon the good ſucceſſe of the battaile at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they repoſed in *Scipio*. All this notwithſtanding, when they conſidered more neerely of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie, whereof *Italie* had beene few daies ſince diſcharged, was landed ſafe in *Africk*: they began to reuolue a thouſand fearefull matters in their heads; and to ſtand in doubt, leſt *Q. Fabius* (who died about the ſame time) would bee found a true Prophet. For bethinking themſelues of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories againſt *Syphax* & *Aſdrubal* no ſpecialty of ſuch great worth, as might promiſe the like ſucceſſe againſt another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were eyther of thoſe two. The *Numidian* King had beene wont to bring into the field a raſcall multitude of halfe-ſcullions, that were good for nothing; being himſelfe a fit Captaine for ſuch Souldiors. Likewiſe *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſco*, was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate; but otherwiſe one, that in the field was onely good at ſauing himſelfe by a ſwift retrait. But now there came an Armie of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleſhed many hundred times in *Roman* bloud, and wearing the ſpoyles, not onely of good ſouldiors, but of braue Captaine, by them ſlaine. Such talke vſed the people of *Rome*, ſaying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battell, with many that had ſlaine *Roman* Prætors, yea and Conſuls, with their owne hands; with many, that had been firſt in getting ouer the Trenches of ſeuerall *Romane* Campes, or in winning the tops of wals at the ſiege of Townes; briefly, that he ſhould now be oppoſed by an Armie, as good as euer had ſerued in warre, and following the dreadfull name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

Hannibal *in Africk prepares to fight with* Scipio; *treates with him about peace in vaine; looſeth a battaile at Nadagara, and perſwades the Carthaginians to ſue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.*

HAnnibal diſembarqued his Armie at *Leptis*, almoſt an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eaſtward from the Headland of *Mercurie*, and ſomwhat more then one degree to the South. He was ill prouided of Horſe; which it was not eaſie for him to tranſport out of *Italie*. Therefore it behoued him to land, as hee did, ſomewhat farre from the Enemie; that hee might furniſh himſelfe of theſe and the like needfull helpes, againſt the day of battell. From *Leptis* he paſſed on to *Adrumetum*, and ſo along through the *In land* Countrie, gathering friends vnto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was ſaid to haue in thoſe dayes the beſt Horſes of ſeruice, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure vnto his partie: making him vnderſtand, that if the *Romans* got the victorie, it ſhould be eaſie for *Maſaniſſa*, by their countenance and helpe to oppreſſe both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindered his proſpect. This argument, and the fame of him that vſed it, preuailed with *Tychæus*; who ſhortly after brought vnto the *Carthaginian* two thouſand Horſe. *Appian* further addes, That *Mezetullus*, (the ſame who had made himſelfe Protectour ouer *Meſaniſſa* his Couſins; and was Head of a Family, and aduerſe to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thouſand Horſe: as likewiſe that *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, began at the ſame time to aſſaile the places that yeelded obedience to *Maſaniſſa*. This *Vermina*, as we finde in *Liuie*, came with more than 16. thouſand men (for he loſt more than ſo many) to ſuccour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in ſuch hard eſtate, or (at leaſt) ſo impatient of the ſtate wherein they were; that they could not attend the leiſure of thoſe preparations, which would haue made the victorie aſſured. When they conſidered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatneſſe of his Acts: it offended them to thinke, that they had beene ſo baſe as to make humble ſuit vnto the *Romans* for peace; whileſt they had ſuch a braue Champion aliue, to maintaine their cauſe by Warre. But when as they bethought themſelues of their owne ſufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were : then cried they out earneſtly, that it was no time to linger, but preſently to fight; that ſo they might ſee an end of theſe troubles, either good or bad: and to this purpoſe they ſent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. *Hannibal* made anſwere, That they were his good Lords, and had power to diſpoſe of him and his Armie : but ſince he was Generall of their forces, Hee thought it reaſonable that they ſhould ſuffer him to doe as a Generall ought to doe; and to chooſe his owne times. Neuertheleſſe, to giue them ſatisfaction, Hee made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the *Carthaginians*: The violence, done to his Embaſſadours: and the newes of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*; made *Scipio* to vnderſtand the reſolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yeeld vnto any conditions vnprofitable for themſelues, as long as they were able to make reſiſtance. Wherefore hee ſent vnto *Maſaniſſa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with ſpeed, and lay all other buſineſſe a-part. Tenne *Romane* Companies, of Horſe and Foot together, *Maſaniſſa* had with him; that were lent vnto him by *Scipio*, to doe him ſeruice in the eſtabliſhing and enlarging of his Kingdome. But he well vnderſtood, that thoſe and many more beſides all his owne forces would but little auaile him; if *Hannibal* ſhould driue the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking ſuch order as he could vpon the ſudden, for the ſafetie of his owne Kingdome; with foure thouſand Horſe, and ſixe thouſand Foot, he made all haſte vnto *Scipio*.

Soone after the beginning of theſe new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors that had been at *Rome*, returned backe vnder the conduct of *Lælius* and *Fuluius*: who brought them ſafe into the *Roman* Campe. There when they arriued, and vnderſtood what had lately paſſed, eſpecially how their Citizens had behaued themſelues towards the *Roman* Embaſſadours: they made little doubt, how their owne heads ſhould anſwere for ſuch torious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion:

M.Bæbius one of the late Embaſſadors that had bin in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands vpon them and detained them; ſending word vnto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Countrie, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their owne Coyne, for the iniurie by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to hear of this; & commanded *Bæbius* to vſe them with all poſſible courteſie, & ſend them ſafe home. By thus doing He brake the harts of his Enemies; & cauſed them to acknowledge themſelues (which was a great victorie) far leſſe honourable then the *Romans*. This notwithſtanding, He made more cruell warre vpon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to ſacke, without hearkning to any Compoſition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Towne by aſſault, to put all that came in their way to the ſword, whatſoeuer they were, without regard. This they did, to make themſelues terrible: and the better to worke ſuch impreſſion in the mindes of thoſe, with whom they had to do, they vſed oftentimes to kill the very Dogges and other Beaſts, that ranne athwart them in the ſtreets; hewing their bodies aſunder, as men delighted in ſhedding of bloud. This being their practiſe at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no peece of crueltie; when they meant to giue proofe of their vehement indignation, and reuengeful mindes, for the iniuries receiued. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were ſo earneſt in preſſing *Hannibal* to fight.

Excerpt. è Polyb.lib.10.

Hannibal being incamped at *Zama*, ſent forth his Scowts and Spies, to diſcouer where the *Romans* lay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of theſe were taken, & brought vnto *Scipio*: who in ſtead of truſſing them vp, gaue them free leaue to view his Campe at pleaſure; appointing one to conduct them vp and downe, and ſhew them whatſoeuer they deſired. This done, He gaue them leaue to depart; and ſent them away ſafe vnto their Generall. *Hannibal* vnderſtanding this, admired the brauery and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the ſudden he grew deſirous to haue an Enter-view, and perſonall conference; and ſignified ſo much vnto him, by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned anſwer, that Hee would meet him ſhortly in a place conuenient. The next day *Maſaniſſa* came with his Armie: whom *Scipio* taking with him, remooued vnto a Towne called *Nadagara*; neere vnto which he ſat downe, in a place otherwiſe commodious, and cloſe by a water that might opportunely ſerue his Campe. Thence hee ſent word vnto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fitly ſerue, if He had ought to ſay to him. *Hannibal* thereupon remoued from *Zama*, & came within foure miles of the Enemie: where he encamped well to his own good liking in all things elſe; excepting that his men were driuen to take much paines, in fetching their water ſomewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generalls, each of them with a troup of Horſe, rode foorth of their Campes, till they came vnto a peece of ground; which was before well ſearched, for feare of ambuſh. There they will their followers to ſtand off: and themſelues with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way betweene their Companies. They remained a while ſilent, viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then beganne the *Carthaginian*, ſaluting the *Roman*, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had beene better both for *Carthage* and *Rome*, if they could haue limited and contained their ambition within the ſhores of *Afrik* & of *Italie*; for that the Countries of *Sicil* and of *Spaine*, about which their fathers and themſelues had ſtriuen, were no ſufficient recompence for ſo many Fleets as had beene loſt, and of ſo much bloud as had beene ſhedde, in making thoſe coſtly purchaſes. But ſince things paſt could not be recalled: He ſaid, That it was meet for them to conſider, vnto what extreame dangers their owne Cities had beene expoſed, by the greedy deſire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was euen time for them now at length, to make an end of their obſtinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wiſedome heereafter. And to ſuch peaceable diſpoſition Hee affirmed that his owne yeares, and long triall of Fortune both good and euill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared; that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience might rather fixe his minde vpon vncertaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutabilitie, whereto all humane affaires are ſubiect. *Yet* (ſaid hee) *mine owne example may peraduenture ſuffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that ſame* Hannibal, *who after my victorie at* Cannæ, *wonne the greateſt part of Italie: and deuiſed with my ſelfe, what I ſhould doe with your Citie of Rome; which I hoped verily to haue taken. Once I brought mine Armie to your walles, as thou haſt ſince brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, ſee the change! I ſtand heere entreating thee to grant vs peace. This may ſerue as a document of Fortunes inſtabilitie. I haue fought with thy father,* Scipio: *Hee was the firſt of the Romane Generalls, that euer met mee in the field. I did then little thinke, that the time would come, that I ſhould haue ſuch buſineſs, as now at the preſent, with his ſonne. But this is euen one of Fortunes Pageants, whereof ſhee hath many. And thou maiſt haue experience of the like in thy ſelfe, who knowes how ſoone? Thinke vpon* M. Atilius. *If he would haue hearkened vnto ſuch perſwaſions, as I now vſe to thee; he might haue returned home to Rome an happy man. And ſo maiſt thou doe now, if any reaſonable offer will giue thee ſatisfaction. How ſaiſt thou? Canſt thou be contented, that all Spaine, Sicil, Sardinia, and whatſoeuer Ilands elſe are ſituate betweene Italie and Africke, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for euer; and left vnto the Romans, to beare Dominion therein? Thou ſhalt haue glory enough by effecting thus much: and the Romans may well be glad of ſuch a bargaine. As for vs: our owne quiet ſhall henceforth giue vs contentment. And the ſame contentment of ours, ſhall make vs faithfully obſerue the Peace with you. But if thou thinkeſt all too little, I muſt deſire thee to ponder well how great an hazzard thou muſt vndergoe for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maiſt haue without contention. It is now in thine owne power, to lay hold vpon good Fortune, if it pleaſe thee: ſtay but vntill to morrow night; and thou maiſt take ſuch fortune, as it pleaſe the gods. The iſſue of battaile is vncertaine, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and ſteele wee ſhall each of vs bring into the field: but of the victorie, neither of vs hath aſſurance. Let vs therefore without more adoe, make peace. And doe not tell me, that ſome falſe-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: It is I* Hannibal *that now deſire peace with thee; which I would neuer doe, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrie. And thinking it expedient, I will alwaies maintaine it: like as I haue maintained vnto my power, as long as the gods did not enuie me, the Warre by me begun.*

Hereunto *Scipio* made anſwere, That it was no ambitious deſire of ruling in *Sicil* and in *Spaine* which had moued the *Romans* to enter into this or the former Warre: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their confederates, had cauſed them to put on thoſe armes; which the gods by the finall iſſue of the Warres had approued, and would approue to bee moſt iuſt. As for the mutabilitie of Fortune, he ſaid, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of inſolence, or ouer-weening, he might well refuſe the conditions offered. *For was it not plaine, that all theſe Countries, with which the Carthaginians now ſo willingly departed, were already wonne from the Romans? If,* ſaid He, *theſe Conditions had beene propounded whileſt as yet ye detained ſome part of Italie, they might peraduenture not haue beene reiected. But as the caſe now ſtands, I ſee no reaſon, why I ſhould remit vnto you any one piece of theſe my former demands; to which the Carthaginians haue yeelded alreadie, and thought me to be gracious in dealing ſo moderately. Rather I ſay, that the iniuries which they haue done me ſince, haue made them vnworthy of obtaining peace vpon ſo friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee,* Hannibal, *though thou wouldſt be glad to make thy Citizens vnderſtand, from how much of their burden they are by thy meanes eaſed. Onely thou muſt thinke, that in like ſort it concernes me in honour, not to let them be gainers or ſauers by the wrongs which they haue done of late. Thou knoweſt well, that beſides thoſe offers which thou here haſt made, they were well contented to reſtore vnto vs ranſome-free, all priſoners that they haue of ours; to pay vs fiue thouſand Talents; to deliuer vp their Gallies; and to deliuer hoſtages for aſſurance of faire dealing. And muſt they now be diſcharged of all this, by their breach of Truce; their ſpoyling of our Fleet; and their violating our Embaſſadours? Not ſo. But if they can be contented, beſides all this, to make ſuch amends as I ſhall require, for theſe iniuries newly done: then will I take aduice with my Councell what anſwere to giue you; otherwiſe, you may euen prepare for warre, and blame your owne ſelues, for that I haue denied you peace.*

Heereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battaile, wherein ſhould be decided the quarrell betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at breake of day they iſſued into the field: a notable march, and ſuch as hath very ſeldome beene found; whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Citties that contended; or the great importance of the battaile at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the *Roman* manner: placing firſt the *Haſtati*, diuided into their Maniples, or ſmall Battalions, with a reaſonable diſtance betweene them: Not farre behinde theſe followed the *Principes*, likewiſe diuided, and ſo after them the *Triarii*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinarie cuſtome of the *Romans*: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* oppoſite vnto the void ſpaces betweene the *Haſtati*, that ſo the *Haſtati*, as was vſuall, might fall backe betweene the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behinde another, as it were, in File. This he did, becauſe of the Elephants, whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of thoſe beaſts the danger was leſſe, whileſt there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee tooke ſuch order, that when they had paſſed through the ſpaces betweene the firſt Battalions, they ſhould not come vpon the *Principes* in Front. Vnto his *Velites* or thoſe of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight, hee gaue direction, that when they found themſelues to be ouer-charged, either by the Enemies, or (which was moſt to be feared) by the Elephants, they ſhould runne backe through thoſe lanes that were betweene the Maniples; and that thoſe which were ſwifteſt, or otherwiſe beſt able, ſhould continue on their flight, vntill they were got behind all their owne Armie; thereby leauing roome enough vnto thoſe that were wounded, or caſt behinde, to ſaue themſelues on the voyde ground, that was betwixt the firſt and ſecond, or the ſecond and third battailes, without cloying vp the way betweene the Maniples, which hee deſired to keepe open. His *Italian* horſe hee placed in the left wing vnder *C. Lælius*. In the right wing was *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians*. He himſelfe riding vp and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; vſing words, not many, but forcible. He bade them remember what they had atchieued, ſince their comming into *Africke*. He tolde them, that if this day were theirs, the warre was at an end: and that their victory in this warre, ſhould make them Lords of all the world; for that afterwards, none would be found able to reſiſt them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flie. They were farre from home, yea and farre from their owne ſtanding Campe: neither was there any place in *Africke*, that would giue them ſhelter: if they fell into the *Carthaginians* hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: vnleſſe they would liue like wretched ſlaues vnder moſt mercileſſe Enemies. In ſuch neceſſity, he ſaid, that they which conſider themſelues to be, and take reſolution anſwerable thereunto, haue neuer beene knowne to faile of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other ſide placed his Elephants, that were more than foure ſcore, in

Front of his Battaile. Next behind theſe, he made his Vantguard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, *Baleares* and *Moores*. Then followed his Battaile: which was of *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, more intereſſed in the quarrell than were thoſe Mercenaries; though not ſo good ſouldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thouſand *Macedonians*, lately ſent from King *Philip*. More then the ſpace of a furlong behinde theſe came his Rereward, conſiſting of thoſe braue Souldiers which had ſerued him in his *Italian* warres; and were the onely men, in whom he repoſed any confidence. Oppoſite to *Lælius*, in his owne right wing hee beſtowed the *Carthaginian* Horſe. *Tychæus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing againſt *Maſaniſſa*. He was indeed farre too weake for the Enemie in Horſe, both in number and in goodneſſe. For *Tychæus* and *Mezetullus* had no more than three thouſand; and thoſe not ſo well exerciced, as were the 4. thouſand of *Maſaniſſa*. The *Carthaginians* alſo were no more, nor none other than ſuch as could be leuied in the haſte of a few dayes; and the remainder of thoſe, that had of late beene often vanquiſhed, and accuſtomed to fly. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authoritie, to make theſe his companiõs alight and ſerue on foote, ſetting better men in their ſaddles. All that hee could haue done, was to ſtay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had *Vermina* the ſonne of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with ſixteene thouſand and vpwards, the moſt of them Horſe, the aduantage of number might haue ſerued well to ſupply all other defect. Yet ſince the Lords of *Carthage* would brooke no delay: *Hannibal* muſt bee faine to comfort himſelfe, with the hope that he repoſed in his old *Italian* ſouldiers; whoſe vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more ſtrongly oppoſed. He encoraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their ſeuerall conditions: promiſing vnto the Mercenaries bountifull rewards: threatning the *Carthaginians* with ineuitable ſeruitude, if they loſt that day; but eſpecially animating his old fellow-ſouldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained againſt farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke vpon the Enemies; and make an eſtimate, whether they were any thing like ſo many, as that huge Armie which they had ſlaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, euen the father of this man, whom they had firſt of all compelled to runne away. He told them, that theſe Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the moſt part of them, the very worſt of the *Romane* Souldiers; euen ſuch, as for their daſtardly flight out of ſundry battailes, could no longer bee truſted to beare Armes in their owne Countrie. As for the reſt: they were yong men, the ſonnes of Cowards, and bred vp in the continuall feare of thoſe weapons, by which their fathers were daily ſlaine or chaſed. Wherefore hee entreated theſe his olde companions, vpon whoſe vertue he meant wholly to repoſe himſelfe, that they would this day ſtriue to make good their honour; and to purchaſe the fame of *men inuincible*.

Such exhortations vſed the two Generalls before the fight. When they drew nere together, the *Numidian* Horſemen on both ſides began to skirmiſh. The Trumpets, and other inſtruments of warre, ſounded to battaile: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to breake vpon the *Romanes*. Of theſe Elephants (as they were alwaies an vncertaine kind of helpe) thoſe that ſtood nere vnto the point of the left wing, turned backe for feare: and ranne vpon their owne *Numidian* Horſe; which they affrighted and diſordered. *Maſaniſſa* eſpying this, gaue charge vpon the ſame *Numidians*; and not ſuffering them to re-ally themſelues, draue them quite out of the field. The reſt of thoſe beaſts made a great ſpoile of the *Romane Velites*, whom they followed into the ſpaces betweene the Maniples: but without any harme to the Battalions themſelues; which gaue them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well prouided. Diuers of them receiuing many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be gouerned: but ranne backe vpon the right point of their owne battaile, and beyond that into tho open field. Herewithall they diſordered the *Carthaginian* Horſe which were in that wing: againſt whom they gaue to *Lælius* the ſame aduantage, that *Maſaniſſa* had againſt the *Numidians*; which he vſed in like ſort. In the meane while, the battailes of foote aduanced, and drew nere together with a ſlow and ſtately pace, till they were almoſt within a weapons caſt: at what time they gaue a ſhout, and ranne one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time ſeemed both in audacitie, and in quickeneſſe, to haue the better of the *Romanes*; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they tooke. But the *Romane* diſcipline after a while, preuailed againſt the boiſterous violence of theſe vntrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a litile, that the battell of the *Principes*, following ſomewhat neere after the *Haſtati*, encouraged their fellowes; and ſhewed themſelues ready, if neede were, to relieue them. Contrariwiſe, the *Mercenaries* receiued no manner of helpe or comfort, from thoſe that ſhould haue ſeconded them. For the new-leuied *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they ſaw their hired ſouldiers giue backe, did alſo themſelues retire. This cauſed the *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, and the reſt, to thinke themſelues betrayed: whereupon they enclined vnto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battaile was herewith more terrified then before, ſo as it refuſed to giue way vnto the Mercenaries for their ſafe retrait; and yet withall forbore to make head againſt the Enemies, that purſued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation cauſed thoſe that were at once chaſed by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their Armes with an heedleſſe furie againſt both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten downe and ſlaine, through their owne indiſcretion, by their owne Mercenaries. The *Romane Haſtati* in like ſort, fighting with deſperate men in a throng; had their hands ſo full of worke; that the *Principes* were faine to come vp vnto them, and helpe to ouer-beare this great medley of enemies, that were together by the eares among themſelues. In this place was made a great ſlaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor eaſily flie. Such of them as eſcaped, ranne towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not ſtirre one foote, to helpe or ſaue theſe Run-awaies. Hee cauſed his men to bend their Pikes at thoſe of his owne ſide, that would haue ruſhed vpon him: whom he thereby compelled to turne aſide beyond his Battaile, and ſaue themſelues in the open field. The ground, ouer which the *Romanes* were now to march, ere they could meete with *Hannibal*, was couered with heapes of dead bodies and weapons, and ſo ſlipperie with bloud: that *Scipio* began to ſtand in great doubt, leſt the orders of his Battalions ſhould bee diſſolued in paſſing that way. In ſuch caſe, if hee ſhould fight with that warrelike Armie, which hee ſaw before him, remaining yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might be well aſſured to receiue a notable ouerthrow. Hee cauſed therefore the *Haſtati* to make a ſtand there where they were, oppoſite to the maine battaile of the *Hannibalians*. Then drawing vp his *Principes* and *Triarij*: He placed them, when they had ouercome the bad way, all in in one Front with the *Haſtati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he aduanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than euer hee had beene receiued in his life before. All the daies worke till now, ſeemed to haue beene a matter of paſtime; in regard of the ſharpe Conflict, that was maintained betweene theſe notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged by their hauing preuailed all the day before: They were alſo farre the more in number. But theſe old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were freſh; and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that no man gaue backe one foote; but rather choſe to die on the ground, whereon hee ſtood. So that, after a long time, it was vncertaine which part had the worſe: vnleſſe it may ſeeme, that the *Romans* were beginning to ſhrinke; for as much as the returne of *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius* from purſuit of the Enemies Horſe, is ſaid to haue beene *moſt happie* and in a *needfull time*. Theſe vpon a ſudden charged the *Hannibalians* in Rere; and ouer-bearing them by meere violence, compelled them too fall Rout.

Excerpt. è Polib. lib. 15.

In this Battaile there died of the *Romanes* fifteene hundred and vpwards: on the *Carthaginian* ſide, aboue twenty thouſand, beſides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captaine of the *Macedonians* was one. The ſingular skill that *Hannibal* ſhewed in this his laſt fight, is highly commended by *Polibius*; and was acknowledged, as *Liuie* reports, by *Scipio* himſelfe. But the Enemies were too ſtrong for him in Horſe: and being enioyned, as he was, by the State of *Carthage* to take battaile with ſuch diſaduantage, hee could worke no maruels. Hee ſaued himſelfe with a few Horſe; and ſtayed not in his iourney, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he ſent for to *Carthage*; from which he had bene abſent ſixe and thirtie yeeres. At his comming into the Senate He ſaid plainly That there was none other way left, than to take ſuch peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* not knowing what other courſe to take, reſolued to ſend Embaſſadours againe; and try the fauour of *Scipio*, whoſe Armes they could not now reſiſt.

Scipio hauing ſpoiled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to *Vtica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arriued, with fiftie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of burden. With this Fleet, and that which he had before, Hee thought it beſt to make towards ***Carthage*** : rather of purpoſe to terrifie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions hee committed vnto ***Cn. Octauius***; whom hee willed to meete him there by land. Then ſending ***Lælius*** away to ***Rome*** with newes of the victory, He ſet ſaile from ***Vtica*** towards ***Carthage***. He was encountred on the way by tenne Embaſſadours from the Citie: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, began to vſe the pittifull geſture of ſuppliants. But they receiued none other anſwere, than that they ſhould meet him at ***Tunes***, where He would giue them audience. So rowing along before the Citie : and viewing it more in brauerie, than with meaning to attempt it; He returned backe to ***Vtica***, and called backe ***Octauius*** thither, with whom in perſon Hee ſet forwards to ***Tunes***. As they were in their iournie thither, they heard the newes, that ***Vermina*** the ſonne of ***Syphax***, was comming with an Armie of more Horſe then Foot, to the ſuccour of thoſe that were already vanquiſhed. This ***Vermina*** ſeemes to haue beene both careleſſe of getting intelligence how things paſſed, and very defectiue in all other dueties requiſite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the ***Roman*** foot, with all their power of Horſe, was ſent againſt him : which did not onely beate him, but ſo compaſſe him in, that he hardly eſcaped himſelfe with a few; leauing fifteene thouſand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelue hundred taken priſoners. If this good company had bene with ***Hannibal*** at ***Nadagara***, they ſhould haue beene farre better conducted, and might well haue changed the Fortune of the day; which the ***Carthaginian*** loſt, by default of Horſe. But God had otherwiſe determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, thogh it were no great acceſſe vnto the former; yet ſerued wel to daunt the ***Carthaginians***, & imprint in thē the greater feare of ***Scipio***. When he came to ***Tunes***, there met him thirty Embaſſadours from ***Carthage*** : whoſe behauiour though it was more pitiful than it had bin before, yet procured it leſſe commiſeratiō, by reaſon of their late falſe dealing, after they had in like ſort humbled themſelues. Neuertheleſſe it was conſidered, what a long and laborious worke it would proue, to beſiege the mightie Citie of ***Carthage***. And particularly ***Scipio*** ſtood in great doubt, leſt the honour of this warre, if it were protracted, ſhould bee taken out of his handes; and giuen to one of the Conſuls. ***Cn. Seruilius Cæpio***, that Conſul who had charge of the warre againſt ***Hannibal***, at ſuch time as hee departed out of ***Italie*** : was bold to paſſe ouer into the Ile of ***Sicil*** (as it were in chaſe of ***Hannibal*** by him terrified and driuen away) with a purpoſe thence to haue proceeded into ***Africk***, and taken from ***Scipio*** the Command of the Armie there. But a Dictator was choſen of purpoſe, to reſtraine the ambition of this Conſul ***Seruilius***. After him followed ***Tiberius Claudius***, who made ſuite for the ſame Prouince of ***Africk*** : and was therein ſo earneſt, that though neyther the Senate, nor People, would grant him his deſire; yet he needes would be going, procuring onely leaue of the Senate, that he being Conſul might ioyne with ***Scipio***, were it with no more than equall authoritie. But ere He could haue his Fleete and all things in a readines for the iourney, wherein no man cared to further him : Winter came on, and hee was onely toſt at Sea with foule weather, firſt vpon the Coaſt of ***Hetruria***, and afterwards by ***Sardinia***; where his Conſulſhip expired, and ſo hee returned home a priuate man. Then came the ioyfull newes to ***Rome***, of the victory obteined againſt ***Hannibal***, and that the warre was now euen at an end. Yet was ***Lentulus*** the new Conſul ſo paſſionate, in deſiring ***Africk*** for his Prouince, That he ſaid he would ſuffer nothing to paſſe in the Senate, vntill hee had firſt his will. Much adoe there was about this : and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at laſt it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it ſhould bee granted by ***Scipio***; if the warre continued, ***Scipio*** ſhould haue command therein by Land, and the Conſul at Sea. The ambition of theſe men, cauſed ***Scipio*** to giue the more fauourable anſwere vnto the ***Carthaginian*** Embaſſadours.* Hee willed them to conſider what they had deſerued : and in regard thereof to thinke themſelues well dealt withall, in that he was contented to leaue vnto them their libertie and their owne Lawes, without appointing any Gouernour ouer them, or Garriſon to hold them in ſubiection; leauing alſo vnto them their poſſeſſions in ***Africk***, ſuch as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the reſt he was at a point, That, before he either granted them Peace or truce, they ſhould make ſatisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whileſt the late Treatie was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yeeld; then required Hee *That immediatly they ſhould deliuer vp vnto the* ***Romans*** *all Priſoners, Fugitiues, and Renegados, that they had of theirs: likewiſe all their Gallies, excepting ten : and all their Elephants : That they ſhould make* *no warre at all thence foorth out of Africke, neither yet within Africke, without licence of the Romans: That the Countries, Townes, goods whatſoeuer, belonging any wiſe vnto* Maſaniſſa, *or to any of his Anceſtors, which were in their poſſeſsion, ſhould be all by them reſtored vnto him: That they ſhould finde corne for the Roman Army, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, vntill the Peace were fully concluded: That they ſhould pay tenne thouſand Talents of Siluer, in the terme of fifty yeares, by two hundred Talents a yeare; and that for obſeruance of Conditions, they ſhould giue an hundred hoſtages, ſuch as* Scipio *would chooſe, being none of them vnder foureteene yeares of age, nor aboue thirty.*

With theſe conditions the Embaſſadours returned home, and reported them vnto the Cittie. They were very vnpleaſing; and therefore one *Giſco* ſtood vp to ſpeake againſt them: and exhorted the people, who gaue good attention, that they ſhould not condeſcend vnto ſuch intollerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiuing this, and noting withall what fauourable audience was giuen to this vaine Oratour, by the vnquiet yet vnwarrelike Multitude, was bold to pull him downe from his ſtanding, by plaine force. Hereat all the People murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by ſuch inſolence of this preſumptuous Captaine. Which *Hannibal* perceiuing, roſe vp and ſpake vnto them, ſaying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwiſe than the cuſtomes of the Citty would allow; foraſmuch as he had beene thence abſent euer ſince he was a Boy of nine yeares olde, vntill he was now a man of fiue and fortie. Hauing thus excuſed himſelfe of the diſorder, hee diſcourſed vnto them concerning the Peace: and perſwaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themſelues; had the demands of the Enemy beene yet more rigorous. Finally, vpon good aduice, they reſolued to yeeld vnto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they paied out of hand fiue and twenty thouſand pounds weight of ſiluer, in recompence of damages, and iniuries by them done to his Fleet and Embaſſadours. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths; in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall he gaue iniunction, that they ſhould neither in the meane while ſend Embaſſadours any whither elſe, nor yet diſmiſſe any Embaſſadours to them ſent, without firſt making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wiſe and honourable men, by the miſeries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen through their malicious counſailes. *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *the Kid*, a venerable man, and a great friend of *Hanno*, was chiefe of the Embaſſages which they ſent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embaſſadours, who related vnto the Senate and People theſe ioyfull newes. About the ſame time arriued at *Rome* Embaſſadours from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were faine to waite a while for audience, till the election of new Conſuls then in hand was finiſhed; and order taken, for the Prouinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors called into the Senate: who firſt anſwering vnto ſome points, wherein the *Romans* had lately ſignified vnto their King, that they found themſelues grieued; returned the blame vpon thoſe *Greekes* themſelues, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accuſed they *Marcus Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embaſſadours, that had lately been ſent from *Rome* vnto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behinde his fellowes; and there leuying men, made warre vpon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betweene him and the *Romans*. Further they deſired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countrimen, that had lately ſerued *Hannibal* for Pay; and being taken priſoners in *Africke*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*, might be releaſed and deliuered vnto them. Vnto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had ſent to *Rome* for that purpoſe, made a ſharp anſwer. He ſaid, that the *Greekes* which were confederate with *Rome*, endured ſo many iniuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was faine to ſtay behinde, to helpe them as he might; which elſe were like to be brought vnder the Kings ſubiection. As for *Sopater*: hee affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counſaile, and very inward with him; one that ſerued not for money, but carried money with him, and foure thouſand men, ſent from the King to the ayde of *Hannibal*. About theſe points when the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors could make vnto the Senate no good anſwer: they were willed to returne, and tell their Maſter, That warre he ſought, and warre he ſhould finde, if he proceeded as he had begunne. For in two maine points Hee had broken the League, that was betweene him and the *Romanes*: firſt, in that hee had wronged their Confederates; and ſecondly, in that he had ayded their Enemies againſt them with men and money.

Theſe quarrels with *Philip*, that promiſed to open a way into *Greece* and the Eaſterne Countreies, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours in their ſollicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reuerend company, when they entred into the Senate: and *Aſdrubal* aboue the reſt was much reſpected, as one, whoſe good offices had kept the *Romanes* from neceſſitie of ſending Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, vpon the like errand. Hee liberally granted, that the iuſtice of the quarrell had beene wholly on the *Romanes* ſide; ſaying that it was the fault of ſome violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuſe the Citie; that had beene too vehement in the proſecution of bad counſaile. But if *Hanno* and himſelfe might haue had their wills: the *Carthaginians*, euen at the beſt of their Fortune, ſhould haue granted the peace which they now deſired. Herewithall hee commended the moderation of the *Romanes*, as no ſmall argument of their valour; by which alwayes they had beene victorious. To the ſame effect ſpake the reſt of the Embaſſadours: all of them entreating to haue the Peace ratified; though ſome with more lamentable words than others, according to the diuerſitie of their ſtile. They had patience enough to endure ſuch reproofe of Periurie, as they themſelues might haue laid vpon the *Romanes*; if their diligence and fortune had beene ſuch as the *Romanes* was. Among the reſt, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would ſweare to keepe the peace hereafter: *Aſdrubal* made anſwere; *Euen by the ſame gods, that are ſo ſeuere vnto thoſe that violate their Leagues.*

Lentulus the Conſul interpoſing the authoritie of his Office, would haue hindred the Senate from proceeding vnto concluſion of peace; for that hereby Hee was like to loſe the honour, which hee purpoſed to get by making warre in *Africk.* But the matter was propounded vnto the people, in whom reſted the Soueraigne Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly vnto the pleaſure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio* with tenne Delegates ſent vnto him from *Rome* of purpoſe, ſhould make a League with the *Carthaginians*, vpon ſuch Conditions as ſeemed beſt: which were none other, than the ſame which he had alreadie propounded. For this fauour, the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadoures humbly thanked the Senate; and craued licence, that they might viſite their Countrimen, which were priſoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ranſome and carrie home with them ſome, that were their eſpeciall friends; of whom they gaue in writing almoſt two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of thoſe Priſoners, which the Embaſſadours would chooſe, ſhould be ſent ouer into *Africk*, and bee freely reſtored to libertie by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leaue, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to ioyne with *Scipio in* Commiſſion.

At their comming into *Africk*, the Peace was giuen, and accepted, without any controuerſie or diſputation. The Priſoners, Fugitiues, and Renegados, were deliuered vp to *Scipio*: likewiſe the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* tooke more vengeance vpon the Renegados, than vpon the Fugitiues; and vpon thoſe of the *Romans* than vpon the *Latines* or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romanes* he crucified. About the firſt payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were ſomewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treaſurie could haue ſpared two hundred Talents for the preſent: yet ſince the penſion was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeeres; it was thought meete to lay the burden vpon the Citizens. At the collection of the ſumme there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Romane* yoke had begunne to pinch them; ſo as many, euen of the Senatours, could not forbeare weeping. Contrariwiſe *Hannibal* could not refraine from laughter. For which when he was checked by *Aſdrubal Hædus*, and tolde, That it worſt of all beſeemed him to laugh, ſince he had bene the cauſe why all other did weepe; He anſwered, *That laughter did not alwayes proceed from ioy; but ſometime from extremitie of indignation. Yet,* ſaid He, *My laughter is more ſeaſonable, and leſſe abſurd, than your teares. For yee ſhould haue wept, when yee gaue vp your Shippes and Elephants, and when yee bound your owne hands from the vſe of Armes; without the good leaue of the Romanes firſt obteined. This miſerable condition keepes vs vnder; and holds vs in aſſured ſeruitude But of theſe matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your priuate purſes, yee haue* *thereof ſome ſenſe. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye ſhall acknowledge, That it was the very leaſt part of your miſerie, for which ye haue ſhed theſe teares.* Thus diſcourſed *Hannibal* vnto thoſe who taſting the bitter fruits of their owne malicious counſaile, repented when it was too late; and in ſtead of curſing their owne diſorders, which had bred this grieuous diſeaſe, accuſed that Phyſicion, whoſe noble endeauors had beene employed in procuring the remedie.

Scipio beeing to take leaue of *Africk*, produced *Maſaniſſa*, and magnified him in preſence of the Armie, with high commendations not vndeſeruedly. To him alſo hee conſigned ouer thoſe Towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that preſent held: wherein, to ſay truth, he gaue him but his due; and that which otherwiſe he knew not wel how to beſtow. But the loue of the *Romans*, & friendſhip of *Scipio*, was fully anſwerable, now and hereafter, to all the deſeruings of this *Numidian* King. About *Carthage* there reſted no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarqued themſelues for *Sicil*: where when they arriued at *Lilybæum*, *Scipio* with ſome part of his Armie tooke his way home to *Rome* by land; and ſent the reſt before him thither by Sea. His iourney through *Italie* was no leſſe glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to doe him honour as he paſſed along. Hee entred the Citie in Triumph: neither was there euer before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with ſo great ioy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in brauery of the pompe, there were others in time ſhortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the Citie in this Triumph; and died ſoone after in priſon: or whether hee were dead a while before; it cannot bee affirmed. Thus much may be auowed, That it was a barbarous cuſtome of the *Romans*, to inſult ouer the calamities of mightie Princes, by leading them contumeliouſly in Triumph; yea though they were ſuch, as had alwaies made faire and courteous warre. But hereof we ſhall haue better example, ere the ſame Age paſſe. It was neither the perſon of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the ſpectacle, that ſo much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grieuous warre paſt, whereof the *Romans* had beene in a manner *without hope that euer they ſhould ſet Italy free.* This made them looke cheerefully vpon the Author of ſo great a conuerſion; and filled them with more ioy, than they well could moderate. Wherfore they gaue to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: ſtiling him by the name of that Prouince which hee had ſubdued. This honorable kinde of ſurname, taken from a conquered Prouince, grew afterwards more common, and was vſurped by men of leſſe deſert: eſpecially by many of the *Cæſars*, who ſometimes arrogated vnto themſelues the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if ſuch glorious Attributes could haue made them like in vertue vnto *Scipio* the *African*.

Excerpt. è Pol. libr. 16.

CHAP. IIII.

Of PHILIP *the father of* PERSEVS, *King of Macedon: His firſt Acts and Warre with the Romans; by whom hee was ſubdued.*

§. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the Eaſt Countries, and deſirous of warre there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Warres, at one time. The Ætolians ouer-run Peloponneſus. Philip *and his Aſſociates make Warre againſt the Ætolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Ætolians inuade Greece and Macedon, and are inuaded at home by* Philip.

Plut. in vita Sertorij.

OF the great ſimilitude found in worldly euents, the limitation of matter hath beene aſſigned as a probable cauſe. For ſince Nature is confined vnto a ſubiect that is not vnbounded; the workes of Nature muſt needes bee finite, and many of them reſemble one the other. Now in thoſe actions, that ſeeme to haue their whole dependance vpon the will of man, wee are leſſe to wonder, if wee finde leſſe varietie: ſince it is no great portion of things which is

obnoxious

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obnoxious vnto humane power; and ſince they are the ſame affections, by which the wills of ſundrie men are ouer-ruled, in mannaging the affaires of our daily life. It may be obſerued in the change of Empires, before thoſe times whereof we now write, how the *Aſſyrians* or *Chaldæans* inuaded the Kingdome of *Medes*, with two hundred thouſand Foot, and threeſcore thouſand Horſe: but failing in their intended conqueſt, they became ſubiect within a while themſelues vnto the *Medes* and *Perſians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell vpon the *Greekes* with ſuch number of men, as might haue ſeemed reſiſtleſſe. But after that the *Perſians* were beaten home againe, their Empire was neuer ſecure of the *Greekes*: who at all times of leiſure from inteſtine Warre, deuiſed vpon that conqueſt thereof, which finally they made vnder the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchodonoſor* with his rough old ſouldiers, had vndertaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his well-trayned Armie, had made the attempt vpon *Greece*; the iſſue might, in humane reaſon, haue beene farre different. Yet would it then haue beene expedient for them, to employ the trauell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatneſſe of their names, againſt thoſe people; that were no leſſe valiant, though leſſe renowned, than their owne. For the menacing words vſed by *Cyrus*, and ſome ſmall diſpleaſures done to the *Greekes* (in which kinde it may bee, that *Nabuchodonoſor* likewiſe offended the *Medes* and *Perſians*) were not ſo auaileable to victorie, as to draw on reuenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in ſtrength, ſuffer as did the olde Lyon, for the oppreſſion done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Aſſe. But Princes are often carried away from reaſon, by miſſe-vnderſtanding the language of Fame: and deſpiſing the vertue that makes little noyſe, aduenture to prouoke it againſt themſelues; as if it were not poſſible that their owne glorie ſhould be ſoyled by any of leſſe-noted excellence. Againſt the ſame ſtone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Euilmerodach*, had ſtumbled; *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* hath daſht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though moſt of marke, and a better ſouldior then any other Greekiſh King, when he entred into warre againſt the *Romans*. This war he vndertooke as it were for his minds ſake: hauing receiued no iniurie; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greekes* that ſerued vnder him, to preuaile ſo eaſily againſt the barbarous *Romanes*, that they ſhould onely ſerue as a ſtep to his further intended conqueſts, of *Sicil* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans*, by their victory againſt *Pyrrhus*, had found their owne vertue to be of richer mettall, than was the more ſhining valour of the *Greekes*: then did all the brauery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants and whatſoeuer elſe had ſerued to make him terrible) ſerue only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to thinke more highly of themſelues. *For ſince they had ouercome the beſt Warriour in *Greece*, euen Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himſelfe Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what ſhould hinder them from the conqueſt of all thoſe vnwarlike Prouinces, which in compaſſe of 12. yeeres a Macedonian King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requiſite no more, than to bring to their owne deuotion by ſome good meanes, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the reſt, this done, would follow of it ſelfe. How to deale with the *Greekes*; *Philip* and *Alexander* had ſhewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

* The King of Spaines pretended inuincible Nauie, being beaten out of the Britiſh ſeas, inuited vs to thoſe of Spaine: and hauing broke the greateſt Fleet that euer the Spaniards gathered together; we neuer made account of any of his preparations after that time

When therefore the firſt Punicke warre was ended, which followed ſoone after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leiſure to hearken after newes in *Greece*; and to entertaine any good occaſion, that ſhould bee on that ſide preſented. They had alſo then a ſtrong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwiſe very skilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wiſhed, that the *Illyrian* Queene *Teuta* made at the ſame time cruel Warre vpon the *Greeks*: waſting their Country, and ſacking their Townes, onely becauſe they were vnable to reſiſt, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the *Romanes* were deſirous to enter; the Queene was not ſlow to giue them cauſe. And their happy accompliſhing of that war which they made with *Her*, was, in their owne opinion, a matter not vnworthy to make their Patronage to bee deſired by the *Greekes*. But no ſuch thing happened: though they ſent Embaſſadours, as it were to offer themſelues; by ſignifying, that for loue of *Greece* they had vndertaken this Illyrian warre. Thus beganne the firſt acquaintance betwixt the *Greekes* and *Romans*: which afterwards encreaſed very haſtilie, through the indiſcretion of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whoſe buſineſſe

Lib.5.c.2.§.7

with them, being now the ſubiect of our ſtorie, it is meet that wee ſhould relate (though ſomewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his firſt Actions. It was like to proue a buſie time in the world, when, within the ſpace of 4. yeeres, new Kings began to reigne in the moſt of all Countries knowne; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3. of the greateſt Kingdoms. This hapned from the third yere of the hundred thirty ninth *Olympiad*, vnto the third of the *Olympiad* following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Aſia* and *Syria*, in whoſe roome ſucceeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called *the great*. *Ptolomie Philopator* ſucceeded in the Kingdome of *Ægypt* vnto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the ſonne of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. yeeres old, receiued the Kingdom of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achæans* and moſt of the *Greeks*; by the deceaſe of his Vncle *Antigonus Doſon*, that was called the *Tutor* or *Protector*. About the ſame time alſo was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedæmon*, & the Countries about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then beganne his reigne in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found meanes to make himſelfe King ouer the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Common-weale, ſince the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headleſſe; and *Achæus*, a kinſman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebell vnto him, occupied the Regions neare vnto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Laſtly, in the ſecond & third yeares of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad* it was, that open war brake out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Inuaſion vpon *Italie*. Thoſe troubles of the Weſterne world, which were indeed the greateſt, we haue already followed vnto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemie*, and the reſt, we ſhall ſpeake hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, ſoone after the beginning of his reigne, came into *Peloponneſus*; greatly deſired of the *Achæans*, and many others his dependants. That Country, hauing freed it ſelfe by the helpe of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an eaſie ſubiection vnto *Cleomenes*: was now become no leſſe obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it ſhould haue beene to the *Spartan*; and therewithal it lay open vnto the violence of the *Ætolians*, who deſpiſed euen the Macedonian Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The *Ætolians* were no men to be idle, nor were much addicted to any other Art than warre. Therfore wanting employment, they fell vpon the *Meſſenians* that were their owne Clients, & (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their conſanguiniti) the onely good friends which they had at the preſent in *Peloponneſus*. Their inuaſion was no leſſe vnexpected, then it was vniuſt: wherby with greater eaſe they made ſpoyle of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make reſiſtance. The *Achæans*, were called by the *Meſſenians* to help: which they did the more willingly; becauſe the *Ætolians* paſſing without leaue through their Territorie, had (as was their manner) done what harme they liſted. Olde *Aratus* could hardly abide theſe *Ætolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the iniuries, wherewith moſt ingratefully they had requited no ſmall benefits done to them by the *Achæans*. Hee was therefore ſo haſty to fall vpon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to ſtay a few daies vntill the time of his owne Office came; beeing choſen Prætor of the *Achæans* for the yeere following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he ſhewed himſelfe a man fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other ſeruice, than leading of an Armie. He ſuffered them to paſſe quietlie along with their bootie, through a part of the Countrie, wherein he might very eaſilie haue diſtreſſed them; and afterwards preſſed them ſo neere, when they had recouered ground of aduantage, that they eaſily defeated all his Armie. So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne agayne. As for the *Achæans*, they got hereby onely the friendſhip of the *Meſſenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacie. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* inuaded *Peloponneſus* againe; hauing no more to doe, than to paſſe ouer the narrow Streights of the *Corinthian* Bay, called now the Gulph of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countrey of the *Eleans*. There ioyned with them, in this their ſecond inuaſion, a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that Condition impoſed vpon them by the *Romans*, of ſetting out no ſhips of war vnto the coaſt of *Greece*: made bold to ſeek aduentures againe, and did great miſchiefe. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of theſe *Illyrians*: who ſhortly repented him of this his voyage; which cauſed him to loſe his Kingdome, as is ſhewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, & fell vpon the Ilands of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* ſea: whence returning, he did ſome good offices for king *Philip*, or his friends. The reſt of the *Illyrians* vnder *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdiletus*, hauing gotten

Lib. 5.chap.2. §.6.
Ibid.

Chap. 3.§.1.

gotten what they could elſe-where by rouing at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponneſus:* who made greater hauocke in the Countrey now, than in their former Expedition, and returned home, without finding any reſiſtance.

Of theſe things great complaint was made vnto *Philip,* when hee came to *Corinth.* And becauſe men were deſirous to ſatisfie themſelues with ſome ſpeedy reuenge: there were that vrged to haue ſome grieuous puniſhment layd vpon the *Lacedæmonians:* who were thought vnder-hand to haue fauoured the *Ætolians*, in meere deſpight of the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themſelues had lately beene ſubdued. It is true, that the *Lacedæmonians* had beene ſo affected: and (which was worſe) at the arriuall of *Philip,* they ſlew ſuch friends of his, as hauing checked their inclination, ſeemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durſt they well commit themſelues to iudgement: but entreated the King, that he would abſtaine from comming to them with an Army: ſince their Towne was lately much diſquieted with ciuil diſcord, which they hoped ſoone to appeaſe, and meant alwayes to remaine at his deuotion. *Philip* was eaſily ſatisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus,* who then wholly gouerned him) did miſ-vnderſtand the *Lacedæmonians:* but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in preſence of the King, the Embaſſadours of the *Achæans, Bœotians, Epirots,* and *Acarnanians:* all complayning vpon the *Ætolians:* and deſiring to haue warre decreed againſt them, by common aſſent. *Philip* ſent his letters vnto the *Ætolians,* requiring them to make ready their anſwer in ſome conuenient time: if they could alleadge any thing in excuſe of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet ſhould be holden at *Rhium* for that purpoſe: whither if it pleaſed him to come, or ſend, he ſhould be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to haue beene there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* vnderſtood this for certaintie, they adiourned the Councell vnto a further time: ſaying, That ſuch weighty matters ought not to be handled, ſaue in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia.* This tricke of Law notwithſtanding, open war was proclaimed againſt them. And they, as it were to ſhew how wel they had deſerued it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of theſe Inuaſions made on *Peloponneſus*; and the onely man, in a ſort, vpon whom they muſt haue laid the blame of theſe actions, if they would haue ſhifted it from the publike.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon,* where hee prepared buſily for the warre againſt the yeare following. He alſo aſſayed the *Illyrian, Scerdilaidas,* with faire words and promiſes; whom he eaſily won from the *Ætolian* ſide, foraſmuch as the *Ætolians* had couſened him of his ſhare, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like ſort the *Achæans*, who had firſt of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Countrey, ſent vnto the *Acarnanians, Epirots, Meſſenians,* & *Lacedæmonians:* requeſting them forthwith to declare themſelues, and to denounce warre vnto the *Ætolians*; without ſtaying (as it were) to await the euent. Hereunto they receiued diuerſe anſweres, according to the qualities of thoſe with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians,* a free-hearted and valiant, though a ſmall Nation, and bordering vpon the *Ætolians*, of whom they ſtood in continuall danger, ſayd, that they could not honeſtly refuſe to ſhew their faithfull meaning in that warre, which was concluded by generall aſſent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were neuertheleſſe more cunning and reſerued: ſo that they ſtood vpon a needleſſe point, and deſired to be held excuſed, vntill *Philip* (of whoſe meaning they needed not to haue made any doubt) ſhould firſt proclaime the war. The *Meſſenians,* for whoſe cauſe the warre was vndertaken, excuſed themſelues, by reaſon of a Towne which the *Ætolians* held vpon their borders; and ſayd, that they durſt not be ouer-bold, vntill that bridle were taken out of their mouthes. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, the chiefe of them ſtudied onely, how to mannage the treaſon, for which their Citty had beene ſo lately pardoned: and therefore diſmiſſed the Embaſſadours of the Confederates, without any anſwere at all. They had three yeares together continued ſubiect againſt their wills to the *Macedonians*, expecting ſtill when *Cleomenes* ſhould returne out of *Ægypt* to reigne ouer them agayne, and maintayne, as hee was wont, the honour of their Citty. In this regard they choſe not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephori.* Of theſe there were ſome, that thought the publike ſafety to conſiſt, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preſerued them: And hereto they referred all their counſailes: being perhappes a little moued with reſpect of the benefit, which might redound vnto themſelues, by adhering firmely to thoſe which at the preſent bore rule ouer them. Others, and thoſe the greater part, were ſtill deuiſing, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* againſt his returne; and ſought to ioyne with the *Ætolians*, which were the moſt likely to giue him ſtrong aſſiſtance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority and durſt more freely ſpeake their mindes: but the contrary ſide was the more paſſionate, and ſpared not by murders, or any other violent courſes, to ſet forward their deſire. Neyther did it ſuffice, that about theſe times there came certayne report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which theſe intended: fancying vnto themſelues the glory of their Anceſtors in ſuch Ages paſt, as were not like to come agayne. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the moſt able man to reſtore them vnto their greatneſſe and luſtre; which once hee had in a manner performed: But ſince hee was dead, and that, without iniury to his well-deſeruing vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would haue, and thoſe of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without ſuch helpes, they muſt continue little better than ſubiects vnto the *Macedonian*, and farre leſſe by him reſpected, than were the *Achæans*. Thus were they tranſported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the moſt working ſpirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to ſend an Embaſſie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly vnto the people, whereof no one of the Cittizens durſt haue made himſelfe the Author. Much diſputation, and hot, there was, betweene thoſe of the *Macedonian* partie, and theſe their oppoſites: in ſuch wiſe that nothing could be concluded; vntill by maſſacre or baniſhment of all, or the chiefe, that ſpake againſt the *Ætolians*, the diuerſitie of opinion was taken quite away. Then foorthwith a League was concluded betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achæans*, who had ſpared the Cittie, when they might haue deſtroyed it. Then alſo they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was ſo nice, and ſo regardfull of their auncient Lawes, as touching the chooſing of the one King, that wee may iuſtly wonder, how they grew ſo careleſſe in making choice of the other. In the one of their royall Families they found *Ageſipolis*, the ſon of *Ageſipolis* the ſon of king *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reigne ouer them, as heire apparant to his grandfather. This *Ageſipolis* was a yong Boy, ſtanding in neede of a Guardian; and had an Vncle, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Gouernement. Yet becauſe the Law required, that the ſonne, how youngſoeuer, ſhould haue his fathers whole right and title: the *Lacedæmonians*, though ſtanding in neede of a man, were ſo punctuall in obſeruation of the Law, that they made this childe their King, and appoynted his Vncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the royall Family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themſelues about any of them, to examine the goodneſſe of his Claime; but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who hauing no manner of title to the kingdome, beſtowed vpon each of the *Ephori*, a Talent, and thereby made himſelfe be ſaluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus*, to gratifie his Partiſans, and to appout his worth by action, inuaded the Countrey of the *Argiues*: which lay open and vngarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great ſpoile, and won diuers Townes; whereof two he retained, and annexed vnto the State of the *Lacedæmon*. After ſuch open hoſtility, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themſelues on the *Ætolian* ſide; and proclaimed warre againſt the *Achæans*.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwiſe, than the *Achæans* and theit Confederates had expected, when they firſt made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gaue vncertayne anſwere: the *Meſſenians* would not ſtirre: all the burden muſt lie vpon themſelues and the poore *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by fauour of the *Eleans*, could inuade at pleaſure, as they were like to doe; and by helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*, could aſſaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, paſſing ouer the Bay of *Corinth*, ſurpriſed the Towne of *Ægira*: which if they could haue held, they ſhould thereby grieuouſly haue moleſted the *Achæans*; for that it ſtood in the mid-way betweene *Ægium* and *Sicyon*, two of their principall Citties, and gaue open way into the heart of all their Countrey. But as *Ægira* was taken by ſurpriſe: ſo was it preſently loſt agayne, through greedineſſe of ſpoyle; whileſt they that ſhould haue made it their firſt care, to aſſure the place vnto themſelues, by occupying the citadel and other peeces of ſtrength, fell heedleſly to ranſacke priuate houſes, and thereby gaue the Citizens leaue to make head, by whom they were driuen with great ſlaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About the ſame time, another *Ætolian* Armie landing among the *Eleans*, fell vpon the Weſterne Coaſt of *Achaia*; waſting all the Territorie of the *Dymæans* and other people, that were firſt beginners of the *Achæan* Confederacie. The *Dymæans* and their neighbours made head againſt theſe Inuaders; but were ſo well beaten, that the enemie grew bolder with them than before. They ſent for helpe vnto their Prætor, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the *Achæans* hauing lately beene much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to doe little of themſelues: neither could they get any ſtrength of Mercenaries; foraſmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his warre, they had couetouſly with-held part of their due from thoſe that ſerued them therein. So through this diſability of the *Achæans*, and inſufficiency of their Prætor; the *Dymeans*, with others, were driuen to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publike ſeruice, and to conuert the money to their owne defence. *Lycurgus* alſo with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to winne vpon the *Arcadians*; that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Achæans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilſt their Armie was thus employed a farre off in *Peloponneſus*. The *Epirots* ioyned all their forces with him: and by ſuch their willing readines, drew him to the ſiege of a Frontier peece, which they deſired to get into their owne hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped ſhortly to make themſelues Maſters of *Ambracia*. There hee ſpent fortie dayes, ere he could end the buſines; which tended onely to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his firſt comming in; it was thought that he might haue had an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon ſmall Townes or Forts: and not ſeldome, that the importunitie of Aſſociates, to haue their owne deſires fulfilled, cõuerts the preparatiõs of great Kings to thoſe vſes for which they neuer were intẽded; thereby hindering the proſecution of their maine deſſignes. Thus was our King *Henrie* the eight led aſide, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the ſiege of *Tournay*: at ſuch time as the French King *Lewes* the twelfth, hearing that the ſtrong Citie of *Terwin* was loſt, and that his Cauallerie, wherein reſted his chiefe confidence, two thouſand were beaten by the *Earle of Eſſex* with ſeuen hundred *Engliſh*; was thinking to withdraw himſelfe into *Brittaine*, in feare that *Henrie* would haue come to *Paris*.

The ſtay that *Philip* made at *Ambracus*, did wondrouſly embolden the *Ætolians*: in ſuch ſort, as their Prætor *Scopas* aduentured to leade all their forces out of the Countrey; and therewith not onely to ouer-runne *Theſſalie*, but to make impreſſion into *Macedon*. He ranne as farre as to *Dium*, a Citie of *Macedon* vpon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forſaken by the Inhabitants at his comming, He tooke, and razed to the ground. He ſpared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouerturned all: and among the reſt, he threw downe the Statu'as that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countreymen at his returne; foraſmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to bee growne terrible, not onely (as before) vnto *Peloponneſus*, but euen to *Macedon* it ſelfe. But this their pride was ſoone abated; and they rewarded ſhortly at home in their owne Countrey, for their paines taken at *Dium*. *Philip* hauing diſpatched his worke at *Ambracus*, made a ſtrong inuaſion vpon *Ætolia*. He tooke *Phoetiæ*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Pæanium*, *Elæus*, and diuers other Townes and Caſtles of theirs: of which he burnt ſome, and fortified others. He alſo beat the *Ætolians* in ſundrie skirmiſhes; and waſted all the Countrie ouer, without receiuing any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut ouer the Streights into *Peloponneſus*, and to doe the like ſpoile in the Countrey of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently ſollicited by the *Achæan* Embaſſadours: newes came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were ready with a great Armie to fall vpon the Countrie. Theſe *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, diuided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northerne part of *Macedon*, and were accuſtomed to ſeeke booty in that wealthy Kingdome, when they found their own times. Hauing therfore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a iourney into *Peloponneſus*; they purpoſed in his abſence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themſelues in his Countrey; as had beene their manner vpon the like aduantages. This made the King to diſmiſſe the *Achæan* Embaſſadours, (whom he ſhould haue accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them haue patience vntill another yeere. So Hee tooke his way homewards: and as hee was paſſing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there repaired vnto him *Demetrius Pharius*, with no more than one Ship; that was newly chaſed out of his Kingdome by the *Romanes*. This *Demetrius* had lately ſhewed himſelfe a friend to *Antigonus Doſon*, in the warres of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his laſt Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was readie, at their firſt requeſt, to take part with *Philips* Captaines. Theſe, or the like conſiderations, made him welcome vnto the *Macedonian* King: whoſe Counſailor he was euer after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the Kings returne, brake vp their Armie; and gaue ouer for the preſent their inuaſion of *Macedon*, towards which they were alreadie on their way.

All that Summer following the King reſted at *Lariſſa* in *Theſſalie*, whileſt his people gathered in their Harueſt. But the *Ætolians* reſted not. They auenged themſelues vpon the *Epirots*: whom for the harmes by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they requited with all extremities of warre, among which, the moſt notable was the ruine of the moſt famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of warre vntill another yeere was laid aſide: *Philip* ſtole a iournie into *Peloponneſus*, with fiue thouſand Foot, and about foure hundred Horſe. As ſoone as he was within *Corinth*; Hee commanded the Gates to be ſhut, that no word might be carried foorth of his arriuall. Hee ſent priuily for old *Aratus* to come thither vnto him: with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, he would haue the *Achæan* Souldiors readie to meete him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrie, with ſomewhat more than two thouſand Foot and an hundred Horſe; little thinking to meet with ſuch oppoſition. Indeede they had little cauſe to feare: ſince the *Achæans* themſelues were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; vntill they heard, that theſe two thouſand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellowes, were by him ſurpriſed, and all made priſoners, or ſlaine. By this exploit which he did at his firſt comming, *Philip* got very much reputation and likewiſe he purchaſed both reputation and loue, by diuers actions immediately following. He won *Pſophis*, an exceeding ſtrong Town, in the borders of *Arcadia*; which the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* then held. Hee wonne it by aſſault at his firſt comming: wherein it much auailed him, that the Enemie, not beleeuing that he would vndertake ſuch a peece of worke at ſuch an vnſeaſonable time of the yeere, was careleſſe of prouiding euen ſuch ſtore of weapons, as might haue ſerued to defend it. The Towne was preſerued by the King from ſacke; and giuen to the *Achæans*, of his owne meere motion, before they requeſted it. Thence went he to *Laſion*, which yeelded for very feare; hearing how eaſilie he had taken *Pſophis*. This Towne alſo he gaue to the *Achæans*. The like liberality he vſed towards others; that had ancient title vnto places by him recouered. Then fell hee vpon the Countrie of *Elis*, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandrie, and liued abroad in Villages; euen ſuch as were of the wealthier ſort among them. So he came to the Citie of *Olympia*: where hauing done ſacrifice to *Iupiter*, feaſted his Captaines, and refreſhed his Armie three daies; Hee proceeded on to the ſpoyle of thoſe, that had taken pleaſure to ſhare with the *Ætolians*, in the ſpoiles of their other-wiſe-deſeruing neighbours. Great abundance of Cattaile hee tooke, with great numbers of ſlaues, and much wealth of all ſorts, ſuch as could bee found in rich villages. Then fell hee in hand with the Townes whereinto a great multitude of the Countrie-people were fledde. Some of theſe were taken at the firſt aſſault. Some yeelded for feare. Some preuented the labour of his iourney, by ſending Embaſſadours to yeeld before he came. And ſome that were held with Garriſons againſt their wils, tooke courage to ſet themſelues at libertie, by ſeeing the King ſo neere; to whoſe Patronage thenceforth they betooke themſelues. And many places were ſpoyled by the *Ætolian* Captaines, becauſe they diſtruſted their ability to hold them. So the King wonne more Townes in the Countrie, than the ſharpeneſſe of Winter would ſuffer him to ſtay there dayes. Faine he would haue fought with the *Ætolians*: but they made ſuch haſte from him, that he could not ouertake them, till they had couered themſelues within the Towne of *Samicum*; where they thought to haue beene ſafe. But *Philip* aſſaulted them therein ſo forcibly, that he made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their liues and armes. Hauing performed ſo much in this expedition, the King repoſed himſelfe a while in *Megalopolis*; and then remooued to *Argos*; where hee ſpent all the reſt of the VVinter.

Before the Kings arriuall in *Peloponneſus*, the *Lacedæmonians* with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten ſomewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatned to doe great matters. But when they were admoniſhed, by the calamitie that fell vpon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging ouer their owne heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themſelues home. This *Lycurgus*, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of *Sparta*, than that which hee could buy with money: ſo was he neither free from danger of conſpiracies made againſt him; nor from thoſe iealouſies, with which Vſurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall blood, that thinking himſelfe to haue beſt right vnto the Kingdome, purpoſed to make way thereunto, by maſſacre of his oppoſites; and afterwards to confirme himſelfe, by propounding vnto the Multitude ſuch reformation of the State as was moſt popular: namely, by making an equall diſtribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient inſtitution of that Common wealth. He wonne to his partie ſome two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon the *Ephori* as they were together at ſupper, and ſlew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his houſe: who perceiuing the danger, ſtole away and fled. It remained that he ſhould giue account of theſe doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto prædiſpoſed; they ſo little regarded his goodly offers, as euen whilſt hee was vſing his beſt perſwaſions, they were conſulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceiued whereabout they went, and ſhifted preſently away. So he liued afterwards among the *Achæans* a baniſhed man, and hated of his owne people. As for *Lycurgus*, hee returned home: and ſuſpecting thenceforth all thoſe of *Hercules* his race, found meanes to driue out his fellow-King yong *Ageſipolis*; whereby hee made himſelfe Lord alone. His doings grew to bee ſuſpected, in ſuch ſort as once he ſhould haue beene apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might haue beene defended; yet rather than to aduenture himſelfe into iudgement, he choſe to flie for a time, and ſoiourne among his friends the *Ætolians*. His wel-knowne vehemencie in oppoſition to the *Macedonians*, had procured vnto him ſuch good liking among the people, that in his abſence they beganne to conſider the weakeneſſe of their owne ſurmiſes againſt him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Eſtate. But in time following, Hee tooke better heed vnto himſelfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was ſo acknowledged) but by taking order, that it ſhould not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they liſted. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that he chaſed *Ageſipolis* out of the Citie; I doe not certainely finde. Like enough it is, That his being the firſt of three vſurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to bee placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the laſt of the three very iuſtly deſerued. Whatſoeuer he was toward ſome priuate Citizens: in the warre againſt *Philip*, He behaued himſelfe as a prouident man, and carefull of his Countreis good.

§. II.

How Philip *was miſaduiſed by ill Counſailors: who afterwards wrought treaſon againſt him; and were iuſtly puniſhed. He inuadeth the Ætolians a ſecond time: and forceth them to ſue for peace: which is granted vnto them.*

WHileſt the King lay at *Argos*, deuiſing vpon his buſineſſe for the yeare following, ſome ambitious men that were about him, ſtudied ſo diligently for their owne greatneſſe, as they were like to haue ſpoiled all that hee tooke in hand. *Antigonus Doſon* had left vnto *Philip* ſuch Counſailors, as to him did ſeeme the fitteſt men for gouerning of his youth. The chiefe of theſe was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his perſon, and alſo the ordering of his Treaſures. This man, ſeeming to himſelfe a great Politician, thought that hee ſhould doe a notable peece of ſeruice to his Prince, if hee could reduce the *Achæans* vnto the ſame degree of ſubiection, wherein the *Macedonians* liued. To bring this to paſſe; during the late Expedition he had cauſed ſome of the *Macedonians* to thruſt the *Achæans* out of their lodgings, and to ſtrip them of the bootie that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occaſion fell out, Hee was bold to chaſtice ſome of that Nation; cauſing his Miniſters to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were ſome of them that could not refrain) to helpe their fellowes; them he laid by the heeles, and puniſhed as Mutiners. Hereby hee thought to bring it to paſſe by little and little, that they ſhould bee qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and thinke nothing vniuſt that pleaſed the King. But theſe *Achæans* were tenderly ſenſible in matters of libertie: whereof if they could haue beene contented to ſuffer any little diminution, they needed not haue troubled the *Macedonians* to helpe them in the warre againſt *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themſelues vnto olde *Aratus*; and beſought him to thinke vpon ſome good order, that they might not be oppreſſed by degrees. *Aratus* foorthwith dealt earneſtly with the King; as in a matter more weighty, than at firſt it might ſeeme. The King beſtowed gracious words vpon thoſe that had beene wronged; and forbade *Apelles* to follow the courſe begunne. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he diſſembled his choller for a time. He thought ſo well of his owne Proiect, that he could not endure to lay it aſide; being perhaps vnable to doe the King any valuable ſeruice, in buſineſſe of other nature. He purpoſed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; ſince, in biting at the taile, the fiſh had ſhot away from his mouth. It could not otherwiſe be than that among the *Achæans* there were ſome, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. Theſe he enquired out, and ſending for them, entertained them with words of Court; promiſing to become their eſpeciall friend; and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpoſe with the King himſelfe: letting him know, that as long as hee continued to make much of *Aratus*, he muſt be faine to deale preciſely with the *Achæans*, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleaſed, to giue countenance vnto thoſe others whom he himſelfe commended, then ſhould the *Achæans*, and all other *Peloponneſians*, be quickely brought to conforme themſelues vnto the duety of obedient Subiects. By ſuch perſwaſions, he drew the King to be preſent at *Ægium*, where the *Achæans* were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would haue bin needfull in a buſineſſe of more importance; the King by faire words and threatnings together, obtained ſo much, That *Eperatus*, a very inſufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new fauourites, was choſen Prætor, inſtead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters, that ſhould follow. The King from thence paſſed along by *Patras* and *Dyma*, to a very ſtrong Caſtle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The garriſon yeelded it vp for feare, at his firſt comming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earneſt deſire to beſtow it vpon the *Dymæans*, as he preſently did.

The King thought it ſtrange, that all this while he heard of no meſſengers from the *Eleans*, to ſue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrey the laſt Winter, hee had let looſe one *Amphidamus* a Captaine of theirs, that was his priſoner; becauſe hee found him an intelligent man, and one that vndertooke to make them forſake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and ioyne with him vpon reaſonable termes. This if they could be contented to doe, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them vnderſtand, That hee would render vnto them freely all priſoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrein inuaſion; and that they ſhould hold their liberty entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept vnder by any garriſon. Theſe conditions were not to be deſpiſed, if they had found credit as they might haue done. But when *Philip* came to the Caſtle of *Tichos*, and made a new inuaſion vpon their Countrey: then beganne the *Eleans*, (that were not before euer-haſtie to beleeue ſuch faire promiſes) to ſuſpect *Amphidamus* as a Traitour, and one that was ſet on worke for no other end, than to breede a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purpoſed to lay hands vpon him, and ſend him priſoner into *Ætolia*. But he perceiued their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himſelfe; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was ſayd) maruailing what ſhould be the cauſe, that he heard no newes from the *Ælians*, concerning the offers which hee had made vnto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles*, his Counſailor, thereby tooke occaſion to ſupplant *Aratus*. He ſayd that old *Aratus*, and his ſonne together, had ſuch deuices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he ſayd it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out: For when *Amphidamus* was diſmiſſed home, the two *Arati*, (the father and the ſonne) had taken him aſide and giuen him to vnderſtand, that it would be very preiudiciall to all *Peloponneſus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the deuotion of the *Macedonian*: And this was the true cauſe, why neither *Amphidamus* was very carefull in doing this meſſage, nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a falſe lie; deuiſed by *Apelles* himſelfe, vpon no other ground than his owne malice. *Philip* had no ſooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he ſent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearſe it ouer againe to their faces. *Apelles* did ſo, and with a bold countenance,

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talking to them as to men already conuicted. And when hee had ſaid all he reſt, ere either *Philip* or they ſpake any word; He added this clauſe as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you ſuch vngratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achæans*; and therein hauing made it knowne what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leaue you to your ſelues. Old *Aratus* grauely admoniſhed the King; That whenſoeuer hee heard any accuſation, eſpecially againſt a friend of his owne or a man of worth, He ſhould forbeare a while to giue credit, vntill he had diligently examined the buſineſſe. For ſuch deliberation was Kingly, and he ſhould neuer thereof repent him. At the preſent hee ſaid there needed no more, than to call in thoſe that had heard his talke with *Amphidamus*, and eſpecially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very abſurd thing, That the King ſhould make himſelfe the Authour of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other euidence, than one mans *yea*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and ſaid that he would make ſufficient inquirie. So paſſed a few dayes: wherein whileſt *Apelles* delaied to bring in the proofe, which indeed he wanted; *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and tolde what had befalne him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conſpiracy of the *Arati*: which when he found no better than a meere deuice againſt his honourable friends; He entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his loue to *Apelles*, though it was hereby ſomewhat cooled; yet by meanes of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remiſſion therein could be diſcerned.

The vnreſtfull temper of *Apelles*, hauing with much vehemencie brought nothing to paſſe; began (as commonly Ambition vſeth) to ſwell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. He betakes himſelfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with thoſe of the vulgar, he had prepared a ſnare for the *Arati*; ſo fayling of them, he thinkes it wiſedome to lay for the King himſelfe, and for all at once which were about him. In ſuch manner ſometime, the Spider thought to haue taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chimnie; but was carried (net and all) into the Ayre by the bird, that was too ſtrong to bee caught and held by the ſubtile workemanſhip of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next vnto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chiefe place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponneſus*, and *Alexander* Captaine of the Guard, were faithfull men, and ſuch as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captaine of the *Targuetiers*, and *Megaleas* chiefe of the Secretaries, were eaſily wonne to be at *Apelles* his diſpoſition This politician therefore ſtudied how to remooue the other two from their places, and put ſome Creatures of his owne into their roomes. Againſt *Alexander* Hee went to worke the ordinarie way, by calumniation and priuie detraction. But for the ſupplanting of *Taurion* he vſed more fineneſſe, loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of warre, and one, whom for his many vertues, the King might ill ſpare from being alwaies in his preſence. By ſuch Art hee thought to haue remoued him, as we ſay, *Out of Gods bleſſing into a warme Sunne*. In the meane ſeaſon *Aratus* retired himſelfe; and ſought to auoid the dangerous friendſhip of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prætor of *Achaia*, lately choſen by ſuch vehement inſtance of the King; Hee was a man of no diſpatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deale of time was loſt, whileſt *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corne, wherewith hee ſhould haue beene furniſhed by the *Achæans*. This made the King vnderſtand his owne errour; which he wiſely ſought to reforme betimes. Hee perſwaded the *Achæans* to reiourne their Parliament from *Ægium*, to *Sycion* the Towne of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his ſonne: perſwading them to forget what was paſt; and laying all the blame vpon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth hee intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of theſe worthy men, He eaſily obtained what he would of the *Achæans*. Fifty talents they gaue him out of hand; with great ſtore of Corne: and further decreed, That ſo long as hee himſelfe in perſon followed the warres in *Peloponneſus*, hee ſhould receiue ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to prouide ſhipping, that ſo he might inuade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleaſure, and hinder their excurſions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond meaſure, to ſee things goe forward ſo well without his helpe; euen by the miniſtery of thoſe whom he moſt hated. Wherefore he entred into conſpiracie with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*: binding himſelfe and them by Oath, to croſſe and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King ſhould take in hand. By ſo doing, they thought to bring it to paſſe, that very want of ability to doe any thing without them; ſhould make him ſpeake them faire; and bee glad to ſubmit himſelfe to their directions. The King it is like had ſtood in ſome awe of them whileſt he was a child; and therefore theſe wiſe men perſwaded themſelues, that, by looking bigge vpon him, and imputing vnto him all that fell out ill through their own miſgouernement of his affaires, they might rule him as a childe ſtill. *Apelles* would needes goe to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the prouiſions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon:* The other two ſtaid behinde with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie.

His fleet and Armie being in a readineſſe: *Philip* made countenance, as if hee would haue bent all his forces againſt the *Eleans*; to whoſe aid therefore the *Ætolians* ſent men, little fearing that the miſchiefe would haue fallen as ſoone after it did, vpon themſelues. But againſt the *Eleans* and thoſe that came to helpe them, *Philip* thought it enough to leaue the *Achæans*, with ſome part of his and their Mercinaries. Hee himſelfe with the body of his Armie putting to Sea, landed in the Ile of *Cephallenia*: whence the *Ætolians* dwelling ouer againſt it, vſed to furniſh themſelues of ſhipping, when they went to roue abroad. There he beſieged the Towne of *Palæa*, that had beene very ſeruiceable to the Enemie againſt him and his Confederates; and might be very vſe-full to him, if hee could get it. Whileſt he lay before this Towne, there came vnto him fifteene ſhippes of warre from *Scerdilaidas*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Meſſenians*. But the Towne was obſtinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts ſaue one, on which ſide *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith hee ouerthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captaine of the Targettiers, was appointed by the King to make the aſſault. But he, remembring his couenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbeare to doe his beſt; and cauſed others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foyle, and many ſlaine, not of the worſt ſouldiers, but ſuch as had gotten ouer the breach, and would haue carried the Towne, if the Treaſon of their Captaine, and ſome by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angry with this, but there was no remedie; and therefore he thought vpon breaking vp the ſiege. For it was eaſier vnto the Towneſ men to make vp the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whileſt he ſtood thus perplexed and vncertaine what courſe to take: the *Meſſenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard vpon him, each of them deſirous to draw him into their owne Countrey. The *Meſſenians* alleadged, that *Lycurgus* was buſie in waſting their Countrey: vpon whom the King might come vnawares in one day; the Eteſian windes which then blew, ſeruing fitly for his Nauigation. Heereto alſo *Leontius* perſwaded; who conſidered that thoſe windes, as they would eaſily carry him thither, ſo would they detaine him there perforce (blowing all the Dogge-dayes) and make him ſpend the Summer to ſmall or no purpoſe. But *Aratus* gaue better counſaile, and preuailed. He ſhewed how vnfitting it were, to let the *Ætolians* ouer-runne all *Theſſalie* againe, and ſome part of *Macedon*, whileſt the King withdrew his Armie farre off to ſeeke ſmall aduentures. Rather, hee ſaid, that the time now ſerued well to carrie the warre into *Aetolia*; ſince the Prætor was gone thence abroad on rouing, with the one halfe of their ſtrength. As for *Lycurgus*; he was not ſtrong enough to doe much harme in *Peloponneſus*: and it might ſuffice, if the *Achæans* were appointed to make head againſt him. According to this aduice, the King ſets ſayle for *Ætolia*; and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which diuided the *Aetolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to ſee him on their borders; and ioyned with him as many of them as could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance vpon their bad neighbours. He marched vp into the in-land Countrey: and taking ſome places by the way, which he filled with Garriſons to aſſure his Retrait; He paſſed on to *Thermum*, which was the Receptacle of the *Aetolians*, and ſureſt place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great Faſtneſſe, enuironed with rockie Mountaines of very narrow, ſteepe, and difficult aſcent. There did the *Aetolians* vſe to hold all their chiefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magiſtrates, and their ſolemne games. There alſo they vſed to beſtow the moſt precious of their goods, as in a place of greateſt ſecuritie. This opinion of the naturall ſtrength, had made them careleſſe in looking vnto it. When *Philip* therefore had ouercome the bad way, there was nothing elſe to do than to take ſpoile:

whereof he found ſuch plentie, that he thought the paines of his iourney well recompenced. So he loaded his Armie: and conſuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chiefe of all belonging vnto the *Aetolians*; in remembrance of their like courteſie, ſhewed vpon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (queſtionleſſe) more for the Kings honour haue beene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as *Mounſieur du Gourgues* the French Captaine told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from *Thermum*, the *Ætolians* laid for him: which that they would doe, he beleeued before; and therefore was not taken vnawares: Three thouſand of them there were that lying in ambuſh fell vpon his skirts: but hee had laid a Counter-ambuſh for them of his *Illyrians*; who ſtaying behinde the reſt, did ſet vpon the backes of the *Ætolians*, whileſt they were buſily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with ſlaughter of the enemie, hee returned the ſame way that he came: and burning downe thoſe places that he had taken before, as alſo waſting the Countrey round about him, Hee ſafely carried all that he had gotten aboard his Fleet. Once the *Ætolians* made countenance of fight, iſſuing out of *Stratus* in great brauerie. But they were beaten home faſter than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The ioy of this victorious Expedition being euery way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any ſiniſter accident; it pleaſed the King to make a great feaſt vnto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were inuited among the reſt *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came, becauſe they could not chooſe: but their heauy lookes argued, what little pleaſure they tooke in the Kings proſperity. It grieued them to thinke, that they ſhould bee able to giue no better account vnto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings buſineſſe; ſince *Apelles* himſelfe, as will be ſhewed anon, had plaied his owne part with a moſt miſchieuous dexteritie. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reuiling him, throwing ſtones at him, ſo that they cauſed a great vprore; many running in (as happens in ſuch caſes) to take part with the one or the other. The King ſending to inquire of the matter, was truely informed of all that had paſſed. Which made him ſend for *Leontius* and his fellowes. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their diſorder; and they, to giue him froward anſweres: inſomuch as they ſaid at length, That they would neuer giue ouer, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a miſchiefe as hee deſerued. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targettiers at his heeles: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands vpon *Megaleas*, yea and to caſt him into priſon? Why, ſaid the King, it was euen I. This reſolute anſwere, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both ſad and angrie; ſeeing himſelfe out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedie the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called forth to his anſwere, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victorie at *Palæa*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no leſſe touching *Leontius*, that ſtood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accuſed. In concluſion, the preſumptions againſt him were ſo ſtrong, and his anſweres thereto ſo weake; that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellowes, were condemned in twentie Talents: *Crinon* being remanded backe to priſon; and *Leontius* becomming Bayle for *Megaleas*. This was done vpon the way home-ward, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip diſpatched well a great deale of buſineſſe this yeere. For as ſoone as hee was at *Corinth*, he tooke in hand an Expedition againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. Theſe and the *Eleans* had done what harme they could in *Peloponneſus*, whileſt the King was abſent. The *Achæans* had oppoſed them as well as they could; with ill ſucceſſe, yet ſo, as they hindered them from doing ſuch harme as elſe they would haue done. But when *Philip* came, he ouer-ran the Countrey about *Lacedæmon*: and was in a manner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well beleeue that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He tooke not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waſte in the fieldes: and hauing beaten the enemie in ſome skirmiſhes, carried backe with him to *Corinth* a rich bootie of Cattell, ſlaues, and other Countrie-ſpoile. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embaſſadours from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*: that requeſted him to ſet *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace vnto the *Ætolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deale firſt with the *Ætolians*; who, if they would make the ſame requeſt, ſhould not finde him vnreaſonable. The

Ætolians had ſped ill that yeare: neither ſaw they any likely hopes for the yeares following. The Army that they had ſent foorth to waſte *Theſſaly* and *Macedon*, found ſuch oppoſition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane ſeaſon they had beene grieuouſly afflicted, as before is ſhewed, by *Philip* in the center of their owne Countrey. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was vp in armes againſt them, and their weake Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of theſe their *Peloponneſian* friends ſhould bee able to hold out, ſince they were not ſtrong enough to keepe the field, but had already ſuffered thoſe miſeries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to ſeeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readily entertained this negotiation of Peace: and taking truce for thirty daies with the king, dealt with him by interceſſion of the ſame Embaſſadors, to intreat his preſence at a Diet of their nation, that ſhould be held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchſafe to come, they promiſed that he ſhould find them conformable to any good reaſon.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to haue terrified the King, by raiſing ſedition againſt him in the Army. But this deuice ſorted to no good effect. The ſouldiers were eaſily and quickly incenſed againſt many of the kings friends, who were ſaid to be the cauſe, why they were not rewarded with ſo much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right vnto them. But their anger ſpent it ſelfe in a noyſe, and breaking open of doores, without further harme done. This was enough to informe the King (who eaſily pacified his men with gentle words) that ſome about him were very falſe. Yea the ſouldiers themſelues, repenting of their inſolence, deſired to haue the Authors of the tumult ſought out, and puniſhed according to their deſerts. The King made ſhew as if hee had not cared to make ſuch inquiſition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were afraide, leſt the matter would ſoone come out of it ſelfe to their extreame danger. Wherefore they ſent vnto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their treaſon; requeſting him ſpeedily to repayre vnto *Corinth*, where hee might ſtand betweene them and the Kings diſpleaſure. *Apelles* had not all this while beene wanting to the buſineſſe, vndertaken by him and his treacherous companions. Hee had taken vpon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand: and thereby was he growne into ſuch credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Theſſalie* addreſſed themſelues vnto him, and receiued from him their diſpatch in euery buſineſſe. Likewiſe the *Greekes* in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occaſion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*, making ſlight mention (onely for faſhions ſake) of the King: who ſeemed no better than the Miniſter and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleaſure. Such was the arrogancie of this great man, in ſetting himſelfe out vnto the people: but in mannaging the Kings affaires, hee made it his ſpeciall care, that mony, and all things needfull for the publique ſeruice, ſhould be wanting. Yea be enforced the King, for very neede, to ſell his owne Plate and houſhold veſſels: thinking to reſolue theſe and all other difficulties, by onely ſaying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all ſhall be as you would wiſh.* Hereto if the King would giue aſſent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts deſire. Now taking his iourney from *Chalcis* in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, to the citty of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pompe and royaltie, by a great number of the Captains and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entring the citty with a goodly traine, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement ſuſpition of his falſhood. Wherefore one was ſent to tel him, that he ſhould wait a while, or come another time; for the King was not now at leiſure to be ſpoken with. It was a pretty thing, that ſuch a check as this made all his attendants forſake him, as a man in diſgrace; in ſuch ſort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him ſaue his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchſafed him now and then ſome ſlender graces: but in conſultations, or other matters of priuacie, he vſed him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to look to himſelfe, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King ſent foorth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of *Peloponneſus*, with all the Targettiers, as it were to do ſome piece of ſeruice, but indeed of purpoſe to apprehend *Leontius* in the abſence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, diſpatched away a meſſenger preſently to his Targettiers, to ſignifie what was befallen him: and they foorthwith ſent vnto the King in his behalfe. They made requeſt, That if any other thing were obiected againſt him, hee might not be called forth to triall before their returne: as for the debt of *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they ſaid they were ready to make a purſe for his diſcharge. This affection of the ſouldiers made *Philip* more haſtie than elſe he would haue beene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which hee wrote vnto the *Ætolians*; vilifying the King with opprobrious words; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was euen ready to ſinke vnder the burden of his owne pouertie. By this the King vnderſtood more perfectly the falſhood, not onely of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whoſe cunning head had laboured all this while to keepe him ſo poore. Wherefore he ſent one to purſue *Megaleas* that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his ſonne, and another that was inward with him, to priſon; wherein all of them ſhortly ended their liues. *Megaleas* alſo, neither daring to ſtand to triall, nor knowing whither to flie, was weary of his owne life; and ſlew himſelfe about the ſame time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this warre vpon hope of accompliſhing what they liſted in the Nonage of *Philip*: ſo finding that the vigour of this yong Prince, tempered with the cold aduice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their ouerthrow; they grew very deſirous to make an end of it. Neuertheleſſe being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold vpon all aduantages: when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleas*, together with ſome indignation thereupon conceiued by ſome of the Kings Targettiers; they began to hope anew, that theſe troubles would be long laſting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing ſorie. For being in good hope throughly to tame this vnquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning & continuing the warre ſhould reſt vpon themſelues. Wherefore he willed his Confederates, to lay aſide all thought of peace, and to prepare for war againſt the yeere following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified hee his Macedonian ſouldiours, by yeelding to let them winter in their owne Countrie. In his returne homward, he called into iudgement one *Ptolemie*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treaſons: who was therfore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and ſuffered death. Theſe were the ſame *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to heare of *Leontius* his impriſonment: yet now they thinke the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vaine is the confidence, on which Rebels vſe to build, in their fauour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won ſome bordering Townes; from which the *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accuſtomed to make rodes into his kingdome: when hee had thus prouided for ſafety of his owne; the *Ætolians* might well know what they were to expect. But there came again Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolemie* King of *Ægypt*, and from the Citie of *Byzantium*, recontinuing the former ſollicitation about the Peace. This faſhion had been taken vp in matters of *Greece*, euer ſince the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken vpon them to ſet the whole Countrie at libertie: No ſooner was any Prouince or Citie in danger to be oppreſſed and ſubdued by force of warre, but preſently there were found interceſſors, who pittying the effuſion of Greekiſh bloud, would importune the ſtronger to relinquiſh his aduantage. By doing ſuch friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad ſought to binde vnto them thoſe people, that were howſoeuer weake in numbers, yet very good ſouldiors. But heereby it came to paſſe, that the more froward ſort, eſpecially the *Ætolians*, whoſe whole Nation was addicted to falſehood and robberie, durſt enter boldly into quarrels with all their Neighbours: being well aſſured, that if they had the worſt, *The loue of Greece* would be ſufficient for to redeeme their quiet. They had, ſince the late Treatie of peace, done what harme they could in *Peloponneſus*: but being beaten by the *Achæans*, and ſtanding in feare to bee more ſoundly beaten at home, they deſired now, more earneſtly then before, to make an end of the Warre as ſoone as they might. *Philip* made ſuch anſwere vnto the Embaſſadours, as he had done the former yeere; That he gaue not occaſion to the beginning of this warre, nor was at the preſent afraid to continue it, or vnwilling to end it: but that the *Ætolians*, if they had a deſire to liue in reſt, muſt firſt bee dealt withall, to ſignifie plainely their determination, whereto himſelfe would returne ſuch anſwere as he ſhould thinke fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace,being a yong Prince,and in hope to increaſe the honour which he daily got by the warre. But it happened in the middeſt of this Negotiation, that he was aduertiſed by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victorie *Hannibal* had obtained againſt the *Romans* in the battaile at *Thraſymene*. Theſe letters hee communicated vnto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to ſit ſtill, as an idle beholder of the Italian Warre. Heereby he grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded ſhortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happie it was for the *Greekes*, that they might at their owne pleaſure diſpute about finiſhing Warre betweene themſelues, without being moleſted by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians*, had ſubdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith looke Eaſtward, and ſeeke by all meanes to ſet footing in *Greece*. For this cauſe he ſaid it were good, that their Countrie ſhould be at peace within it ſelfe: and that *Philip*, if he were deſirous of warre, ſhould lay hold on the opportunitie, now fitly ſeruing, to enlarge his Dominion, by winning ſomewhat in *Italie*.

Such aduice could the *Ætolians* then giue, when they ſtood in feare of danger threatning them at hand: but being ſoone after weary of reſt, as being accuſtomed to enrich themſelues by pillage, they were ſo farre from obſeruing and following their own good counſell, that they inuited the *Romans* into *Greece*, whereby they brought themſelues and the whole Countrie, (but themſelues before any other part of the Country) vnder ſeruitude of ſtrangers. The Condition of this Peace was ſimple,That euery one ſhould keepe what they held at the preſent, without making reſtitution, or any amends for damages paſt.

§. III.

Philip, *at the perſwaſion of* Demetrius Pharius, *enters into League with* Hannibal, *againſt the Romans. The Tenour of the League betweene* Hannibal *and* Philip.

This being agreed vpon: the *Greekes* betooke themſelues to quiet courſes of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the buſineſſe of *Italie*, about which hee conſulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus paſſed the time away, till the great battaile of *Cannæ*: after which he ioyned in league with *Hannibal*, as hath beene ſhewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice vnto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be auenged vpon them, or to recouer his owne loſt Kingdome,than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counſaile, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwiſe beene farre more expedient for *Philip*,to haue ſupported the weaker of thoſe two great Cities againſt the more mighty. For by ſo doing, hee ſhould perhaps haue brought them to peace vpon ſome equall termes; and thereby, as did *Hiero* a farre weaker Prince, haue both ſecured his owne Eſtate,and cauſed each of them to be deſirous of chiefe place in his friendſhip. The iſſue of the counſaile which hee followed, will appeare ſoone after this. His firſt quarrell with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Ætolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon ſuch Conditions that might eaſily be broken: haue beene related in another place,as belonging vnto the ſecond Punicke Warre. Wherefore I will onely heere ſet downe the tenour of the League betweene Him and *Carthage*: which may ſeeme not vnworthy to be read, if onely in regard of the forme it ſelfe then vſed; though it had beene ouer-long to haue beene inſerted into a more buſie peece.

The Oath and Couenants betvveene Hannibal, Generall of the Carthaginians, and *Xenophanes*, Embaſſador of *Philip* King of *Macedon*.

T*HIS is the League ratified by oath, which* Hannibal *the Generall, and with him* Mago, Myrcal, *and* Barmocal, *as alſo the Senators of Carthage that are preſent, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Armie, haue made with* Xenophanes *the ſonne of* Cleomachus *Athenian, whom King* Philip *the ſonne of* Demetrius *hath ſent vnto vs, for himſelfe and the Macedonians, and his Aſſociates: Before* Iupiter, *and* Iuno, *and* Apollo: *before* † The God of the Carthaginians, Hercules *and* Tolaus, *before* Mars, Triton, Neptune: *before* The Gods *accompanying Armes, the* Sunne, *the* Moone, *and the* Earth; *before* Riuers *and* Meddowes, *and* Waters; *before all the* Gods, *that haue power ouer Carthage; before all the* Gods *that rule ouer Macedon, and the reſt of Greece; before all the* Gods *that are Preſidents of Warre, and preſent at the making of this League.* Hannibal *the Generall hath ſaid, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Armie:* Be *it agreed betweene You and Vs, that this Oath ſtand for friendſhip and louing affection, that We become friends, familiar, and brethren, Vpon Couenant,* that *the ſafety of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of* Hannibal *the Generall and thoſe that are with him, and of the Rulers of Prouinces of the Carthaginians vſing the ſame Lawes, and of the Vticans, & as many Cities & Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiors and Aſſociates, and of all Townes and Nations with which We hold friendſhip in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom we ſhall hold friendſhip or make alliance heereafter in this Region; be preſerued by King* Philip *and the Macedonians, and ſuch of the Greekes as are their Aſſociates.* In like manner *ſhall King* Philip *and the Macedonians, and other the Greekes his Aſſociates, be ſaued and preſerued by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Vticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Aſſociates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italie, Gaule and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or ſhall hereafter ioyne with Vs in Italie.* Wee *ſhall not take counſaile one againſt the other, nor deale fraudulently one with the other. With all readineſſe and good will, without deceit or ſubtletie, We ſhall be enemies vnto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting thoſe Kings, Towns, and Hauens, with which We haue alreadie league and friendſhip. Wee alſo ſhall be enemies to the enemies of King* Philip, *excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which wee haue already league and friendſhip. The warre that We haue with the Romans, haue Ye alſo with them, vntill the Gods ſhall giue vs a new and happie end. Yee ſhall aid Vs with thoſe things whereof wee haue need, and ſhall doe according to the Couenants betweene Vs. But if the Gods ſhall not giue vnto You and Vs their helpe in this warre againſt the Romans and their Aſſociates; then if the Romans offer friendſhip,* Wee *ſhall make friendſhip in ſuch wiſe that Yee ſhall be partakers of the ſame friendſhip, with Condition,* That *they ſhall not haue power to make warre vpon you: Neither ſhall the Romans be Lords ouer the Corcyræans, nor ouer thoſe of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor ouer Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They ſhall alſo render vnto* Demetrius Pharius *all thoſe that belong vnto him, as many as are within the Romanes Dominions. But if the Romans (after ſuch peace made) ſhall make warre vpon Ye or Vs; Wee will ſuccour one another in that warre, as either ſhall haue need. The ſame ſhall be obſerued in warre made by any other, excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, and States, with whom wee hold alreadie league and friendſhip.* To this league *if We or Ye ſhall thinke fit to adde or detract, ſuch addition or detraction ſhall be made by our common conſent.*

† *Demon.*

§. IIII.

How Philip *yeelded to his naturall vices being therein ſoothed by* Demetrius Pharius. *His deſire to tyrannize vpon the free Sates his Aſſociates: With the troubles, into which hee thereby fell, whileſt he bore a part in the ſecond Punick warre. He poyſoneth* Aratus: *and growes hatefull to the Achæans.*

Hitherto *Philip* had carried himſelfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wiſedome, hee might haue offered his friendſhip to the *Romans*, that were like to be oppreſſed, than to the *Carthaginians* who had the better hand: yet this his meddling in the Punicke warre, proceeded from a royall greatneſſe of minde, with a deſire to ſecure and increaſe his owne eſtate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrie. But in this buſineſſe he was guided (as hath beene ſaid) by *Demetrius Pharius*: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himſelfe to his deſires: and thereby ſhortly gouerned him as he liſted. For the vertues of *Philip* were not indeed ſuch as they ſeemed. He was luſtfull, bloudy, and tyrannicall: deſirous of power to doe what he liſted, and not otherwiſe liſting to doe what he ought, than ſo farre forth, as by making a faire ſhew he might breed in men ſuch good opinion of him, as ſhould helpe to ſerue his turne in all that hee tooke in hand. Before hee ſhould buſie himſelfe in *Italie*, hee thought it requiſite in good policie, to bring the *Greekes* that were his Aſſociates vnder a more abſolute forme of ſubiection. Hereunto *Apelles* had aduiſed him before: and hee had liked reaſonably well of the courſe. But *Apelles* was a boyſterous Counſellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himſelfe deepely wronged if he might not wholly haue his owne way, but were driuen to await the Kings opportunity at better times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to obſerue the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach man with the reines in his hand, thoſe affections which himſelfe did onely ſeeme to follow. Therefore hee grew daily more and more in credit: ſo as, without any manner of contention, he ſupplanted *Aratus*: which the violence of *Apelles* could neuer doe.

There aroſe about theſe times a very hote Faction among the *Meſſenians*, betweene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diuerted (as happens often after a forrein warre) vnto domeſticall obiects, than allayed and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In proceſſe of no long time, the contention among them grew ſo violent, that *Philip* was entreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: reſoluing ſo to end the matter, that they ſhould not henceforth ſtriue any more about their Gouernment: for that hee would aſſume it wholly to himſelfe. At his comming thither, hee found *Aratus* buſie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne ſecret purpoſe. Wherefore hee conſulted not with this reuerend old man: but talked in priuate with ſuch of the *Meſſenians* as repaired vnto him. He asked the Gouernours, what they meant to ſtand thus diſputing: and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the inſolence of the vnrulie Rabble: Contrariwiſe, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, He ſaid it was ſtrange, that they being ſo many, would ſuffer themſelues to be oppoſed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themſelues from Tyrants. Thus whileſt each of them preſumed on the Kings aſſiſtance; they thought it beſt to goe roundly to worke, ere that hee were gone that ſhould countenance their doings. The Gouernours therefore would haue apprehended ſome ſeditious Orators, that were, they ſaid, the ſtirrers vp of the multitude vnto ſedition. Vpon this occaſion the people tooke Armes: and running vpon the Nobilitie and Magiſtrates, killed of them in a rage almoſt two hundred. *Philip* thought, it ſeemes, that it would be eaſie to worrie the ſheepe, when the Dogges their guardians were ſlaine. But his falſhood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger *Aratus* forbeare, to tell him of it in publike, with very bitter and diſgracefull words. The King was angry at this. But hauing already done more then was commendable, or excuſable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein hee ſhould neede the helpe and countenance of his beſt friends; Hee was content to ſmother his diſpleaſure, and make as faire weather as hee could. He ledde olde *Aratus* aſide by the hand; and went vp into the Caſtle of *Ithome*, that was ouer *Meſſene*. There hee pretended to doe ſacrifice: and ſacrifice he did. But it was his purpoſe to keepe the place to his owne vſe; for that it was of notable ſtrength, and would ſerue to command the further parts of *Peloponneſus*, as the Citadell of *Corinth*, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Countrie. Whileſt hee was therefore ſacrificing, and had the entrailes of the beaſt deliuered into his hands, as was the manner; Hee ſhewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he ſaw therein did ſignifie, That being now in poſſeſſion of this place, he ſhould quietly goe out of it, or rather keepe it to himſelfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would haue ſoothed him a little; were it onely for deſire to make amends, for the angry words newly ſpoken by his ſonne. But as *Aratus* ſtood doubtfull what to anſwere, *Demetrius Pharius* gaue this verdict: *If thou be a Southſayer, thou maiſt goe thy waies, and let ſlip this good aduantage; If thou be a King, thou muſt not neglect the opportunitie, but hold the Oxe by both his hornes.* Thus he ſpake; reſembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* vnto the two hornes of *Peloponneſus*. Yet would *Philip* needes heare the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainely, That it were well done to keepe the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith vnto the *Meſſenians*: But if, by ſeizing vpon *Ithome*, He muſt loſe all the other Caſtles that he held, and eſpecialy the ſtrongeſt Caſtle of all that was left vnto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his ſouldiers, and keepe men in dutie, as he had done hitherto, by their owne good wils, than by fortifying any ſtrong places againſt them, to make them of his friends become his Enemies.

To this good aduice *Philip* yeelded at the preſent: but not without ſome diſlike, thenceforth growing betweene Him and the *Arati*; whom he thought more froward than beſeemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man deſirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For as he plainely diſcouered his Tyrannous purpoſes: ſo likewiſe he perceiued, that in reſorting to his houſe, He had beene diſhoneſt with his ſonnes wife. He therfore ſtaid at home: where at good leiſure he might repent, that in deſpight of *Cleomenes*, his owne Countriman, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponneſus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponneſus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refuſed to beare him company. In this journy he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him; That vnhoneſt counſailes are not ſo profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and ſo they purpoſed to continue. But Hee would needes haue them ſo to remaine, whether they purpoſed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his Will, He ſeized vpon their Towne of *Oricum*, and laid ſiege to *Apollonia*; hauing no good colour of theſe doings: but thinking himſelfe ſtrong enough to doe what he liſted, and not ſeeing whence they ſhould procure friends to help them. Thus in ſtead of ſetling the country, as his intended Voyage into *Italie* required: He kindled a fire in it which he could neuer quench, vntill it had laid hold on his owne Palace. Whileſt hee was thus labouring to binde the hands that ſhould haue fought for him in *Italie*: *M. Valerius* the *Romane* came into thoſe parts; who not onely maintained the *Epirots* againſt him, but procured the *Ætolians* to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that warre; the occurrents whereof wee haue related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In mannaging whereof though *Philip* did the offices of a good Captaine: yet when leiſure ſerued, He made it apparant that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former deſire, of oppreſſing the libertie of the *Meſſenians*; but made another iourney into their Country, with hope to deceiue them, as before. They vnderſtood him better now than before; and therefore were not haſty to truſt him too farre. When he ſaw that his cunning would not ſerue, He went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies, inuaded them with open Warre. But in that warre he could doe little good; perhaps, becauſe none of his Confederates were deſirous to helpe him in ſuch an enterpriſe. In this attempt vpon *Meſſene* he loſt *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counſailor and Flatterer, not his peruerter; as appeares by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worſe that hee ſped, the more angry hee waxed againſt thoſe that ſeemed not to fauour his iniurious doings. Wherefore by the miniſtery of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poyſoned olde *Aratus*; and ſhortly after that he poyſoned alſo the yonger *Aratus*: hoping that theſe things would neuer haue beene knowne, becauſe they were done ſecretly, and the poyſons themſelues were more ſure than manifeſt in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed vnto

Aratus more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Proceſſions, to be celebrated euery yeere twice, with a Prieſt ordained vnto him for that purpoſe ; as was accuſtomed vnto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to be tranſlated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are ſaid to haue beene encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to haue beene true ; ſince the helpe of the Deuill is neuer failing to the increaſe of Idolatrie.

The louing memorie of *Aratus* their Patron, and ſingular Benefactor, could not but worke in the *Achæans* a maruellous diſlike, of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He ſhall therfore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counſaile for themſelues. At the preſent, the murder was not generally knowne or beleeued: neither were they in caſe to ſubſiſt, without his helpe that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a moſt outragious people, great darers, and ſhameleſſe robbers. With theſe the *Romans* made a league: whereof the Conditions were ſoone diuulged, eſpecially that maine point, concerning the diuiſion of the purchaſe which they ſhould make, namely, That the *Ætolians* ſhould haue the country and Townes; but the *Romans* the ſpoyle, and carry away the people to ſell for ſlaues. The *Achæans*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make ſtreight alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their vnciuill diſpoſition ; were much the more auerſe from them, when they perceiued how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for ſuch did the *Greekes* account all other Nations except their owne) to make hauocke of the Country. The ſame conſideration mooued alſo the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſtand off a while, before they would declare themſelues for the *Ætolians*; whoſe friendſhip they had embraced in the late warre. The induſtry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he ſeemed to take of the *Achæans* his Confederates, ſufficed to retaine them: eſpecially at ſuch time, as their owne neceſſitie was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged vnto himſelfe the *Dymæans*, by an ineſtimable benefit: recouering their Towne, after it had beene taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; and redeeming their people whereſoeuer they might be found, that had been carried away Captiue, and ſold abroad for ſlaues. Thus might he haue blotted out the memorie of offences paſt ; if the malignitie of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and giuen men to vnderſtand ; that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which cauſed him to make ſuch a ſhew of goodneſſe. Among other foule acts, whereof hee was not aſhamed ; He tooke *Polycratia* the wife of the yonger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might ſerue to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of ſuch faults he ſhall be told, when the *Romans* make warre vpon him the ſecond time: for of that which hapned in this their firſt Inuaſion, I holde it ſuperfluous to make repetition.

§. V.

Of Philopœmen *Generall of the Achæans: and* Machanidas, *Tyrant of Lacedæmon. A battaile betweene them, wherein* Mechanidas *is ſlaine.*

IT happens often, that the diſeaſe of one eminent man diſcouers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there ſtood vp *Philopœmen*: whoſe notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the *Achæans* redoubtable among all the *Greekes*, and careleſſe of ſuch protection, as in former times they had needed againſt the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*: who being then a yong man, and hauing no command ; did eſpeciall ſeruice to *Antigonus* at the battaile of *Sellaſia* againſt *Cleomenes*. Thence-forward vntill now he had ſpent the moſt part of his time in the Ile of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and ſeldome or neuer at peace betweene themſelues; He bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of warre. At his returne home, Hee had charge of the Horſe: wherein he carried himſelfe ſo ſtrictly, trauailing with all the Cities of the Confederacie to haue his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces: as alſo hee ſo diligentlie trained them vp in all exerciſe of ſeruice that hee made the *Achæans* very ſtrong in that part of their forces. Being afterward choſen Prætor or Generall of the Nation, Hee had no leſſe care to reforme their militarie diſcipline throughout, whereby his Countrie might be ſtrong enough to defend it ſelfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend vpon the helpe of others. Hee perſwaded the *Achæans* to cut off their vaine expence of brauerie, in apparell, houſholdſtuffe, and curious fare, and to beſtow that coſt vpon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by ſo much were they like to proue the better Souldiers; and ſuteable in behauiour, vnto the pride of their furniture. They had ſerued hitherto with little light Bucklers, and ſlender Darts, to caſt afarre off; that were vſefull in skirmiſhing at ſome diſtance, or for Surpriſes, or ſuddaine and haſtie Expeditions; whereto *Aratus* had beene moſt accuſtomed. But when they came to handie ſtrokes, they were good for nothing ſo long as they were wholly driuen to relie vpon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: cauſing them to arme themſelues more weightily, to vſe a larger kind of ſhield, with good ſwords, and ſtrong pikes, fit for ſeruice at hand. He taught them alſo to fight in cloſe order; and altered the forme of their embattailing: not making the Files ſo deepe as had beene accuſtomed, but extending the Front, that he might vſe the ſeruice of many hands.

Eight Moneths were ſpent of that yeere, in which he firſt was Prætor of the *Achæans*; when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* cauſed him to make tryall, how his Souldiers had profited by his diſcipline. This *Machanidas* was the ſucceſſor vnto *Lycurgus*; a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a ſtrong Armie of Mercenaries: and he kept them not onely to fight for *Sparta*; but to holde the Citie in obedience to himſelfe perforce. Wherefore it behoued him not to take part with the *Achæans*, that were fauourers of liberty; but to ſtrengthen himſelfe by friendſhip of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, tooke no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their owne profit. The people alſo of *Lacedæmon*, through their inueterate hatred vnto the *Argiues*, *Achæans*, and *Macedonians*; were in like ſort (all or moſt of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very vnwiſely. For in ſeeking to take reuenge vpon thoſe, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*; they hindred themſelues thereby from recouering the Maſtrie of their owne Citie. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his owne ſecuritie, and no ſmall hope of good that would follow, ſuffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but alwaies made him redie to fall vpon his neighbours backes, and take of theirs what hee could, whileſt they were enforced, by greater neceſſitie, to turne face another way. Thus had he often done, eſpecially in the abſence of *Philip*: whoſe ſudden comming into thoſe parts, or ſome other oppoſition made againſt him, had vſually made him faile of his attempts. At the preſent He was ſtronger in men, than were the *Achæans*; and thought his owne men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whileſt *Philip* therefore was buſied elſe-where, he entred the Countrey of the *Mantinæans*: being not without hope to doe as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the * *Lordſhip of Peloponneſus*, as hauing ſtronger friendes, and weaker oppoſition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertaine him at *Mantinæa*; where was fought betweene them a great battaile. The Tyrant had brought into the field vpon Cartes a great many of Engins; wherewith to beat vpon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in diſorder. To preuent this danger, *Philopœmen* ſent foorth his light armature a good way before him; ſo as *Machanidas* was faine to doe the like. To ſecond theſe, from the one and the other ſide came in continuall ſupply; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achæans* and of *Machanidas*, were drawne vp to the fight: being ſo farre aduanced, each before their owne *Phalanx*, that it could no otherwiſe be diſcerned which preſſed forward, or which recoyled, than by riſing of the duſt. Thus were *Machanidas* his Engines made vnſeruiceable, by the interpoſition of his owne men; in ſuch manner as the Canon is hindered from doing execution, in moſt of the battailes fought in theſe our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant preuailed at length: not onely by their aduantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obſerueth) by ſurmounting their oppoſites in degree of courage; wherein vſually the hired ſouldiers of Tyrants exceed thoſe that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which liue oppreſſed by Tyrannie, ſince the one, by doing their beſt in fight, haue hope to acquire ſomewhat beneficiall to themſelues, whereas the other doe fight (as it were) to aſſure their owne ſeruitude: ſo the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruites of his proſperitie, haue good cauſe to maintaine his quarrell as their owne; whereas they that ſerue vnder a free State, haue no other motiue to doe manfully, than their bare ſtipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the victorie: many Companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are preſently caſt;

*Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 11. Plut. in vita Philopœm.

Polyb ibid.

and therefore ſuch good fellowes will not take much paines to bring the war to an end. But the victorie of a Tyrant, makes him ſtand in need of more ſuch helpers: becauſe that after it he doth wrong to more, as hauing more ſubiects; and therefore ſtands in feare of more, that ſhould ſeeke to take reuenge vpon him. The ſtipendaries therefore of the *Achæans*, being forced to giue ground, were vrged ſo violently in their retrait by thoſe of *Machanidas*, that ſhortly they betooke themſelues to flight; and could not be ſtaid by any perſwaſions of *Philopœmen*, but ranne away quite beyond the battaile of the *Achæans*. This diſaſter had beene ſufficient to take from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had he not wiſely obſerued the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that errour which might reſtore the victorie The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gaue chace vnto thoſe that fled: leauing behind him in good order of battaile his *Lacedæmonians*; whom he thought ſufficient to deale with the *Achæans*, that were already diſheartened by the flight of their companions. But when this his raſhneſſe had carried him out of ſight; *Philopœmen* aduanced towards the *Lacedæmonians* that ſtood before him. There lay betweene them athwart the Countrie a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore paſſable (as it ſeemed) without much difficultie, eſpecially for Foot. The *Lacedæmonians* aduentured ouer it, as thinking themſelues better ſouldiers than the *Achæans*; who had in a manner alreadie loſt the day. But hereby they greatly diſordered their owne Battaile; and had no ſooner the foremoſt of them recouered the further banke, than they were ſtoutly charged by the *Achæans*, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their firſt rankes being broken, all the reſt beganne to ſhrinke: ſo as *Philopœmen* getting ouer the ditch, eaſily chaſed them out of the Field. *Philopœmen* knew better how to vſe his aduantage, than *Machanidas* had done. Hee ſuffered not all his Armie to diſband and follow the chaſe: but retained with him a ſufficient ſtrength, for the cuſtodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant muſt come backe. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chace, looked very heauily when hee ſaw what was fallen out, Yet with a luſtie Troupe of Horſe about him Hee made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Achæans* in diſorder; and to ſet vpon their backes, as they were careleſly purſuing their victorie. But when he and his companie ſaw *Philopœmen* ready to make good the bridge againſt them; then beganne euery one to looke, which way hee might ſhift for himſelfe. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his companie, rode along the ditch ſide; and ſearched for an eaſie paſſage ouer. He was eaſily diſcouered by his purple Caſſocke, and the coſtly trappings of his Horſe. *Philopœmen* therefore leauing the charge of the bridge to another, coaſted him all the way as he rode; and falling vpon him at length in the ditch it ſelfe, as hee was getting ouer it, ſlew him there with his owne hand. There dyed in this Battaile of the *Lacedæmonians* ſide about foure thouſand: and more than foure thouſand were taken Priſoners. Of the *Achæan* Mercenaries, probable it is that the loſſe was not greatly cared for; ſince that Warre was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they ſhould haue need.

§. VI.

Philip *hauing peace with Rome, and with all* Greece, *prepares againſt Aſia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bythinia; and their Linages. Of the Galatians.*

BY this victorie the *Achæans* learned to thinke well of themſelues. Neither needed they indeed after a while (ſuch was their diſcipline, and continuall exerciſe) to account themſelues in matter of war inferiour to any, that ſhould haue brought againſt them no great oddes of number. As for the *Macedonian*, He made no great vſe of them: but when hee had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, Hee ſtudied how to enlarge his Dominion Eaſtward; ſince the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the Weſt. Hee tooke in hand many matters together, or very neerely together, and ſome of them not honeſt: wherein if the *Achæans* would haue done him ſeruice; they muſt, by helping him to oppreſſe others that neuer had wronged him, haue taught him the way how to deale with themſelues. Hee greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had ioyned with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in war againſt him.

This *Attalus*, though a King, was ſcarce yet a Noble-man, otherwiſe than as hee was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in *Philetærus* his Vncle: who being guelded, by reaſon of a miſhap which he had when hee was a childe, grew afterwards thereby to be the more eſteemed: as great men in thoſe times repoſed much confidence in Eunuches, whoſe affections could not bee obliged vnto wiues or children. He was entertained into the familie of *Docimus*, a Captaine following *Antigonus the firſt*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, hee accompanied his Maſter, that betooke himſelfe to *Lyſimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lyſimachus* had good opinion of him; and put him in truſt with his money and accompts. But when at length he ſtood in feare of this King, that grew a bloudie Tyrant: He fled into *Aſia*, where he ſeized vpon the Towne of *Pergamus*, and nine thouſand talents belonging to *Lyſimachus*. The Towne and monie, together with his owne ſeruice, Hee offered vnto *Seleuchus the firſt*, that then was ready to giue *Lyſimachus* battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but neuer performed; for that *Seleuchus* hauing ſlaine *Lyſimachus*, dyed ſhortly after himſelfe, before he made vſe of *Philetærus* or his monie. So this Eunuch ſtill retained *Pergamus* with the Countrie round about it; and reigned therein twentie yeeres as an abſolute King. He had two brethren: of which the elder is ſaid to haue beene a poore Carter; and the yonger perhaps not much better; before ſuch time they were raiſed by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetærus* left his Kingdome to the elder of theſe, or to the ſonne of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his kingdome; making his aduantage of the diſſention, betweene *Seleuchus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the ſonnes of *the ſecond Antiochus*. He fought a battell with *Hierax*, nere vnto *Sardes*, and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men againſt the *Gaules* that ſerued vnder his Enemy, he vſed a prety deuice. He wrote the word* *Victorie* vpon the hand of his Soothſayer, in ſuch colours as would eaſily come off: and when the hote liuer of the beaſt that was ſacrifiſed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He publiſhed this vnto his Armie as a Miracle, plainely foreſhewing that the gods would be aſſiſtant in that Battaile.

*Iul. Front. Strat. L.1.C.11.

After this victorie, he grew a dreadfull enemie to *Seleucus*: who neuer durſt attempt to recouer from him, by Warre, the Territorie that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twentie yeeres, hee died by a ſurfet of ouer-much drinke, and left his Kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was ſonne vnto *Attalus* the yongeſt brother of *Philetærus*. *Attalus* was an vndertaking Prince, very bountifull, and no leſſe valiant. By his owne proper forces He reſtored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdome, whence he had beene expelled. He was grieuouſly moleſted by *Achæus*: who ſetting vp himſelfe as King againſt *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the leſſer *Aſia*. He was beſieged in his owne City of *Pergamus*: but by the help of the *Tectoſagæ*, a Nation of the *Gaules*, whom he called ouer out of *Thrace*, Hee recouered all that he had loſt. When theſe *Gaules* had once gotten footing in *Aſia*, they neuer wanted employment: but were either entertained by ſome of the Princes reigning in thoſe quarters; or interpoſed themſelues, without inuitation, and found themſelues worke in quarrels of their owne making. They cauſed *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* to ceaſe from his warre againſt *Byzantium*. Whereunto when he had condeſcended; they neuertheleſſe within a while after inuaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained againſt them a great victorie; and vſed it with great crueltie, ſparing neither age nor ſexe. But the ſwarme of them increaſing; they occupied the Region about *Helleſpont*: where, in ſeating themſelues, they were much beholding vnto *Attalus*. Neuertheleſſe, preſuming afterwards vpon their ſtrength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the ſharpe exaction whereof, they had no more reſpect vnto *Attalus* than to any that had worſe deſerued of them. By this they compelled him to fight againſt them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themſelues within the bounds of that Prouince, which tooke name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they ſtill to oppreſſe the weakeſt of their neighbours; and to fill vp the Armies of thoſe, that could beſt hire them.

The Kings reigning in thoſe parts, were the poſterity of ſuch, as had ſaued themſelues and their Prouinces, in the ſlothfull reigne of the *Perſians*; or in the buſie times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the firſt of their line had married with *Atoſſa*, ſiſter vnto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is ſhewed before. But the ſon of that King, whom

Perdiccas crucified, eſpying his time while the *Macedonians* were at ciuill warres among themſelus; recouered his dominion, and paſſed it ouer to his off-ſpring. The Kings of *Pontus* had alſo their beginning from the Perſian Empire;and are ſaid to haue iſſued from the royall houſe of *Achæmenes*. The *Paphlagonians* deriued themſelues from *Pylæmenes*, a King that aſſiſted *Priamus* at the warre of *Troy*. Theſe, applying themſelues vnto the times, were alwayes conformable vnto the ſtrongeſt. The Anceſtors of *Pruſias* had begun to reigne in *Bythinia*, ſome few generations before that of *the great Alexander*. They lay ſomewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, hauing other employment, they were the leſſe moleſted. *Calantus*, one of *Alexanders* Captaines, made an Expedition into their Countrie; where hee was vanquiſhed. They had afterwards to doe with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them ſomewhat more humble. And thus they ſhufled, as did the reſt, vntill the reigne of *Pruſias*, whom we haue alreadie ſometimes mentioned.

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§. VII.

The Towne of Cios taken by Philip, *at the inſtance of* Pruſias *King of Bithynia, and cruelly deſtroyed. By this and like actions*, Philip *growes hatefull to many of the Greekes: and is warred vpon by* Attalus *King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.*

PRuſias as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whoſe greatneſſe he ſuſpected. He therefore ſtrengthened himſelfe, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrarie ſide, entred into a ſtrict Confederacie with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greekes*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* warre, and was deuiſing with *Antiochus* about ſharing betweene them two the Kingdome of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolomie Philopater* a friend vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his ſonne *Ptol. Epiphanes* a yong childe his heire; the *Bithynian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into *Aſia*, there to winne the Towne of the *Ciani*, and beſtow it vpon him. *Pruſias* had no right vnto the Towne, nor iuſt matter of quarrell againſt it: but it was fitly ſeated for him; and therewithall rich. *Philip* came; as one that could not well denie to helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no ſmall part of *Greece*. Embaſſadours came to him whileſt he lay at the ſiege, from the *Rhodians*, and diuers other States: entreating him to forſake the Enterpriſe. He gaue dilatorie, but otherwiſe gentle anſwers: making ſhew as if he would condeſcend to their requeſt, when he intended nothing leſſe. At length he got the Towne: where, euen in preſence of the Embaſſadours, of whoſe ſollicitation hee had ſeemed ſo regardfull, He omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby hee rendred himſelfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Eſpecially his fact was deteſted of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement interceſſion for the poore *Ciani*: and were aduertiſed by Embaſſadors of purpoſe ſent vnto them from *Philip*, That, howſoeuer it were in his power to winne the Towne as ſoone as he liſted: yet in regard of his loue to the *Rhodians*, Hee was contented to giue it ouer. And by this his clemencie, the Embaſſadours ſaid, that he would manifeſt vnto the world, what ſlanderous tongues they were; which noyſed abroad ſuch reports, as went of his falſhood and oppreſſion. Whileſt the Embaſſadours were declaming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect; there came ſome that made a true relation of what had hapned: ſhewing that *Philip* had ſacked and deſtroyed the Towne of *Cios*, and, after a cruell ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, had made ſlaues of all that eſcaped the ſword. If the *Rhodians* tooke this in great deſpite, no leſſe were the *Ætolians* inflamed againſt him: ſince they had ſent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at *Lyſimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawne from their Confederacie to his owne) what little truſt was to be repoſed in the faith of this King. But moſt of all others was *Attalus* moued with conſideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his owne eſtate. He had much to loſe; and was not without hope of getting much if he could make a ſtrong Partie in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captaines, in purchaſing with much liberalitie the loue of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, hauing loſt their owne. On the friendſhip of the *Ætolians* hee had cauſe to preſume; hauing bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Ægyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, he eaſily drew into a ſtreight alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceiued againſt *Philip*.

Vpon confidence in theſe his friends, but moſt of all, in the ready aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deale with the *Macedonian* by open warre. It had beene vnſeaſonable to procraſtinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemy tended; ſince his deſire to faſten vpon *Aſia* was manifeſt, and his falſhood no leſſe manifeſt, than was ſuch his deſire. They met with him ſhortly not farre from *Chios*, and fought with him a battaile at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driuen to runne his owne ſhippe on ground, hardly eſcaping to land: though the Admirall of the *Rhodians* tooke his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the battaile tooke harbour vnder a Promontorie, by which they had fought, ſo that he had the gathering of the wracks vpon the ſhoare: Yet foraſmuch as he had ſuffered far greater loſſe of ſhips and men, than had the Enemy: and ſince he durſt not in few dayes after put foorth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adiudged to his Enemies. This notwithſtanding, *Philip* afterwards beſieged and wonne ſome Townes in *Caria*: whether only in a brauery, and to deſpight his oppoſites; or whether vpon any hopefull deſire of conqueſt, it is vncertain. The ſtratageme, by which he wonne *Prinaſſus*, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a Myne: and finding the Earth ſo ſtony, that it reſiſted his worke; he neuertheleſſe commanded the Pioners to make a noiſe vnder ground; and ſecretly in the night-time he raiſed great Mounts about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the beſieged, that the worke went maruellouſly forward. At length he ſent word to the Towneſ-men, that by his vnder-mining, two acres of their wall ſtood onely vpon woodden proppes, to which if hee gaue fire, and entred by a breach, they ſhould expect no mercy. The *Prinaſſians* little thought, that hee had fetcht all his earth and rubbiſh by night a great way off, to raiſe vp thoſe heapes which they ſaw; but rather that all had beene extracted out of the Myne. Wherefore they ſuffered themſelues to be out-faced, and gaue vp the Towne as loſt, which the Enemy had no hope to winne by force. But *Philip* could not ſtay to ſettle himſelfe in thoſe parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too ſtrong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haſte backe into *Macedon*, whither they followed him all the way in manner of purſuit.

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§. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian warre, ſeeke matter of quarrell againſt Philip. *The Athenians vpon ſlight cauſe, proclaime warre againſt* Philip; *mooued thereto by* Attalus; *whom they flatter.* Philip *winnes diuers Townes: and makes peremptorie anſwere to the Roman Ambaſſadour. The furious reſolution of the Abydeni.*

THeſe *Aſiatique* matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet ſerued well to make a noyſe in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a deſire of making warre in *Macedon*, at leaſt with a conceit that it were expedient ſo to doe. The *Roman* Senate was perfectly informed of the ſtate of thoſe Eaſterne Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greekes*, which lay betweene them and the Lordſhip of *Aſia*. Theſe *Greekes* were factious, and ſeldome or neuer at peace. As for the *Macedonian*, though length of time, and continuall dealings in *Greece* euer ſince the reignes of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference betweene him and the Naturalls: yet moſt of them abhorred his Dominion, becauſe he was originally forſooth a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him vpon ancient quarrels: and they that had beene moſt beholding vnto him, were neuertheleſſe weary of him, by reaſon of his perſonall faults. All this gaue hope, that the affaires of *Greece* would not long detaine the *Roman* Armies: eſpecially ſince the diuiſions of the Countrey were ſuch, that euery petty Eſtate was apt to take counſaile apart for it ſelfe; without much regarding the generality. But the poore Commonalty of *Rome* had no great affection to ſuch a chargeable enterpriſe. They were already quite exhauſted, by that grieuous war with *Hannibal*: wherein they had giuen by Loane to the Republique, all their money: neither had they as yet receiued, neither did they receiue vntill fifteene or ſixteene yeares after this, their whole ſumme backe againe. That part of payment alſo which was already made, being not in preſent mony, but much of it in Land: it behoued them to reſt a while; and beſtow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the leſſe able to beſtow coſt. Wherefore they tooke no pleaſure to heare, that **Attalus** and the ***Rhodians*** had ſent Embaſſadours to ſolicite them againſt *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Aſia*: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had ſent letters of the ſame tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by ſetting out the preparations of this dangerous enemie, that ſollicited not onely the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the Ilands in thoſe Seas, viſiting them in perſon, or ſending Embaſſadours, as one that meant ſhortly to hold warre with the *Romans* vpon their owne ground. *Philip* had indeed no ſuch intent: neither was he much too ſtrong either of himſelfe, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be reſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, eſpecially with the helpe of the *Ætolians* their good friends, (and in a manner) his owne profeſſed enemies. But ſuch things muſt bee publiſhed abroad, if onely to prediſpoſe men vnto the warre, and giue it the more honeſt colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thriue by intermedling in the affaires of thoſe, that were more mightie than himſelfe. He was too vnskilfull, or otherwiſe too vnapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would hee needes be ſeeking new enemies. And hee found them ſuch, as hee deſerued to haue them: for he offered his helpe to their deſtruction, when they were in miſerie, and had done him no harme. It behoued him therefore, either to haue ſtrained his forces to the vtmoſt in making warre vpon them; or in deſiſting from that iniurious courſe, to haue made amends for the wrongs paſt, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But Hee, hauing broken that League of peace which is of all other the moſt naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, vnleſſe they thinke themſelues iuſtly prouoked; was afterwards too fondly perſwaded, that hee might well be ſecure of the *Romans*, becauſe of the *written* Couenants of peace betweene him and them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby ſuch articles of peace can bee held inviolable, ſaue onely * *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Neceſſitie*: which whileſt it bindes one partie, or both vnto performance, making it apparent, that he ſhall be a loſer who ſtarts from the Conditions; it may ſo long (and ſo long onely) bee preſumed, that there ſhall bee no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquiſhed, the *Romans* neuer hearkened after *Philip*: for neceſſitie made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with *Carthage*, then was the Riuer of *Styx* dryed vp: and then could they ſweare as * *Mercurie* did in the Comedie, by their owne ſelues, euen by their good ſwords, that they had good reaſon to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of *Sopater* into *Africke*, and the preſent warre againſt *Attalus*, were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough, the *Athenians* helped to furniſh them with more.

* *Sir Fr. Bacon de Sap. Veterum.*

* *Plaut. Amphitr.*

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territorie, tooke ſtate vpon them neuertheleſſe, as in their ancient fortune. Two yong Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of *Initiation*, (wherein were deliuered the myſteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous ſuperſtition, vainely ſaid to bee auaileable vnto felicitie after this life) diſcouered themſelues by ſome impertinent queſtions, to be none of thoſe that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meere errour, not thinking to haue therein done amiſſe; yet, as it had beene for ſome hainous crime, they were put to death. All their Countrymen at home tooke this in ill part; and ſought to reuenge it as a publike iniurie, by warre vpon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* ſome *Macedonians* to helpe them, they entred into *Attica*: who waſted it with fire and ſword; and carried thence a great bootie. This indignitie ſtirred vp the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them thinke vpon doing more, than they had ability to performe. All which at the preſent they could doe, was to ſend Embaſſadours to King *Attalus*, gratulating his happy ſucceſſe againſt *Philip*, and entreating him to viſit their Citie. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing; becauſe he vnderſtood that the *Roman* Embaſſadous, houering about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpoſe to bee there at the ſame time. So he went thither, accompanied, beſides his owne followers, with ſome of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they reioycing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; and Hee being no leſſe glad, when he heard of their purpoſe to renew the warre. The *Athenians* came out of their Citie, all the Magiſtrates, Prieſts, and Citizens, with their wiues and children, in as ſolemne a pompe as they could deuiſe, to meete and honour the King. They entertained the *Romanes* that were with him, in very louing manner: but towards *Attalus* himſelfe they omitted no point of obſeruance, which their flatterie could ſuggeſt. At his firſt comming into the Citie they called the people to Aſſembly: where they deſired him to honour them with his preſence, and let them heare him ſpeake. But he excuſed himſelfe; ſaying, That with an euill grace hee ſhould recount vnto them thoſe many benefits, by which hee ſtudied to make them know what loue he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that hee ſhould deliuer in writing, what hee would haue to be propounded. Hee did ſo. The points of his Declaration were; firſt, what hee had willingly done for their ſake: then, what had lately paſſed betweene him and *Philip*: laſtly, an exhortaton vnto them, to declare themſelues againſt the *Macedonian*, whileſt hee with the *Rhodians*, and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refuſed to doe, He proteſted, that afterwards it would be vaine to craue his helpe. There needed little entreatie: for they were as willing to proclaime the warre, as Hee to deſire it. As for other matters; they loaded him with immoderate honours: and ordained, That vnto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens conſiſted, ſhould be added another, and called after his name; as if He were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodians* they alſo decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodians* free Citizens of *Athens*.

Thus beganne a great noyſe of warre, wherein little was left vnto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* taking all vpon them. But while theſe were vaine-ly miſſpending the time, in ſeeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their partie: that contrarie to their olde manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* wonne the Townes of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other ſtrong places about the *Helleſpont*. Likewiſe paſſing ouer the *Helleſpont*, He laid ſiege vnto *Abydus*; and wonne it, though he was faine to ſtay there long. The Towne held out, rather vpon an obſtinate reſolution, and hope of ſuccour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, then any great ability to defend it ſelfe againſt ſo mightie an Enemie. But the *Rhodians* ſent thither onely one Quadrireme Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; farre to weake an aide to make good the place. The *Roman* Embaſſadours wondred much at this great negligence, of them that had taken ſo much vpon them.

Theſe Embaſſadours *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were ſent vnto *Ptolemie Epiphanes* King of *Ægypt*, to acquaint him with their victorie againſt *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as alſo to thanke him for his fauour vnto them ſhewed in that war; and to deſire the continuance thereof, if they ſhould need it againſt *Philip*. This *Ægyptian* King was now in the third or fourth yeere of his Reigne, which (as his Father *Philopator* had done before him) He beganne a very yong boy. The courteſie for which the *Romans* were to thanke him, was, That out of *Ægypt* they had lately bene ſupplied with Corne, in a time of extreme Dearth; when the miſeries of Warre had made all their own Prouinces vnable to releeue them. This meſſage could not but bee welcome to the *Ægyptian*: ſince it was well knowne, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themſelues againſt him, conſpiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reaſon be hoped, that Hee, or his Councell for him, ſhould offer to ſupply the *Romans* with Corne: ſince this their Macedonian Expedition concerned his Eſtate no leſſe than theirs.

But as the errand was for the moſt part complementall: ſo had the Embaſſadours both leiſure and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmylius* the yongeſt of them ſhould ſteppe aſide, and viſite *Philip*, to try if he could make him leaue the ſiege of *Abydus*; which elſe He was like to carry. *Æmylius*, comming to *Philip*, tels him, that his doings are contrarie to the League that Hee had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, vpon whom He made warre, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the Towne of *Abydus*, which He was now beſieging, had a kind of dependencie vpon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* anſwered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made warre vpon him: and that hee did onely requite them with the like. *Doe you alſo* (ſayde *Æmylius*) *requite theſe poore* Abydeni *with ſuch terrible Warre, for any the like Inuaſion by them firſt made vpon you?* The King was angrie to heare himſelfe thus taken ſhort: and therefore Hee roundly made anſwere to *Æmylius*; *It is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (aboue all,) your being a* Roman, *that maketh you thus præſumptuous. But I would wiſh yee* *to remember the League that ye haue made with me, and to keepe it: If ye doe otherwiſe, I will make ye vnderſtand, that the Kingdome, and Name of Macedon is in matter of Warre, no leſſe noble than the Roman.* So Hee diſmiſſed the Embaſſador; and had the Towne immediatly yeelded to his diſcretion. The people had entertained a reſolution, to haue died euerie one of them, and ſet their Town on fire; binding themſelues hereto by by a fearefull oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them vpon reaſonable Conditions. But hauing in deſperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, loſt the greateſt number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Gouernors and Ancients of the Citie to change this reſolution; and take ſuch peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Siluer to *Philip*: about which whileſt they were buſie, the memory of their oath wrought ſo effectually in the yonger ſort; that, by exhortation of their Prieſts, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themſelues. Heereof the King had ſo little compaſſion, that He ſaid, he would grant the *Abydeni* three dayes leiſure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the Towne; or hazard themſelues in interrupting the violence of thoſe mad fooles.

§. IX.

The Romans decree warre againſt Philip, *and ſend one of their Conſuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poore the Athenians were at this time both in qualitie and eſtate.*

THis calamitie of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romanes* vnto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerely reſembled; though *Rome* was not alike intereſſed in the quarrell. But to helpe themſelues with pretence for the warre, they had found out another *Saguntum*, euen the Citie of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* ſhould winne, then reſted there no more to doe, than that hee ſhould preſently embarke himſelfe for *Italie*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum* in fiue moneths, but in the ſhort ſpace of fiue daies ſayling. Thus *P. Sulpitius* the Conſul told the Multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre vpon *Philip*; which at his firſt propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alleadged; to ſhew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to vndertake: as alſo the fortunate Voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*; to ſhew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Countrey. By ſuch arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* induced to beleeue, that this warre with the *Macedonian* was both iuſt and neceſſary. So it was decreed: and immediately the ſame Conſul haſted away towards *Macedon*, hauing that Prouince allotted vnto him before, and all things in a readineſſe, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people muſt bee acquainted with. Great thankes were giuen to the *Athenian* Embaſſadours, of their conſtancie (as was ſayd) in not changing their faith at ſuch time as they ſtood in danger of being beſieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not vpon the ſame occaſion. For the people of *Rome* had no cauſe to thinke it a benefit vnto themſelues, that any *Greeke* Towne, refuſing to ſue vnto the *Macedonian* for peace, requeſted their helpe againſt him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conqueſt of the Eaſterne parts, had reaſon to giue thankes vnto thoſe, that miniſtred the occaſion. Since therefore it was an vntrue ſuggeſtion, That *Philip* was making readie for *Italy*: and ſince neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, nor any other State in thoſe quarters, deſired the *Romanes* to giue them protection: theſe buſie-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and conſequently with *Philip*, a matter of *May-game*, (as was ſhewed before) ſent Embaſſadours into all parts of the World, euen to *Ptolemy* of *Ægypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbors; muſt be accepted as cauſe of the warre, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Neuertheleſſe as it loues to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Sulpitius* the Conſull were ſuch, as might haue argued *Athens* to be the leaſt part of his care. Hee ſailed not about *Peloponneſus*, but tooke the readie way to *Macedon*; and landing about the Riuer of *Apſus*, betweene *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, there beganne the Warre. Soone vpon his comming, the *Athenian* Embaſſadors were with him, and craued his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whileſt hee was farre from them. They bemoaned themſelues as men beſieged, and intreated him to deliuer them. For which cauſe he ſent vnto them *C. Claudius* with twenty gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces hee retained with him, for the proſequution of a greater deſigne. The *Athenians* were not indeed beſieged: onely ſome Rouers from *Chalcis*, in the Ile of *Eubœa*, and ſome bands of aduenturers out of *Corinth*, vſed to take their ſhippes and ſpoyle their fields, becauſe they had declared themſelues againſt King *Philip*, that was Lord of theſe two Townes. The robberies done by theſe Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than warrelike *Athenians, in this declining Age of their* Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From ſuch detriment the arriuall of *Claudius*, and ſhortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, eaſily preſerued them. As for the *Athenians* themſelues, they that had beene wont, in ancient times, to vndertake the conqueſts of *Ægypt, Cyprus*, and *Cicil*; to make warre vpon the great *Perſian* King, and to hold ſo much of *Greece* in ſubiection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the reſt; had now no more than three ſhips, and thoſe open ones, not much better than long boates. Yet thought they not themſelues a whit the worſe men, but ſtood as highly vpon the glory and vertue of their Anceſtors, as if it had beene ſtill their owne.

§. X.

The Towne of Chalcis in Eubœa, taken and ſackt by the Romans and their Aſſociates, that lay in Garriſon at Athens. Philip *attempteth to take Athens by ſurprize: waſteth the Countrey about: and makes a iourny into Peloponneſus: Of* Nabis *the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife.* Philip *offers to make warre againſt* Nabis *for the Achæans. Hee returneth home through Attica, which he ſpoyleth againe: and prouides againſt the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Diuers Princes ioyne with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the warre.*

PHilip, returning home from *Abydus*, heard newes of the *Roman* Conſul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he ſtirred foorth to giue him entertainement, or perhappes before hee had well reſolued, whether it were beſt a while to ſit ſtill, and trie what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make oppoſition, and reſiſt theſe Inuaders with all his forces: he receiued aduertiſement from *Chalcis* of a grieuous miſhap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no ſuch worke at *Athens* as they had expected, or was anſwerable to the fame that went abroad, purpoſed to do ſomewhat that might quicken the warre, and make his owne employment better. He grew ſoone weary of ſitting as a Scarre-crowe, to ſaue the *Athenians* grounds from ſpoyle; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a buſineſſe of more importance. The Towne of *Chalcis* was very negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemie at hand: and more negligently by the Townes men, who repoſed themſelues vpon their Garriſon. Hereof *Claudius* hauing aduertiſement, ſayled thither by night, for feare of being deſcryed: and arriuing there a little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. Hee vſed no mercy, but ſlew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keepe it, (vnleſſe he ſhould haue left the heartleſſe *Athenians* to their owne defence) Hee ſet it on fire; conſuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all prouiſions for Warre, which were plenteouſly filled. Neither were He and his Aſſociates contented with the great abundance of ſpoyle which they carried about their ſhips, and with inlarging all thoſe, whom *Philip*, as in a place of moſt ſecuritie, kept there impriſoned: but to ſhew their deſpight and hatred vnto the King, they ouerthrew and brake in pieces the Statuaes to him there erected. This done, they haſted away towards *Athens*: where the newes of their exploit was like to be ioyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias* about ſome twenty miles thence; whither when theſe tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he ſaw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet hee made all haſte to take reuenge. He thought to haue taken the *Athenians*, with their truſty friends, buſie at worke in ranſacking the Towne, and loading themſelues with ſpoyle: but they were gone before his comming. Fiue thouſand light-armed-foote hee had with him, and three hundred horſe: whereof leauing at *Chalcis* onely a few to burie the dead, Hee marched from thence away ſpeedily toward *Athens*: thinking it not vnpoſſible to take his enemies, in the ioy of their Victory, as ful of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-poſt that ſtood Scout for the Citie vpon the borders, had not deſcried him a farre off, and ſwiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Poſt came thither: who found all the Towne aſleepe,as fearleſſe of any danger. But the Magiſtrates,hearing his report,cauſed a trumpet out of their Cittadell to ſound the Alarme; and with all ſpeede make ready for defence. Within a few houres *Philip* was there: who ſeeng the many lights, and other ſignes of buſie preparation vſuall in ſuch a caſe, vnderſtood that they had newes of his comming; and therefore willed his men, to repoſe themſelues till it were day. It is like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compaſſe about by Sea, and had no cauſe of haſte) yet hauing in the Towne ſome mercenarie Souldiers,which they kept, of their owne,beſides the great multitude of Citizens; they aduentured to iſſue forth at a gate, whereto they ſaw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all thoſe his owne, that were thus hardie. Hee therefore onely willed his men to follow his example; and preſently gaue charge vpon them. In that fight hee gaue ſingular proofe of his valour: and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, draue them with great ſlaughter backe into the Citie. The heate of his courage tranſported him further, than diſcretion would haue allowed, euen to the very gate. But hee retired without harme taking; for that they which were vpon the Towers ouer the gate, could not vſe their caſting weapons againſt him, without much indangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exerciſe, with a Groue, and many goodly Monuments beſides, neere adioyning vnto *Athens*: of which hee ſpared none; but ſuffered the rage of his anger to extend, euen vnto the ſepulchers of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and ſome Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Ægina*; too late in regard of what was already paſt: but in good time to preuent him of ſatisfying his anger to the full, which as yet hee had not done. So he departed from thence to *Corinth*, and hearing that the *Achæans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, He came thither to them vnexpected.

The *Achæans* were deuiſing vpon warre: which they intended to make againſt *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being ſtarted vp in the roome of *Machanidas*, did greater miſchiefe then any that went before him. This Tyrant relyed wholly vpon his Mercenaries; and of his ſubiects had no regard. He was a cruell oppreſſor; a greedy extortioner vpon thoſe that liued vnder him; and one that in his naturall condition ſmelt ranklie of the Hangman. In theſe qualities, his wife *Apega* was very fitly matched with him, ſince his dexteritie was no greater in ſpoyling the men, than hers in fleecing their wiues; whom ſhee would neuer ſuffer to bee at quiet, till they had preſented her with all their *iewels* and *apparell*. Her husband was ſo delighted with her propertie, that hee cauſed an Image to be made liuely repreſenting her; and apparelled it with ſuch coſtly garments as ſhe vſed to weare. But it was indeed an *Engine*, ſeruing to torment men. Hereof hee made vſe, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling vnto him ſome rich man, of whoſe mony he was deſirous; Hee would bring him into the roome where this Counterfait *Apega* ſtood, and there vſe all his Art of perſwaſion, to get what he deſired, as it were by good will. If he could not ſo ſpeede, but was anſwered with excuſes; then tooke hee the refractorie denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apega* (who ſate by in a Chaire) could perſwade more effectually. So hee ledde him to the Image, that roſe vp and opened the armes, as it were for imbracement. Thoſe armes were full of ſharpe yron nayles, the like whereof was alſo ſticking in the breaſts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith ſhee griped the poore wretch, to the pleaſure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worſe (for it were long to tell all here that is ſpoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Gouernment. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the *Ætolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By theſe he grew into acquaintance with the *Romanes*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former war. Of *Philopæmens* vertue he ſtood in feare; and therefore durſt not prouoke the *Achæans*, as long as they had ſuch an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a farre worſe Captaine, was their Prætor; and all, or the greateſt part of their Mercenaries were diſcharged; *Philopæmen* being alſo gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloued occupation of Warre: then did *Nabis* fall vpon their Territory; and waſting all the fields, made them diſtruſt their owne ſafetie in the Townes.

Liu.lib.32.

Excerpt.e Polyb.lib.13.

Againſt this Tyrant the *Achæans* were preparing for warre, when *Philip* came among them; and had ſet downe, what proportion of Souldiers euery Citie of their Corporation ſhould furniſh out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themſelues with the care of this buſineſſe; foraſmuch as he alone would eaſe them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himſelfe. With exceeding ioy and thankes they accepted of this kinde offer. But then he told them, That, whileſt he made warre vpon *Lacedæmon*, He ought not to leaue his owne Townes vnguarded. In which reſpect hee thought they would be pleaſed, to ſend a few men to *Corinth*, and ſome Companies into the Ile of *Eubœa*; that ſo he might ſecurely purſue the warre againſt *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his deuice; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his warre againſt the *Romanes*: Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him anſwer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than thoſe for which it was aſſembled. So paſſing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing warre againſt *Nabis*; hee brake vp the Aſſembly, with euery mans good liking; whereas in former times, He had beene thought no better than one of the Kings Paraſites.

It grieued the King to haue thus failed in his purpoſe with the *Achæans*. Neuertheleſſe, he gathered vp among them a few Voluntaries; and ſo returned by *Corinth* backe into *Attica*. There he met with *Philocles* one of his Captaines, that with two thouſand men had beene doing what harme hee might vnto the Countrie. With this addition of ſtrength, he attempted the Caſtle of *Eleuſine*, the Hauen of *Pyreus*, and euen the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made ſuch haſte after him by Sea, thruſting themſelues into euery of theſe places; that he could no more then wreake his anger vpon thoſe goodlie Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time ſingularly beautified. So He deſtroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty, of their owne; or, hauing long agoe beene maſters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where beſt choyce was found. Neither did he onely pull all downe: but cauſed his men to breake the very ſtones, that they might be vnſeruiceable to their reparation. His loſſe at *Chalcis* being thus reuenged vpon *Athens*, Hee went home into *Macedon*: and there made prouiſion, both againſt the Roman Conſul that lay about *Apollonia*; and againſt the *Dardanians*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infeſt him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whoſe Parliament, ſhortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he ſent an Embaſſage, requeſting them to continue in his friendſhip. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpicius the Roman Conſul encamped vpon the riuer of *Apſus*. Thence hee ſent forth *Apuſtius*, his Lieutenant, with part of the Army, to waſte the borders of *Macedon*. *Apuſtius* tooke ſundry Caſtles and Townes; vſing ſuch extremity of ſword and fire at *Antipatria*, the firſt good Towne which he wonne by force, that none durſt afterwards make reſiſtance, vnleſſe they knew themſelues able to hold out. Returning towards the Conſul with his ſpoyle, he was charged in Rere, vpon the paſſage of a brooke, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* captaine: but the *Romans* had the better, and killing many of theſe enemies, tooke priſoners many more, to the increaſe of their booty, with which they arriued in ſafety at their campe. The ſucceſſe of this Expedition, though it were not great, yet ſerued to draw into the *Roman* friendſhip, thoſe that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. Theſe were *Pleuratus*, the ſonne of *Scerdilaidas* the *Illyrian*: *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and *Bato* the ſonne of *Longarus*, a Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their aſſiſtance vnto the Conſul, who thanked them: and ſayd, That hee would ſhortly make vſe of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when hee entred into *Macedon*: but that the friendſhip of *Aminander*, whoſe Countrey lay betweene the *Ætolians* and *Theſſalie*, might be perhaps auaileable with the *Ætolians*, to ſtirre them vp againſt *Philip*.

So the preſent care was wholly ſet vpon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embaſſadours from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* ſpake firſt, and ſayd: That as there was nothing fallen out, which ſhould occaſion the breach of peace betweene his Maſter and the *Ætolians*: ſo was it to be hoped, that they would not ſuffer themſelues, without good cauſe, to be caried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to conſider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made ſhew, as if their warre in *Greece* tended onely to the defence of the *Ætolians*, and yet notwithſtanding had beene angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of ſuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them ſo buſie, in obtruding their protection vpon thoſe that needed it not? Surely it was euen the generall hatred, which theſe *Barbarians* bore vnto the *Greekes*. For euen after the ſame ſort had they lent their helpe to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards deliuered *Syracuſe*, when it was oppreſſed by *Carthaginian* Tyrants: but now both *Syracuſe* & *Meſſana*, were ſubiect vnto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the ſame effect he alleadged many examples, adding, That in like ſort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who if they drew ſuch Maſters into *Greece*, muſt not looke heereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to conſult about Warre and Peace: the *Romans* would eaſe them of this care, and ſend them ſuch a Moderator, as went euery yeere from *Rome* to *Syracuſe*. Wherefore he concluded, That it was beſt for them, whileſt as yet they might, and whileſt one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, vpon light occaſion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeeres agoe made the peace which ſtill continued; although that the very ſame *Romanes* were then againſt it, who ſought to breake it now. It would haue troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good anſwere to theſe obiections. For the *Macedonian* had ſpoken the very truth, in ſhewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with ſuch importunitie, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were ſet on by them to ſpeake next: who had ſtore of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. Theſe affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embaſſadour, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne King had, in few daies paſt, made Warre vpon the gods themſelues, by deſtroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Heerewithall they made a pittifull rehearſall of their owne calamities: and ſaid, that if *Philip* might haue his will, *Ætolia*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, ſhould feele the ſame that *Attica* had felt; yea that *Athens* it ſelfe, together with *Minerua*, *Iupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to haue felt, if the walls and the *Roman* armes had not defended them.

Then ſpake the *Romans*: who excuſing, as well as they could, their owne oppreſſion of all thoſe, in whoſe defence they had heretofore taken Armes, went roundly to the point, in hand. They ſayd, that they had of late made Warre in the *Ætolians* behalfe, and that the *Ætolians* had without their conſent made peace: whereof ſince the *Ætolians* muſt excuſe themſelues, by alleaging that the *Romans*, being buſied with *Carthage*, wanted leiſure to giue them aide conuenient: ſo this excuſe being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent againſt their common Enemie, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their War and victorie, vnleſſe they had rather periſh with *Philip*.

It might eaſily be perceiued, that they which were ſo vehement, in offering their help ere it was deſired, were themſelues carried vnto the warre by more earneſt motiues, than a ſimple deſire to helpe thoſe friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may haue beene the cauſe, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor ſhifted them off a while with a dilatorie anſwer: though he told his Countrymen, That by reſeruing themſelues, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with thoſe that had the better fortune. His anſwer was, firſt, in generall termes; That ouermuch haſte was an enemy to good counſaile: for which cauſe they muſt further deliberate, ere they concluded. But comming neerer to the matter in hand, Hee paſſed a Decree, *That the Prætor might at any time call an Aſſembly of the States, and therein conclude vpon this buſineſſe; any Law to the contrary notwithſtanding*: whereas otherwiſe it was vnlawfull to treat of ſuch affaires, except in two of their great Parliaments, that were held at ſet times.

§. XI.

The meeting of Philip *with the Romans, and skirmiſhing with them on his borders. The Ætolians inuade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of* Attalus *and the Romane Fleet.*

PHilip was glad to heare, that the *Romanes* had ſped no better in their ſollicitation of the *Ætolians*. Hee thought them heereby diſappointed, in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himſelfe to diſappoint them of another. His ſonne *Perſeus*, a very boy, was ſent to keepe the Streights of *Pelagonia* againſt the

Dardanians; hauing with him ſome of the Kings Councell, to gouerne both him and his armie. It was iudged, as may ſeeme, that the preſence of the Kings ſonne, how yong-ſoeuer, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the enemies; by making them at leaſt beleeue, that hee was not weakely attended. And this may haue beene the reaſon, why the ſame *Perſeus*, a few yeeres before this, was in like manner left vpon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father; whom earneſt buſineſſe called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the *Macedonian* Fleet vnder *Heraclides*, would ſerue to keepe *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romanes*, from doing harme by ſea, when the Kings backe was turned; who tooke his iourney Weſtward againſt *Sulpicius* the Conſul.

The Armies met in the Countrey of the *Deſſaretij*, a people in the vtmoſt borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, about the mountaines of *Candauia*; that running along from *Hæmus* in the North vntill they ioyne in the South with *Pindus*, incloſe the Weſterne parts of *Macedon*. Two or three dayes they lay in ſight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Conſul was the firſt that iſſued foorth of his Campe into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the ſtrength which hee had then about him; and therefore thought it better to ſend foorth ſome of his light-armed Mercenaries, and ſome part of his horſe, to entertaine them with skirmiſh. Theſe were eaſily vanquiſhed by the *Romanes*, and driuen backe into their Campe. Now although it was ſo, that the King was vnwilling to hazard all at firſt vpon a Caſt, and therefore ſent for *Perſeus* with his Companies, to increaſe his owne forces: yet being no leſſe vnwilling to loſe too much in reputation; He made ſhew a day after, as if he would haue fought. He had found the aduantage of a place fit for ambuſh, wherein hee beſtowed as many as hee thought meet of his Targettiers: and ſo gaue charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captaines to prouoke out the *Romans* to fight; inſtructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behaue themſelues reſpectiuely, as opportunitie ſhould fall out. The *Romans* had no miſtruſt of any ambuſh, hauing fought vpon the ſame ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might haue ſuſtained ſome notable detriment, if the Kings directions had beene well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall backe, they charged him ſo hotly, that they draue him to an haſty flight, and purſued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not ſtaying to let them runne into the danger, diſcouered themſelues before it was time; and thereby made fruſtrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Conſul hereby gathered, that the King had ſome deſire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which he therefore preſented the ſecond time; leading forth his Armie, and ſetting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kind of helpe which the *Romans* had neuer vſed before, but had taken theſe of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was ſcarce aboue foureſcore yeeres ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italie*, to affright the *Romans*, who had neuer ſeene any of thoſe beaſts before. But now the ſame *Romanes* (whileſt poſſibly ſome were yet aliue, which had knowne that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greekes* haue none. *Philip* had patience to let the Conſul braue him at his Trenches: wherein he did wiſely: for the *Roman* had greater neede to fight, than Hee. *Sulpicius* was vnwilling to loſe time: neither could he without great danger, lying ſo neere the Enemie, that was ſtrong in Horſe, ſend his men to fetch in corne out of the fields. Wherefore he remoued eight myles off: preſuming that *Philip* would not aduenture to meete him on euen ground; and ſo the more boldly hee ſuffered his Forragers to ouer-runne the Countrey. The King was nothing ſorry of this; but permitted the *Romanes* to take their good pleaſure: euen till their preſumption, and his owne ſuppoſed feare, ſhould make them careleſſe. When this was come to paſſe, hee tooke all his horſe, and light-armed foote, with which hee occupied a place in the midway, betweene the Forragers and their Campe. There hee ſtayed in Couert with part of his forces; to keepe the paſſages that none ſhould eſcape. The reſt he ſent abroad the Countrey, to fall vpon the ſtraglers: willing them to put all to the ſword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The ſlaughter was great: and thoſe which eſcaped the hands of them that were ſent abroad to ſcowre the fields, lighted all or moſt of them vpon the King and his companies in their flight: ſo as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there eſcaped ſome: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had happened to themſelues, raiſed a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon ſends foorth all his horſe, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they ſaw it needfull: He himſelfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horſe diuided themſelues, accordingly as they met with aduertiſements vpon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was moſt of the danger. Such of them as lighted vpon *Philips* Troupes, that were canuaſſing the field, tooke their taske where they found it: But the maine bulke of them fell vpon the King himſelfe. They had the diſaduantage; as comming fewer, and vnprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away: as their fellowes alſo might haue beene, if the King had well bethought himſelfe, and giuen ouer in time. But while, not contented with ſuch an harueſt, he was too greedie about a poore gleaning: the Romane Legions appeared in ſight: which emboldened their horſe too make a re-charge. Then the danger apparant, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their owne ſafety. They ranne which way they could: and (as men that lie in waite for others, are ſeldome heedfull of that which may befall themſelues) to eſcape the Enemie, they declined the faireſt way; ſo as they were plunged in Mariſhes and Bogges, wherein many of them were loſt. The Kings horſe was ſlaine vnder him: and there had hee beene caſt away, if a louing ſubiect of his had not alighted, mounted him vpon his owne horſe; and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foote was ouertaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improuident raſhnes; and the Conſul, with as much dulneſſe, for his dayes ſeruice. A little longer ſtay would haue deliuered the king from theſe enemies without any blow: ſince when all the fields about them were waſted, they muſt needes haue retired backe to the Sea. On the other ſide, it was not thought vnlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had ſet vpon his Campe, at ſuch time as hee fled thither, halfe amazed with feare of being either ſlaine or taken, they might haue wonne it. But that noble Hiſtorian, *Liuie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath iudiciouſly obſerued, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this dayes worke. For the maine body of the Kings Armie lay ſafe in his Campe; and could not be ſo aſtoniſhed with the loſſe of two or three hundred Horſe, that it ſhould therefore haue abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himſelfe, he was aduertiſed, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen vpon his Countrey; when they found the paſſage thereinto open, after *Perſeus* was called away from cuſtody of the Streights. This was it which made him aduenture to doe ſomewhat betimes; that he might ſet the *Romans* going the ſooner, and afterwards looke vnto his troubleſome neighbours. In conſideration of this, *Philip* was deſirous to cleare himſelfe of the *Romans*, as ſoone as he might. And to that purpoſe hee ſent vnto the Conſul; requeſting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But inſtead of ſo doing, he marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not ſtirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not ſlow to follow him. He ouertook the *Macedonians* in a place of ſtrength, which they had fenced (for it was a wooddy ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was moſt open. In making of ſuch places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little vſe; being a ſquare battell of pikes, not fit for euery ground. The Archers of *Crete* were iudged, and were indeed, more ſeruiceable in that caſe. But they were few; and their arrowes were of ſmall force againſt the *Roman* ſhields. The *Macedonians* therfore helped them by flinging of ſtones. But to no purpoſe. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (ſuch as it was) layd open vnto the Conſul ſome poore Townes thereabout; which partly were taken by ſtrong hand, partly yeelded for feare. But the ſpoyle of theſe, and of the fields adioyning, was not ſufficient to maintaine his Armie; and therefore he returned backe to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* was come backe, withdrew themſelues apace out of the Countrey. The King ſent *Athenagoras* to waite vpon them home; whileſt he himſelfe went againſt the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætolians*, who had reſerued himſelfe and his Nation vnto the euent of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once & againe: as alſo that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardanians* were fallen vpon *Macedon*; grew no leſſe buſie on the ſudden, than before he had beene wiſe. He perſwaded his Nation to take their time: and ſo, not ſtaying to proclaime warre, ioyned his forces with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; and made inuaſion vpon *Theſſalie*. They tooke and cruelly ſacked a few Townes: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might doe what they liſted. But *Philip* came vpon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay diſperſed, was like to haue taken their Camp; if *Aminander*, more warie then the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his owne mountainous Country.

About the ſame time; the *Roman* Fleete, aſſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken ſome ſmall Ilands in the *Ægean* Sea. They tooke likewiſe the Towne of *Oreum* in the Iſle of *Eubœa*; and ſome other places thereabout. The Townes were giuen vnto *Attalus*, after the ſame Compact that had formerly beene made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were giuen vnto the *Romanes*; and the people, for ſlaues. Other attempts on that ſide were hindred; either by foule weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of meanes.

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§. XII.

Villius *the Roman Conſul waſtes a yeere to no effect. Warre of the Gaules in Italie. An Embaſſie of the Romans to Carthage,* Maſaniſſa, *and* Vermina. *The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and* T. Quintius Flaminius *is ſent againſt him.*

THus the time ranne away: and *P. Villius* a new Conſul, tooke charge of the war in *Macedon*. He was troubled with a Mutinie of his oldeſt Souldiors: whereof two thouſand; hauing ſerued long in *Sicil* and *Africk*, thought themſelues much wronged, in that they could not bee ſuffered to looke vnto their owne eſtates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had ſerued at *Cannæ*: as may ſeeme by their complaint, of hauing beene long abſent from *Italie*; whither faine they would haue returned, when by their Colonels they were ſhipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is vncertaine. For the Hiſtory of his yeere is loſt: whereof the miſſe is not great; ſince he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as wee find in *Liuie*, hath adorned this *Liu. l. 32.* *Villius* with a great exploit againſt *Philip*. Yet ſince *Liuie* himſelfe, an Hiſtorian to whom few of the beſt are matchable, could find no ſuch thing recorded in any good Authour; we may reaſonably beleeue, that *Villius* his yeere was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* Warre, the *Romans* found more trouble than could haue beene expected with the *Gaules*. Their Colonie of *Placentia*, a goodly and ſtrong Towne, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Aſdrubal*, had beene able to force; was taken by theſe *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like ſort *Cremona* was attempted; but ſaued her ſelfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamitie. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that ſtaied behind *Aſdrubal*, or *Mago*, in thoſe parts; was now become Captaine of the *Gaules*, in theſe their enterpriſes. This when the *Romans* heard, they ſent Embaſſadours to the *Carthaginians*: giuing them to vnderſtand, That, if they were not wearie of the peace, it behoued them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made war in *Italie*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps leſt the meſſage might ſeeme otherwiſe to haue ſauoured a little of ſome feare) That of the Fugitiue ſlaues belonging to the *Romans*, there were ſome reported to walke vp and downe in *Carthage*: which if it were ſo, then ought they to be reſtored backe to their Maſters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embaſſadours that were ſent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Maſaniſſa*, as alſo with *Vermina* the ſonne of *Syphax*. Vnto *Maſaniſſa*, beſides matter of complement, they were to ſignifie what pleaſure Hee might doe them, by lending then ſome of his *Numidian* Horſe, to ſerue in their Warre againſt the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchſafe vnto him the name of *King*: and promiſed thereafter to deſerue it, by his readineſſe in doing them all good offices. But they were ſomewhat ſcrupulous in the matter: and ſaid, That hauing beene, and being ſtill (as they tooke it) their Enemie, Hee ought firſt of all to deſire peace; for that the name of *King*, was an honour which they vſed not to conferre vpon any; ſaue onely vpon ſuch as had royally deſerued it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto theſe Embaſſadours vpon ſuch termes as they ſhould thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then buſied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle anſwere, That they wholly diſclaimed *Amilcar*: baniſhing him; and confiſcating his goods. As for the Fugitiues: they had reſtored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requiſite, giue ſatiſfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they ſent a great proportion of Corne to *Rome*; and the like vnto the Armie that was in *Macedon*. King *Maſaniſſa* would haue lent vnto the *Romans* two thouſand of his *Numidian* Horſe: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embaſſadours, to giue them entertainement, on the borders of his Kingdome; and without any diſputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* buſied in taking order for their *Macedonian* Warre, that they might purſue it ſtrongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gaules*: they layde ſiege vnto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battaile: and the fruit of the victorie was ſuch, as both made amends for loſſes paſt, and left the worke eaſie to thoſe, that afterwards ſhould haue the managing of warre among thoſe *Gaules*. So was there good leiſure to thinke vpon the buſineſſe of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully prouiding to giue contentment vnto his ſubiects, by puniſhing a bad Counſailour whom they hated; as alſo to aſſure vnto himſelfe the *Achæans*, by rendring vnto them ſome Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to ſtrengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exerciſing and trayning his people, but by fortifying the paſſages that led thereinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing, when *Villius*, hauing vnprofitably laboured to find way into *Macedon*, taking a iourney (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein hee could not bee ſupplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new courſe. But then came aduertiſement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was choſen Conſul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Prouince; whoſe comming was expected; and hee very ſhortly arriued at the Armie.

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§. XIII.

The Romans beginne to make warre by negotiation. T. Quintius *winnes a paſſage againſt* Philip. *Theſſalie waſted by* Philip, *the Romans, and Ætolians. The Achæans forſaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treatie of peace, that was vaine.* Philip *deliuers Argos to* Nabis *the Tyrant, who preſently enters into League with the Romans.*

THe *Romanes* had not beene wont, in former times, to make Warre after ſuch a trifling manner. It was their vſe, to giue battaile to the Enemie, as ſoone as they met with him. If he refuſed it, they beſieged his Townes: and ſo forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his diſaduantage in reputation, when he had long forborne it (as it would be interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weakeneſſe. But in this their Warre with *Philip*, they beganne to learne of the ſubtle *Greekes*, the arte of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not growne ſo fine, as within a little while they proued. Their Treaſury was poore, and ſtood indebted,* many yeeres after this, vnto priuat men, for part of thoſe monies that had beene borrowed in the ſecond Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonaltie auerſe from the *Macedonian* Warre; and had thereby driuen the Senators greedy of the enterprize, to make vſe of their cunning. Yet being weary of the ſlow pace wherewith their buſineſſe went forward, they determined to increaſe their Armie, that they might haue the leſſe neede to relie vpon their Confederats. So they leauied eight thouſand foot, and eight hundred Horſe (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they ſent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Conſul into *Macedon*. Their Nauie, and other meanes could well haue ſerued, for the ſetting foorth and tranſportation of a greater Armie: but by ſtraining themſelues to the moſt of their ability, they ſhould (beſides other difficulties incident vnto the ſuſtenance of thoſe that are too many and too farre from home) haue bred ſome iealouſie in their friends of *Greece*, and and thereby haue loſt ſome friends, yea, perhaps haue increaſed the number of their enemies more than of their owne Souldiers. This preſent augmentation of the forces was very requiſite; for that *Attalus*, about the ſame time, excuſed himſelfe vnto them, by his Embaſſadours; requeſting that either they would vndertake the defence of his Kingdome againſt *Antiochus*, who inuaded it; or elſe that they would not take it vncourteouſlie, that hee quitted the Warre with *Philip*, and returned home, to looke vnto that which more concerned him. Their anſwere was remarquable. They ſaide, That it was not their manner to vſe the ayde of their friends, longer than their friendes had good opportunitie, and could alſo bee well contented to affoorde it;

*Liu.l.34.

That they could not honeſtly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though he were, againſt *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deale with *Antiochus* by Embaſſadours, and (as common friends vnto both of the Kings) doe their beſt to perſwade an attonement betweene them. In ſuch louing faſhion did they now carry themſelues, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the kingdome of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded theſe termes of friendſhip, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very ſoone appeare.

T. Quintius haſting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Prouince, with the ſupply decreed vnto him; which conſiſted, for the moſt part, of old Souldiers, that had ſerued in *Spaine* and *Africke*. He found *Villius* the old Conſul, (whom at his comming hee preſently diſcharged) and king *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one againſt the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the riuer of *Apſus* or *Aous*. It was manifeſt, that either the *Romans* muſt fetch a compaſſe about, and ſeeke their way into *Macedon*, through the poore Countrey of the *Daſſaretians*; or elſe winne, by force, that paſſage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two yeeres together miſ-ſpent their time, and beene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of victualls: whereof they could neither carry with them ſtore ſufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get ouer theſe Mountains, which diuided the South of *Epirus* from *Theſſalie*; then ſhould they enter into a plentifull Country; and which by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a maner) part of his kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Neuertheleſſe, the deſire of winning this paſſage, was greater than the likelyhood. For the riuer of *Apſus*, running along through that valley which alone was open betweene the Mountaines, made it all a deep Mariſh and vnpaſſable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine Rocke by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* aſſayled to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himſelfe diſappoynted of this hope, through the diligence of his Enemy, who neglected not the gard of them that was very eaſie; hee was compelled to ſit ſtill, without doing any thing for the ſpace of forty dayes.

This long time of reſt gaue hope vnto *Philip*, that the war might be ended by compoſition, vpon ſome reaſonable termes. He therefore ſo dealt with ſome of the *Epirots*, (among whom hee had many friends) that Hee and the Conſul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Conſul would haue him to ſet all Townes of *Greece* at libertie; and to make amends for the iniuries, which hee had done to many people in his late Warres. *Philip* was contented to giue libertie to thoſe whom hee had ſubdued of late: but vnto ſuch, as had beene long ſubiect vnto him and his Anceſtors, Hee thought it againſt all reaſon, that hee ſhould relinquiſh his claime and dominion ouer them. He alſo ſaid, That as farre foorth as it ſhould appeare that hee had done wrong vnto any Towne or people whatſoeuer, Hee could well be pleaſed to make ſuch amends, as might ſeeme conuenient in the iudgement of ſome free State, that had not beene intereſſed in thoſe quarrels. But herewithall *Quintius* was not ſatiſfied. There needed (he ſaid) no iudgement or compromiſe; foraſmuch as it was apparant, that *Philip* had alwaies beene the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one prouoked, in his owne defence. After this altercation, when they ſhould come to particulars: and when the Conſul was required to name thoſe Townes, that he would haue to be ſet at libertie; the firſt that he named were the *Theſſalians*: Theſe had beene Subiects (though conditionall) vnto the *Macedonian* Kings, euer ſince the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as ſoone as *Flaminius* had named the *Theſſalians*; the King in a rage demanded what ſharper Condition He would haue layd vpon him, had he beene but vanquiſhed. And herewithall abruptly hee flang away; refuſing to heare any more of ſuch diſcourſe.

After this the Conſul ſtroue in vaine two or three dayes together, to haue preuayled againſt the difficulties of that paſſage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himſelfe, and could not reſolue what courſe to take: there came to him an Heardſ-man, ſent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that fauoured the *Romanes*, who hauing long kept beaſts in thoſe Mountaines, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore vndertooke to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they ſhould haue aduantage of the Enemy. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was faſt bound: and being promiſed a great reward, in caſe hee made good his word, had ſuch Companies as was thought fit, appoynted to follow his directions. They trauailed by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and reſted in the day-time, for feare of being diſcouered. When they had recouered the hill-tops, and were aboue the *Macedonians*, (though vndiſcouerd by them, becauſe at their backs) they raiſed a great ſmoke, whereby they gaue notice of their ſucceſſe vnto the Conſul. Some skirmiſhes, whileſt theſe were on their iourny, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonian*; thereby to auert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he ſaw the ſmoke ariſe more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were ſent, he preſſed as neare as he could vnto the Enemies Campe, and aſſailed them in their ſtrength. He preuailed as little as in former times, vntill the ſhoutings of thoſe that ranne downe the hill, and charged *Philip* on the backe, aſtoniſhed ſo the *Macedonians*, that they betooke themſelues to flight. The King, vpon firſt apprehenſion of the danger, made all ſpeed away to ſaue himſelfe. Yet anon conſidering, that the difficulty of the paſſage muſt needes hinder the *Romans* from purſuing him: hee made a ſtand at the end of fiue miles, and gathered there together his broken troups, of whom he found wanting no more than two thouſand men. The greateſt loſſe was of his Campe and prouiſions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the *Macedonians* beganne to ſtand in feare, leſt being driuen from a place of ſuch aduantage, they ſhould hardly make good their party againſt the Enemy, vpon equall ground. Neither was *Philip* himſelfe much better perſwaded. Wherefore he cauſed the *Theſſalians*, as many of them as in his haſty retrait he could viſit, to forſake their Townes and Countrie, carying away with them as much as they were able, and ſpoyling all the reſt. But all of them could not be perſwaded, thus to abandon (for the pleaſure of their king) their ancient habitations, and all the ſubſtance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly reſiſted him; which they might the better doe, for that he could not ſtay to vſe any great compulſion. He alſo himſelfe tooke it very grieuouſly, that he was driuen to make ſuch waſte of a moſt pleaſant and fruitfull Countrey, which had euer been well affected vnto him: ſo that a little hinderance did ſerue, to make him breake off his purpoſe, and withdraw himſelfe home into his kingdome of *Macedon*.

The *Ætolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were euen in a readineſſe to inuade *Theſſalie*; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their ſeuerall Countries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they foreſlowed not the occaſion, but made all ſpeede, each of them to lay holde vpon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten ſo much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harueſt, could not find enough to maintaine his Army. Thus were the poore *Theſſalians*, of whoſe liberty the *Romans* a few dayes ſince had made ſhew to be very deſirous, waſted by the ſame *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themſelues, or whom to auoyde. *T. Quintius* wonne *Phaleria* by aſſault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yeelded vnto him. *Rhage* he beſieged: and hauing made a faire breach, yet was vnable to force it; ſo ſtoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a Macedonian garriſon therein. *Philip* alſo at the ſame time, hauing ſomewhat recollected his ſpirits, houered about *Tempe* with his Army, thruſting men into all places, that were like to be diſtreſſed. So the Conſul, hauing wel-neare ſpent his victualls, and ſeeing no hope to preuaile at *Rhage*; brake vp his ſiege, and departed out of *Theſſaly*. He had appointed his ſhips of burden to meete him at *Anticyra*, an Hauen Towne of *Phocis*, on the Gulph of *Corinth*: which Country being friend to the *Macedonian*, he preſently inuaded; not ſo much for hatred vnto the people, as becauſe it lay conueniently ſeated betweene *Theſſaly* and other regions, wherein he had buſineſſe, or was ſhortly like to haue. Many Townes in *Phocis* he wonne by aſſault: many were yeelded vp vnto him for feare; and within ſhort ſpace hee had (in effect) maſtered it all.

In the meane time *L. Quintius* the Conſuls brother, being then Admirall for the *Romans* in this warre, ioyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleete. They wonne two Cities in *Eubœa*; and afterward layd ſiege vnto *Cenchree*, an Hauen and Arcenall of the *Corinthians* on their Eaſterne Sea. This enterpriſe did ſomewhat helpe forward the *Achæans*, in their deſire to leaue the part of *Philip*: ſince it might come to paſſe, that *Corinth* it ſelfe, ere long time were ſpent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very ſhortly ſhould be rendred vnto their Nation, by fauour of the *Romans*.

But there were other Motiues, inducing the *Achæans* to preferre the friendſhip of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had bene long accuſtomed. For this King had ſo many wayes offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the beſt courſe to rid their hands of him; whileſt being intangled in a dangerous warre, hee wanted meanes to hinder the execution of ſuch counſaile, as they ſhould hold the ſafeſt. His tyrannous practiſes to make himſelfe their abſolute Lord: His poyſoning of *Aratus* their old Gouernour: His falſe dealing with the *Meſſenians*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed, had cauſed them long ſince to holde him as *a neceſſary euill*, euen whileſt they were vnable to be without his aſſiſtance. But ſince by the vertue of *Philopœmen*, they were growne ſomewhat confident in their owne ſtrength, ſo as without the *Macedonians* helpe they could as well ſubſiſt, as hauing him to friend: then did they onely thinke how *euill* he was; and thereupon reioyce the more, in that hee was become no longer *neceſſary*. It angred him to perceiue how they ſtood affected: and therefore hee ſent murderers, to take away the life of* *Philopœmen*. But failing in this enterpriſe, and being detected, he did thereby onely ſet fire to the Wood, which was throughly dry before, and prepared to burne. *Philopœmen* wrought ſo with the *Achæans*, that no diſcourſe was more familiar with them, than what great cauſe they had to with draw themſelues from the *Macedonian*. *Cycliadas*, a principall man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for ſhewing himſelfe paſſionate in the cauſe of *Philip*; and *Ariſtænus* choſen Prætor, who laboured to ioyne them in ſocietie with the *Romans*.

*Plut. in vita Philopœm. Iuſt. l. 29.

Theſe newes were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embaſſadours were ſent from the Romanes, and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Achæans*; making promiſe, that they ſhould haue *Corinth* reſtored vnto them, if they would forſake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Achæans* was held at *Sicyon*; to deliberate and reſolue in this weighty caſe. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents deſired the *Achæans*, to ioyne with them in making warre vpon *Philip*. Contrarywiſe, the Embaſſadors of *Philip*, whom he had alſo ſent for this buſines, admoniſhing the *Achæans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due vnto him; requeſted them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate requeſt of *Philips* Embaſſadour, did no way aduance his Maſters cauſe. Rather it gaue the *Achæans* to vnderſtand, That hee, who could bee ſatisfied with ſo little at their hands, knew himſelfe vnable to gratifie them in any reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councel; who remembring the benefites of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earneſtly for the preſeruation of the ancient League. But in fine, the ſence of late iniuries, and expectation of like or worſe from him in the future; preuailed againſt the memorie of thoſe old good turnes, which he, (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly ſold vnto them, and partly had vſed as baites, whereby to allure them into abſolute ſubiection. Neither was it perhaps of the leaſt importance; That the *Romanes* were ſtrong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much altercation the Decree paſſed, That they ſhould thenceforward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this warre. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, they foorthwith entred into ſocietie: with the *Romanes* (becauſe no League would bee of force, vntill the Senate and people had approued it) they forbore to decree any ſociety at the preſent, vntill the returne of thoſe Embaſſadours from *Rome*, which they determined to ſend thither of purpoſe. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymeans*, and *Argiues*, hauing done their beſt for the *Macedonian*, as by many reſpects they were bound; roſe vp out of the Councell, and departed before the paſſing of the Decree, which they could not reſiſt, nor yet with honeſtie thereto giue aſſent. For this their good will, and greater, which they ſhortly manifeſted, the *Argiues* had ſo little thanke; that all the reſt of the *Achæans* may be the better held excuſed, for eſcaping how they might, out of the hands of ſo fell a Prince.

Soone after this, vpon a ſolemne day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens diſcouered it ſelfe ſo plainely, in the behalfe of *Philip*, that they which were his Partiſans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might haue any ſmall aſſiſtance. *Philocles*, a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended againſt the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conſpirators drew to

Argos; whither comming on a ſudden, and finding the Multitude readie to ioyne with him, He eaſily compelled the *Achæan* Garriſon to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth* and ſome other Townes, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, ſo they gaue him hope to obtaine ſome good end by Treatie, whileſt as yet with his honour he might ſeeke it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Conſul would ſhortly be choſen; who ſhould take the worke out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the ſooner. *Titus* had the like reſpect vnto himſelfe; and therefore thought it beſt, ſince more could not bee done, to præ-diſpoſe things vnto a Concluſion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-ſhore, in the Bay then call'd the *Malian*, or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is ſuppoſed) the *Gulfe of Ziton*, in the *Ægæan* Sea, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; an Embaſſador of *Attalus*, the Admirall of *Rhodes*; and ſome Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*. *Philip* had with him ſome few of his owne Captaines, and *Cycliadas*, lately baniſhed for his ſake out of *Achaia*. He refuſed to come on ſhore: though fearing (as he ſaid) none but *the immortall Gods*: yet miſdoubting ſome treachery in the *Ætolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalfe of the *Romanes* were, That he ſhould ſet all Cities of *Greece* at libertie; deliuer vp to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all priſoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewiſe whatſoeuer he held of theirs in *Illyria*; and whatſoeuer about *Greece* or *Aſia* he had gotten from *Ptolemie* then King of *Ægypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded reſtitution to be made, entire, of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and ſpoyled in the late warre betweene them. The *Rhodians* would haue againe the Countrie of *Peræa*, lying ouer againſt their Iland; as alſo that he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons, out of diuers Townes about the *Helleſpont*, and other Hauens of their friends. The *Achæans* deſired reſtitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not vniuſtly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their conſent. The *Ætolians* tooke vpon them angerly, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, euen out of the whole Countrie, leauing it free; and withall to deliuer vp vnto them, whatſoeuer he held that had at any time beene theirs. Neither were they here withall content: but inſolently declaymed againſt him, for that which hee had lately done in *Theſſalie*; corrupting (as they ſaid) the rewards of the Victors, by deſtroying, when hee was vanquiſhed, thoſe Townes which elſe they might haue gotten. To anſwere theſe malapert *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gallie to be rowed neerer the ſhore. But they began to plie him afreſh: telling him, that he muſt obey his betters, vnleſſe hee were able to defend himſelfe by force of Armes. He anſwered them, (as he was much giuen to gybing) with ſundry ſcoffes; and eſpecially with one, which made the *Romane* Conſul vnderſtand, what manner of companions theſe *Ætolians* were. For hee ſaid, That he had often dealt with them; as likewiſe the beſt of the *Greekes*; deſiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them *to take ſpoile from ſpoyle*: yet could he get no better an anſwer, than *that they would ſooner take Ætolia out of Ætolia*. *Titus* wondred what might be the meaning of this ſtrange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable cuſtome, as often as Warre happened betweene their friends, to hold vp the quarrell by ſending voluntaries to ſerue on both ſides, that ſhould ſpoyle both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, Hee ſaid it was ſtrange that the *Ætolians* ſhould bee ſo carefull thereof, ſince diuers Tribes of their owne, which hee there named, where indeede no *Grecians*: wherefore hee would faine know, whether the *Romanes* would giue him leaue to make ſlaues of thoſe *Ætolians*, which were no *Greekes*. *Titus* hereat ſmiled, and was no whit offended, to heare the *Ætolians* well ratled vp; touching whom hee began to vnderſtand, how odious they were in all the Countrie. As for that generall demand of ſetting all *Greece* at libertie, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well beſeeme the greatneſſe of the *Romans*; though hee would alſo conſider, what might beſeeme his owne dignitie. But that the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other pettie Eſtates, ſhould thus preſume, vnder countenance of the *Romanes*, to take vpon them, as if by their great might hee ſhould bee thereunto compelled: it was, hee ſaide, a ſtrange and ridiculous inſolence. The *Achæans* hee charged with much ingratitude; reciting againſt them ſome Decrees of their owne; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honors. Neuertheles he ſaid, that he would render *Argos* vnto them: but, as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberat with *Titus* himſelfe.

Ecerpt. è Polyb lib. 17.

Thus he addreſſed himſelfe wholly to the *Roman* Generall; vnto whom if he could giue ſatisfaction, he cared little for all the reſt. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late warre, (hee ſaid) was onely defenſiue; they hauing beene the offerers: or if he gaue them any occaſion, it was onely in helping *Pruſias*, his ſonne-in-law; neither did he ſee why they ſhould rather ſeeke amends at his hands, than hee at theirs. For whereas they complayned, that, ſpoyling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut downe the Groue, and pleaſant walkes thereabouts: what could hee doe more, than ſend Gardiners thither with yong plants; if one King of another would ſtand to aske ſuch recompence? Thus he ieſted the matter out: but offered neuertheleſſe, in honour of the *Romans*, to giue backe the Region of *Peræa* to the *Rhodians*; as likewiſe to *Attalus*, the Ships and Priſoners of his, whereof hee had then poſſeſſion. Thus ended that dayes conference, becauſe it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leiſure to thinke vpon the Articles, which were many, and hee ill prouided of Counſaile, wherewith to aduiſe about them. *For your being ſo ill prouided of Counſaile*, ſaid Titus, *you may euen thanke your ſelfe; as hauing murdered all your friends, that were wont to aduiſe you faithfully.* The next day *Philip* came not, vntill it was late at night; excuſing his long ſtay by the waightineſſe of the things propounded, whereon he could not ſuddenly tell how to reſolue. But it was beleeued, that he thereby ſought too abbridge the *Ætolians* of leiſure to raile at him. And this was the more likely, for that he deſired conference in priuate with the *Roman* Generall. The ſumme of his diſcourſe, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That hee would giue the *Achæans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as alſo that he would render vnto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, what he had promiſed the day before; likewiſe to the *Ætolians*, that hee would grant ſome part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatſoeuer they did challenge. This when *Titus* his aſſociats heard, they exclaimed againſt it, ſaying, That if the King were ſuffered to retaine any thing in *Greece*, he would ſhortly get poſſeſſion of all which he now rendred vp. The noiſe that they made came to *Philips* eare: who thereupon deſired a third day of meeting; and proteſted, that if he could not perſwade them, he would ſuffer himſelfe to bee perſwaded by them. So the third day they mette early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with ſincere affection hearken vnto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of thoſe Conditions, which he had already tendred; or otherwiſe, that they would make truce with him for the preſent, and let him ſend Embaſſadours to *Rome*, where he would referre himſelfe to the courteſie of the Senate.

This was euen as *Quintius* would haue it: who ſtood in doubt, leſt a new Conſul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the warre. So he eaſily preuailed with the reſt, to aſſent hereunto: foraſmuch as it was Winter, a time vnfit for ſeruice in the warre; and ſince, without authoritie of the Senate, he ſhould be vnable to proceed reſoluedly either in Warre or peace. Further hee willed them to ſend their ſeuerall Embaſſadours to *Rome*, which intimating vnto the Senate what each of them required, ſhould eaſily hinder *Philip*, from obtaining any thing to their preiudice. Among the reſt he perſwaded King *Aminander*, to make a iourney to *Rome* in perſon: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of ſo many Embaſſadours, would ſerue to make his owne actions more glorious in the Citie. All this tended to procure, that his owne Command of the Armie in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the ſame end had he dealt with ſome of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet hee knew not ſo much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reaſons which they alleaged vnto the Senate.

The Embaſſadour of the *Greekes*, when they had audience at *Rome*, ſpake bitterly againſt the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more deſirous of victorie, than of ſatisfaction. They magniſied the honourable purpoſe of the *Romans*, in vndertaking to ſet *Greece* at libertie. But this (they ſaid) could neuer bee effected; vnleſſe eſpeciall care were taken, that the King ſhould bee diſpoſſeſſed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were ſo vehement, producing a Map of the Countrie, and making demonſtration how thoſe places held all the reſt in ſeruilitie; that the Senate agreed to haue it euē ſo as they deſired. When therefore the Embaſſadours of *Philip* were brought in, and beganne to haue made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the middeſt of their Preface, with this one demand: *Whether their Maſter would yeeld vp Corinth, Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*: Hereto they made anſwer, That cōcerning thoſe places, the

King had giuen them no direction or Commiſſion what to ſay, or do. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* deſire of peace; wherein they ſaid hee did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embaſſadours haue truely ſaid, That neither the *Ætolians*, *Achæans*, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* ſhould be yeelded vp. For which of them indeed could make any claime to either of theſe Townes? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achæans* had ſome right; (though their right were no better, than that, hauing ſtolne it from One *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargaine vnto an Other.) *Philip* had already condeſcended to giue it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would haue beene alleadged, euen againſt the *Greekes*, in excuſe of the King, by ſome of *T. Quintius* his friends; that ſo he might haue had the honour to conclude the warre, if a Succeſſour had beene decreed vnto him. But ſince he was appointed to continue Generall: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor he himſelfe, after the returne of the Embaſſadours into *Greece*, cared to giue eare vnto any talke of peace.

Philip, ſeeing that his *Achæans* had forſaken him, and ioyned with their common Enemies; thought euen to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himſelfe vnto *Nabis*, whom they hated moſt. There were not many yeeres paſt, ſince the *Lacedæmonians* vnder *Cleomenes*, with little other helpe than their owne ſtrength, had beene almoſt ſtrong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achæans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force conſiſted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though ſtiling himſelfe King. Yet he ſorely vexed the *Achæans*: and therefore ſeemed to *Philip* one likely to ſtand him in great ſtead, if he could be wonne. To this purpoſe it was thought meet, that the Towne of *Argos*, which could not otherwiſe be eaſily defended, ſhould be conſigned ouer into his hands; in hope, that ſuch a benefit would ſerue to tie him faſt vnto the *Macedonian*. *Philocles* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appoynted to deale with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Maſters purpoſe to make a ſtreight alliance with the *Lacedæmonian*, by giuing ſome daughters of his owne in marriage vnto *Nabis* his ſons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made ſome ſcruple in accepting the Towne of *Argos*; vnleſſe by decree of the Citizens themſelues he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the *Argiues*: but found them ſo auerſe; that, in open aſſembly of the people, they deteſted the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought hee had thereby a good occaſion to robbe and fleece them. So hee willed *Philocles*, without more adoe, to make ouer the Towne which hee was ready to receiue. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gaue him poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argiues*: who for very loue had forſaken the *Achæans*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himſelfe Maſter of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, vnderſtanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the firſt tumult. Wherefore they were all baniſhed, and their goods confiſcated. The reſt of the chiefe Citizens that ſtaied behinde, were commanded to bring foorth, out of hand, all their Gold and Siluer. Alſo a great impoſition of monie was laid vpon all thoſe, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were diſmiſſed without more adoe. But if any ſtood long vpon the matter: or played the theeues, in purloyning their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and, beſides loſſe of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely ſuch, as might ſerue to make him gracious with the raſcall multitude: abrogating all debts, and diuiding the Lands of the rich among the poore. By ſuch art of oppreſſing the great ones, it hath beene an old cuſtome of Tyrants, to aſſure themſelues of the Vulgar for a time.

As ſoone as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, He ſent the newes to *T. Quintius*; and offered to ioyne with him agaiſt *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: ſo as he tooke the paines to croſſe ouer the Streights into *Peloponneſus*, there to meete with *Nabis*. They had ſoone agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was preſent with the Conſul, made ſome cauill touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant ſent vnto the *Romane* ſixe hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*: as alſo hee agreed with the *Achæans*, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, reſeruing the finall concluſion of peace betweene them vntill the Warre of *Philip* ſhould be ended; which after this continued not long.

§. XIIII.

The battaile at Cynoſcephalæ, wherein Philip *was vanquiſhed by* T. Quintius.

Titus Quintius, as ſoone as hee vnderſtood that he was appointed to haue Command of the Armie, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleaſure of the Senate; made all things readie for diligent purſuite of the Warre. The like did *Philip*: who hauing failed in his negotiation of peace, and no leſſe failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that Warre; meant afterwards wholy to relie vpon himſelfe.

Plut. in vita T.Q.Flam.

Titus had in his Armie about ſixe and twentie thouſand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others ſtrength, or what his Enemie intended to doe. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Theſſalie*, and thereupon addreſſed himſelfe to ſeeke him out. They had like to haue met vnawares, neere vnto the Citie of *Pheræ*: where the vant-courriers on both ſides diſcouered each other, and ſent word thereof vnto their ſeuerall Captaines. But neither of them were ouer haſtie, to commit all to hazard vpon ſo ſhort warning. The day following each of them ſent out three hundred Horſe, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better diſcouerie. Theſe met, and fought a long while: returning finally backe into their ſeuerall Campes, with little aduantage vnto either ſide. The Country about *Pheræ* was thicke ſet with Trees: and otherwiſe full of Gardens and mud-walles; which made it vnproper for ſeruice of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King diſlodged, intending to remoue backe into *Scotuſa* in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully ſerued with all neceſſaries. *Titus* conceiued aright his meaning: and therefore purpoſed alſo to march thitherwards; were it onely to waſte the Country. There lay betweene them a great ledge of hils, which hindered the one from knowing what courſe the other tooke. Neuertheleſſe they encamped not farre aſunder, both the firſt and the ſecond night; though neither of them vnderſtood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempeſtuous; and forced each of them to take vp his lodging, where hee found it, by chance. Then ſent they foorth diſcouerers againe, in greater number than before. Theſe meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at firſt the *Macedonians* had the worſe. But *Philip* anon ſent in ſuch ſtrong ſupply; that if the reſiſtance of the *Ætolians* had not beene deſperate, the *Romans* their fellowes had beene driuen backe into their Campe. Yet, all reſiſtance notwithſtanding, the *Macedonians* preuailed: ſo that *Titus* himſelfe was faine to bring foorth his Legions, that were not a little diſcouraged, by the defeat of all their Horſe, to animate thoſe which were in flight.

It was altogether beſides the Kings purpoſe, to put the fortune of a battaile in truſt that day, with ſo much of his Eſtate as might thereon depend. But the newes came to him thicke and tumultuouſly, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his owne; if hee could vſe an occaſion, the like whereof hee ſhould not often finde. This cauſed him to alter his purpoſe: inſomuch as he embattailed his men, and climbed vp thoſe hils, which, for that the knops thereon had ſome reſemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called, by a word ſignifying as much, *Cynoſcephalæ*. As ſoone as he was on the hil-top; it did him good to ſee that they of his owne light armature were buſie in fight, almoſt at the very Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled ſo farre. Hee had alſo libertie to chooſe his ground, as might ſerue beſt his aduantage: foraſmuch as the *Romanes* were quite driuen from all parts of the Hill. But of this commoditie he could make no great vſe: the roughneſſe of the place among thoſe *Dogs heads*, as they were called, ſeruing nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Neuertheleſſe hee found conuenient roome, wherein to marſhall the one part of his Armie: and gaue order vnto his Captaines, to follow with the reſt; embattailing them as they might. Whileſt he was doing this: Hee perceiued that his Horſemen and light armature beganne to ſhrinke; as being falne vpon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driuen to recoyle. He ſets forward to helpe them: and they no leſſe haſtily draw vnto him for ſuccour; hauing the *Romans* not farre behinde them.

As the Legions beganne to climbe the Hill; *Philip* commanded thoſe of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Here *Titus* found an extreme difficult piece of worke. For this *Phalanx*, being a great ſquare battaile of armed pikes, like in all points to thoſe which are now vſed in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner vſed, as are ours; was not to be reſiſted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it ſelfe held together vndiſſolued. The *Macedonians* were embattailed in very cloſe order: ſo that two of them ſtood oppoſite to one of the *Romans*; as alſo the pikes of the firſt ranke, had their points aduanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if the *Romans* gaue backe: euery one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come neerer to the next of them, than the length of a doozen foot or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it; was greatly troubled: for that ſtill the *Phalanx* bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while hee obſerued, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much vneuennes of the ground, to put themſelues in order: ſo as either they kept their places on the Hil-tops; or elſe (which was worſe) vpon deſire either of beholding the paſtime, or of ſeeming to be partakers in the worke, ranne fooliſhly along by the ſide of their fellowes, which were occupyed in fight.

Of this their diſorder Hee made great and preſent vſe. Hee cauſed the right wing of his Battaile to march vp the hill, againſt theſe ill ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increaſe the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readyer to diſpute what ſhould bee done in ſuch a caſe, than well aduiſed what to doe; as hauing no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeede if they ſhould haue done their beſt, it could not haue ſerued; ſince the ground whereon they ſtood, made their weapons vnuſefull. For let it be ſuppoſed, that *Philip* hauing ſixe and twentie thouſand in his Armie (as hee is ſaid to haue beene equall to the Enemie in number) had foure thouſand Horſe, foure thouſand Targettiers, and foure thouſand light-armed: ſo ſhall there remaine fourteene thouſand Pikes; whereof he himſelfe had embattailed the one halfe in a *Phalanx*; the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is readie now to charge. The *Phalanx* hauing vſually ſixteene in File, muſt, when it conſiſted of ſeuen thouſand, haue welneere foure hundred and fortie in ranke: but foure hundred would ſerue, to make a Front long enough; the other fortie or ſeuen and thirtie Files might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore as *Polybius* doth, to euery man of them three foote of ground: this Front muſt haue occupied twelue hundred Foote, or two hundred and fortie paces; that is, very neere a quarter of a myle in length. Such a ſpace of open Champaine, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillockes, or the like impediments, that muſt of neceſſitie diſioyne this cloſe battayle of the *Phalanx*; was not euery where to bee found. Here at *Cynoſcephalæ Philip* had ſo much roome, as would only ſuffice for the one halfe of his men; the reſt were faine to ſtand ſtill and looke about them, being hindered from putting themſelues in order, by the roughneſſe of the *Dogges heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from comming vp vnto them; nor found any difficulty in maſtring thoſe enemies, whoſe feet were in a manner bound by the diſcommodity of the place. The very firſt impreſſion of the Elephants, cauſed them to giue backe; and the comming on of the Legions, to betake themſelues to flight. A *Roman* Tribune or Colonell, ſeeing the victory on that part aſſured, left the proſequution of it vnto others: and being followed by twenty Enſignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by ſome two thouſand men, tooke in hand a notable piece of worke; and mainely helpfull to making of the victorie compleate. He conſidered that *Philip*, in purſuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was runne on ſo farre: as that himſelfe with his fellowes, in mounting the hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten aboue the Kings head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand: and making downe the hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell vpon it in the Rere. The hindemoſt rankes of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeede ſaue the firſt fiue, were accuſtomed, when the battells came to ioyning, to carry their pikes vpright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thruſt on their fore-men: and ſo were they doing at the preſent. This was another great inconuenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*. That it ſerued neyther for offence nor defence, except onely in front. For though it were ſo, that *Alexander*, when hee was to fight with *Darius* in *Meſopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in ſuch order, that all the foure ſides of it were as ſo many fronts looking ſundrie wayes,

Excerpt. e Polyb. lib 17.

wayes, becauſe he expected that he ſhould be encompaſſed round: yet is it to be vnderſtood, that herein he altered the vſuall forme; as alſo at the ſame time hee embattailed his men in looſe order, that ſo with eaſe they might turne their weapons, which way need ſhould require. Likewiſe it is to be conſidered, That *Alexanders* men being thus diſpoſed, were fit onely to keepe their owne ground; not being able to follow vpon the Enemie, vnleſſe their hindmoſt rankes could haue marched backwards. But in this preſent caſe of *Philip*, there was no ſuch prouiſion for reſiſtance. Therefore his men, being otherwiſe vnable to helpe themſelues, threw downe their weapons, and fled. The King himſelfe had thought vntill now, that the fortune of the battaile was euery where alike, and the day his owne. But hearing the noyſe behinde him, and turning a little aſide with a troupe of Horſe, to ſee how all went: when hee beheld his men caſting downe their weapons, and the *Romanes* at his backe on the higher ground; He preſently betook himſelfe to flight. Neither ſtaid he afterwards in any place (except only a ſmall while about *Tempe*, there to collect ſuch as were diſperſed in this ouerthrow) vntill he was gotten into his owne Kingdome of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* Armie in this battaile, about ſeuen hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thouſand were ſlaine; and fiue thouſand taken priſoners.

§. XIV.

T. Quintius *falleth out with the Ætolians; and grants truce vnto* Philip, *with conditions, vpon which the peace is ratified. Libertie proclaimed vnto the Greekes. The Romans quarrell with* Antiochus.

THe *Ætolians* wonderfully vanted themſelues; and deſired to haue it noyſed through all *Greece*, that the victory at *Cynoſcephalæ* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeede the moſt of the bootie; by ſacking the *Macedonian* Campe, whileſt the *Romans* were buſied in the chace. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vaine-glory, and at their rauenous condition; purpoſed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as ſlightly, as they thought highly of themſelues. He alſo well perceiued, That by vſing them with any extraordinary fauour, he ſhould greatly offend the reſt of his Confederates in *Greece*; who deteſted the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than euer they had done the *Macedonians*. But this diſpleaſure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battaile *Titus* made haſte vnto *Lariſſa*, a Citie of *Theſſalie*: which he preſently tooke. Before his comming, *Philip* had ſent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and paſſages whatſoeuer in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of ſo much aduerſitie, he forgot not to prouide for the ſafety of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of *Lariſſa* might well perceiue, that he gaue them as alreadie loſt. Wherefore we finde not that they, or any of their Neighbors, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the ſame time, the Towne of *Leucas* bordering vpon *Acarnania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleete: and verie ſoone after, all the *Acarnanians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* euer true to *Philip*; gaue vp themſelues vnto the *Romans*, hearing of the victorie at *Cynoſcephalæ*. The *Rhodians* alſo were then in hand with the conqueſt of *Peræa*, a Region of the Continent ouer againſt the Iland; whereof they had demanded reſtitution, in the late Treaty of Peace. They did heerein more manly, then any other of the *Greekes*: foraſmuch as they awaited not the good leiſure of the *Romanes*; but with an Army of their own, & ſome helpe which they borrowed of the *Achæans* and other their friends, gaue battell to *Dinocrates* the Kings Lieutenant, wherein they had the victory, & conſequently recouered the whole Prouince. It angred *Philip* worſe then all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to inuade his Kingdome; waſting and ſpoyling, as if all had beene abandoned to their diſcretion. This made him gather an Armie in all haſte of ſixe thouſand foot and fiue hundred horſe: wherewith comming vpon them, he draue them, with little or no loſſe of his owne, and great ſlaughter of theirs, haſtily out of the Kingdome. Which done, He returned to *Theſſalonica*.

In this one enterpriſe He had ſucceſſe anſwerable to his deſire: but ſeeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the ſame time, hee thought it wiſedome to yeeld vnto neceſſity; and therefore ſent in all haſte *Limnæus* and *Demoſthenes*, with *Cycliadas* the baniſhed *Achæan*, in whom he repoſed much confidence, Embaſſadors vnto *Titus*. Theſe had conference a long while in priuate, with *Titus* and ſome of his *Romane* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wiſe diſmiſſed. It ſeemes that they had Commiſſion, to referre all vnto *Titus* his owne diſcretion; as *Philip* himſelfe in few daies after did. There was granted vnto him a Truce for fifteene dayes: in which time, the King himſelfe might come and ſpeake with the *Roman* Generall. In the meane ſeaſon many ſuſpitious rumors went of *Titus*; as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greekes* his Confederates. Of theſe bruits the *Ætolians* were chiefe authors: who being wont to regard neither friendſhip nor honeſtie, where profit led them a wrong way, iudged alike of all men elſe. But againſt the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had ſent letters vnto his Aſſociates; willing them to haue their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treaty ſhould bee held. There when they were all aſſembled, they entred into conſultation before the Kings arriuall, what ſhould be moſt expedient for the common benefit of them al, and for euery eſtate in particular. The poore King *Aminander* beſought them all, & eſpecially the *Romans*, that they would thinke vpon him; and conſidering his weakeneſſe which he confeſſed, make ſuch prouiſion, that after the *Romans* had turned their backes, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreake his anger vpon him who was not able to reſiſt. Then ſpake *Alexander* one of the *Ætolians*: who commending *Titus* forſomuch as he had thus aſſembled the Confederates to aduiſe vpon their owne good, and had willed them to deliuer their mindes freelie: added, That in the maine of the purpoſe which he had in hand, he was vtterly deceiued: for that by making peace with *Philip*, hee could neither aſſure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greekes* of their liberty. There was, he ſaid, none other end to be made of the warre, which could agree either with the purpoſe of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the faire promiſes made by *Titus* himſelfe vnto the *Greekes*; than the chaſing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdome. And to this effect he made a long diſcourſe. But *Titus* anſwered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleaſure of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the laudable cuſtomes which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to ſeeke the vtter deſtruction of any King or Nation, at ſuch time as they firſt made warre with them; vntill by ſome rebellion they found it a matter of neceſſitie, to take ſuch a rigorous courſe. And heereof hee alleadged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victorie, to generous mindes, was onely an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publike benefit of *Greece*: it was (he ſaid) expedient, that the Kingdome of *Macedon* ſhould be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it ſhould be vtterly deſtroyed: foraſmuch as it ſerued as a barre, to the *Thracians*, *Gaules*, and a multitude of other ſauage Nations, which would ſoone ouer-flow the whole Continent of *Greece*, if this kingdom were not interpoſed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeeld vnto thoſe demands, wherewith hee had preſſed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reaſon to denie him peace. As for the *Ætolians*: if they thought otherwiſe, it ſhould be at their owne pleaſure, to take counſaile apart for themſelues as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the *Ætolians*, to ſay, That all was come to nothing; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greekes*, no leſſe than hee had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bad him leaue his babling; ſaying, That himſelfe would take ſuch order, as that *Philip*, were he neuer ſo deſirous, ſhould thenceforth not haue it in his power to moleſt the *Greekes*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* vſed friendly: and ſuffering him to repoſe himſelfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded vnto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further to ſtand to the good pleaſure of the Senate, if they would haue more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas* the *Ætolian*, inſulting ouer him, ſaid it was to bee hoped, that hee would then at length giue vp to the *Ætolians* a many of townes (which he there named) bidding him ſpeak whether he would, or no. His anſwer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interpoſing himſelfe, ſaid it ſhould be otherwiſe; Theſe were *Theſſalian* Townes, and ſhould be all free: one of them onely excepted, which not long agoe had refuſed to commit it ſelfe to the faith of the *Romans*, and therfore ſhould now be giuen to the *Ætolians*. Heereat *Phaneas* cried out, that it was too great an iniurie, thus to bee defrauded of the

Townes that had ſometime belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather hee willed *Titus* to conſider, that by an ancient Couenant betweene them and the *Romans*, all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the *Romans* to haue nothing ſaue the pillage and captiues. It is true, that there had beene ſuch a Condition in the former warre: but it ceaſed to be of any validitie, as ſoone as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gaue them to vnderſtand; asking them whether they thought it reaſonable, that all the Townes in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by compoſition, ſhould be deliuered into ſubiection of the *Ætolians*. The reſt of the Confederates were very much delighted, with theſe angry paſſages betweene the *Roman* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reaſon to feare any hard meaſure, ſince *Titus* was ſo earneſt in behalfe of thoſe *Theſſalians*, to giue them libertie, though they had ſtood out againſt him, euen till very feare made them open their gates. Wherefore they oppoſed not themſelues; but gaue their conſent willingly vnto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cauſe that mooued *Titus* to grant peace ſo readily to the *Macedonian*, beſides that laudable cuſtome by him before alleadged; was, the fame of *Antiochus* his comming with an Armie from *Syria*, and drawing neere toward *Europe*. Hee had alſo perhaps yet a greater motiue; euen the conſideration that his ſucceſſor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre ſhould happen to be protracted. And he was in the right: For when his letters, together with Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, and ſundry States of *Greece*, came vnto *Rome*, new Conſuls were choſen: who, (eſpecially the one of them) ſtood very earneſtly againſt the peace; alleadging friuolous matter of their owne ſuſpicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, betweene the Embaſſadours of *Philip*, offering to ſtand to whatſoeuer was demanded, and the letters of *Titus* preſſing them to accept this offer, on the one ſide; and the importunitie of the Conſul on the other; who ſaid, that all theſe goodly ſhewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as ſoone as the Armie was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Aſſembly of the People; by whoſe ſoueraigne authority it was concluded, That Peace ſhould be granted vnto the King. So tenne Embaſſadors were ſent from *Rome* ouer into *Greece*: in which number were they, that had beene Conſuls before *Titus*; and it was ordained by their aduice, That *Titus* ſhould goe through with the buſineſſe of Peace. Theſe would very faine haue retained thoſe three important Cities, of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, vntill the ſtate of *Greece* were ſomewhat better ſetled. But finally *Titus* preuailed ſo, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred vnto the *Achæans*; and all the other *Greeke* Townes which *Philip* held, as well in *Aſia* as in *Greece*, reſtored vnto libertie.

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next* *Iſthmian Games*, Hee ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of all the *Greeke* Townes which he held, and conſigne them ouer to the *Romans*: That he ſhould deliuer vp vnto them all Captiues that hee had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewiſe all his ſhippes of warre, reſeruing to himſelfe onely fiue of the leſſer ſort; and one of extraordinarie greatneſſe, wherein ſixteene men laboured at euery oare: Further, that he would pay a thouſand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres following, by euen portions. Hereto* *Liuie* addes, That he was forbidden to make warre out of *Macedon*, without permiſſion of the Senate. But I finde not that he obſerued this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already deliuered to *Titus*, together with his yonger ſon *Demetrius*, to remaine as hoſtage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, as ſuch time as he lately ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*: when it was promiſed, that the money, and his ſonne, ſhould be reſtored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleaſed with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thouſand talents, I cannot finde: and it ſeemeth otherwiſe, foraſmuch as yong *Demetrius*, who together with thoſe four hundred Talents was giuen for hoſtage, remained ſtill in cuſtodie of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargaine which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters alſo were then ſent by *Titus* vnto *Pruſias* King of *Bythinia*: giuing him to vnderſtand what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalfe of the *Greekes*; and how the Senate held it reaſonable, that the *Ciani*, moſt miſerably ſpoyled and oppreſſed by *Philip* to gratifie this *Bithynian* his ſonne-in-law, ſhould be reſtored to libertie, and permitted to enioy the ſame benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What

** è Polib. Excerpt. Legat. 9.*

** Liu. lib. 33.*

effect theſe letters wrought, it was not greatly materiall; ſince the *Romans* were ſhortly buſied with *Antiochus*, in ſuch wiſe that they had not leiſure to examine the conformity of *Pruſias* to their will.

All *Greece* reioyced at the good bargaine which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Onely the *Ætolians* found themſelues agreeued that they were vtterly neglected; which was to the reſt no ſmall part of their contentment. The *Bœotians* continued to fauour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occaſioned much trouble vnto themſelues. There were ſome among them well-affected to the *Romanes*: who ſeeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint vnto *Titus*; ſaying, that they were no better then loſt, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnleſſe at this time, when hee lay cloſe by them with his Armie, their Prætor which was head of the oppoſite Faction might be made away. *Titus* refuſed to haue a hand in the execution, yet neuertheleſſe did animate them in their purpoſe. So they committed the fact, and hoped to haue kept themſelues vndiſcouered. But when the murder came out, and ſomewhat was confeſſed by thoſe which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently againſt the *Romans*; in ſuch wiſe, that howſoeuer they durſt not take Armes againſt them, yet ſuch of them as they found ſtragling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrie. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Bœotians*, to haue the murderers deliuered into his hands; and for fiue hundred ſouldiers, which he had loſt by them, to haue paid vnto him fiue hundred Talents. Inſtead of making any ſuch amends, they paid him with excuſes; which hee would not take as good ſatisfaction. Hee ſends Embaſſadours to the *Achæans* and *Athenians*; informing them what had hapned: and requeſted them not to take it amiſſe, though he dealt with theſe their friends as they had deſerued. Herewithall he falls to waſting their Country; and beſiegeth two ſuch Townes of theirs, as did ſeeme to bee moſt culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embaſſadors of the *Achæans* and *Athenians*, (eſpecially of the *Achæans* who offered, if he needed them, to helpe him in this warre; yet beſought him rather to grant peace vnto the *Bœotians*) preuailed ſo farre with him; that he was pacified with thirty Talents, and the puniſhment of ſuch as were knowne offenders.

In like ſort, though not ſo violently, were many States of *Greece* diſtracted: ſome among them reioycing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting that the *Roman* would proue a worſe neighbour. The *Ætolian* would haue beene glad of any Commotion; and therefore publiſhed rumors abroad, That it was the purpoſe of the *Romans*, to keepe in their owne hands all thoſe places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garriſons. Little did they, or the reſt of the *Greekes*, conceiue, that this *Macedonian* Warre ſerued as an introduction to the Warre to bee made in *Aſia* againſt King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to bee reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to ſtay the progreſſe of bad rumours, when the *Iſthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were neuer without great ſolemnity and concourſe: *Titus* in that great aſſembly of all *Greece*, cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the Generall, hauing vanquiſhed King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at libertie, free from Impoſitions, free from Garriſons, and liuing at their owne Lawes, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*, *Achæans* of *Phthiotis*, *Magnetians*, *Theſſalians*, and *Perrhæbians*. The ſuddenneſſe of this Proclamation aſtoniſhed men: ſo as though they applauded it with a great ſhout; yet preſently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durſt ſcarce credit their owne eares. The *Greekes* were Crafts-maſters in the Art of giuing thankes; which they rendred now to *T. Quintius* with ſo great affection, as that they had well-neere ſmothered him, by thronging officiouſly about him.

This good will of the *Greekes*, was like to be much more auaileable vnto the *Romanes* in their warre againſt *Antiochus*, than could haue beene the poſſeſſion of a few Townes, yea or of all thoſe Prouinces which were named in the Proclamation. Vpon confidence hereof, no ſooner were the *Iſthmian games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romanes* that were of his Councell, gaue audience to *Hageſianax* and *Lyſias* King *Antiochus* his Embaſſadours: whom they willed to ſignifie vnto their Lord, That hee ſhould doe well to abſtaine from the free Cities in *Aſia*, and not vexe them with warre: as alſo to reſtore whatſoeuer he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomie* or *Philip*. Moreouer they willed him by theſe his Embaſſadors, that he ſhould not paſſe ouer his Army into adding, That ſome of them would viſit him in perſon ere it were long, to talke with him further concerning theſe points. This done, they fell to accompliſhing their promiſes vnto the *Greeks*; to the reſt they gaue what they had promiſed. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gaue vnto the *Ætolians*; whom they thought it no wiſedome to offend ouermuch, being ſhortly to take a greater worke in hand. The *Achæans* of *Phthiotis* they annexed vnto the *Theſſalians*; all ſaue the Towne of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, the ſame which had beene abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the laſt Treaty with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earneſtly about *Pharſalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory anſwere, and reiected vnto the Senate: for howſoeuer ſomewhat the Councell might fauour them; yet was it not meet that they ſhould haue their will, as it were in deſpight of *Titus*. So the *Achæans* were reſtored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed (though the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achæan* Common-wealth, enioyed their liberty in as abſolute manner, as they could deſire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were giuen one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and vpon *Aminander* were beſtowed thoſe Caſtles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this Warre; to reigne in them and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodians* had beene their owne Caruers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victorie; and therefore loſt his ſhare. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councell, would haue giuen the Townes of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the Ile of *Eubœa*, to his ſonne and ſucceſſour King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that theſe as well as the reſt of the *Eubœans*, ſhould be ſuffered to enioy their libertie. *Oreſtis*, a little Prouince of the Kingdome of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, had yeelded vnto the *Romanes* long ere this, and ſince continued true to them: for which cauſe it was alſo ſet at libertie, and made a free eſtate by it ſelfe.

Theſe buſineſſes being diſpatcht: it remained, that all care ſhould be vſed, not how to auoid the warre with King *Antiochus*, but how to accompliſh it with moſt eaſe and proſperity. Wherefore Embaſſadours were ſent both to *Antiochus* himſelfe, to picke matter of quarrell; and about vnto others, to prædiſpoſe them vnto the aſſiſting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of Warre againſt this King the *Romans* now had, or ſhortly after found: as alſo how their Embaſſadours and Agents dealt and ſped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Warres of the Romans with ANTIOCHVS *the Great, and his adherents.*

§. I.

What Kings, of the races of Seleucus *and* Ptolomie, *reigned in Aſia and Ægypt before Antiochus the great.*

Seleucus Nicator, the firſt of his race, King of *Aſia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twentie and fourth *Olympiad*. He was treacherouſly ſlaine by *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; hauing (as is ſaide) beene warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatall place of his death. But I neuer haue read that any mans life hath beene preſerued, or any miſchance auoyded, by the predictions of ſuch Diuelliſh Oracles. Rather I beleeue, That many ſuch predictions of the Heathen Gods, haue beene ante-dated by their Prieſts or by others; which deuiſed them after the euent. *Polyb. lib. 31.*

Antiochus Soter, the ſonne and heire of this *Seleucus*, was dearely beloued of his Father: who ſurrendred vp vnto him his owne wife *Stratonica*, when hee vnderſtood how much the yong Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had great cauſe to feare, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be vnreuenged by this his Succeſſor.

But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with faire words; containing himſelfe within *Aſia*, and letting *Ceraunus* enioy that quietly, which he had purchaſed in *Europe* with the bloud of *Seleucus*. It is ſaid of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queene *Stratonica* in his Fathers life; yet out of modeſtie he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his inceſtuous loue was partly, if not chiefly, the cauſe of his not proſecuting that reuenge; whereunto Nature ſhould haue vrged him. Afterwards hee had warres with *Antigonus Gonatas*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Alſo *Lutarius* and *Leonorius*, Kings or Captaines of the *Gaules*, were ſet vpon him by the ſame *Nicomedes*. With theſe hee fought a great battaile: wherein though otherwiſe the Enemies had all aduantage againſt him; yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their Horſes and them, he wonne the Victorie. He tooke in hand an enterpriſe againſt *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: but finding ill ſucceſſe in the beginning, he ſoon gaue it ouer. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Beroſus* the *Chaldæan* dedicated his Hiſtorie of *Aſſyria*; the ſame, which hath ſince been excellently falſified by the Frier *Annius*. Hee left behinde him one ſonne, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married vnto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie and ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeere of *the Kingdome of the Greekes*, when he had reigned ninteene yeeres.

Genebrard l. 2. Iuſt. Mart. in Paræn.

Antiochus, ſurnamed *Theos*, or the *god*, had this vaine and impious title giuen to him, by flatterie of the *Mileſians*; whom he deliuered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppreſſed them. Hee held long and difficult, but fruitleſſe, warre with *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of *Ægypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomie*.

Of theſe two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, S. *Hierome* and other Interpreters haue vnderſtood that Prophecy of *Daniel: The Kings daughter of the South, ſhall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement*; and that which followeth.

Dan. v. 11. c. 6.

Ptolomie Philadelphus was a great louer of Peace and Learning; and (ſetting apart his inceſtuous marriage with his owne ſiſter *Arſinoe*) a very excellent Prince: howſoeuer, the worthieſt of all that race. It was Hee, that built and furniſhed with Bookes, that famous Librarie in *Alexandria*: which to adorne, and to honour the more, Hee ſent vnto *Eleazar* then high Prieſt of the *Iewes*, for the Bookes of *Moſes* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the *Iewes*, had formerly beene very great: for He had ſet at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in ſlauerie throughout all *Ægypt*; and he had ſent vnto the [*] Temple of God in *Hieruſalem* very rich Preſents. Wherefore *Eleazar* yeelding to the Kings deſire, preſented him with an *Hebrew* coppie: which *Ptolomie* cauſed to be tranſlated into *Greek*, by ſeuenty two of the moſt graue and learned perſons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seuentie*; *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to haue beene one: who that he liued in this Age, it ſeemes to me very ſufficiently proued by *Ianſenius*, in his Preface vnto *Eccleſiaſticus*. The whole paſſage of this buſineſſe between *Philadelphus* and the High Prieſt, was written (as [h] *Ioſephus* affirmes) by *Ariſtæus* that was employed therein. Fortie yeeres *Ptolemie Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he ioyntly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly beloued of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had beene in his former yeeres: in which time he boaſted, that he alone had found out the way how to liue for euer. If this had bin referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might haue ſtood with reaſon: otherwiſe, the Gowt, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his owne errour. Hee was the firſt of the Kings, deriued from *Alexanders* Succeſſors, that entred into League with the *Romans*: as alſo of his Off-ſpring was the laſt among thoſe Royall Families, which by them was rooted vp.

[*] *Aug. de Ciu. Dei. l. 18. c. 42*

[h] *Ioſ. an. l. 12. c. 2.*

Concerning that Booke which now goes vnder the name of *Ariſtæus*; many learned men, & among the reſt *Lodouicus Viues*, hold ſuſpition that it is counterfeit, and the inuention of ſome late Author. Surely if it were to be ſuſpected in the time of *Viues*; it may be now much more iuſtly ſuſpected: ſince a new Edition of it is come foorth, *purged from faults* (as the Papiſts terme thoſe bookes, wherein they haue changed what they pleaſe) and ſet forth by *Middendorpius* at Colen. An. Dom. 1578.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called *Laodice*, at ſuch time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolemie*. After his ſecond marriage, hee vſed his firſt wife with no better regard, than if ſhe had beene his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet aduentured not to ſeeke reuenge; vntill her own ſonne *Seleucus Callinicus* was of ability to be King. This was two or three yeres after the death of *Ptolomie Philadelpus*: at what time ſhe poyſoned her husband *Theos*; and by permiſſion of *Seleucus* her ſon, murdered

Berenice, together with a ſonne that ſhe had borne to *Antiochus*. *Iuſtine* reports, that *Berenice* ſaued her ſelfe, together with the yong Prince her childe, a while in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not onely ſome Cities of *Aſia* prepared to ſuccour her, but her brother *Ptolemie Euergetes*, King of *Ægypt*, came to reſcue her with an Armie; though too late, for ſhe was ſlaine before.

Iuſt. L. 27.

With ſuch cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, ſucceeding vnto his Father that had fifteene yeeres beene King, beganne his reigne. His ſubiects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they diſcouered in his firſt entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Eſtate would haue beene much endangered, if *Ptolemie Euergetes*, who came againſt him, had not beene drawne backe into his owne Countrie, by ſome Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes againſt *Ptolemie*, in defence of their owne King: but rather they ſided with the *Ægyptian*; who took *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as ſhe had well deſerued. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this inuaſion, by occaſion of thoſe domeſticall troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Ægypt*; went about a dangerous peece of worke, euen to make Warre vpon his owne ſubiects, becauſe of their bad affection towards him; when as it had bin much better, by well-deſeruing, to haue changed their hatred into loue. A great Fleet he prepared: in furniſhing and manning whereof he was at ſuch charges, that he ſcarce left himſelfe any other hope, if that ſhould miſcarrie. Heerein he embarqued himſelfe; and putting to Sea, did meet with ſuch a tempeſt, as deuoured all ſaue himſelfe, and a very few of his friends that hardly eſcaped. This calamity, hauing left him nothing elſe in a manner than his naked body, turned neuertheleſſe to his great good; as anon after it ſeemed. For when his Subiects vnderſtood, in what ſort the gods (as they conceiued it) had puniſhed him for his offences: they had commiſeration of his Eſtate; and, preſuming that hee would thenceforth become a new man, offered vnto him their ſeruice with great alacritie. This reuiued him, and filled him with ſuch ſpirit; as thinking himſelfe well enough able to deale with the *Ægyptian*, hee made ready a mighty Armie for that purpoſe. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had beene at Sea. Hee was vanquiſhed by *Ptolemie* in a great battaile: whence hee eſcaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late ſhipwracke. Haſting therefore backe to *Antioch*, and fearing that the Enemie would ſoone be at his heeles; He wrote vnto his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in *Aſia*, praying him to bring ſuccour with all ſpeed; and promiſing, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Aſia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteene yeres old, but extreamely ambitious; and therefore glad of ſuch an occaſion to make himſelfe great. Hee leuied a mighty Armie of the *Gaules*; wherewith he ſet forward to helpe his brother, or rather to get what he could for himſelfe. Hereof *Ptolemie* being aduertiſed: and hauing no deſire to put himſelfe in danger more than needed; tooke Truce with *Seleucus* for tenne yeeres. No ſooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Ægyptian* Warre, but his brother *Antiochus* came vpon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himſelfe to haue the better Armie. So *Seleucus* was vanquiſhed againe; and ſaued himſelfe, with ſo few about him, that he was verily ſuppoſed to haue periſhed in the battaile. Thus did Gods iuſtice take reuenge of thoſe murders, by which the Crowne was purchaſed; and ſetled (as might haue been thought) on the head of this bloudie King. *Antiochus* was very glad to heare of his brothers death, as if thereby hee had purchaſed his hearts deſire. But the *Gaules*, his Mercenaries, were gladder then He. For when he ledde them againſt *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, being in hope to get honour by making a Conqueſt in the beginning of his Reigne: theſe perfidious *Barbarians* tooke counſaile againſt him, and deuiſed how to ſtrippe him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royall houſe to make head againſt them; it would be in their power, to doe what ſhould be beſt pleaſing to themſelues, in the lower *Aſia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ranſome himſelfe with money, as if he had beene their lawfull Priſoner. Neither were they ſo contented; but made him enter into ſuch Compoſition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the meane while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more to trie his fortune againſt his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the ſeaſon fit for himſelfe, to make his profit of their diſcord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great maruaile, ſince he had great reaſon to ſtand in no leſſe feare of the *Gaules* his owne ſouldiers, than of the enemy with whom he had to deale. After this, *Eumenes* wonne much in *Aſia*; whileſt *Antiochus* went againſt his brother. In the ſecond battell, fought betweene the brethren, *Seleucus* had the vpper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* or *the Hawke*, (which ſurname was giuen him, becauſe he ſought his prey vpon euery one, without care whether he were prouoked or not) ſoared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his owne *Gaules*. Hauing fetcht a great compaſſe through *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* tooke him vp. Hee was entertained very louingly in outward ſhew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he ſoone perceiued: and therefore betooke him to his wings againe; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length hee reſolued to beſtow himſelfe vpon *Ptolemie*; his owne conſcience telling him, what euill hee had meant vnto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good hee was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelitie can finde no ſure harbour. *Ptolemie* well vnderſtood the perfidious & turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore hee layd him vp in cloſe priſon: whence, though by meanes of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, hee fell into the hands of theeues, by whom he was murdered. Neare about the ſame time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled againſt him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a iourney againſt *Arſaces* founder of the *Parthian* kingdome: wherein his euill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered ſo cloſely to him, that he was taken priſoner. *Arſaces* dealt friendly with him, and diſmiſſed him, hauing euery way giuen him royall entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his necke by a fall from his horſe, and ſo ended his vnhappy reigne of twenty yeres. He had to wiſe *Laodice*, the ſiſter of *Andromachus*, one of his moſt truſty Captaines: which was father vnto that *Achæus*, who making his aduantage of this affinitie, became ſhortly after (as he ſtiled himſelfe) a king; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in thoſe parts. By *Laodice* he had two ſonnes; *Seleucus* the third, ſurnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *the Great*.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned onely three yeeres in which time he made warre vpon *Attalus* the firſt, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weake of body through ſickneſſe, & in want of mony, He could not keepe his men of warre in good order: and finally hee was ſlaine by treaſon of *Nicanor*, and *Apaturius* a *Gaule*. His death was reuenged by *Achæus*, who ſlue the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Armie: which he ruled very wiſely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*, being then a Childe.

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§. II.

The beginning of the Great Antiochus *his reigne. Of* Ptolemy Euergetes, *and* Philopator, *Kings of Ægypt. Warre betweene* Antiochus *and* Philopator. *The rebellion of* Molo: *an Expedition of* Antiochus *againſt him. The recontinuance of* Antiochus *his Ægyptian warre: with the paſſages betweene the two Kings: the victory of* Ptolemie, *and Peace concluded. Of* Achæus, *and his rebellion; his greatneſſe, and his fall.* Antiochus *his Expedition againſt the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great* Alexander.

ANtiochus was ſcarcely fifteene yeeres olde, when he began his reigne, which laſted ſixe and thirty yeeres. In his Minoritie, He was wholly gouerned by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that hee found in any of the Kings faithfull ſeruants. This vilde qualitie in a Counſailour of ſuch great place, how harmefull it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himſelfe; the ſucceſſe of things will ſhortly diſcouer.

Soone after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reigne, *Ptolemie Euergetes* King of *Ægypt* died; and left his heire *Ptolemie Philopator*, a yong Boy likewiſe, as hath elſewhere beene remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieued *Aratus* and the *Achæans*: who afterwards tooke part with *Cleomenes*; and louingly entertained him, when he was chaced out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatas*. He annexed vnto his Dominion the Kingdome of *Cyrene*; by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the laſt good King of the race. The name of *Euergetes*, or *the doer of good*, was giuen to him by the *Ægyptians*; not ſo much for the great ſpoyles which he brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recouered ſome of thoſe Images or Idols, which *Cambyſes*, when hee conquered *Ægypt*, had carried into *Perſia*. He was ready to haue made war vpon the *Iewes*, for that *Onias* their high Prieſt, out of meer couetouſneſſe of mony, refuſed to pay vnto him his yerely tribute of 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wiſdome of *Ioſephus* a *Iew*, to whom afterwards he let in farme the Tributes and Cuſtomes that belonged vnto him, in thoſe parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Cœleſyria*, with *Palæſtina* & all thoſe parts of the Country that lay neereſt vnto *Ægypt*, were held by the *Ægyptian*; either as hauing fallen to the ſhare of *Ptolemie* the firſt, at ſuch time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquiſhed & ſlaine in the battel at *Ipſus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troubleſome and vnhappy reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that laſted for many ſucceeding ages betweene the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucidæ*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded by S. *Hierome*. This *Ptolemie Euergetes* reigned ſixe and twenty yeres; and died towards the end of the hundred thirtie and ninth *Olympiad*. It may ſeeme by that, which we finde in the Prologue vnto *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Sirach* his booke, that he ſhould haue reigned a much longer time. For *Siracides* there ſaith, that he came into *Ægypt* in the eight and thirtieth yere, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that thoſe eight and thirty yeeres, were the yeeres of *Ieſus* his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Iewes* did otherwhiles reckon) from ſome notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counſailer, and in a manner the Protectour of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord vnto warre againſt the *Ægyptian*; for the recouery of *Cœleſyria* and the Countries adioyning. This counſaile was very vnſeaſonably giuen; when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out into rebellion; and ſought to make himſelfe abſolute Lord of that rich Country. Neuertheleſſe *Hermias*, being more froward than wiſe, maintained ſtiffely, that it was moſt expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to ſend forth againſt a rebellious Captain, other Captaines that were faithfull; whileſt He in perſon made warre vpon one, that was like himſelfe, a King. No man durſt gaine-ſay the reſolution of *Hermias*; who therefore ſent *Xenœtas* an *Achæan*, with ſuch forces as he thought expedient, againſt the Rebell; whileſt in the mean ſeaſon an Army was preparing for the Kings Expedition into *Cœleſyria*. The King hauing marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and ſo ouer the Deſerts into the Vallie of *Marſyas*, betweene the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*; found his way there ſtopped by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, that ſerued vnder *Ptolemie*. So hee conſumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came newes, that *Xenœtas*, his Captaine, was deſtroyed with his whole Armie; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrie, as farre as vnto *Babylon*.

Xenœtas, whileſt hee was yet on his iourney, and drew neere to the Riuer of *Tygris*; receiued many aduertiſements, by ſuch as fledde ouer vnto him from the Enemie, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the moſt part, againſt their wills, drawne by their Commander to beare armes againſt their King. This report was not altogether falſe; but *Molo* himſelf ſtood in ſome doubt leſt his followers would leaue him in time of neceſſity. *Xenœtas* therefore making ſhew, as if he had prepared to paſſe the Riuer by Boats in face of his Enemie; left in the night time ſuch as hee thought meet to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Armie went ouer *Tygris*, in a place tenne miles lower than *Molo* his Campe. *Molo* heard of this, and ſent forth his horſe to giue impediment: but hearing that *Xenœtas* could not ſo bee ſtopped, Hee himſelfe diſlodged, and tooke his iourney towards *Media*; leauing all his baggage behinde him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as diſtruſting the faith of his owne ſouldiors: or whether thereby to deceiue his Enemie; the great folly of *Xenœtas* made his ſtratagem proſperous. For *Xenœtas*, hauing borne himſelfe proudly before, vpon the countenance of *Hermias* by whom he was aduanced vnto this charge; did now preſume, that all ſhould giue way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of vſing the ſword. Wherefore hee ſuffered his men to feaſt, with the prouiſions which they found ready in the forſaken Campe: or rather he commanded them ſo to doe, by making Proclamation, That they ſhould cheriſh vp themſelues againſt the iourney, which he intended to take next day, in purſuit of the Rebels that fledde. And to the ſame purpoſe hee buſied himſelfe, in tranſporting the remainder of his Armie, which he had left on the other ſide of *Tigris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could eaſily returne the ſame night. Wherefore vnderſtanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made ſuch haſte backe vnto them, that he came vpon them early in the morning; whileſt they were yet heauy with the wine and other good cheere, that they had ſpent at ſupper. So *Xenætas* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Campe: the reſt were ſlaughtered, without making reſiſtance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewiſe the Campe on the other ſide of *Tigris*, was eaſily taken by *Molo*: the Captaines flying thence, to ſaue their owne liues. In the heat of this victorie, the Rebell marched vnto *Seleucia*, which he preſently tooke: and, maſtering within a little while the Prouince of *Babylonia*, and all the Countrie downe to the Red-Sea, or *Bay of Perſia*, Hee haſted vnto *Suſa*; where at his firſt comming, he won the City: but failing to take the Caſtle that was exceeding ſtrong, returned backe to *Seleucia*, there to giue order concerning this buſineſſe.

The report of theſe things comming to *Antiochus*, whileſt he lay (as is ſaid before) in the Vale of *Marſyas*; filled him with great ſorrow, and his Campe with trouble. Hee tooke counſaile what to doe in this needfull caſe; and was well aduiſed by *Epigenes* the beſt man of warre he had about him, to let alone this Enterpriſe of *Cœloſyria*; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counſaile was put in execution with all conuenient haſte. Yet was *Epigenes* diſmiſſed by the way, and ſoone after ſlaine, by the practice of *Hermias*; who could not endure to heare good counſaile giuen, contrary to his owne good liking and allowance. In the iourney againſt *Molo*, the name and preſence of the King was more auaileable, then any oddes which hee had of the Rebell in ſtrength. *Molo* diſtruſted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good ſucceſſe, nor any other conſideration, would ſerue to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his perſon. Wherfore he thought it ſafeſt for him to aſſaile the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was diſcouered by ſome that fled ouer from him to the King. This cauſed him to returne backe to his Campe: which, by ſome errour, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in ſight. The King was thus forward in giuing battaile to *Molo*, vpon confidence which he had that many would reuolt vnto him. Neither was he deceiued in this his beliefe. For not a few men, or Enſignes: but al the left wing of the enemie, which was oppoſite vnto the King, changed ſide forthwith as ſoon as euer they had ſight of the Kings perſon; and were ready to do him ſeruice againſt *Molo*. This was enough to haue wonne the Victorie: but *Molo* ſhortned the worke, by killing himſelfe; as did alſo diuers of his friends, who for feare of torments preuented the Hang-man with their owne ſwords.

After this Victorie came ioyfull newes, that the Queene *Laodice*, daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married vnto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought foorth a ſonne. Fortune ſeemed bountifull vnto the King: and therefore he purpoſed to make what vſe he could, of her friendly diſpoſition while it laſted: Being now in the Eaſterne parts of his kingdome, He iudged it conuenient to viſit his Frontiers, were it onely to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered vpon him. Hereunto his Counſailer *Hermias* gaue aſſent: not ſo much reſpecting the Kings honour, as conſidering what good might thereby happen to himſelfe. For if it ſhould come to paſſe, that the King were taken out of the world by any caſualtie: then made hee no doubt of becomming Protector to the yong Prince; and thereby of lengthening his owne Gouernment. *Antiochus* therefore went againſt *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; hauing the greateſt part of his kingdome, ſituate betweene the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very olde and fearefull; and therefore yeelded vnto whatſoeuer conditions it pleaſed *Antiochus* to lay vpon him. So in this iourney *Antiochus* got honour, ſuch as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Vpon the way, a Phyſician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truely, how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous hee would be ſhortly vnto the Kings owne life. *Antiochus* beleeued this, hauing long ſuſpected the ſame *Hermias*; but not daring, for feare of him, to vtter his ſuſpitions. It was therefore agreed, that he ſhould be made away on the ſudden: which was done, hee being trained foorth by a ſleight a good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or diſputation. The King needed not to haue vſed ſo much Art, in ridding his hands of a man ſo much deteſted. For howſoeuer he ſeemed gracious whileſt he was aliue: yet they that for feare had beene moſt obſequious to him, whileſt he were in caſe to do them hurt, was as ready as the foremoſt, to ſpeake of him as hee had deſerued, when once they were ſecure of him: Yea, his wiſe and children lying then at *Apamea*, were ſtoned to death by the wiues and children of the Citizens; whoſe indignation brake forth the more outragiouſly, the longer that they had beene concealed.

About theſe times, *Achæus* (of whom we ſpake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to periſh in ſome of theſe Expeditions which he tooke in hand; was bold to ſet a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a King. His purpoſe was to haue inuaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterpriſe; and ſtudie to ſet ſome handſome colour on his former preſumption. It is very ſtrange, that *Antiochus* neither went againſt *Achæus*; nor yet diſſembled the notice which hee had taken, of theſe his traiterous purpoſes: but wrote vnto him, ſignifying that hee knew all; and vpbraiding him with ſuch infidelity, as any offender might know to be vnpardonable. By theſe meanes he emboldned the Traytor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintaine his former actions by ſtrong hand, than to excuſe them, or get pardon by ſubmiſſion. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement deſire to recouer *Cœloſyria*, or what elſe he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemie Philopater* in thoſe parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very ſtrong City neere to the mouth of the Riuer *Orontes*; which ere long hee wonne, partly by force, partly by corrupting with brybes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the great*, who founded it, gaue the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it ſhortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolemie Euergetes* hauing lately won it, might, if it had ſo pleaſed him, haue changed the name into *Ptolemais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchaſe an endleſſe memoriall vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatneſſe, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their owne, than the ſame greatneſſe hath continuance. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, hee that before had oppoſed himſelfe to *Antiochus*, and defended *Cœloſyria* in the behalfe of *Ptolemie*; was now grown ſorrie, that he had vſed ſo much faith & diligence, in ſeruice of an vnthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore, as a Mercenarie, he began to haue regard to his own profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himſelfe vnto him that was (queſtionleſſe) the more worthy of theſe two Kings; He offered to deliuer vp vnto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*. Whileſt he was deuiſing about this treaſon, and had already ſent meſſengers to King *Antiochus*: his practice was detected, and he beſieged in *Ptolemais* by one of *Ptolemies* Captaines, that was more faithfull then himſelfe. But *Antiochus* haſting to his reſcue, vanquiſhed this Captaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got poſſeſſion, not onely of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*, with a good fleete of the *Ægyptian* Kings that was in thoſe Hauens: but of ſo many other Townes in that Countrie, as emboldned him to thinke vpon making a iourney into *Ægypt* it ſelfe. *Agathocles* and *Soſibius* bore all the ſway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolemy* himſelfe being loth to haue his pleaſures interrupted, with buſineſſe of ſo ſmall importance, as the ſafetie of his Kingdome. Wherefore theſe two agreed together, to make prouiſion as haſtily, and yet as ſecretly as might bee, for the warre: and neuertheleſſe, at the ſame time, to preſſe *Antiochus* with daily Embaſſadours to ſome good agreement. There came in the heate of this buſineſſe, Embaſſadours from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewiſe from the *Ætolians*; according to the vſuall courteſie of the *Greekes*, deſiring to take vp the quarrell.

Theſe were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Soſibius*: who intreated them to deale effectually with *Antiochus*. But whileſt this treaty laſted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the warre: wherein theſe two Counſailors perſwaded themſelues reaſonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for mony, a ſufficient number of the *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how deſirous the Gouernours of *Ægypt* were to be at quiet: whereunto he gaue the readier beleefe, not onely for that he knew the diſpoſition of *Ptolemie*, but becauſe the *Rhodians*, and other Embaſſadors, comming from *Memphis*, diſcourſed vnto him al after one manner; as being al deceiued, by the cunning of *Agathocles* & his fellow. *Antiochus* therefore hauing wearied himſelfe, at the long ſiege of a Towne called *Dura*, which he could not winne: and being deſirous to refreſh himſelfe and his Armie in *Seleucia*, during the winter which then came on; granted to the *Ægyptian* a Truce for foure moneths, with promiſe that hee would bee ready to hearken vnto equall Conditions, when they ſhould be offered. It was not his meaning to be ſo courteous, as hee would faine haue ſeemed, but onely to lull his enemies aſleepe, whileſt he tooke time to refreſh himſelfe; and to bring *Achæus* to ſome good order, whoſe treaſon daily grew more open and violent. The ſame negligence which he thought the *Ægyptian* would haue vſed, He vſed himſelfe; as preſuming, that when time of the yere better ſerued, little force would be needfull; for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld vnto him, ſince *Ptolemy* prouided not for their defence. Neuertheleſſe, hee gaue audience to the Embaſſadors, and had often conference with thoſe that were ſent out of *Ægypt*: pleaſing himſelfe well, to diſpute about the iuſtice of his quarrell; which he purpoſed ſhortly to make good by the ſword, whether it were iuſt or no. Hee ſaid, that it was agreed betweene *Seleucus* his Anceſtor, and *Ptolemie* the ſonne of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could winne it from *Antigonus*, ſhould bee giuen in poſſeſſion to *Seleucus*: and that this bargaine was afterwards ratified, by generall conſent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at *Ipſus*. But *Ptolemies* men would acknowledge no ſuch bargaine. They ſaid, that *Ptolemie* the ſonne of *Lagi*, had wonne *Cæloſyria*, and the Prouinces adioyning for himſelfe: as alſo that he had ſufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recouer his Prouince of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the Riuer of *Euphrates*. Thus whileſt neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were, in the end of their diſputation, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemie* demanded reſtitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Alſo *Ptolemie* would needs haue *Achæus* comprehended in the League betweene them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming againſt it as a ſhamefull thing, that one King ſhould offer to deale ſo with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and ſeek to ioyn him in Confederacie with his own Soueraigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field againe: contrary to his expectation he was informed, That *Ptolemie*, with a very puiſſant Armie, was comming vp againſt him out of *Ægypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemie, he was encountred on the way by thoſe Captaines of *Ptolemie*, that had reſiſted him the yere before. They held againſt him the paſſages of *Libanus*, whence neuertheleſſe he draue them: and, proceeding onward in his iourney, wonne ſo many places, that hee greatly increaſed his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with diuers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neere together: many Captaines of *Ptolemie* forſooke his pay, and fled ouer to *Antiochus*. This notwithſtanding, the *Ægyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battaile was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Ægyptians* or *Aſiatiques* were the better Souldiers (for that the ſtrength of both Armies conſiſted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greekes*, *Thracians*, and *Gaules*) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemie*, with *Arſinoe* his ſiſter and Wife, rode vp and downe encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other ſide: each of them rehearſing the braue deeds of his Anceſtors; as not hauing of their owne, whereby to valew themſelues. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants: as alſo his, being of *Aſia*, had they beene fewer would haue beaten thoſe of *Africke*. Wherefore by the aduantage of thoſe beaſts, He draue the enemies before him, in that part of the battaile wherein he fought himſelfe. But *Ptolemy* had the better men: by whoſe valour he brake the Groſſe of his Enemies battaile, and won the victory; whileſt *Antiochus* was heedleſly following vpon thoſe, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field aboue ſeuenty thouſand foot, and ſixe thouſand horſe; whereof though he loſt ſcarce ten thouſand foot, and not foure hundred horſe; yet the fame of his ouerthrow tooke from him all thoſe places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: He began to ſtand in feare, leſt *Ptolemie* and *Achæus*, ſetting vpon him both at once, ſhould put him in danger of his whole Eſtate. This cauſed him to ſend Embaſſadors to the *Ægyptian* to treat of peace: which was readily granted; it being much againſt the nature of *Ptolemie* to vexe himſelfe thus with the tedious buſineſſe of warre. So *Ptolemie*, hauing ſtaied three moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Ægypt* clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his ſubiects, and of all thoſe that were acquainted with his voluptuous and ſlothfull condition.

Achæus was not compriſed in the League betweene theſe two Kings: or if hee had beene included therein; yet would not the *Ægyptian* haue taken the paines, of making a ſecond Expedition for his ſake. The beſt was, that he thought himſelfe ſtrong enough, if fortune were not too much againſt him, to deale with *Antiochus* Neither was hee confident without great reaſon: For beſides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged vnto *Antiochus* on this ſide of *Taurus*, Hee had alſo good ſucceſſe againſt *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a ſtrong Armie. Neither was hee, as *Molo* the Rebell had beene, one of meane regard otherwiſe, and carried beyond himſelfe by apprehending the vantage of ſome opportunitie: but Couſin german to the King, as hath beene ſhewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a yonger daughter of the ſame *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was alſo called *Laodice*, as was her ſiſter the *Queene*, *Antiochus* his wife. Theſe things had added maieſtie vnto him; and had made his followers greatly to reſpect him, euen as one to whom a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolemie* of *Ægypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquiſhed in the battaile at *Raphia*; and had thereby loſt all his gettings in *Syria*. But all theſe hopes and likelyhoods came to nothing: For the King of *Pontus*, if hee would meddle in that quarrell betweene his ſonnes-in-law, had no reaſon to take part againſt the more honourable. As for the *Ægyptian*: He was not onely ſlothfull; but hindred by a rebellion of his owne ſubiects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Ægypt*, of whom *Ptolemie*, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to ſerue in the late Expedition; beganne to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferiour to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refuſed to ſuffer as much as formerly they had done: ſince they leſſe eſteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings Mercenarie *Greekes*; which had hitherto kept them in ſtreight ſubiection. Thus brake out a warre betweene the King and his ſubiects: wherein though the ill guided force of the Multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolemie* thereby waſted much of his ſtrength, and much of his time, that might haue beene ſpent, as he thought, much better in reuelling; or, as others thought, in ſuccouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no ſooner made his peace with the *Ægyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of warre againſt *Achæus*. To this purpoſe he entred into League with *Attalus*; that ſo he might diſtract the forces of his Rebell, and finde him worke on all ſides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were ſuch, that within a while he had pent vp *Achæus* into the Citie of *Sardes*; where he held him about two yeeres beſieged. The Citie was very ſtrong, and well victualled: ſo as there appeared not, when the ſecond yeere came, any greater likelyhood of taking it, than in the firſt yeeres ſiege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Caſtle it ſelfe was vpon a very high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable, as alſo the Towne-wall adioyning to the Caſtle, in that part which was called *the Sawe*, was in like manner ſituate vpon ſteepe Rocks, and almoſt inacceſſible; that hung ouer a deepe bottom, whereinto the dead carkaſes of Horſes, and other beaſts, yea, and ſometimes of men, vſed to be throwne. Now it was obſerued by *Lagoras*, that the Rauens and other birds of prey, which hanted that place by reaſon of their food which was there neuer wanting, vſed to flie vp vnto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch vpon the walls, where they reſted without any diſturbance. Obſeruing this often, hee reaſoned with himſelfe, and concluded, that thoſe parts of the Wall were left vnguarded, as being thought vnapproachable. Hereof he informed the King: who approued his iudgement, and gaue vnto him the leading of ſuch men, as he deſired for the accompliſhing of the enterprize. The ſucceſſe was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceiued: and though with much labour, yet without reſiſtance, he ſcaled thoſe Rocks, and whileſt a generall aſſault was made) entred the Towne in that part; which was at other times vngarded, then vnthought vpon. In the ſame place had the *Perſians*, vnder *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Crœſus* thought himſelfe ſecure on that ſide. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a loſſe many ages paſt; and therefore out of memorie. *Achæus* held ſtill the Caſtle: which not onely ſeemed by nature impregnable, but was very well ſtored with all neceſſaries; and manned with a ſufficient number, of ſuch as were to him well aſſured. *Antiochus* therefore was conſtrained to waſte much time about it; hauing none other hope to preuaile, than by famiſhing the incloſed. Beſides the vſuall tediouſneſſe of expectation; his buſineſſe called him thence away into the higher *Aſia*, where the *Ba-*

ctrians, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdomes taken out of his Dominions, vpon which they ſtill incroched But he thought it not ſafe, to let *Achæus* breake looſe againe. On the other ſide there were ſome Agents of *Ptolemie* the *Ægyptian*, and good friends vnto *Achæus*; that made it their whole ſtudie, how to deliuer this beſieged Prince. If they could reſcue his perſon, they cared for no more: but preſumed, that when he ſhould appeare in the Countreyes vnder *Taurus*, hee would ſoone haue an Armie at command, and bee ſtrong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to worke as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretan*, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Countrey, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult paſſages among thoſe Rockes, whereon the Caſtle of *Sardes* ſtood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which hee ſhould receiue at the hands of *Ptolemie*, as well as of *Antiochus*; to doe his beſt for performance of their deſire. He vndertooke the buſineſſe: and gaue ſuch likely reaſons of bringing all to effect, that they wrote vnto *Achæus*, by one *Arianus*, a truſtie meſſenger, whom *Bolis* found meanes to conueigh into the Caſtle. The faith of theſe Negotiators *Achæus* held moſt aſſured. They alſo wrote vnto him in priuie characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none ſaue hee and they were acquainted: whereby hee knew, that it was no fained deuice of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the meſſenger; hee was a truſtie fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found, by examination, heartily affected vnto their ſide. But the Contents of the Epiſtle, which were, That he ſhould be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had wonne vnto the buſineſſe, did ſomewhat trouble him. They were men to him vnknowne: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; vnder whom he had the command of thoſe *Cretans*, which helde one of the Forts that blocked vp the Caſtle of *Sardes*. Neuertheleſſe other way to eſcape he ſaw none, than by putting himſelfe to ſome aduenture. When the meſſẽger had therfore paſſed to and fro: it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himſelfe ſhould come ſpeake with *Achæus*, and conduct him foorth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the reſt, ſaue onely by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrimen,* ſome few excepted, haue beene, and ſtill are) falſe knaues. Theſe two held a conſultation together, that was, as [k] *Polybius* obſerues it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the ſafety of him whoſe deliuerie they vndertooke, nor touching the diſcharge of their owne faith; but onely how to get moſt with leaſt adoe and danger to themſelues. Briſly they concluded, That firſt of all they would equally ſhare betweene them ten Talents, which they had already receiued in hand: and then, That they would reueale the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliuer *Achæus* vnto him, if they might bee well rewarded both with preſent monie, and with promiſe of conſideration anſwerable to the greatneſſe of ſuch a ſeruice, when it ſhould be diſpatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promiſe of *Cambylus*, was no leſſe glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleaſed with the comfortable promiſes of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readineſſe on both ſides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get vp into the Caſtle, and conueigh *Achæus* thence: Hee firſt went with *Cambylus* to ſpeake with the King, who gaue him very priuate audience; and confirmed vnto him by word of mouth the aſſurance of his liberall promiſes. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honeſt man, and of one that was faithfull vnto *Ptolemie* whom hee had long ſerued; Hee accompanied *Arianus* vp into the Caſtle. At his comming thither, Hee was louingly entertained; yet queſtioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the buſineſſe in hand. But hee diſcourſed ſo well, and with ſuch grauitie; that there appeared no reaſon of diſtruſting either his faith or iudgement. Hee was an olde Souldiour, had long beene a Captayne vnder *Ptolemie*, and did not thruſt himſelfe into this buſineſſe; but was inuited by honourable and faithfull men. Hee had alſo taken a ſafe courſe, in winning (as it ſeemed) that other countriman of his, who kept a Fort that ſtood in their way; and thereby had alreadie ſundrie times giuen ſafe paſſage and repaſſage vnto *Arianus*. But againſt all theſe comfortable hopes, the importance of ſo great an aduenture ſtirred vp ſome diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wiſely, and ſayde, That hee would yet ſtay in the Caſtle a little longer: but that hee meant to ſend away with *Bolis* three or foure of his friends; from whom when hee receiued better aduertiſement, concerning the likelyhood of the enterpriſe, then would he iſſue forth himſelfe. Hereby he took order, not to commit himſelfe wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknowne. But as *Polybius* well notes, hee did not conſider that he

* Among theſe few I doe not except one, calling himſelfe *Eudæmon Iohn Andrew* a *Cretan*; who in one of his late ſhameleſſe libels, wherein he traduceth our King, Religion, and Country, with al the good & worthy mẽ of whõ he could learne the names, hath, by inſerting my name twice belied mee; in calling mee a Puritan, & one that haue been dangerous vnto my Soueraigne. It is an honour to bee il ſpoken of by ſo diligent a ſupporter of Treaſons, and Architect of Lies: in regard wherof I may not denie him the commendatiõ of Creticiſme no leſſe voluminous, than he in multiplicitie of name is beyond any the *Cretians* in elder times, that were alwaies Lyers, euil beaſts, and ſlow bellies.

[k] è *Polyb. hiſt. lib. 8.*

he played the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to ſay, That he had to doe with one, whoſe knauery could not bee auoided by circumſpection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had layd their plots thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then ſhould hee eaſily be taken by the ambuſh prepared for him: if he were accõpanied with many of his friends, then ſhould *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had troden it oft; and *Bolis* following behinde, ſhould haue an eye vpon *Achæus*, to preuent him not onely from eſcaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwiſe killing himſelfe: to the end that being taken aliue, Hee might bee to *Antiochus* the more welcome Preſent. And in ſuch order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide; the reſt following, as the way ſerued, and *Bolis* in the Rere. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpoſe, till the very inſtant of his departure. Then ſignified hee the matter to his Wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hope as well as hee could, appointed foure of his ſpeciall friends to beare him companie. They were all diſguiſed: and one of them alone tooke vpon him to haue knowledge of the *Greeke* tongue; ſpeaking & anſwering as need ſhould require, for all, as if the reſt had beene *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deuiſing vpon his buſineſſe, and much perplexed. For (ſaith *Polybius*) *Though he were of Crete, and prone to ſurmiſe any thing to the miſchiefe of another*: yet could hee not ſee in the darke, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himſelfe were there. The way was very vneaſie, and in ſome places dangerous; eſpecially to thoſe that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to ſtay in diuers places, and helpe one another vp or downe. But vpon euery occaſion they were all of them very officious towards *Achæus*; lending him their hands, and taking ſuch care of him, as eaſily gaue *Bolis* to vnderſtand, that he was the man: and ſo by their vnſeaſonable duty, they vndid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait; *Bolis* whiſtled, and preſently claſped *Achæus* about the middle, holding him faſt that he could not ſtirre. So they were all taken by the Ambuſh, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*: who ſate vp watching in his Pauillion, expecting the euent. The ſight of *Achæus*, brought in bound vnto him, did ſo aſtoniſh the King, that hee was vnable to ſpeake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might haue kept him from admiration: as alſo the next morning betimes aſſembling his friends together, He condemned *Achæus* to a cruell death; which argues, that hee was not moued with pitty towards this vnhappy man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes, that wrung from him theſe teares: as alſo the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be ſo, that ſuch a courſe as this of his, in employing two miſchieuous knaues againſt one Traitour, doth not rarely ſucceed well; according to that *Spaniſh* Prouerbe, *A vn traydor dos alleuoſos*. The death of *Achæus* brought ſuch aſtoniſhment vpon thoſe which held the Caſtle, that after a while they gaue vp the place and themſelues vnto the King; whereby he got entire poſſeſſion of all to him belonging in the leſſer *Aſia*.

Some yeeres paſſed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his Expedition againſt the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians*, The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obſcure beginnings, and commonly ſubiect vnto thoſe that ruled in *Media*. In the great ſhuffling for Prouinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Gouernment ouer them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of ſmall regard; ſhortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*; and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*: vnder whoſe poſterity they continued vntill the Reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The luſtfull inſolencie of one of theſe Lieutenants, together with the miſfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquiſhed and thought to be ſlaine by the *Gaules*; did ſtirre vp *Arſaces*, a Noble man of the Countrie, to ſeeke reuenge of iniuries done, and animate them to rebell. So he ſlue the Kings Lieutenant; made himſelfe King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought proſperouſly with thoſe that diſturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke *Seleucus Callinicus* priſoner in battaile, whom he royally entertained, and diſmiſſed. Hereby he wonne reputation as a lawfull King: and by good gouernment of his Country, procured vnto himſelfe ſuch loue of his Subiects, that his name was continued vnto his ſucceſſors; like as that of the *Ptolemies* in *Ægypt*, and that of the *Cæſars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the ſame time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though theſe at length, and all belonging vnto the *Seleucidæ* beyond *Euphrates*, increaſed the *Parthians* Dominion. Now *Antiochus* went againſt them with ſo ſtrong an Armie, that they durſt not meet him in plaine field; but kept themſelues in Woods, or places of ſtrength, and defended the Streights and paſſages of Mountaines. The reſiſtances they made auailed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him ſo great a multitude, and ſo well ſorted, as hee needed not to turne out of the way, from thoſe that lay fortified againſt him, in Woods and Sreights between their Mountaines; it being eaſie to ſpare out of ſo great a number, as many as fetching a compaſſe about, might eyther get aboue the Enemies heads; or come behinde, and charge them on the backe. Thus did hee often imploy againſt them his light armature: wherewith hee cauſed them to diſlodge, and giue way vnto his *Phalanx*; vpon which they durſt not aduenture themſelues in open ground. *Arſaces*, the ſecond of the name, (for his Father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though hee was confident in the fidelitie of his owne ſubiects; yet feared to encounter with ſo mightie an inuader. His hope was, that the bad wayes, and Deſerts, would haue cauſed *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to giue ouer the iourney, without proceeding much further. This not ſo falling out: Hee cauſed the Wells and Springs in the Wilderneſſe, through which his Enemie muſt paſſe, to bee dammed vp and ſpoyled. By which meanes, and the reſiſtance before ſpoken of, when he could not preuaile, Hee withdrew himſelfe out of the way; ſuffering the Enemie to take his pleaſure for a time, in waſting the Countrie: wherein, without ſome victorie obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Arſaces* was nothing ſtrongly prouided for the warre. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania*; where hee wanne *Tambrace*, the chiefe Citie of that Prouince. This indignitie, and many other loſſes, cauſed *Arſaces* at length, when he had gathered an Armie that ſeemed ſtrong enough, to aduenture a battailes. The iſſue thereof was ſuch, as gaue to neither of the Kings hope of accompliſhing his deſires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore *Arſaces* craued Peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amiſſe, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a ſubiect.

The next Expedition of *Antiochus*, was againſt *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled againſt him or his Anceſtors: but hauing gotten the Kingdome from thoſe that had rebelled, kept it to himſelfe. With *Euthydemus* hee fought a battaile by the Riuer *Arius*, where he had the victory. But the victorie was not ſo greatly to his honour; as was the teſtimony which he gaue of his owne priuate valour, in obtaining it. Hee was thought that day to haue demeaned him more couragiouſly, than did any one man in all his Armie. His horſe was ſlaine vnder him; and hee himſelfe receiued a wound in his mouth, whereby hee loſt ſome of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, Hee withdrew himſelfe backe vnto the furthermoſt parts of his Kingdome, and afterwards protracted the Warre, ſeeking how to end it by compoſition. So Embaſſadors paſſed betweene the Kings: *Antiochus* complayning, That a Country of his was vniuſtly vſurped from him: *Euthydemus* anſwering, That he had wonne it from the children of the Vſurpers: and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wilde Nation, could hardly be retayned in order, ſaue by a King of their owne; for that they bordered vpon the *Scythians*, with whom if they ſhould ioyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Prouinces that lay behind them. Theſe allegations, together with his owne wearineſſe, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, vpon reaſonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the ſonne of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his Father as Embaſſadour in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little auaileable vnto a good Concluſion: for *Antiochus* liked him ſo well, that he promiſed to giue him in marriage, one of his owne daughters; and therewithall permitted *Euthydemus* to retaine the kingdome, cauſing him neuertheleſſe to deliuer vp all his Elephants; as alſo to binde himſelfe by oath, to ſuch Couenants as he thought requiſite.

So *Antiochus* leauing the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a iourney ouer *Caucaſus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophagaſenus*, King of the *Indians*, the ſociety that had beene betweene their Anceſtors. The *Indians* had remained ſubiect vnto the *Macedonians*, for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his warre againſt *Antigonus*, raiſed part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Weſtward, and was ouer-buſied in a great ciuill warre: then then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, ſtirre vp his Countrymen to Rebellion; making himſelfe their Captaine, and taking vpon him as Protector of their libertie. This Office and Title hee ſoone changed, though not without ſome contention, into the Name and Maieſtie of a King. Finally he got vnto himſelfe, (hauing an Armie of ſixe hundred thouſand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had beene *Alexanders*. In this Eſtate he had well confirmed himſelfe, ere *Seleucus Nicator* could finde leiſure to call him to account. Neither did Hee faint, or humble himſelfe, at the comming of *Seleucus*: but met him in field, as readie to defend his owne; ſo ſtrongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented, to make both peace and affinitie with him, taking onely a reward of fiftie Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* kingdomes, was continued by ſome Offices of loue betweene their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whoſe number of Elephants were increaſed thereupon, by the *Indian* King, to an hundred and fiftie: as alſo he was promiſed, to haue ſome treaſure ſent after him; which he left one to receiue. Thus parted theſe two great Kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards, in many generations, any buſineſſe worthy of remembrance with the Weſterne Countreyes. The poſteritie of *Sandrocottus*, is thought to haue retained that kingdome vnto the dayes of *Auguſtus Cæſar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, ſent Embaſſadours with Preſents, and an Epiſtle written in *Greeke*: wherein, among other things, He ſaid, That He had command ouer ſixe hundred Kings. There is alſo found, ſcattered in ſundrie Authors, the mention of ſome which held that kingdome, in diuers Ages, euen vnto the time of *Conſtantine the Great*: being all peraduenture of the ſame race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treatie with *Sophagaſenus* carried himſelfe as the worthier perſon, receiuing Preſents; and after marched home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with ſuch reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher *Aſia*, but on the hither ſide of *Taurus*, humbled themſelues vnto him, and called him *The Great*: ſaw an end of his owne Greatneſſe within few yeeres enſuing, by preſuming to ſtand vpon points with the *Romans*; whoſe Greatneſſe was the ſame indeed, that his was onely in ſeeming.

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§. III.

The lewd Reigne of Ptolemie Philopator *in Ægypt: with the tragicall ende of his fauourites, when he was dead. Antiochus prepares to warre on the yong childe* Ptolemie Epiphanes, *the ſonne of* Philopator. *His irreſolution in preparing for diuers warres at once. His voyage towards the Helleſpont. Hee ſeekes to hold amitie with the Romans, who make friendly ſhew to him; intending neuertheleſſe to haue warre with him. His doings againſt the Helleſpont; which the Romans made the firſt ground of their quarrell to him.*

THis Expedition being finiſhed; *Antiochus* had leiſure to repoſe himſelfe awhile, and ſtudie which way to conuert the terror of his puiſſance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three yeeres *Ptolemie Philopator* died: leauing his ſonne *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, a yong Boy, his ſucceſſor in the kingdome; vnlikely by him to be well defended, againſt a neighbour ſo mightie and ambitious. This *Ptolemie* ſurnamed *Philopator*, that is to ſay, *a louer of his Father*, is thought to haue had that ſurname giuen him in meere deriſion; as hauing made away both his Father and Mother. His yong yeeres, being newly paſt his childhood when he beganne to reigne, may ſeeme to diſcharge him of ſo horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beaſtlineſſe of all his following life, makes him not vnlike to haue done any miſchiefe, whereof hee could bee accuſed. Hauing wonne the battaile at *Raphia*, He gaue himſelfe ouer to ſenſuality; and was wholly gouerned by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her inſtigation Hee murdered his owne wife and ſiſter; which had aduentured herſelfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him vndertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenantſhips of his Prouinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices whatſoeuer; were wholly referred vnto the diſpoſition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and of *Oenanthe* a filthy Bawd that was mother vnto them both. So theſe three gouerned the Realme at their pleaſure, to the great griefe of all the Countrie, till *Philopator* died: who hauing reigned ſeuenteene yeeres, left none other ſonne than *Ptolemie Epiphanes* a childe of fiue yeres old, begotten on *Arſinoe* that was his ſiſter and wife. After the Kings death; *Agathocles* began to take vpon him, as Protector of yong *Epiphanes*, and Gouernour of the Land. He aſſembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all borne in *Macedonia*, but the race of thoſe that abode in *Ægypt* with *Ptolemy the firſt*, and would not be accounted *Ægyptians*; as neither would the Kings themſelues) and bringing forth vnto them his ſiſter *Agathoclea*, with the yong King in her armes; began a ſolemne Oration. He told them, That the deceaſed father of this their King, had committed the childe into the armes of his ſiſter, but vnto the faith of them: on whoſe valiant right hands, the whole ſtate of the Kingdome did now relye. He beſought them therefore that they would be faithfull, and, as great neede was, defend their King againſt the treaſon of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man, who traiterouſly went about to ſet the Diademe vpon his owne head, being a meere ſtranger to the Royall bloud. Herewithall he produced before them a witneſſe, that ſhould iuſtifie his accuſation againſt *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were ſo, that he deliuered all this with a fained paſſion of ſorrow, and counterfeiting teares: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he ſpake; but ſtood laughing, and talking one to another, what a ſhameleſſe diſſembler he was, to take ſo much vpon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And ſo brake vp the Aſſembly: He that had called it, being ſcarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings fauour had made mighty, but neither wiſe nor well qualified; thought to goe to worke, as had formerly beene his manner, by vſing his authority, to the ſuppreſſion of thoſe that he diſtruſted. He haled out of a Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; and caſt her into priſon. This filled *Alexandria* with rumours, and made the people (though accuſtomed to ſuffer greater things, whileſt they were committed in the old Kings name) to meete in knots together, and vtter one to another their minds; wherein they had conceiued extreame hate, againſt theſe three pernicious miſgouernours of the old King. Beſides their conſideration of the preſent iniurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were ſomewhat alſo moued with feare of harme; which, in way of requitall, *Tlepolemus* was likely to doe vnto the Citie. For Hee was, though a man moſt vnapt for Gouernement, as afterwards he proued; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloued of the Armie. It was alſo then in his power, to ſtop the prouiſion of victuals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As theſe motiues wrought with the people: ſo by the remedy which *Agathocles* vſed, were the *Macedons* more haſtily, and more violently ſtirred vnto vprore. He ſecretly apprehended one of their number, whom hee ſuſpected of conſpiracie againſt him; and deliuered him vnto a follower of his owne, to be examined by torture. This poore Souldior was carried into an inner roome of the Palace, and there ſtripped out of all his apparrell to be tormented. But whileſt the whippes were brought forth, and all things euen in a readineſſe for that purpoſe, there was brought vnto the miniſter of *Agathocles*, a ſad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leauing *Moeragenes* the Souldior alone by himſelfe, and the dores open. He perceiuing this, naked as he was, conueighed himſelfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the *Macedonians*; of whom he found ſome in a Temple thereby at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priuiledges, as are the *Turkes Ianizars*. Being aſſured therefore that one of their fellowes had thus beene vſed; they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would ſee the King, and not leaue him in poſſeſſion of ſuch a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no leſſe adoe than the Souldiours, though to leſſe effect. So the old Bawd *Oenanthe* fled into a Temple: her Sonne and Daughter ſtaid in the Court, vntill the King was taken from them; and they, by his permiſſion which he eaſily gaue, and by appointment of thoſe that now had him in their hands, deliuered vp to the furie of the people. *Agathocles* himſelfe was ſtabbed to death, by ſome which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His ſiſter was dragged naked vp and downe the ſtreetes; as was alſo his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed vpon them a barbarous execution of iuſtice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

Theſe troubles in *Ægypt*, ſerued well to ſtirre vp King *Antiochus*; who had very good leiſure, though he wanted all pretence, to make warre vpon young *Ptolemie*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the ſame deſire, to get what part he could of the childes eſtate. But it happened well, that *Ptolemie Philopator* in the Punicke Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the *Romans*. Vnto them therefore the *Ægyptians* addreſſed themſelues, and craued helpe againſt theſe two Kings: who though they ſecretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into couenant to diuide betweene them, all that belonged vnto this *Orphan*; whoſe Father had beene Confederate with them both. So [*] *M. Lepidus* was ſent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Ægypt*; eſpecially againſt *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*; He was very ſoone found buſied, with warre at his owne doores. Alſo *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, being a Penſioner to the *Ægyptian*, was ſent into *Greece* to raiſe an Armie of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Ægypt*, I doe not finde: and therefore thinke it not improbable, that He was ſent thither onely one of the three Embaſſadors, [o] in the beginning of the Warre with *Philip*, as hath beene ſhewed before. As for *Scopas*; He ſhortly after went vp into *Syria* with his Armie: where winning many places, among the reſt of his Acts, He ſubdued the *Iewes*; who ſeeme to haue yeelded themſelues a little before vnto *Antiochus*, at ſuch time as they ſaw him prepare for his Warre, and deſpaired of receiuing helpe from *Ægypt*. But it was not long, ere all theſe Victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next yeere following, which was (according to *Euſebius*) the ſame yeere that *Philip* was beaten at *Cynoſcephalæ*; *Antiochus* vanquiſhed *Scopas* in battaile, and recouered all that had beene loſt. Among the reſt, the *Iewes* with great willingneſſe returned vnder his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

The Land of *Ægypt* this great King did forbeare to inuade; and gaue it out, that he meant to beſtow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon *Ptolemie*: either hoping, as may ſeeme, that the Countrie would willingly ſubmit it ſelfe vnto him, if this yong child ſhould happen to miſcarrie; or elſe that greater purchaſe might be made in the Weſterne parts of *Aſia*, whileſt *Philip* was held ouer-laboured by the *Romans*. It appeares that he was very much diſtracted; hunting (as we ſay) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betweene *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Greekes*, promiſed to afford him great aduantage, if he ſhould bring his Armie to the *Helleſpont*. On the other ſide, the ſtate of *Ægypt* being ſuch as hath beene declared, ſeemed eaſily to be ſwallowed vp at once. One while therefore he tooke what he could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Iewes* among the reſt, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Ægyptian*) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting *Ægypt* alone, He was about to make inuaſion vpon *Attalus* his Kingdome; yet ſuffered himſelfe eaſily to be perſwaded by the *Roman* Embaſſadours, and deſiſted from that enterpriſe. Hauing thus farre gratified the *Romans*; He ſends Embaſſadours to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amitie betweene him and them. It is not lightly to be ouerpaſſed, That theſe his Embaſſadours were louingly entertained at *Rome*; and diſmiſſed, with a Decree and anſwere of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this anſwere of the *Romans* was not ſincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, not ſtanding much vpon the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour, they were content to giue good words for the preſent. In the meane time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*, and ſhortly prepares to winne ſome Townes elſewhere, belonging vnto *Ptolemie*; yet withall hee ſends an Armie Weſtward, intending to make what profit he can of the diſtractions in *Greece*. Likewiſe it is conſiderable, as an argument of his much irreſolution, How notwithſtanding his attempts vpon both of their Kingdomes, hee offered one of his daughters to *Ptolemie*, and another to *Eumenes* the ſonne of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: ſeeking each of their friendſhippes, at one and the ſame time, when hee ſought to make each of them a ſpoyle. Thus was hee acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable deſire of repugnancies; which is a diſeaſe of great, and ouer-ſwelling fortunes. Howſoeuer it was, He ſent an Armie to *Sardes* by Land, vnder two of his owne ſonnes: willing them there to ſtay for him; whileſt he himſelfe with a Fleete of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other veſſels, intended to paſſe along by the Coaſts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in ſuch places as held for the *Ægyptian*. It was a notable Act of the *Rhodians*, that, whileſt the warre of *Philip* lay yet vpon their hands, they aduentured vpon this great *Antiochus*. They ſent vnto him a proud Embaſſage: whereby they gaue him to vnderſtand, That if he paſſed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in *Cilicia*, they would meete him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him; but becauſe he ſhould not ioyne with *Philip* their enemy, and helpe him againſt the *Romans*. It was inſolently done of them, neither ſeemed it otherwiſe, to preſcribe ſuch limits vnto the King: yet he tempered himſelfe, and without

[*] *Iuſtin l.* 30.

[o] *Liu. lib.* 31.

Vid. Ioſep. ant. Iud. l. 12. *c.* 3.

any ſhew of indignation gaue a gentle anſwere; partly himſelfe to their Embaſſadours; partly vnto their whole Citie, by Embaſſadors which he thither ſent. He ſhewed his deſire; to renew the ancient Confederacies betweene his Anceſtors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, leſt his comming ſhould tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the *Romans* whom they thought that he would moleſt: they were (he ſaid) his very good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proofe, than the entertainment and anſwere by them newly giuen to his Embaſſadors.

The *Rhodians* appeare to haue beene a cunning people, and ſuch as could foreſee what weather was like to happen. This anſwere of the King, and the relation of what had paſſed betweene his Embaſſadors and the Senate, moued them not a whit; when they were informed ſhortly after, that the *Macedonian* warre was ended at the battaile of *Cynoſcephalæ*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the ſtronger ſide. Wherefore they would not be contented to ſit ſtill; vnleſſe the Townes on the South Coaſt of *Aſia*, belonging to *Ptolemie* their friend and Confederate, were ſuffered to be at quiet. Herein alſo they did well; for that they had euer beene greatly beholding to all the race of the *Ptolemies*. They therefore, in this time of neceſſitie, gaue what aide they could vnto all the ſubiects of the *Ægyptian* in thoſe parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the ſonne of *Attalus*, prognoſticate as concerning the war that followed, betweene *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to beſtow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage: Hee excuſed himſelfe, and would not haue her. *Attalus* and *Philetarus*, his brethren, wondered at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would ſurely make warre vpon *Antiochus*; and therein finally preuaile. Wherefore he ſaid, That by abſtaining from this affinitie, it ſhould be in his power to ioyne with the *Romans*, and ſtrengthen himſelfe greatly with their friendſhip. Contrariwiſe, if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as hee muſt be partaker in his ouerthrow; ſo was he ſure to be oppreſſed by him, as by an ouer-mightie neighbor, if he happened to win the victory.

Antiochus himſelfe wintered about *Epheſus*: where he tooke ſuch order as he thought conuenient, for the reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* to obedience; that had vſurped their libertie, and obſtinately ſtroue to maintaine it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he ſailed vnto the *Helleſpont*: where hauing won ſome Townes that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he paſſed ouer into *Europe* ſide; and in ſhort ſpace maſtered the *Cherſoneſus*. Thence went he to *Lyſimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten and deſtroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garriſon thence, to employ it in the *Roman* warre. The *Ætolians* obiected as a crime vnto *Philip*, in the Conference before *T. Quintius*, that he had oppreſſed *Lyſimachia*, by thruſting thereinto a Garriſon. Hereupon *Philip* made anſwere, that his Garriſon did not oppreſſe the Towne, but ſaue it from the *Barbarians*: who tooke and ſackt it, as ſoone as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this anſwere was good and ſubſtanciall, though it were not acceptable as ſuch; might appeare by the miſerable caſe, in which *Antiochus* found *Lyſimachia* at his comming thither. For the Towne was vtterly razed by the *Barbarians*; and the people carried away into ſlauery. Wherefore the King tooke order to haue it reedified: as alſo to redeeme thoſe that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were diſperſed in the Countrie thereabout. Likewiſe he was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promiſes, new inhabitants; and to repleniſh the Citie with the wonted frequencie. Now to the end that men ſhould not be terrified from comming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour *Thracians*: hee tooke a iournie in hand againſt thoſe barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Armie; leauing the other halfe to repaire the Citie. Theſe paines he tooke; partly in regard of the conuenient ſituation, and former glory of *Lyſimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recouer and eſtabliſh the dominion in thoſe parts, which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lyſimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he ſhall dearely pay: and as after that victory againſt *Lyſimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed ſhortly; ſo ſhall a deadly wound of the Kingdome founded by *Seleucus* enſue very ſpeedily, after the reconqueſt of the ſame Countrie, which was the laſt of *Seleucus* his purchaſes.

§. IIII.

The Romans hold friendly correſpondence with Antiochus, *during their warre with* Philip: *after which they quarrell with him. The doings of* Hannibal *at Carthage: whence he is chaſed by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight vnto the King* Antiochus. *The Aetolians murmure againſt the Romans in Greece. The warre of the Romans and Achæans, with* Nabis *the Tyrant of Lacedæmon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece.* T. Quintius *his Triumph. Peace denied to* Antiochus *by the Romans.*

FOr the *Romans*, though they were vnable to ſmother their deſire of warre with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much againſt their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant ſhortly to make good, of this intended warre, ſo long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furniſhed, by this enterpriſe of the Kings about *Lyſimachia*. It was not long, ſince King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the *Romans* in their warre with *Philip*, could obtaine of them none other helpe againſt *Antiochus*, than Embaſſadors to ſpeake for him; becauſe the one of theſe Kings was held no leſſe a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards paſſe betweene them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus* at the requeſt of their Embaſſadors, withdrew his Inuaſion from the Kingdome of *Pergamus*: alſo very ſhortly after he ſent Embaſſadors to them, to make a perfect League of amitie betweene them. This was whileſt as yet they were buſied with *Philip*; and therefore had reaſon to anſwere his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward ſhew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or moſt of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients vnto the *Romans*: then was all this good correſpondence changed, into termes of worſe, but more plaine meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counſailors ſent from *Rome*, required (as hath been *ſhewed before) with a commination of war, this kings gratulation of their victory; as alſo his long-profeſſed amitie, and deſire to continue in the ſame.

Ch. 4. § vii.

Theſe ten Counſailors were able to informe *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpoſe of the Senate: whereof yet it ſeemes that he was not ignorant before; ſince, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable vnto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they diuided themſelues to make progreſſe through diuers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them ſhould viſit King *Antiochus*; and the reſt, where occaſion ſerued, vſe diligence to make a partie ſtrong againſt him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* vnmindefull of the buſineſſe: wherein leſt *T. Quintius*, with his ten Aſſiſtants, ſhould happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was ſent from *Rome* of purpoſe, to deale with the King about thoſe controuerſies, that were betweene him and *Ptolemie*. What other priuate inſtructions *Cornelius* had; we may coniecture by the mannaging of this his Embaſſage. For comming to *Selymbria*: and there vnderſtanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, hauing beene ſent by *Titus*, were at *Lyſimachia*, He haſtned thither; whither alſo came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counſailors) from *Bargillæ*, to be preſent at the Conference. *Hegeſianax* and *Lyſias* were alſo there; the ſame, who had lately brought from *Titus* thoſe peremptorie Conditions, which the Embaſſadours preſent ſhall expound vnto their Maſter. After a few dayes *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment betweene Him and theſe *Romans*, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the buſineſſe in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly deliuered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reaſon to deliuer backe vnto *Ptolemie* thoſe Townes of his, whereof hee had lately gotten poſſeſſion. Hereunto he added, and that very earneſtly, That hee muſt alſo giue vp the Townes of late belonging vnto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more abſurd, than ſuch folly in the *Romans*; as to let *Antiochus* enioy the profit of that warre, wherein they had laboured ſo much, and He done nothing? Further He warned the King, that he ſhould not moleſt thoſe Cities that were free: and finally Hee demanded of him, vpon what reaſon he was come ouer with ſo great an Armie into *Europe*; for that other cauſe of his iournie there was none probable, than a purpoſe to make warre vpon the *Romans*. To this the King made anſwere, That hee wondered why the *Romans* ſhould ſo trouble themſelues, with thinking vpon the matters of *Aſia*: wherewith Hee prayed them to let him alone; euen as He, without ſuch curioſitie, ſuffered them to doe in *Italie* what they thought good. As for his comming ouer into *Europe*: they ſaw well enough what buſineſſe had drawne him thither; namely, the warre againſt the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lyſimachia*, and the recouery of Townes to him belonging, in *Thrace* and *Cherſoneſus*. Now concerning his title vnto that Countrie, He deriued it from *Seleucus*: who made conqueſt thereof, by his victory againſt *Lyſimachus*. Neither was it ſo, that any of the places in controuerſie betweene him and the other Kings, had beene ſtill of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Ægyptians*; but had beene ſeized on by them, or by others from whom they receiued them, at ſuch time as his Anceſtors, being Lords of thoſe Countries, were hindred by multiplicitie of buſineſſe, from looking vnto all that was their owne. Finally he willed them, neither to ſtand in feare of him, as if he intended ought againſt them from *Lyſimachia*; ſince it was his purpoſe to beſtow this Citie vpon one of his ſons, that ſhould reigne therein: nor yet to be grieued with his proceedings in *Aſia*; either againſt the free Cities, or againſt the King of *Ægypt*; ſince it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himſelfe, and to ioyne ere long with *Ptolemie*, not onely in friendſhip, but in a bond of neere affinitie. *Cornelius* hauing heard this, and being perhaps vnable to refute it; would needes heare further, what the Embaſſadours of *Smyrna* and of *Lampſacus*, whom he had there with him, could ſay for themſelues. The Embaſſadors of *Lampſacus* being called in, beganne a tale; wherein they ſeemed to accuſe the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Iudges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace; foraſmuch as hee had not choſen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators betweene Him and them.

Thus the Treatie held ſome few dayes, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, hauing not laid their complaints in ſuch ſort, as they might be a conuenient foundation of the warre by them intended: nor yet hauing purpoſe to depart well ſatisfied, and thereby to corroborate the preſent peace, were doubtfull how to order the matter, in ſuch wiſe as they might neither too rudely, like boiſterous *Gallo-Greekes*, pretend onely the goodneſſe of their ſwords; nor yet ouer-modeſtly, to retaine among the *Greekes* an opinion of their iuſtice, forbeare the occaſion of making themſelues great. The King on the other ſide was wearie of theſe tedious gheſts; that would take none anſwere, and yet ſcarce knew what to ſay. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That *Ptolemie* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were deſirous to haſten into *Ægypt*: *Antiochus*, to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdome; and *L. Cornelius*, to preuent him thereof, and ſet the Countrie in good order. *Cornelius* was ſent from *Rome* Embaſſadour, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolemie*: which gaue him occaſion to take leaue, and prepare for his *Ægyptian* voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embaſſadors, had good leaue to depart all together: and the King fourthwith made ready, to be in *Ægypt* with the firſt. To his ſonne *Seleucus* he committed his Armie; and left him to ouer-ſee the building of *Lyſimachia*: but all his Sea-forces Hee tooke along with him, and ſailed vnto *Epheſus*. Thence hee ſent Embaſſadours to *T. Quintius*: whom he requeſted to deale with him in this matter of Peace, after ſuch ſort, as might ſtand with honeſtie and good faith. But as hee was further proceeding on his voyage; He was perfectly informed that *Ptolemie* was aliue. This made him beare another way from *Ægypt*: and afterwards a tempeſt, with a grieuous ſhipwracke, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to haue ſafely recouered his Port of *Seleucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered: ſecure, as might appeare, of the *Roman* warre.

But the *Romans* had not ſo done with him. During the Treatie at *Lyſimachia*, (at leaſtwiſe not long before or after it) one of their Embaſſadours that had beene ſent vnto the *Macedonian* gaue him counſaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; Not to reſt contented with the Peace which was granted vnto him by the *Romans*, but to deſire ſocietie with them, whereby they ſhould be bound to haue the ſame friends and enemies. And this he aduiſed him to doe quickly, before the Warre brake out with *Antiochus*; leſt otherwiſe he might ſeeme, to haue awaited ſome fit occaſion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainely, did not meane to be ſatiſfied with weake excuſes. In like manner ſome of the *Greekes* were ſollicited; and particularly the *Ætolians*, That conſtantly and faithfully they ſhould abide in the friendſhip of the People of *Rome*. It was needleſſe to ſay plainly whereto this entreatie tended: the froward anſwere made by the *Ætolians*, declares them to haue well vnderſtood the purpoſe. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the Victory, as they had beene during the Warre. They that ſo complained were the moſt moderate of them. Others cryed out that they had beene wronged, and defrauded of what was promiſed vnto them: vpbrayding withall the *Romans*, as men to them beholding; not onely for their Victory ouer *Philip*, but euen for helping them to ſet foot in *Greece*, which elſe they neuer could haue done. Hereto the *Roman* gaue gentle anſweres: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to ſend Embaſſadors to the Senate, and vtter their griefes; and then ſhould all be well.

Such care tooke the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their Warre intended againſt *Antiochus*. The fame hereof arriuing at *Carthage*, gaue matter vnto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to picke a thanke of the *Roman* Senate; and to chace out of their Citie this honourable man, whom they ſo greatly hated. He had of late exerciſed his vertue againſt them in the Ciuill adminiſtration; and giuen them an ouerthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Iudges at that time bore all the ſway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and hauing ſubiect vnto them, the liues, goods, and fame of all the reſt. Neither did they vſe this their power with moderation: but conſpired in ſuch wiſe together, that who ſo offended any one of them, ſhould haue them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was ſure to be ſoone accuſed and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the Citie, *Hannibal* was choſen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though he was ſuperiour vnto them during that yeere: yet had it not beene their manner to beare much regard vnto ſuch an annuall Magiſtrate, as at the yeeres end muſt be accountable to them, if ought were laid vnto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore ſending for one of the Quæſtors, or officers of the Treaſurie, to come and ſpeake with him: the proud Quæſtor ſet lightly thereby, and would not come. For hee was of the aduerſe Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be choſen into the Order of Iudges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the ſpirit of future Greatneſſe. But he had not to doe with ſuch a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* ſent for him by a Purſiuant; and hauing thus apprehended him, brought him into iudgement before a publique aſſembly of the people. There he not onely ſhewed, what the vndutifull ſtubborneſſe of this Quæſtor had beene; but how vnſufferable the inſolencie of all the Iudges at the preſent was: whoſe vnbridled power made them to regard neither Lawes nor Magiſtrates. To this Oration when he perceiued that all the Citizens were attentiue and fauourable; Hee foorthwith propounded a Law, which paſſed with the generall good liking; That the Iudges ſhould be choſen from yeere to yeere, and no one man be continued in that Office two yeeres together. If this Law had beene paſſed, before he paſſed ouer *Iberus*: it would not perhaps haue beene in the power of *Hanno*, to haue brought him vnto neceſſitie of reforming another grieuance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were faine to leuie by Taxation layed vpon the whole Commonaltie; as wanting money in their publique Treaſurie, wherewith to defray either that, or diuers other needefull charges. *Hannibal* conſidering this, beganne to examine the publique Reuenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treaſurie, by wayes and meanes whatſoeuer; and in what ſort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinarie charges of the Common-wealth did not exhauſt the Treaſurie: but that wicked Magiſtrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greateſt part of the monies to their owne vſe, were thereby faine to loade the people with needeleſſe burdens. Hereof hee made ſuch plaine demonſtration, that theſe Robbers of the common Treaſure were compelled to reſtore, with ſhame, what they had gotten by knauerie: and ſo the *Carthaginians* were freed from the neceſſitie of making ſuch poore ſhifts, as formerly they had vſed, when they knew not the valew of their owne Eſtate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: ſo they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, ſince the making of the peace vntill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extreamely; as being by him ſtript of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authoritie, both at once, euen when they thought themſelues to haue bene in full poſſeſſion of the vanquiſhed *Carthage*. Wherefore they ſent letters to their friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew ſtrong againe, and *Hannibal* would ſhortly be in armes. Queſtionleſſe, if oppreſſing the Citie by iniuſtice, and robbing the Treaſurie, were the onely way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome*: theſe enemies to the *Barchines* might well crie out, That hauing done their beſt already to keepe all in quiet, they ſaw none other likelihood than of Warre. But hauing none other matter to alleadge, than their owne inuentions: they ſaid, That *Hannibal* was like vnto a wilde beaſt, which would neuer be tamed: That ſecret meſſages paſt betweene him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complaine of idleneſſe, as if it were harmefull to *Carthage*; with what elſe to like effect they could imagine. Theſe accuſations they directed not vnto the Senate: but addreſſing their letters craftily, euery one to the beſt of his owne friends at *Rome*, and ſuch as were Senators; they wrought ſo well, that neither publike notice of their Conſpiracie was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authoritie of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpoſe. Onely *P. Scipio* is ſaid to haue admoniſhed the *Fathers*, that they ſhould not thus diſhonourably ſubſcribe, and become Seconds to the accuſers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppreſſe, by ſuborning or countenancing falſe witneſſes againſt him, the Man, againſt whom in warre they had not of long time preuailed, nor vſed their Victory in ſuch baſe manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all ſo great-minded as *Scipio*: they wiſhed for ſome ſuch aduantage againſt *Hannibal*; and were glad to haue found it. Three Embaſſadours they ſent ouer to *Carthage*, *C. Seruilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*: whoſe very names import ſufficient cauſe of bad affection to *Hannibal*. Theſe hauing paſt the Sea, were entertained by thoſe that had procured their comming; and, being by them inſtructed how to carry themſelues, gaue out, That they were ſent to end ſome controuerſies, betweene the *Carthaginians* and *Maſaniſſa*, But *Hannibal* had kept ſuch good eſpiall vpon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough: againſt which he was neuer vnprepared. It were enough to ſay, That he eſcaped them by flight: but in the actions of ſo famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearſe the particularities. Hauing openly ſhewed himſelfe, as was his manner, in the place of Aſſembly, He went forth of the Towne when it began to waxe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though ſuch as he might well truſt. He had appointed Horſes to be in a readineſſe at a certaine place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-ſide. There had he a Shippe furniſhed with all things needefull; as hauing long expected the neceſſitie of ſome ſuch iourney. So Hee bade *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrey, more than his owne. Paſſing ouer to the Ile of *Cercina*; hee found there in the Hauen ſome Merchants ſhippes of *Carthage*. They ſaluted him reſpectiuely: and the chiefe among them beganne to enquire, whither he was bound. Hee ſaid, Hee went Embaſſadour to *Tyre*: and that he intended there in the Iland to make a ſacrifice; whereto Hee inuited all the Merchants, and Maſters of the Shippes. It was hote weather: and therefore He would needes hold his Feaſt vpon the ſhore; where, becauſe there wanted couert, He made them bring thither all their ſailes and yards to be vſed in ſtead of Tents. They did ſo; and feaſted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there aſleepe; and putting to Sea, held on his courſe to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was ſure not to be purſued. For the Merchants did neither make haſte to ſend any newes of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embaſſadour: neither could they, without ſome loſſe of time, ſuch of them as made moſt ſpeede homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being buſied awhile in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the miſſe of ſo great a perſon was diuerſly conſtrued. Some gheſſed aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came newes where he had beene ſeene: and then the *Roman* Embaſſadours, hauing none other errand thither, accuſed him (with an euill grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they onely diſcouered the miſchiefe by them intended againſt him, and the malice of their Senate; miſſing the while their purpoſe, and cauſing men to vnderſtand, that He fled not thus without great reaſon.

Hannibal comming to *Tyre*, the Mother-Citie of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whoſe great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reaſon of affinitie betweene their Cities, thought themſelues to haue intereſt. Thence went hee to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, viſited his ſonne in *Daphne*: who friendly welcommed him, and ſent him vnto his Father at *Epheſus*, that exceedingly reioyced at his comming.

As *Antiochus* had cauſe to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: ſo had the *Romans* no great cauſe to be therefore ſorrie; otherwiſe than as they had much diſgraced themſelues, by diſcouery of their impotent malice, in chaſing him thus out of his Countrie. For it would not proue alike eaſie vnto this great Commander, to make ſtout Souldiours of baſe *Aſiatiques*; as it had been by his trayning and diſcipline, to make very ſeruiceable and skilfull men of Warre of the *Spaniards, Africans, Gaules*, and other Nations, that were hardie, though vnexperienced. Or were it ſuppoſed, that one mans worth, eſpecially being ſo extraordinary, could alter the nature of cowardly people: yet was it therewithall conſiderable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baſeneſſe of his Flatterers, and a thouſand other ſuch vexations, would bee farre more powerfull in making vnprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*; now a deſolate and baniſhed man; than had bin the villanie of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in thoſe actions wherein he had the high Command, and was ſeconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would onely helpe to ennoble the *Roman* Victorie: or if it further ſerued to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him leſſe carefull to auoid the war; then ſhould it further ſerue, to iuſtifie the *Romans* in their quarrell. And it ſeemes indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For *Antiochus*, as is ſaid before, hauing newly ſent Embaſſadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that hee had any meaning to take Armes; vnleſſe by meere violence he were thereto enforced. Onely the *Ætolians* were greatly ſuſpected, as a turbulent people, deſirous of innouation, and therefore practiſing with this Great King; whom they wiſhed to ſee among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appeaſe them; they had of late beene anſwered with gentle words by one of the ten Counſailours, That the Senate would grant them whatſoeuer with reaſon they ſhould aske. But this promiſe was too large, and vnaduiſed. For when their Embaſſadours came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who fauoured them leaſt. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themſelues: otherwiſe than by ſpeaking ſuch words, as might haſten the *Romanes* out of *Greece* for very ſhame; who had no deſire to be thence gone.

The daily talke at *Rome* was of warre with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leaue the Country. For the *Ætolians* were wont to vpbraid the reſt of the *Greeks* with the vaine libertie which the *Romans* had proclaimed, ſaying, That theſe their Deliuerers had layd heauier fetters vpon them, than formerly they did weare; but yet brighter and fairer, than thoſe of the *Macedonian*: likewiſe, That it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the *Greekes* their chaine, and tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cauſe of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romanes* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* made no delay, in accompliſhment of that which was laid vpon him: all the Townes of *Greece* were at libertie, and the whole Countrie at peace, both with the *Romanes*, and within it ſelfe. As for *Antiochus*; Hee made it his daily ſuit, That the Peace betweene him and *Rome*, ſuch as it was, might bee confirmed, and ſtrengthened by a League of more aſſurance. Neuertheleſſe *T. Quintius* would needs feare that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to ſeize vpon *Greece*, as ſoone as hee and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, Hee retained ſtill in his owne hands *Chalcis, Demetrias*, and the *Acrocorinthus*: by benefit of which Townes, hee might the better withſtand the dangerous Inuaſion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suteable vnto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the tenne Embaſſadours, that had beene ſent ouer to aſſiſt him; when they returned backe into the Citie. *Antiochus*, they ſaid, would queſtionleſſe fall vpon *Greece*: wherein he ſhould find not onely the *Ætolians*; but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, readie to giue him entertainement. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe ſomewhat againſt theſe their ſuſpected enemies: eſpecially againſt *Nabis*, who could worſt make reſiſtance; whileſt *Antiochus* was farre away in *Syria*, and not intentiue to his buſineſſe. Theſe reports went not onely current through the Citie, among the Vulgar; but found ſuch credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeere, againſt which time it was expected that *Antiochus* ſhould be readie to take his great enterpriſe in hand; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the *African* deſired, and obtained, a ſecond Conſulſhip, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, againſt the King and his

Hannibal. For the preſent, the buſineſſe with *Nabis* was referred vnto *Titus*; to deale with him as hee thought good. This would bee a faire colour of his longer tarriance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof alſo hee knew that many of the *Greekes* would not be ſorry; though for his owne part, hee wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendſhip with him, two or three yeeres before this, as is already ſhewed, whileſt he had warre with *Philip*: and had further beene contented for the *Romans* ſake to be at peace with the *Achæans*; neither ſince that time had hee done any thing, whereby hee ſhould draw vpon himſelfe this Warre. Hee was indeed a deteſtable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achæans*; as one, that beſides his owne wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great miſchiefe. *Titus* therefore had a plauſible Theme, whereon to diſcourſe before the Embaſſages of all the Confederate Cities; Which he cauſed to meet for that purpoſe at *Corinth*. He told them, That in the warre with *Philip*, not only the *Greekes*, but the *Romans* themſelues, had each their motiues apart (which hee there briefly rehearſed) that ſhould ſtirre them vp, and cauſe them to be earneſt. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other intereſt, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in ſetting all *Greece* at liberty: which noble Action was in ſome ſort maimed, or incompleat, whileſt the noble City of *Argos* was left in ſubiection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the *Greekes*, duely to conſider, whether they thought the deliuerance of *Argos* a matter worthy to bee vndertaken; or whether otherwiſe to auoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leaue it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greekes* themſelues. The *Athenian* Embaſſador made anſwer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleaſing as hee could deuiſe. Hee gaue thankes to the *Romans* for what was paſt; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Propoſition: wherein vnrequeſted they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement requeſt of their poore Aſſociates, they had already of late extended vnto the *Greekes*. To this Hee added, That great pittie it was to heare, ſuch notable vertue & high deſerts ill ſpoken of by ſome: which tooke vpon them, out of their owne imagination to foretell, what harme theſe their Benefactors meant to doe heereafter: when as Thankefulneſſe rather would haue required an acknowledgement of the benefits and pleaſures already receiued. Euery one found the meaning of this laſt clauſe, which was directly againſt the *Ætolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* roſe vp, and told the *Athenians* their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient glorie, in thoſe times when their City had beene the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recouery of the liberty generall: from which honor they were now ſo farre fallen, that they became Paraſites vnto thoſe whom they thought moſt mighty; and by their baſe aſſentation, would leade all the reſt into ſeruitude. Then ſpake He againſt the *Achæans*, Clients that had beene a long time vnto the *Macedonian*; and ſouldiers of *Philip*, vntill they ranne away from his aduerſitie. Theſe, He ſaid, had gotten *Corinth*, and muſt now haue warre bee made for their ſakes, to the end that they might alſo bee Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Ætolians*, that had firſt made warre with *Philip*, and alwaies beene friends vnto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of ſome places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus containe himſelfe, but obiected vtno the *Romans* fraudulent dealing: foraſmuch as they kept their Garriſons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; hauing beene alwaies wont to profeſſe, That *Greece* could neuer be at libertie, whileſt thoſe places were not free. Alſo now at laſt, what elſe did they ſeeke by this diſcourſe of warre with *Nabis*, than buſineſſes wherewith to finde themſelues occupied, that ſo they might haue ſome ſeeming cauſe of abiding longer in the Country? But they ſhould doe well, if they meant as they ſpake, to carrie their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*; the *Ætolians* themſelues did promiſe, & would vndertake, That they would either cauſe him to yeeld to reaſon, and relinquiſh *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garriſon; or elſe compell him by force of Armes, to ſubmit himſelfe to the good pleaſure of all *Greece*, that was now at vnitie. Theſe words had beene reaſonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought ſo much with theſe *Ætolians*; as did their owne rauenous deſire of oppreſſing others, and getting vnto themſelues, that worſe would vſe it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had loſt. Neither could they well diſſemble this; making it no ſmall part of their grieuance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had beene couenanted, That the *Romans* ſhould enioy the ſpoyle of all, but leaue the Townes and Lands in poſſeſſion of the *Ætolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thouſand miſchiefes by them done in former times, made the whole aſſembly, eſpecially the *Achæans*, crie out vpon them: entreating the *Romans* to take ſuch order before they went, that not onely *Nabis* might be compelled to doe right; but the *Ætolian* theeues bee enforced to keepe home, and leaue their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleaſure of *Titus*: who ſaw, that by diſcountenancing the *Ætolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the reſt. But whether it pleaſed him ſo well that *Antiochus* his Embaſſadors did preſently after lie hard vpon him, to draw the peace to ſome good concluſion, it may bee greatly doubted. He caſt them off with a ſlight anſwere: telling them, That the ten Embaſſadors or Counſailours which had beene ſent vnto him from *Rome*, to bee his aſſiſtants in theſe matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedæmonian* warre; it was very ſoone ended. For *Titus* vſed the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation againſt *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if hee ſhould haue had to doe with *Philip*. Beſides the *Romane* forces, King *Eumenes* with a Nauie, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were inuited to the ſeruice: as alſo *Philip* of *Macedon* ſent aid by Land; doing therein poorely, whether it were to get fauor of the *Romans*, or whether to make one among the number, in ſeeking reuenge vpon *Nabis*, that had done him iniurie. But the moſt forward in this Expedition were the *Achæans*, who ſet out ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe. As for the *Ætolians*: rather to hold good faſhion, and ſound their diſpoſitions, than in hope to ſpeed, their helpe was required; whereof they excuſed themſelues as well as they thought beſt. Thus are the *Achæans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; hauing remooued the *Ætolians* from that degree of fauour: like as they themſelues hereafter (though not in all haſte) ſhall be ſupplanted of the ſame *Lacedæmonians*, againſt whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argiues* more bold then wiſe, began a conſpiracie againſt the *Lacedæmonians* that held their Towne; meaning to open their gates vnto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew neare, they were all detected and ſlaine: excepting a very few, that eſcaped out of the Towne. The fame of this Commotion, cauſed the Armie to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no ſtir within the Walles: the execution done vpon the firſt mouers, hauing terrified all the reſt of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to aſſaile *Nabis* in the head of his ſtrength at *Lacedæmon*, than to conſume time about other places; eſpecially at *Argos*: for the freedom whereof ſince the Warre was made, pitty it were, that the calamities of the warre ſhould thereon fall moſt heauily.

Nabis had in readineſſe an Army of fifteene thouſand, wherewith to defend himſelfe againſt theſe Inuaders. Fiue thouſand of them were Mercenaries: the reſt, of his owne Countrie; but ſuch as were of all others the worſt, as manumiſed ſlaues, malefactors and baſe peaſants, vnto whom his Tyrannie was beneficiall. Of the good and worthy Citizens he ſtood in doubt; and ſince he could not hope to win their loue, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an Aſſembly: and compaſſing them round in with his Armie, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themſelues; they might, hee ſaid, hope the better to withſtand the common Enemie. But foraſmuch as turbulent heads were inuited by light occaſions, to raiſe tumults, and worke dangerous treaſon: it ſeemed vnto him the ſafeſt, and (withall) the mildeſt courſe, to arreſt beforehand, and put in ward, all thoſe whom he found moſt reaſon to ſuſpect. So ſhould he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preſerue not only the City and his owne perſon from danger, but them alſo for the puniſhment, which elſe they might haue incurred. Heereupon hee cites and apprehends about foureſcore of them; whom hee leades away to priſon, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was hee ſure that they neither ſhould offend, nor yet breake looſe. As for the death of them, if it ſhould happen to be noyſed abroad: what could it elſe doe than terrifie the people; who muſt thereby vnderſtand, that it was a mortall crime to bee ſuſpected? And to the ſame purpoſe his cruelty extended it ſelfe vnto ſome poore wretches: whom he accuſed of a meaning to flie to the Enemie. Theſe were openly whipt through all the ſtreets, and ſlaine. Hauing thus affrighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemie, that came on apace. He welcommed them with a ſallie: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Towne had the better at firſt; but were at length repelled with loſſe. *Titus* abode not many daies before *Sparta*: but ouer-ranne the Countrey; hoping belike to prouoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The *Roman* Fleete at the ſame time with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, layd ſiege vnto *Gyttheum*, the onely or principall Towne that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to haue taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treaſon. There were two Gouernours within the Towne equall in authoritie: whereof the one, either for feare, or deſire of reward, had a purpoſe to let in the *Romanes*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being ſomewhat more faithfull, ſlue the Traitor; after whoſe death, hee himſelfe alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Armie came thither to *Gyttheum*: this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the vttermoſt, and await what either Time or his Maſter might doe for him, but was contented to giue vp the place; yet vpon Condition, to depart in ſafety to *Sparta* with his Garriſon. *Pythagoras*, the ſonne-in law of *Nabis*, and brother vnto his wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Gouernment with a thouſand Souldiours Mercenaries, and two thouſand *Argiues*: it being (as may ſeeme) the Tyrants purpoſe, to relieue *Gyttheum*: which hee thought would haue held longer out. But when they heard that it was loſt, then began they to thinke vpon finiſhing the warre, by ſome reaſonable Compoſition. *Pythagoras* therefore was ſent his Embaſſadour to *Titus*: requeſting onely that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and ſpeak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant ſpake very reaſonably for himſelfe: prouing, that he ſuffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments; whereof the ſumme was, That whatſoeuer they now did, or could obiect vnto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of *Argos*, nor for any other cauſe by them alleadged, they ought to make warre vpon him; ſince *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatſoeuer, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entring into that League with him; which was neuer broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith ſatisfied. He charged him with Tyrannie, and gaue inſtance, as eaſily he might, of diuers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, foraſmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that ſome other cauſe of this Inuaſion ſhould be alleadged. Wherfore he ſaid further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Meſſene*, a Towne Confederate with the *Romanes*: That hee had bargained to ioyne with *Philip*; when he was their enemie, not onely in League, but alſo in affinity: and that his Fleete had robbed many of their ſhips, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracie, ſince in the Articles by *Titus* propounded vnto *Nabis*, there was no reſtitution mentioned, other than of ſhips, by him taken from the *Greeks* his neighbours, with whom hee had long held warre: it may ſeeme to haue beene obiected, onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of thoſe complaints, that were otherwiſe very friuolous. As for *Meſſene*, and the bargaine of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the *Romans* and this Tyrant; and therefore not to haue beene mentioned. All this it ſeemes that *Ariſtænus*, the Prætor of the *Achæans*, verie well perceiued: who therfore doubting leſt the *Romans*, (that were wont to talke ſo much of their owne iuſtice; honour, and faithfull dealing) ſhould now relent, and forbeaae to moleſt him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate; and had neuer done them wrong; framed this diſcourſe to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to conſider well of his own eſtate; and to ſettle his fortunes, whileſt he might do it without hazzard: alleadging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to ſurrender their Eſtates, and liued in great ſecuritie, honour, and happineſſe, as priuate men. Thus they diſcourſed vntill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquiſh *Argos*; and requeſted them, to deliuer vnto him in writing their other demands, that hee might take counſaile with his friends. The iſſue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates muſt bee, for maintenance of an Armie to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making ſhort worke) before the City of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, vpon ſuch Conditions as *Titus* ſhould thinke meete. Beſides the reſtitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and ſome of them very grieuous. Hee would not ſuffer the *Lacedæmonian* to haue ought to doe in the Ile of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies; nor warre, either in that Iland or elſewhere; not to build any Towne or Caſtle vpon his owne Lands; not to keepe any other ſhipping, than two ſmall Barkes; beſides many other troubleſome iniunctions; with impoſition of an hundred talents in ſiluer to be paid out of hand, and fiftie talents yeerely, for eight yeeres next enſuing. For obſeruance of theſe Couenants hee demanded fiue hoſtages, ſuch as he himſelfe ſhould name; and one of them to bee the Tyrants owne ſonne. If it had beene the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the warre from *Nabis*, becauſe it was not grounded vpon iuſtice: then had it beene enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himſelfe did offer, though it were for feare, to deliuer vp. But if it were thought reaſonable, to diſpenſe a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound vnto the ſtate of their beſt friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyrannie: then ſhould this enterpriſe, when once it was taken in hand, haue beene proſecuted vnto the very vtmoſt. As for this middle coruſe which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable vnto them, to enrich themſelues by the ſpoyle of one that had not offended them: nor pleaſing to the *Achæans*, who iudged it euer after a great blemiſh to the noble acts of *Titus*: ſo did it miniſter vnto the *Ætolians*, and to ſuch as curiouſly pried into the faults of thoſe which tooke vpon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren Subiect of malicious diſcourſe. For ſince *Philip*, a King, and deſcended of many famous Kings, might not be ſuffered by theſe Maſterly *Romans*, to hold any one of thoſe Countries or Townes in *Greece*, that had belonged vnto his Anceſtors: it was thought very ſtrange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the moſt famous Citie among all the *Greekes*, was by the ſame *Romans* left in poſſeſſion of a Tyrant, that had vſurped it but yeſterday: and Hee therein rooted by their authoritie, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other ſide thought himſelfe vnmercifully dealt withall, by the ſelfe-ſame *Romans*, whoſe amitie he had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the loue and affinitie of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the Citie of *Argos* into his hands. But falſly had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and falſly was hee dealt with by thoſe, to whom he did betake himſelfe. Among theſe Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleaſed him; ſaue onely that for the baniſhed *Lacedemonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Campe; hauing among them *Ageſipolis* the naturall King of *Sparta*, that being a yong childe was driuen out by *Lycurgus*, the firſt of the Tyrants) there was made no prouiſion, to haue them reſtored vnto their Citie and Eſtates; but onely leaue required for as many of their wiues, as would be ſo contented, to liue abroad with them in baniſhment. Wherefore he forbore to giue conſent vnto theſe demands: and ſuſtained an aſſault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would ſoone be wearie. But his fearefull nature ſhortly ouercame the reſolution, which the ſenſe of theſe iniuries had put into him. So yeelding vnto all that had beene propounded, Hee deliuered the hoſtages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the *Romans* farre more wicked than himſelfe; and was readie vpon the firſt aduantage, to doe them all the miſchiefe that he could.

The *Argiues* had heard newes that *Lacedæmon* was euen at point of being taken. This erected them, and gaue them heart to thinke vpon their owne good. So they aduentured to ſet vpon the Garriſon; which was much weakened, by the remooue of the three thouſand carried thence by *Pythagoras*, to helpe the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed vnto their libertie no more, than that all of them ioyntly ſhould ſet their hands to the getting of it; which no ſooner they did than they obtained it. Preſently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where hee was ioyfullie welcommed. Hee was deſeruedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laied hold without ſtaying for him: and that he might the better entitle himſelfe thereto, hee cauſed the libertie of the *Argiues* to be proclaimed at the *Nemæan* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The Citie was annexed againe to the Councell of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achæans* were not more ſtrengthened, than the *Argiues* themſelues were ſecured from danger of relapſe, into the ſame extremities out of which they had newly eſcaped.

After this, *Titus* found little buſineſſe or none wherewith to ſet on worke his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to ſend another Embaſſage to *Rome*, deſiring peace & friendſhip of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly diſpoſed vnto quiet; *Scipio* the *African*, that was choſen Conſul at *Rome*, could not haue his deſire, of being ſent Commander into *Greece*. The vnſincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous diſpoſition of the *Ætolians*, were held as conſiderations worthy of regard: yet not ſufficient cauſes of making Warre. Neither appeared there any more honeſt way, of confuting the *Ætolians*, and of throughly perſwading all the *Greekes* (which was not to bee neglected, by thoſe that meant to aſſure vnto themſelues the Patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Countrie, was their ſole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leauing the Nation vnto it ſelfe, till occaſion ſhould be ripe, and call them ouer againe. Wherefore after *Titus* had ſpent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any neere diſtance appearing; hee called an Aſſembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where hee meant to bid them farewell. There hee recounted vnto them all that had paſſed ſince his comming into thoſe parts; and willed them to value the *Romane* friendſhip, according to the difference of eſtate, wherein the *Romanes* found and left them. Hereto he added ſome wholeſome counſell; touching the moderate vſe of their libertie, and the care which they ought to haue of liuing peaceably, and without faction. Laſtly hee gaue vp *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achæans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garriſon, and promiſing to do the like (which very ſoon hee did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that ſo it might bee knowne, what liers the *Ætolians* were, who had accuſed the *Romans*, of a purpoſe to retaine thoſe places. With ioyfull acclamations did the *Greekes* teſtifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had ſaid and done: as alſo (at his requeſt) they agreed, to ranſome and enlarge all *Romans*, that had bin ſold into their Countrie by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end: and by leauing the Countrie before his departure was vrged, left therein behinde him the memorie of his vertue and benefits, vntainted by ielouſie & ſuſpition of any euill meaning. At his comming to the Citie, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodlieſt of all that *Rome* had vntill that day beheld. Three daies together the ſhew of his pomp continued: as being ſet out with the ſpoyles of a Countrie, more aboundant in things worthy of ſuch a ſpectacle, than any wherein the *Romanes* had before made Warre. All ſorts of Armes, with Statues and curious pieces of Braſſe or Marble, taken from the Enemie, were carried in the firſt dayes Pageant. The ſecond day, was brought in, all the treaſure of Gold and Siluer: ſome in the rude Maſſe vnwrought, ſome, in diuers ſorts of Coine; and ſome, in Veſſels of ſundry kindes, that were the more highly prized by the workemanſhip. Among theſe were tenne ſhields, all of Siluer; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himſelfe entred the Citie in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteene Crownes of Gold, beſtowed vpon him by diuers Cities. There were alſo led the beaſts for Sacrifice; the Priſoners, and the hoſtages: among which, *Demetrius* the ſonne of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the ſonne of *Nabis*, were principall. After him followed his Armie; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the Shew) the *Roman* Captiues, by his procurement redeemed from ſlauerie in *Greece*.

Not long after this Triumph; He procured audience of the Senate for many Embaſſages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Aſia*. They had all very fauourable anſweres, excepting thoſe of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had bin his Counſailors; becauſe their buſineſſe was ſaid to be ſomwhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embaſſadors wondred. They ſaid vnto *Titus* & his Aſſociates, That they could not diſcern wherein conſiſted any perplexitie of their meſſage. For all Treaties of peace and friendſhip, were either betweene the Victor and the vanquiſhed; between thoſe, that hauing warred together, were vpon equall termes of aduantage; or between thoſe that had liued alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrell. Vnto the Victor, they ſaid, that the vanquiſhed muſt yeeld; and patiently endure the impoſition of ſome Couenants, that elſe might ſeeme vnreaſonable. Where Warre had beene made, and no aduantage gotten: there was it vſuall to demand and make reſtitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or loſt; accordingly as both parts could agree. But betweene thoſe which had neuer fallen out, there ought no Conditions of eſtabliſhing friendſhip to bee propoſed : ſince it was reaſonable, that each part ſhould hold their owne; and neither carry it ſelfe as ſuperiour vnto the other, in preſcribing ought that might be troubleſome. Now of this laſt kinde, was the league & friendſhip that had beene ſo long in concluſion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romanes.* Which being ſo : they held it ſtrange, that the *Romans* ſhould thus inſiſt on points no way concerning them, and take vpon them to preſcribe vnto the King, what Cities of *Aſia* hee ſhould ſet at libertie; from what Cities they would giue him leaue to exact his wonted Tributes; eyther putting, or not putting, his Garriſons into them, as the Senate ſhould thinke fit. Hereto *Quintius* anſwered, That ſince they went ſo diſtinctly to worke, He would alſo doe the like. Wherefore hee propounded vnto them two Conditions, and gaue them their choyce whether to accept: Eyther that it ſhould bee lawfull for the *Romanes,* to take part in *Aſia* with any that would ſeeke their friendſhip; Or if King *Antiochus* miſliked this, and would haue them forbeare to meddle in *Aſia,* that then he ſhould abandon whatſoeuer he had gotten in *Europe.* This was plaine dealing, but no reaſonable nor pertinent anſwere, to that which the Kings Embaſſadours had propounded. For if the *Romanes* might be hired to abſtaine from *Aſia,* by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately wonne in *Europe* : then did not the affayres of *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, or any other *Aſiatiques*, whom they were pleaſed to reckon as their Confederates, binde them in honour to make warre with a King that ſought their loue, and had neuer done them iniury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great ſhame be ſo baſe, as to deliuer vp vnto them the Citie of *Lyſimachia*, whereon of late he had beene at ſo much coſt; in building it vp euen from the foundations, and repeopling it with inhabitants, that had all been diſperſed, or captiue to the *Barbarians.* And ſo much the Embaſſadors with great indignation alleadged : ſaying, that *Antiochus* deſired friendſhip of the *Romanes*; but ſo, as it might ſtand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* tooke vpon them as if their cauſe were farre the ſuperiour. For it was, they ſaid, their purpoſe, to ſet at liberty thoſe Towns, which the King would oppreſſe and hold in ſubiection : eſpecially ſince thoſe Townes were of *Greekiſh* bloud and language; and fell in that regard vnder the patronage, which *Rome* had affoorded vnto all *Greece* beſides. By this colour they might ſoon haue left *Antiochus* King of not many ſubiects on the hither ſide of *Euphrates.* Neyther did they forbeare to ſay, That, vnleſſe hee would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not onely to protect thoſe which relied vpon them in *Aſia*, but therein to make new Alliances : namely (as might bee vnderſtood) with ſuch as were his ſubiects. Wherefore they vrged his Embaſſadours to come to a point, and tell them plainely which of theſe two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleaſing anſwere, which the Embaſſadours could not heereto make; little wanted of giuing preſently defiance to the King. But they ſuffered themſelues to be entreated, and were contented once againe to ſend ouer *P. Villius*, and others that had been already with the King at *Lyſimachia*; by whom they might receiue a finall anſwer, whether theſe demands made by *Quintius* and his Aſſociates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this reſpite of time, and the fruitleſſe Treaties enſuing, *Antiochus* got the leiſure of two yeeres, or thereabouts, to prepare for warre; finding in the *Romans* all that while, no diſpoſition to let him liue in peace.

§. V.

Of the long warres which the Romanes had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. Porcius Cato. *Iniuries done by* Maſaniſſa *to the Carthaginians, that ſue to the Romanes for iuſtice in vaine.*

THe *Inſubrians, Boijans,* and other of the *Ciſalpine Gauls,* together with the *Ligurians*; made often, and (in a manner) continuall warre vpon the *Romans* in *Italie*, euen from ſuch time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, vntill ſuch time as they themſelues were vtterly ſubdued : which was not, before the *Romanes* were almoſt at the vey height of their Empire. Theſe Nations, hauing ſerued vnder *Mago* for wages, and afterwards hauing gotten *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader vnto them all, as hath beene already ſhewed; by this their fellowſhip in

Ch.2.§.8. of this booke.

Armes, grew to be ſuch willing partakers each of others fortune, that ſeldome afterwards either the *Gaules* or *Ligurians* did ſtirre alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were readie to ſecond them. How the *Romanes* firſt preuailed, and got large poſſeſſions in *Gallia Ciſalpina* now called *Lumbardie*; it hath beene long ſince rehearſed, betweene the firſt and ſecond *Punick* Warres. As alſo it hath ſince appeared, how they loſt the greateſt part of their hold in that Countrie, by meanes of *Hannibal* his paſſage there-through. Neither is it likely that the re-conqueſt would haue beene more difficult or tedious vnto the *Romans*, than was the firſt purchaſe: if, beſides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed vnto this warre had not been diſtracted by the *Ligurians*; that alwaies made them to proceed warily, hauing an eye to the danger at their backes. The *Ligurians* were a ſtout Nation, light and ſwift of bodie; well practiſed in laying ambuſhes, and not diſcouraged with any ouerthrow, but forthwith ready to fight againe. Their Countrie was mountainous, rough, wooddie, and full of ſtreight and dangerous paſſages. Few good Townes they had; but many Caſtles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: ſo as without much labour, they could neither bee taken nor beſieged. They were alſo very poore; and had little or nothing that might giue contentment, vnto a victorious Armie that ſhould ſpoyle their Land. In theſe reſpects, they ſerued excellently well, to traine vp the *Roman* Souldiers to hardneſſe and military patience: teaching them (beſides other exerciſes of warre) to endure much, and liue contented with a little. Their quarrell to *Rome*, grew partly from their loue vnto the *Gaules*, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and ſpoyling the Territorie of their borderers, that were ſubiect vnto *Rome*. But their obſtinate continuance in the Warre which they had begun, ſeemes to haue bin grounded vpon the Condition of all Saluages; To be friends or foes, by cuſtome, rather than by Iudgement: and to acknowledge no ſuch vertue in Leagues, or formall concluſions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vſing their aduantage, or taking reuenge of iniuries when they returne to minde. This qualitie is found in all, or moſt of the *Weſt-Indians*: who, if they be demanded a reaſon of the Warres betweene them and any of their neighbours, doe vſe commonly this anſwere, *It hath ſtill beene the cuſtome for vs and them, to fight one againſt the other*.

Diuers ouerthrowes, though none that were great, theſe *Ligurians* gaue vnto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they receiued. Often they ſought peace, when they found themſelues in diſtreſſe; and brake it againe as often, when they thought it profitable ſo to doe. The beſt was, that as their Countrie was a good place of exerciſe vnto the *Romans*, ſo out of their owne Countrie they did little harme: not ſending any great Armies farre from home; perhaps, becauſe they knew not how to make warre, ſaue on their owne ground.

The Countrey of *Spaine*, as it was the firſt part of the Continent out of *Italie* that became ſubiect vnto the *Romans*: ſo was it the laſt of all their Prouinces, which was wholly & throughly by them ſubdued. It is likened in figure by ſome Geographers vnto an Oxe-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the property of that Oxe-hide, which *Calanus* the *Indian* ſhewed vnto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading vpon any ſide of it, the further parts would riſe from the ground. And thus was it with *Spaine*. Seldome did it happen, that thoſe parts from which the *Roman* Armies lay furtheſt, were not vp in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hardy Nation, and eaſily ſtirred vp to armes; but had not much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Captaines. They wanted alſo (which was their principall hinderance) good intelligence among themſelues: and being diuided into many ſmall Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they ſeldome or neuer prouided in generall for the common good of their Countrie; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto their owne Territorie. Such priuate reſpects made them often to fall aſunder; when many had vnited themſelues together, for chacing out of the *Romans*. And theſe were the cauſes of their often ouerthrowes: as deſire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cauſe of their often taking armes.

The *Carthaginians* had beene accuſtomed, to make euacuation of this Chollericke *Spaniſh* humour; by employing as Mercenaries in their warres abroad, thoſe that were moſt likely to be vnquiet at home. They had alſo taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and vſed them in another: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which they rayſed vpon the whole Countrie; as being far better husbands, and of more dexteritie than were the *Romans*, in that kinde. But contrariwiſe the *Romanes*, vſing the ſeruice of their owne Legions, and of their ſure friends the *Latines*, had little buſineſſe for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were faine to haue much buſineſſe with them. *Spaine* was too far diſtant, and withal too great, for them to ſend ouer Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the courſe that they tooke in *Italie*. Wherefore it remained, that they ſhould alwaies maintaine ſuch Armies in the Countrie, as might ſerue to hold it in obedience perforce; and ſuch heedfull Captaines, as might be ſtill ready to oppoſe the *Barbarians* in their firſt Commotion. This they did: and thereby held the Countrie; though ſeldome in peace.

Very ſoone after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raiſed warre in *Spaine* againſt the *Romans*, euen vpon the ſame generall ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spaniſh* Warres following. It was thought vnreaſonable, that the *Spaniards* ſhould one while helpe the *Carthaginians* againſt the *Romanes*, and another while the *Romanes* againſt the *Carthaginians*; baſely forgetting to helpe themſelues againſt thoſe that were ſtrangers, yet vſurped the Dominion ouer them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behinde him in that Countrie, being well acquainted with the manner of Warre in thoſe parts, ſuppreſſed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with ſubiection, brought peace vpon the Countrie; which laſted fiue yeeres. This Victory of the *Romanes*, though it happily ended the Warre: yet left it ſtill remaining the cauſe of the Warre; which after fiue yeeres brake out againe. The *Spaniards* fought a battaile with the *Romane* Proconſul, whom they ſlew; and had a great Victorie, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happie ſucceſſe of their Warres in *Greece*, made the *Romanes* thinke it enough to ſend thither two Prætors, and with each of them ſome two Legions. Theſe did ſomewhat: yet not ſo much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Conſul the yere following, and ſent into that Prouince, found at his comming little leſſe to doe, than the reconquering of all *Spaine*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one minde: ſome were faithfull to *Rome*; and ſome were idle beholders of the paines that others tooke. Yet when *Cato* had wonne a great victory vpon the chiefeſt of them; they roſe againſt him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him vnto much new trouble. Whileſt he was about to make a iournie againſt thoſe that were as yet vnſubdued: ſome of the lately vanquiſhed, were euen ready to rebell. Hee therefore diſarmed them: which they tooke ſo heauily, that many of them ſlew themſelues for very griefe. Hearing of this; and well vnderſtanding, that ſuch deſperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called vnto him the principall among them: and commending vnto them peace and quietneſſe, which they neuer had diſturbed but vnto their owne great loſſe, He prayed them to deuiſe what courſe might be taken, for holding them aſſured vnto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would giue counſaile in a matter of this nature. Hauing therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their inuention barren in this kinde of Subiect; Hee gaue expreſſe charge, That vpon a day appointed they ſhould throw downe the wals of all their Townes. Afterwards he carried the Warre about from place to place; and with ſingular induſtry finiſhed it in ſhort time. Neither thought he it any diſgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Armie of the *Celtiberians*, againſt other of their Countrimen: excuſing the indignitie, ſuch as it ſeemed, with a ieſt. That if he were vanquiſhed and ſlaine, then ſhould he neede to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, hee could pay them with the Enemies money. Finally, He brought the Warre to ſo good end, that in long time after, though *Spaine* were often troubleſome, yet was it in no danger of being loſt. He increaſed alſo the publike Reuenues in that Prouince, by cauſing ſome Mynes of Iron and Siluer to be wrought, that had before laine vnregarded. Heerein hee did benefit the Common-wealth, by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar diſpoſition.

For this *M. Cato* was not onely very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed the Occupation of the *Romans*; but ſo well furniſhed with all other vſefull qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might ſeeme requiſite to the accompliſhment of a perfect man. He was very skilfull in the *Roman* Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, & not vnprofitable in any buſineſſe either priuate or publike. Many books he wrote: whereof the principall were, of the *Roman* antiquities, & of husbandry. In matter of husbandrie he was notable, and thereby moſt increaſed his ſubſtance; being of meane birth, and the firſt of his Houſe. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: ſo as he liued in perfect health to very old age. But that which moſt commended him vnto the better ſort of the *Romans*, was his great ſinceritie of life, abſtinence from bribes, and faſhioning himſelfe to the ancient laudable Cuſtomes of the Citie. Herein he had merited ſingular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not cauſed him to maligne the vertue of that Noble *Scipio* the *African*, and ſome other worthy men; that were no leſſe honeſt than himſelfe, though farre leſſe rigid, and more gallant in behauiour. Otherwiſe, Hee was a very good Citizen, and one of ſuch temper, that hee could faſhion himſelfe to all occaſions; as if he were neuer out of his Element. He loued buſineſſe ſo well, or rather hated vice ſo earneſtly; that euen vnto the end of his life, He was exerciſed in defending himſelfe, or accuſing others. For at the age of foureſcore & ſixe yeeres, He pleaded in his owne defence: and foure yeres after, he accuſed *Sergius Galba* vnto the People. So beganne the Nobility of *Cato* his family; which ended in his great grandchilde *M. Cato* the *Vtican*: one, that being of like vertue and feruencie, had all his good purpoſes daſht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of ſuch Nobilitie and greatneſſe as this his Anceſtor had continually vexed.

The *Spaniſh* Warres, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrie, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrie ſeldome free from inſurrection, in one part or other. The *Romane* Prætors therefore, of which two euery yeere were ſent ouer Commanders into *Spaine* (that was diuided into Gouernments) did rarely faile of ſuch worke, as might affoord the honour of Triumph. One ſlew thirteene thouſand *Spaniards* in a battell: another tooke fiftie Townes; and a third enforced many States of the Countrie to ſue for Peace. Thus euery one of them, or moſt of them, did ſome laudable ſeruice; and yet ſo, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in ſtead of the old that were ſlaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the cauſes heereof, I haue already pointed; and therefore thinke it enough to ſay, That the buſineſſe in *Spaine* required not the imployment of a *Romane* Conſul, from ſuch time as *Cato* thence departed, vntill the *Numantian* Warre broke out, which was verie long after.

In all other Countries to the Weſt of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but ſo had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* Houſe promiſed all felicitie which *Rome* could grant, vnto themſelues & their obedient Citie: *Maſaniſſa* fell to diſputing with the ſword, about the title to the beſt part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitfull Region about the leſſer *Syrtis*: wherein among other Cities was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent vnto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Countrie the *Numidian* challenged; and by winning ſome part of it, ſeemed to better his claime vnto the whole. He had a great aduantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any Warre, without leaue obtained from their Maſters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redreſſe, than by ſending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And ſurely they wanted not good matter to alleadge, if the Iudges had been vnpartiall. For beſides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds had left them the poſſeſſion of this Country: *Maſaniſſa* himſelfe, now very lately, purſuing a Rebell that fled out of his Kingdom, deſired leaue of the *Carthaginians*, for himſelfe to paſſe through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwiſe beene queſtionable) that the Country was theirs. This notwithſtanding, *Maſaniſſa* had wherewith to iuſtifie his proceedings, eſpecially vnto the *Romane* Senate. Hee gaue the *Fathers* to vnderſtand by his Embaſſadors, what faithleſſe people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill-affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately beene ſent vnto them from *Hannibal*, one that ſhould perſwade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined vpon ſome ſuſpition of his errand; yet neither arreſting him nor his ſhippe, had thereby affoorded him meanes to eſcape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, That certainely it was their purpoſe to rebell; and therefore good policie to keepe them downe.

As for the Countrie of *Emporia*: it had alwaies, hee ſaid, beene theirs that were able to hold it by ſtrong hand: and ſo belonged ſometime vnto the *Numidian* Kings; though now of late it was in poſſeſſion of the *Carthaginians*. But if truth were knowne, the Citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrantable title vnto any more ground, than that whereon their Citie ſtood; or ſcarcely to ſo much. For they were no better than ſtrangers in *Africk*, that had gotten leaue there to build vpon ſo much ground, as they could encompaſſe with an Oxe-hide cut into ſmall thongs. Whatſoeuer they held without ſuch a compaſſe, was purchaſed by fraud, and wrongfull encrochments. This conſidered, *Maſaniſſa* requeſted of the Senate, That they would not adiudge vnto ſuch vſurpers, the Countrie ſometimes appertaining to the Anceſtors of him their aſſured friend. The *Romans* hauing heard theſe allegations on both ſides, found the matter ſo doubtfull, that they could not on the ſudden tell what to determine. Wherefore becauſe they would doe nothing raſhly; they ſent ouer three Embaſſadours, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chiefe, to decide the controuerſie: yet ſecretly giuing them inſtructions, to leaue all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embaſſadours followed their directions, and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that *Maſaniſſa* with a ſtrong Army ſhould quickely preuaile; againſt thoſe that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime againſt the wrong. By ſuch Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not onely from ſtirring in fauour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any diſpoſition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their finall deſtruction: that came vpon them, when the *Romans* had leiſure to expreſſe the vtmoſt of their hatred.

§. VI.

The Ætolians labour to prouoke Antiochus, Philip, *and* Nabis, *to warre vpon the Romans; by whom they hold themſelues wronged and diſgraced.* Nabis *beſiegeth Gyttheum, and waſteth ſome part of Achæa. The exact skill of* Philopœmen, *in aduantage of ground: whereby hee vtterly vanquiſheth* Nabis. Antiochus *being denied Peace by the Romanes, ioynes with the Ætolians. The Ætolians ſurprize* Demetrias; *and by killing* Nabis, *their Confederate, ſeize vpon Sparta. But they are driuen out by the Citizens: who at* Philopœmen *his perſwaſions annexe themſelues to the Achæans.*

ALL *Greece* being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieued much the *Ætolians* to thinke, that they who had promiſed vnto themſelues the whole ſpoyle of *Philip*, and the higheſt reputation among the *Greekes*; were not onely diſappointed of their couetous hopes, but quite forſaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the moſt vnregarded. Yet was there made a great acceſſe to their Eſtate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had beene taken from the *Macedonian*. This might haue well ſufficed them, if their deſires had not beene immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their deſire. But they were not ſo pleaſed with that which they had, ſince they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themſelues to be wholly diſeſteemed, wherein they thought that they had vnſufferable wrong. Wherefore they deuiſed, in a Parliament which they ſhortly held, by what meanes they beſt might right themſelues; and giue the *Romans* a ſorrowfull knowledge of the difference, betweene their enmity and friendſhip. To this purpoſe they ſoone agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not onely perſwade *Antiochus* to make warre vpon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refuſed Peace; but that they would deale with the King of *Macedon* their ancient Enemie, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to ioyne al together in a new Confederacy: whoſe ioynt forces could not in all likelihood but farre ſurmount thoſe of the *Romans*, *Achæans* *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterpriſe, which the *Ætolians* tooke in hand; and well beſeeming them, for they were great darers. They ſent Embaſſadours to all theſe Kings, with perſwaſions, as they thought, moſt forcible. But *Philip* was irreſolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try firſt all other courſes. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had loſt much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in feare of any warre; yet ſhewed himſelfe of all other the moſt forward: and not ſtaying ſo much as to ſeeke any good pretence, beganne immediatly to lay ſiege vnto *Gyttheum*, that had beene lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whoſe care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the affaires of *Peloponneſus*, were not ſlow to admoniſh *Nabis* of his dutie: neither would they haue ſtaied long from repreſſing his violence by open Warre; had not ſome of them thought it wiſedome to aske counſaile of the *Romanes*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themſelues in a buſineſſe of ſuch importance. Whileſt thus they ſpent time in ſending Embaſſadours, and were aduiſed by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to waite for the comming of the *Romane* forces that would ſhortly be amongſt them: *Nabis* was bold to giue them iuſter cauſe of complaint, by waſting their owne Territorie.

Philopœmen was then Prætor of the *Achæans*, who had long been abſent in *Crete*; making war there for his mindes ſake and recreation. Vnto him the *Achæans* referred themſelues, giuing him leaue to order the warre at his pleaſure; either ſtaying till the *Romanes* came, or doing otherwiſe, as he ſhould thinke beſt. He made all haſte to relieue *Gyttheum*, by Sea; fearing leſt the Towne, and the *Achæan* Garriſon within it, ſhould be loſt, if he vſed any delay. But *Philopœmen* was ſo bad a Sea-man, that hee knew not a ſtrong Ship from a rotten. Hee made a Quadrireme Gallie his Admirall, that had foureſcore yeeres agoe beene counted a gallant veſſell, in the Nauie of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the reſt of his Fleete ſo good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonian*. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himſelfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her tallons. For his Admirall Gallie was ſtemmed at the firſt; and being rotten with age, ſprang ſo many leakes, and tooke in water ſo faſt, that ſhe was faine to yeeld without further reſiſtance. When the reſt of the Fleete ſaw what was become of their Admirall, all were preſently diſcouraged, and ſaued themſelues with what ſpeed they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith danted. If hee had failed in Sea-ſeruice, which was none of his Occupation, He ſaid, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the ſiege of *Gyttheum*, to ſtoppe the *Achæans* if they ſhould inuade his Countrie. But vpon theſe which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopœmen* came inexpected; fired their Camp; and put all, ſaue a very few of them, to the ſword. Then marched hee with all his Armie towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten mile whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him that had already taken *Gyttheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would haue beene readie for them ſo ſoone. Or if hee ſhould come from *Gyttheum*, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that hee muſt ouertake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almoſt ſecurely, in a long Troupe reaching ſome fiue miles; hauing their Horſe, and the greateſt part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to beare off any ſudden impreſſion. But *Nabis*, who formerly vnderſtood, or at leaſt ſuſpected, what courſe they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Armie; encamped there where they meant to haue lodged. It was the cuſtome of *Philopœmen*, when he walked or trauelled abroad with his friends, to marke the ſituation of the Countrie about him; and to diſcourſe, what might befall an Armie marching the ſame. He would ſuppoſe, That hauing with him there ſuch a number of Souldiers, ordered and ſorted in ſuch manner, and marching towards ſuch a place; he were vpon that ground encountred by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would hee put the queſtion, whether it were meet for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a ſtand? what peece of ground it were meet for him to ſeize vpon? and in what manner he might beſt do it? in what ſort he ſhould order his men? where beſtow his Carriages, and vnder what Gard? in what ſort encampe himſelfe? and which way march the day following? By ſuch continuall meditation, Hee was growne ſo perfect, that hee did neuer meet with any difficultie, whence hee could not explicate himſelfe and his followers. At this time hee made a ſtand: and hauing drawne vp his Rere, Hee encamped neere vnto the place where hee was; within halfe a mile of the Enemie. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he beſtowed on a Rocke; encompaſſing them round with his Souldiours. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almoſt quite ſpent; ſo as *Nabis* could not at the preſent greatly moleſt him. Both Armies were to water at one Brooke; whereto the *Achæans* lay the neerer. This watering therefore was like to miniſter the firſt occaſion of skirmiſh. *Philopœmen* vnderſtood this; and layd an ambuſh in place conuenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were ſlaughtered in great numbers. Preſently after this, hee cauſed one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitiue, and tell him, that the *Achæans* had a purpoſe to get betweene him and *Lacedæmon*; whereby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people to take Armes for the recouery of their freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched haſtily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwiſe would haue beene forced.

Some Companies he made to ſtay behinde, and ſhew themſelues vpon the Rampart, thereby to conceale his departure. But *Philæmen* was not ſo to be beguiled. He eaſily wonne the Campe, and gaue chace to *Nabis*: whoſe followers being ouertaken, had no courage to turne about and make head. The enemies being thus diſperſed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in couert all that day; *Philopœmen* conceiued aright, that their feare and neceſſitie would teach them to creepe homewards, and ſaue themſelues, when it grew darke. Wherefore in the Euening, when he had gathered together all thoſe of his Light-armature, which had followed the chace whileſt it was day, He led forth the reſt that had well refreſhed themſelues, and occupied the two moſt ordinary paſſages vnto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was darke night, perceiuing in *Philopœmens* Campe great ſtore of lights; thought that all had beene at reſt: and therefore aduentured to make an eſcape home. But they were ſo way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirtie dayes together after this, did *Philopœmen* waſte the Countrey round about, whileſt *Nabis* durſt not iſſue forth of his Towne; and then returned home, leauing the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embaſſadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them; labouring to make their partie ſtrong againſt *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be ſollicited by the *Ætolians*. Very faire countenance they alſo made vnto *Philip*; and with comfortable promiſes drew him to make ſhew, whatſoeuer hee thought, of good correſpondence. They promiſed to reſtore vnto him his ſonne: and were contented to let him hope, that he ſhould receiue other fauours at their hands; and regaine poſſeſſions of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for warre againſt *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whileſt their Embaſſadours that were with him in *Aſia*, denied otherwiſe to grant him Peace, than if he would yeelde vnto one of the Conditions, by them ſo often propounded. The long abſence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accompliſhed the marriage betweene *Ptolemie* and his daughter; together with the death of yong *Antiochus* the Kings ſonne, which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or ſeemed to hinder the King, from giuing audience in perſon to the Embaſſadours; cauſed them to returne home to *Rome*; as vncertaine of their anſwere as at their ſetting forth. One thing that might haue beene, and partly was, beneficiall vnto them, they brought to paſſe during their abode at *Epheſus*; either by cunning, or (as *Liuie* rather thinkes) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they diſcourſed often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fled vnto *Antiochus*, vpon a cauſeleſſe ſuſpition wherein he held the *Romans*: that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many haue affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of theſe Embaſſadours; and that he, among other diſcourſes with *Hannibal*, demanded once, *Which of all the famous Captaines that had liued,* Hannibal *iudged the moſt worthy?* So *Hannibal* gaue to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the firſt place: to *Pyrrhus* the ſecond: and the third he challenged vnto himſelfe. But *Scipio* who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be ſo forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldeſt thou haue ſaid then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadſt vanquiſhed mee? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I haue giuen the firſt place to *Alexander*, but haue claimed it as due vnto my ſelfe. Now whether this were ſo, or otherwiſe: the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embaſſadours, made him ſuſpected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbeare a while to vſe his counſell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceiued this change in the King: and plainely deſiring him to tell the cauſe thereof, heard what it was; He eaſily recouered his former grace, and credit. For hee told how his Father had cauſed him to ſweare at the Altars, when he was a little boy, That he neuer ſhould be friend vnto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine ſurmiſes: but to know thus much, That ſo long as hee thought vpon warre with *Rome*, ſo long would *Hannibal* doe him all good ſeruice: whereas contrariwiſe if he intended to make peace, then ſhoud it behooue him to vſe the counſaile of ſome other man.

The *Aetolians*, and their friends, were no leſſe buſie all this while, in making their partie ſtrong againſt the *Romans*, than were the *Romans*, in muſtering vp their friends in *Greece*. They had ſo often dealt with *Antiochus*, vanting much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themſelues the honour of the victory againſt *Philip*; that finally they preuailed with him; eſpecially when the *Roman* Embaſſadors had left him without hope of peace, vnleſſe he would buy it at a deare rate. They dealt in like ſort with the *Macedonian*.

But in vaine. He vnderſtood the *Romans*, and himſelfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improue their owne forces to the vttermoſt: as knowing, that all the burthen muſt lie vpon *Antiochus* and themſelues, without helpe from any; ſaue onely from ſome few that were diſcontented in *Greece*. Whileſt they were about this, and had with them an Embaſſador of the King *Antiochus* that animated them to reſolution: the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, whom *Titus* had requeſted to be at their meeting, ſtayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude raſhly, without firſt hearing the *Romans*, that lay neere at hand. For want of a ready anſwere hereto, they were contented to approue the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the buſineſſe worthy of his preſence. For ſince *Antiochus* had now declared himſelfe againſt the *Romans*: it would be no ſmall piece of ſeruice, to withdraw from his friendſhip, thoſe by whoſe encouragement he had made the aduenture. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or great Aſſembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might ſerue to appeaſe them. He willed them to conſider the weight of the enterpriſe which they tooke in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champaigne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Countrie, the *Romans*, and King *Anoiochus*, that commanded no ſmall part of the World, ſhould fight for the Maſterie: the *Ætolians*, as Maſters in that kinde of Fence, ſetting them on, and becomming * *the Sticklers*. As for thoſe grieuances which did thus exaſperate them, and vrge them to ſuch violent courſes, Hee willed them to conſider how ſlight they were, and how much better they might doe to ſend Embaſſadours to *Rome*, that ſhould either pleade their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed, were not good) make requeſt to haue what they deſired: than thus to ſet the world in an vprore, and be afterwards the firſt that ſhould repent it. But what he ſaid, or could ſay, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embaſſador of the King, whoſe helpe they had ſought, waite ſo long for an anſwere, and ſtay doubting what good end they ſhould make with the *Romans*. Neither was it newes vnto them to heare thoſe comfortable words, That, by ſending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtaine what they deſired; either as their right, or elſe by way of fauour. For with ſuch Termes had they beene feaſted once already: and were by the Senate reiected vnto *Titus*: who, hauing it in his owne power, gaue them no ſatisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This were onely loſſe of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more adoe they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* ſhould be entreated to come ouer into *Greece*, as well to ſet the Countrie at libertie, as alſo to decide the controuerſies depending betweene the *Romans* and *Ætolians*. Such a Decree they would not haue made, had they not vnderſtood the Kings minde before. Hauing made it; they forgot no point of brauery, whereby to vaunt themſelues to the Kings Embaſſadours, and againſt the *Romans*. *Titus* deſired of their Prætor, to let him ſee a Copie of this new Decree. The Prætor anſwered, That then he had other things to doe: but that this Decree, and their further anſwere, they would ſhortly let him know, if hee came to their campe in *Italy* vpon the riuer of *Tibris*. Gentler words would haue done better, as the *Ætolians* are like to vnderſtand hereafter. But hauing thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to worke. The care of the warre they referred vnto the more priuate Councel of their Nation; that no occaſion might ſlip, in waiting for the Authoritie of a generall Aſſembly. The *Apocleti* (ſo were the Priuie Councell of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to worke as any of the yongeſt heads could haue done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they ſent men for the purpoſe. *Demetrias* they tooke vpon the ſudden; entring, ſome of them as friends to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for ſpeaking words againſt *T. Quintius*, had beene driuen to flee thence, but was, by interceſſion of thoſe that loued him, againe recalled. *His Ætolian* companions, that were not many, ſeized vpon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troupe which they had left not farre behinde them; and ſo fell to murdering the chiefe of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they ſped not ſo well. Thither alſo they had a baniſhed man to bring home: but they came ſo ſtrong, that their purpoſe was diſcouered, and the Towne prepared to defend it ſelfe againſt them. Being therefore demanded the cauſe of this hoſtilitie, they gaue a gentle anſwere, ſaying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliuer the Towne from the *Romans*; who more inſolently domineered ouer it, than euer the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhethoricke they preuailed no more, than they could doe by plaine force.

*Liui. l. 35. *admiſtis Aetolis, forte, laniſtis.*

force. For the Towneſ-men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their libertie, nor needed any Garriſon to keepe them from the *Romans*; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor receiued iniurie. So this buſineſſe was daſht. The attempt vpon *Sparta* was more ſtrange and deſperate. *Nabis* their good friend, was Lord of the Towne; ſtyling himſelfe King: but, more truely by all men called Tyrant. He had welneere loſt all, by meanes of the ouerthrow which *Philopœmen* had lately giuen him: ſince, he durſt not ſtirre abroad; and daily expected the miſchiefe, that on all ſides threatned him. Wherefore he ſent meſſengers, one after another, to the *Ætolians*; requeſting them, That as He had not beene ſlow to ſtirre in their behalfe, but aduentured himſelfe vpon the vtmoſt of danger, when all others were backward, ſo They would be pleaſed to ſend him what helpe they might, ſince his bad fortune had cauſed him preſently to neede it. It hath beene often ſaid, That the rauenous *Ætolians* were onely true to themſelues, and regarded neither faith nor friendſhip otherwiſe than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And ſo dealt they now. For ſince *Nabis* his mercenarie forces, which vpheld his Tyranny, were in a manner conſumed: they thought it expedient for their Eſtate, to put him out of the way; and, by ſo doing, to aſſure *Lacedæmon* vnto themſelues. To this purpoſe, they ſent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for ſuch a worke. To him they gaue a thouſand Foot, and thirtie Horſe, choſen for the purpoſe. Theſe thirtie were by *Damocritus* the Prætor brought into the Councell of the *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiſer than they ſhould be, nor to thinke that they were ſent to make warre with the *Achæans*, or to doe ought elſe, ſaue onely what *Alexamenus* ſhould command them; which, were it neuer ſo deſperate, and in ſeeming againſt all reaſon; yet muſt they vnderſtand, that vnleſſe they performed it, they ſhould haue no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom hee encouraged with braue words: telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to couer all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to finde other manner of worke, than of late with *Philip*: ſince the Elephants of this great King, without other helpe, would ſuffice to tread them downe. As for the *Ætolians*, He ſaid, that if neede ſhould ſo require, they would preſently ſend away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they could raiſe: But that they were very deſirous at the preſent, to make as goodly a muſter as they could before the great King; which cauſed them to ſend him thither afore with no greater companie. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had beene long pend vp in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if ſhortly he ſhould employ them in worke of conqueſt, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exerciſed his men in the field; riding vp and downe with his *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or foure horſe about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exerciſe, *Alexamenus* made it his faſhion to ſtep aſide alone to his *Ætolians*, and ſay ſomewhat as he thought fit: which done, he ſtill returned againe to *Nabis*. But when he ſaw time for the great worke that he had in hand: He then went aſide to his thirty Horſemen, and bade them remember the taske enioyned them at their ſetting foorth; telling them that they were all in caſe of baniſhed men, vnleſſe they would anone come vp to him, and helpe him to finiſh that which they ſhould ſee him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neere them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the ſudden, and ſtrucke him downe. The thirtie *Ætolians* neuer ſtood to deliberate vpon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any ſuccour could arriue, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Preſently vpon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ranne vnto the dead body: where in ſtead of ſeeking reuenge, they ſtood fooliſhly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætolians* haſted into the Citie, and ſeized on the Palace: where he fell to ranſacking the Treaſure; and troubled himſelfe with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were diſperſed in the Towne, did alſo the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who ſeeing themſelues free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to ſee thoſe that had ſlaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Towne was ſhortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall ſtocke, that had beene brought vp with *Nabis* his children; whom they mounted vpon a good Horſe, and made him their Chiefe. So they fell vpon the *Ætolians* that were idlely ſtragling about; and put them all to the ſword. *Alexamenus* with not many of his Company, were ſlaine in keeping the Citadell: and thoſe few that eſcaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magiſtrates; who ſold them all as bondſlaues. In this doubtfull Eſtate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopæmen* came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and ſpeaking ſuch words vnto them, as *Alexamenus* ſhould haue done after he had ſlaine the Tyrant; eaſily perſwaded them for their owne good and ſafetie, to incorporate themſelues with the *Achæans*. Thus by the enterpriſe, no leſſe diſhonourable than difficult, of the *Ætolians*, and the ſmall, but effectuall, trauaile of *Philopæmen*, the *Achæans* made a notable purchaſe: and *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto bin gouerned either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themſelues Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth; whereof the name had ſcarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled ouer all *Greece*.

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§. VII.

Antiochus, *perſwaded by* Thoas *the Ætolian, comes ouer into Greece, ill attended. Sundry paſſages betweene him, the Ætolians, Chalcidians and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole Ile of Eubœa. The vanitie of the Kings Embaſſadors and the Ætolians, with the Ciuill anſwere of* Titus *to their diſcourſe, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greekes to haue deſired peace, betweene the Romans and* Antiochus; *as the beſt aſſurance of their owne libertie. Of many petty Eſtates that fell to the King. Of* Aminander; *and an idle vanitie, by which King* Philip *was loſt.* Hannibal *giues good counſaile in vaine. Some Townes wonne in Theſſalie. The King retires to Chalcis; Where hee marrieth a young Wife, and reauels away the reſt of Winter. Vpon the comming of the Roman Conſul all forſake* Antiochus. *He with two thouſand Ætolians keepes the Streights of Thermopylæ. He is beaten, and flies into Aſia: leauing all in Greece vnto the Victors.*

ANtiochus was troubled much in *Aſia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus*, that would not hearken to any Compoſition. He thought it neither ſafe nor honourable, to leaue them Enemies behinde him; and to winne them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he deſirous with all ſpeede conuenient to ſhew himſelfe in *Greece*; where he had bin told, that his preſence would effect wonders. It was ſaid, That in all the Countrie there was a very ſmall number, which bore hartie affection vnto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already vp in Armes: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chaine, deſiring nothing more than to breake looſe; and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could haue done, were ready to conferre vpon him the greatneſſe, which they had vnworthily beſtowed vpon inſolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the leaſt part was true. Yet that which was true made ſuch a noiſe as added credit vnto all the reſt. Whileſt therefore the King was thinking to ſend *Hannibal* into *Africk*, there to moleſt the *Romans*, and ſo giue him the better leiſure of vſing his owne opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came ouer to him, and bad him lay all other care aſide; for that his Countriemen had already taken *Demetrias*; a Towne of maine importance, that ſhould giue him entertainment, whence he might proceede as became the greatneſſe of his vertue and fortune. This did ſerue to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*: *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, firſt, That it was not expedient for him to diuide his forces at ſuch a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might ſerue to lay open vnto him all places, without neede of vſing violence: and ſecondly, That in any ſuch great enterpriſe there could not be choſen a more vnfit man to be employed in the Kings ſeruice, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he ſaid, That the King ſhould as greatly feele the loſſe of a Fleet or Armie, periſhing vnder ſuch a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as if the ſame had miſcarried vnder one of meaner qualitie: whereas neuertheleſſe if *Hannibal* preuailed; *Hannibal* alone ſhould haue all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, That ſuch a renowned Warriour ſhould be alwayes neere vnto the Kings perſon, to giue aduice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good ſucceſſe would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the ſoueraigne Command; euen of the King himſelfe. *Antiochus* gladly hearkned vnto this admonition; being iealous of the vertue, that ſhined brighter than the Maieſtie of his owne fortune. And thereupon he laid aſide the determination; which tended more to the aduancement of his deſires, than did any thing elſe by him then or after thought vpon.

Preſently after this He made ready for *Greece*. Before his ſetting forth, in a friuolous pompe of ceremony, he went vp from the Sea-ſide to *Ilium*; there to doe ſacrifice to *Minerua* of *Troy*. Thence paſſing ouer the *Aegean* Sea, He came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnetian*, the ſame whom the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won *Demetrias*; was now the chiefe man and Ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countreymen, in great frequencie, came to doe their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a ſigne of good lucke, to be ſo entertained at the beginning. But it may be ſuſpected, that the *Magnetians* found not the like cauſe of ioy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Armie ſomewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they ſaw three hundred ſhips; of which, no more than fortie were ſeruiceable for the Warres; with an Armie of ten thouſand Foot, fiue hundred Horſe, and ſixe Elephants. The *Aetolians* no ſooner heard of his comming, than they called a Parliament; and made a Decree, whereby they inuited him into their Countrie. He knew before that they would ſo doe; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his comming to *Lamia*, the *Aetolians* gaue him as ioyfull entertainment as they could deuiſe. Being brought into their Councell, He made an Oration: wherein he deſired them to hold him excuſed, that he came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he ſaid, in true eſtimation a ſigne of his good will: in that he ſtaid not to make all things ready; but haſted vnto their aide, euen whileſt the ſeaſon was vnfit for nauigation. Yet it ſhould not be long, ere the hope of all thoſe which had expected him, would be ſatisfied vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-coaſt with his Fleets. Neither would he ſpare for any charge, trauaile, or danger, to follow the buſineſſe which he had vndertaken: euen to driue the *Romans* and their authoritie out of *Greece*; leauing the Countrey free indeede, and the *Aetolians* therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, ſhould be very great: ſo was it his meaning, that all prouiſions to them belonging ſhould be correſpondent; becauſe hee would not be any way burdenſome vnto his Confederates. But at the preſent he muſt needs entreat them, hauing thus haſtily come ouer vnto their aide, vnprouided of many neceſſaries: that they would helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof he ſtood in neede. So he left them to their conſultation: the concluſion whereof was, after a little diſpute, (for a vaine motion was made by ſome, that the differences betweene the *Romans* and them, ſhould be put by Compromiſe to the deciſion of *Antiochus*) That they would yeelde vnto the Kings deſire, and aſſiſt him with all their forces. Here we may obſerue, how vaine a thing it is for an abſolute Prince to engage himſelfe, as did *Antiochus* in a buſineſſe of dangerous importance, vpon the promiſed aſſurance of a State that is meerely popular. For if the vehemencie of *Thoas*, and ſome other of that Faction, had not preuailed in this Councell: the *Ætolians*, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea for hope of ſuch gaine that might haue deceiued them; were like to haue abandoned this King their friend, vnto the diſcretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there beene, if this had ſo fallen out? He could haue bemoaned himſelfe to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he muſt haue beene contented with this anſwere, That the fault was in thoſe of the oppoſite ſide; whom *Thoas* would therefore haue pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the preſent; though in the future it proued much worſe, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was choſen Generall of all their forces: and thirtie Commiſſioners were appointed to be about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. Theſe armed ſuch as readily they could, whileſt it was in diſpute where they ſhould beginne the Warre. *Chalcis* was thought the meeteſt place to be firſt vndertaken: whither if they came ſuddenly, they ſhould not peraduenture neede to vſe much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thouſand Foot; leauing the reſt behinde him at *Demetrias*. With theſe he haſted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being ouertaken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his comming, the Magiſtrates, and ſome of the chiefe Citizens, iſſued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætolians* beganne, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had onely in words and falſe ſemblance, ſet *Greece* at libertie. But ſuch libertie, as might be true and vſefull, they ſaid would neuer be obtained; vntill by remoouing the neceſſitie of obeying their pleaſure that were moſt mightie, euery ſeuerall Eſtate had where to finde redreſſe of any preſſure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well able to counterpoiſe, yea to ouerweigh the *Romans*: who neuertheleſſe deſired them onely, ſo to ioyne with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* and Hee ſhould offer them wrong, they might keepe it in their power, to ſeeke redreſſe at the other hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the ſame anſwere, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginarie, but abſolute; for which they were to thanke the *Romans*; without whoſe good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they ſpake of themſelues, they could likewiſe affirme of all the *Greekes*: foraſmuch as none of them payed any Tribute; was kept vnder, by any Garriſon; or liued otherwiſe than by their owne *Lawes*, and without being tied vnto condition which diſpleaſed them. Wherefore they wondred, why the King ſhould thus trouble himſelfe, to deliuer Cities that were already free. But ſince hee, and the *Ætolians*, requeſted their friendſhip: they beſought both him, and the *Ætolians*, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leauing them in ſuch good caſe as they were. With this anſwere the King departed: for he was not, as then, ſtrong enough to force them. But very ſoone after, he brought thither a greater power; which terrified them, and made them yeelde: before all the ſuccours could arriue, which *Titus* had ſent for their defence.

The chiefe Citie of *Eubœa* being thus gotten; all the reſt of the Iland ſhortly yeelded to *Antiochus*. Foure or fiue hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came ouer-late to haue defended *Chalcis*, repoſed themſelues at *Delium*, a little Towne of *Bœotia*, lying ouer againſt the Iland; where was a Temple and Groue, conſecrated vnto *Apollo*, that had the priuiledge of an inuiolable Sanctuary. In this place were ſome of them walking, and beholding the things there to be ſeene, whileſt others were buſied as they found cauſe: without feare of any danger; as being in ſuch a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himſelfe in many vaine Treaties of peace, tooke aduantage of their careleſneſſe, and vſed them with all extremitie of warre. Very few of them eſcaped: fiftie were taken; and the reſt ſlaine. Hereat *Quintius* was grieued: yet ſo, as it pleaſed him well to conſider, that his *Romans* had now more iuſt cauſe than before, to make warre vpon the King.

Antiochus liked well theſe beginnings, and ſent Embaſſadors into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation ſhould perſwade very many to take his part. The wiſer ſort returned ſuch anſwere, as the *Calcidians* had done. Some reſerued themſelues vntill he ſhould come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, He muſt hold them excuſed for not daring to ſtirre; or, if he came, the *Romans* muſt pardon their iuſt feare, in yeelding to the ſtronger. None of thoſe that lay farre off, ioyned with him in true meaning; ſaue the *Eleans*, that alwayes fauoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Achæans*. Little reaſon there was, that he ſhould thinke to draw the *Achæans* to his partie. Neuertheleſſe he aſſayed them, vpon a vaine hope that the enuie, which *Titus* was ſaid to beare vnto *Philopœmens* vertue, had bred a ſecret diſlike betweene that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both Hee and the *Ætolians* ſent Embaſſadours to the Councell at *Ægium*; that ſpared not braue words, if the *Achæans* would haue beene ſo taken. The Kings Embaſſadour told of great Armies and Fleets that were comming; reckoning vp the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimæans* and *Caduſians*; names that were not euery day heard of, and therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydonians*, *Tyrians*, *Arabians*, and *Pamphylians* were; ſuch indeede as could not be reſiſted. Now concerning money and all warlike furniture: it was, he ſaid, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of *Aſia* had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceiued: who conſidering the late warre made againſt *Philip*, did thinke that this with *Antiochus* would proue the like: the caſe was too farre different. Yet this moſt powerfull King, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the vtmoſt parts of the Eaſt; requeſted no more of the *Achæans*, than that they would hold themſelues as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whileſt He tooke order with the *Romans*. To the ſame effect ſpake the *Ætolian* Embaſſador; and further added, That in the battell at *Cynoſcephalæ*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a Generall, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both He and his Armie had beene there deſtroyed, had they not beene protected by vertue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was preſent at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit anſwere, as could haue beene deſired. He told the *Achæans*, That neither the Kings Embaſſadour, nor the *Ætolian*, did ſo greatly labour to perſwade thoſe vnto whom they addreſſed their Orations; as to vaunt themſelues the one vnto the other. So as a man might well diſcerne, what good correſpondence in vanitie it was, that had thus lincked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For euen ſuch bragges as here they made, before the *Achæans* who knew them to be lyers, had the *Ætolians* alſo made vnto King *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victory ouer *Philip* to be meerely their Act: and the whole Countrey of *Greece* to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they beene feaſted by the King, with ſuch tales as his Embaſſadour told euen now; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimæans*, and a many others: that were all but a company of *Syrians*, ſuch as were wont to be ſold about for bondſlaues, and good for little elſe. Theſe diuers names of raſcall people were, he ſaid, like to the diuerſitie of Veniſon, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no ſuch vanter as were theſe Embaſſadours) had ſometime feaſted him. For all that varietie, whereat he wondred, was none other, as his Hoſt then merrily tolde him; than ſo many pieces of one tame ſwine, dreſt after ſeuerall faſhions with varietie of ſawces. Setting therefore aſide this vanity of idle pompe: it were good to make iudgement of the great King, by his preſent doings. He had, notwithſtanding all this great noyſe, no more than tenne thouſand men about him: for which little Armie hee was faine in a manner, to begge victuals of the *Ætolians*; and take vp money at vſurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ranne vp and downe the Countrey; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*, thence backe to *Chalcis*, and being there ſhut out, to *Demetrias* againe. Theſe were the fruits of lyes: wherewith ſince both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they ſhould, as perhaps already they did, repent, whileſt wiſer men tooke heede by their example. To a fauourable Auditory much perſwaſion is needleſſe. The *Achæans* did not loue ſo well the *Ætolians*, as to deſire that they ſhould become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wiſhed to ſee them, of all other, made the verieſt abiects. Wherefore they ſtood not to harken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how he ſped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed warre againſt him, and againſt the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred betweene theſe two Nations grew inueterate; ſufficiently appeares in the ſtorie foregoing. Now haue they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*, the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them vnwiſely: though farre the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent ſpirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Countrie at reſt; there was nothing more greatly to haue beene deſired, than that they might neuer finde occaſion to returne with an Armie thither againe. And in this reſpect ought the *Greekes* to haue ſought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* might recouer their liberty (which had neuer beene held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the Eaſt and Weſt, diuided and kept aſunder by their Countrie, as two Seas by an *Iſthmus* or necke of land, might be kept from ouerflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their ſeeking to make free thoſe baſe *Aſiatiques*, which originally were *Greekiſh*; than the generall applauſe, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their louing offer. Yet were *Lyſimachia*, and the Townes in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cauſe of feare, that ſhould moue them to take armes euen in their owne defence. But if all *Greece* would haue made interceſſion, and requeſted that things might continue as they were, promiſing ioyntly to aſſiſt the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whenſoeuer King *Antiochus* ſhould make the leaſt offer to ſtirre againſt them: then had not onely this quarrell beene at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage ouer the Countrey, had beene farre from growing, as ſoone after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achæans* were at this time, in a manner, the onely Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generouſly declared themſelues altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the reſt gaue doubtfull anſwers of hope vnto both ſides: or if ſome few, as did the *Theſſalians*, were firme againſt *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor ſhewed themſelues his enemies, till he preſſed them with open force. The *Bœotians* willingly receiued him, as ſoone as he entered vpon their borders, not ſo much for feare of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had beene ſomewhat hardly vſed. *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, beſides his old friendſhip with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted, whether he did more fooliſhly ſwallow, or *Antiochus* caſt out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himſelfe to be deſcended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two ſonnes, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of theſe brethren, accompanied his ſiſter to the poore Court of *Athamania*: where hauing made his follie knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; He was iudged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turnes. They made him beleeue, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his foreſather; it was their purpoſe, to doe their beſt for the conqueſt of *Macedon* to his behoofe: ſince no man had thereto ſo good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behoued him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that ſo they might the ſooner haue done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleaſed herewith; and by perſwaſions of himſelfe, or of his ſiſter, effected as much as they deſired. But the firſt piece of ſeruice done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie, in hope to get loue of the *Macedonians* that ſhould be his ſubiects; or whether from ſome vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harme to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to doe good. There were two thouſand men committed to his leading: with which he marched vnto *Cynoſcephalæ*, there to gather vp the bones of the ſlaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had ſuffered all this while to lie vnburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themſelues to thinke on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit all: but King *Philip* tooke it in high indignation; as intended meerely vnto his deſpight. Wherefore he preſently ſent vnto the *Romans*; and gaue them to vnderſtand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein they ſhould be pleaſed to vſe him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubœans*, *Bœotians*, and *Athamanians*, hauing now all ioyned with him; *Antiochus* tooke counſaile of them about the proſecution of the warre in hand. The chiefe queſtion was, Whether it were meet for him to inuade *Theſſalie*, that would not hearken to his perſwaſions; or whether to let all alone vntill the Spring: becauſe it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and ſome another: confirming each his owne ſentence, with the weightieſt reaſons which he could alleadge, as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long beene caſt aſide, as a veſſel of no vſe; but was now required to deliuer his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he ſhould now vtter, was euen the ſame which he would haue ſpoken, had his counſaile at any time before beene asked ſince their comming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Bœotians*, and other their good friends, which now ſo willingly tooke their parts: what were they elſe than ſo many poore Eſtates, that, wanting force of their owne, did adioyne themſelues for feare vnto him, that was ſtrongeſt at the preſent; and would afterwards, when they ſaw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary ſide, alleadging the ſame feare for their excuſe? Wherefore he thought moſt behoouefull, to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* vnto their partie: who (beſides that being once engaged, he ſhould not afterwards haue power to recoyle and forſake them at his pleaſure) was a mighty Prince, and one that had meanes to ſuſtaine the *Roman* Warre with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be eaſily perſwaded to ioyne with them; the benefit likely to redound vnto himſelfe, by their ſocietie, was a very ſtrong Argument: though indeede what neede was there, of prouing by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, ſaid Hee, *Theſe Ætolians here preſent; and namely, this* Thoas, *being lately Embaſſadour from them into Aſia, among other Motiues which he then vſed to excite the King vnto this Expedition, inſiſted mainely on the ſame point. He told vs that* Philip *was moued beyond all patience, with the Lordly inſolence of the Romans: likening that King to ſome wilde beaſt, that was chained or lockt vp within ſome grate, and would faine breake looſe. If this be ſo: let vs breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate, that he may regaine his libertie, and ſatisfie his angry ſtomacke, vpon thoſe that are common Enemies to vs and him. But if it proue otherwiſe, and that his feare be greater than his indignation: then ſhall it behoue vs to looke vnto him; that he may not ſeeke to pleaſe his good maſters the Romans, by offending vs. Your ſonne* Seleucus *is now at Lyſimachia, with part of your Armie: if* Philip *will not hearken to your Embaſſage, let* Seleucus *be in readineſſe, to fall vpon Macedon, and finde him worke to defend his owne on the other ſide, without putting vs here to trouble. Thus much concerning* Philip; *and the preſent War in Greece. But more generally for the managing of this great enterpriſe, wherein now you are embarqued againſt the Romans, I told you my opinion at the beginning: Whereto had you then giuen eare, the Romans by this time ſhould haue heard other newes, than that Chalcis in Eubœa was become ours. Italie & Gaule ſhould haue been on fire with war, and* *little to their comfort, they ſhould haue vnderſtood, that* Hannibal *was againe come into Italie. Neither doe I ſee what ſhould hinder vs euen now from taking the ſame courſe. Send for all your Fleet & Armie hither (but in any caſe let Ships of burden come along with them, loaden with ſtore of victuals: For as the caſe now ſtands, we haue here too few hands, and too many mouthes.) Wherefore let the one halfe be employed againſt Italie; whileſt you in perſon with the other halfe, tarrying on this ſide the Ionian Sea, may both take order for the affaires of Greece, and therewithall make countenance, as if you were euen ready to follow vs into Italie: yea, and be ready to follow vs indeed, if it ſhall be requiſite. This is my aduice; who though perhaps I am not very ſkilfull in all ſorts of warre; yet how to war with the Romans, I haue been inſtructed by long experience, both to their coſt and mine owne. Of this counſaile which I giue, I promiſe you my faithfull and diligent ſeruice for the execution: but what counſaile ſoeuer you pleaſe to follow, I wiſh it may be proſperous.* Many were pleaſed with the great ſpirit of the man, and ſaid he had ſpoken brauely: but of all this was nothing done; ſaue onely that one was ſent into *Aſia*, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with *Theſſalie*; about which they had before diſputed. There when they had won one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne ſtrength, were glad to make ſubmiſſion. But *Lariſſa*, that was chiefe of the Countrey, ſtood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the wals with his whole Armie. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M.Bæbius*, a *Roman* Proprætor did ſend helpe thither. Likewiſe *Philip* of *Macedon* profeſſed himſelfe Enemy vnto *Antiochus*; whereby the fame of the ſuccour comming to *Lariſſa*, grew ſuch, as wrought more than the ſuccour could haue done, had it arriued. For *Antiochus* perceiuing many fires on the Mountaines toppes afarre off; thought that a great Armie of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had beene comming vpon him. Therefore excuſing himſelfe by the time of the yeere; He brake vp his ſiege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in loue with a yong Maiden, daughter vnto a Citizen of the Town; whom, without regard of the much diſproportion that was betweene them, both in yeeres and fortune, He ſhortly married; and ſo ſpent the Winter following, as delightfully as hee could, without thinking vpon the war in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the ſouldiors as readily imitated their Captains: in ſuch wiſe that when he tooke the field, he might euidently perceiue in what looſe manner of diſcipline his Armie had paſſed the Winter. But *M.Acilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Conſul, ſhall meet him very ſhortly, and helpe him to reclaime them from this looſeneſſe of nuptiall Reuels; by ſetting them to harder exerciſe.

M.Acilius was choſen Conſul with *P.Cornelius Scipio Naſica*. The war againſt *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwiſe Hee was no way ſo honourable, as *Naſica* his Colleague: vnto whom fell a charge, of far leſſe credit and importance. *Naſica*, beſides the great Nobility of his Family, had been long ſince, in time of the *Punicke Warre*, crowned with the title of *The beſt man in Rome*: when the Senate, for very feare and ſuperſtition, durſt not haue ſo pronounced him, had they not ſo thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the very beſt, ſhould entertaine an old ſtone, which the Diuell then taught them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prærogatiue of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gaue ſuch aduantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Prouince; or arrogate more vnto himſelfe, than his lot ſhould affoord him. This vnpartiall diſtribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. *P.Scipio* therefore was appointed to make warre againſt the *Boÿans*; wherein hee purchaſed the honour of a Triumph, nothing ſo glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchaſed with harder ſeruice, requiring the more abilitie in matter of war. But *M.Acilius* went ouer into *Greece*, with ten thouſand Foot, two thouſand Horſe, & fifteene Elephants. *Ptolemie* King of *Ægypt*, notwithſtanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*; and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in perſon with all his forces into *Ætolia*, there to aſſiſt the Conſul in this warre. *Ptolemie* ſent alſo gold and ſiluer, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earneſt. But he was too yong, and dwelt too farre off. So his mony was returned vnto him with thankes; and his louing offer as louingly refuſed. Vnto *Philips* Embaſſadours anſwere was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would thinke themſelues beholding to him, for the aſſiſtance that Hee ſhould giue to *Acilius* the

Conſul. *Maſſaniſſa* likewiſe, and the *Carthaginians*, did ſtriue, which of them ſhould be moſt forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promiſed a great quantitie of graine; which they would ſend partly to *Rome*, partly to the Armie in *Greece*. And herein *Maſaniſſa* farre out-went the poore Citie of *Carthage*; as alſo, in that he offered to lend the Conſul fiue hundred Horſe, and twenty Elephants. On the other ſide, the *Carthaginians* vndertooke to ſet out a Fleet at their owne charges: and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-mony, which was behinde, and ought to be diſcharged by many yeerely penſions. But the *Romans* did neither thinke it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeeme themſelues out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne; it was accepted with Condition, That they ſhould be contented to receiue the price of it.

The haſtie and ridiculous iſſue of this war, that began with ſuch noyſe and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, betweene the *Roman* and the *Aſiatick* ſouldior. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few townes of *Acarnania*, after the ſame manner as he had preuailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by faire words, and treaſon of the Rulers; partly by terrour, that was like to proue their excuſe, when they ſhould againe forſake him. But King *Philip* and *Bæbius*, hauing recouered many places; and the *Roman* Conſul being arriued, againſt whom none made reſiſtance; Hee was glad to withdraw himſelfe. *Aminander* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* tooke and enioyed; as in recompence of his good ſeruice to the *Romans*. *Philip*, the brother of *Aminanders* wife, was taken by the Conſul,; made a mocking ſtocke, and ſent away priſoner to *Rome*. The *Theſſalians* vſed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their Cities, one after other, gaue vp themſelues: the Garriſons of *Antiochus*, compounding onely for their owne liues, and departing vnarmed: yet ſo, that a thouſand of them ſtayed behinde, and tooke pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplexe *Antiochus*; who hauing withdrawne himſelfe to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his friends: and ſaid, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toyle during one halfe of a Winter, and ſpent the other halfe in ſuch Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of neede, Hee found all the promiſes of the *Ætolians* meerely verball: and himſelfe reduced into tearmes of great extremitie. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wiſe man, yea a very Prophet, that had fore-ſeene all this long before. Neuertheleſſe He ſent word to the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould now make ready all their forces: as conſidering their own neede to be no leſſe than his. But the *Ætolians* had cauſe to think, that they themſelues were ſhamefully diſappointed by *Antiochus*: who hauing promiſed to doe great wonders, was in all this while ſeconded by no greater numbers out of *Aſia*, than ſo many as would fill vp the ſame ten thouſand which he firſt brought ouer. Yet came there ſome of them, though fewer than at any time before, which ioyned with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better ſatisfaction, then that *Thoas* and his fellowes had done their beſt, in vaine, to haue made all the Nation take armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came ouer to him out of *Aſia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appeare in this time of danger: Hee ſeized vpon the Streights of *Thermopylæ*; as meaning to defend them againſt the *Romans*, vntill more helpe ſhould come.

*l.3.c.6.§.3. Of the Streights of *Thermopylæ* there hath beene ſpoken enough * before, vpon many occaſions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* againſt the huge Armie of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may eaſily be conceiued, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and ſo came onwards into *Theſſalie*, were vnable to paſſe that Ledge of Mountaines, diuiding the one halfe of *Greece*; vnleſſe they could winne this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betweene *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of theſe, with an handfull of men, defended this paſſage two or three dayes together, againſt a World of men comming to inuade the Countrey. The latter, hauing taken vpon him to doe great miracles, and effect what he liſted himſelfe in *Greece*: did commit himſelfe vnto the ſafetie of this place, when he was charged by not many more than hee had in his owne Armie. There whileſt he lay, He ſent earneſt meſſengers one after another to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forſake him thus; but at leaſtwiſe now to helpe, and keepe the toppes of the Mountaines, leſt the *Romans* finding any by-path, ſhould come downe vpon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thouſand, that vndertooke to make good the few paſſages: by which onely, and not without extreme difficulty, it was poſſible for the Enemy to aſcend. The *Roman* Conſul in like ſort, prepared to force the Streights: without ſtaying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by ſickeneſſe from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them beene Conſuls. Theſe he ſent forth by night with two thouſand men, to try whether by any meanes they could get vp to the *Ætolians*. He himſelfe encouraged his Armie: not onely by telling them, with what baſe conditioned enemies they had to deale: but what rich Kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that ſhould bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that night *Cato* had a ſore iourney (for what happened vnto *L. Valerius* it is vncertaine, ſaue onely that he failed in his intent) and ſo much the worſe, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing vp ſteepie Rocks and crooked wayes: He commanded them to repoſe themſelues; whileſt Hee, being a very able man of body, tooke in hand the diſcouery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himſelfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path: which he tooke to be, as indeede it was, the beaſt way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the ſame path till toward breake of day. It was a place not hanted, becauſe in time of peace there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no ſuch trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylæ* beene ſo often the Seat of Warre, as might cauſe any trauailers to ſearch out the paſſages of thoſe deſolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the beſt: yet did it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would ſuffer him to paſſe no further. So he ſtaid there vntill day-light: by which hee diſcouered both the Campe of the *Greekes* vnderneath him; and ſome of the *Ætolians* very neer vnto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore ſent forth a luſtie Crue of his men, whom he thought fitteſt for that ſeruice; and willed them by any meanes to get him ſome priſoners. This was effected: and hee thereby vnderſtood, that theſe *Ætolians* were no more than ſixe hundred; as alſo that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So hee preſently ſet vpon the *Ætolians*; ouerthrew them; ſlue a great part of them; and chaced the reſt, that by flying to their Campe, guided him vnto it. The fight was already begun betweene the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had eaſily repelled the Kings men, and driuen them into their Campe, found it in a maner a deſperate peece of worke to aſſault the Campe it ſelfe; which occupied the whole bredth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were beſt at that kinde of ſeruice; but by Archers and ſlingers that were placed ouer them on the Hill-ſide, and powred downe a ſhowre of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approch determined the matter. It was thought at firſt that the *Ætolians* had beene comming to helpe the Kings men: but when the *Romane* armes and enſignes were diſcouered, ſuch was the terrour, that none made offer of reſiſtance; but all of them forſooke the Campe, and fled. The ſlaughter was not great: for that the badneſſe of the way did hinder the *Romane* Army from making purſuit. Yet this dayes loſſe draue *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence with the firſt opportunitie, got him backe into *Aſia*.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendſhip of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertaine the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: ſetting open their gates; and preſenting themſelues vnto the Conſul, in manner of ſuppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was recouered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætolians* onely ſtanding out, becauſe they knew not what elſe to doe. Neither did the Conſul giue them any reſpite. At his returne from *Chalcis* He met with King *Philip*, that hauing recouered health, came to ioyne with him againſt *Antiochus*: ouer whom ſince the victory was already gotten, Hee did gratulate vnto the *Romans* their good ſucceſſe; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* Warre. So it was agreed, That the Conſul ſhould beſiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip*, *Lamia*; at the ſame time. Each of them plied his worke hard; eſpecially *Philip*, who faine would haue gotten *Lamia* before the Conſul ſhould come to helpe him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that vſed to worke by Myne, were ouermuch hindered by the ſtonie ground. Yet was *Lamia* euen ready to be taken, when the Conſul, hauing won *Heraclea*, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the ſpoyle of theſe Towns was a reward vnto thoſe that had fought at *Thermopylæ*. Herewith *Philip* muſt be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could ſo ill endure to ſee *Philip* in likelihood of thriuing by the *Romans* victory, got not *Lamia* himſelfe: vntill ſuch time as another Conſul was ready to eaſe him of his charge.

The loſſe of *Heraclea* did ſo affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way ſafer than to deſire peace. Yet had they ſent vnto King *Antiochus* preſently after his flight: entreating him not to forſake them vtterly, but either to returne with all thoſe forces which he had purpoſed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing with-held him from comming in perſon, at leaſtwiſe to helpe them with money and other aide. They prayed him to conſider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour; but appertained vnto his owne ſafetie: ſince it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly ſubdued, the *Romans*, without any Enemies at their backes, might ſet vpon him in *Aſia*. He conſidered well of this; and found their words true. Therefore He deliuered vnto *Nicander*, one of their Embaſſadours, a ſumme of money, that might ſerue to defray the charges of the Warre: promiſing that ere long he would ſend them ſtrong aide, both by Land and Sea. *Thoas*, another of their Embaſſadours, Hee retained with him: who willingly ſtayed, that he might vrge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them: then did the *Ætolians* lay aſide all hope of amending their fortune by the helpe of *Antiochus*; and made ſuite vnto the Conſull to obtaine peace, vpon any reaſonable Condition. The Conſul would ſcarce vouchſafe to giue them audience, but ſaid He had other buſineſſe in hand; onely He granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and ſent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would haue deliuered vnto himſelfe. At their comming to *Hypata*; they began, as men fauouring their owne cauſe, to alleadge how well they had deſerued of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of all ſuch good Offices paſt, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had ſhewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe ſo euen betimes, than to ſtay till they were reduced into termes of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themſelues vnto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect ſent Embaſſadours to the Conſul. This phraſe of *committing vnto the faith*; ſignified, in their vſe of it, little elſe, than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the crauing of pardon. But the *Romans* vſed thoſe words in another ſenſe; and counted them all one, as * *yeelding to diſcretion*. Wherefore when the Conſul heard them ſpeake in this manner: He asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They anſwered that it was: and ſhewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpoſe. Then ſaid Hee, I command you firſt of all, That none of yee preſume to goe into *Aſia*, vpon any buſineſſe priuate or publike: then, That yee deliuer vp vnto me *Dicæarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Meneſtratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and ſuch of his Countrimen as haue followed him in reuolting from vs. Whileſt he was yet ſpeaking: *Phameas* the Embaſſadour interrupted him; and prayed him not to miſtake the Cuſtome of the *Greekes*, who had yeelded themſelues *vnto his faith; not vnto ſlauerie. What?* (ſaid the Conſul) ***Doe ye ſtand to plead Cuſtome with me, being now at my diſcretion? Bring hither a chaine.*** With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto euery one of their neckes. This did ſo affright them, that they ſtood dumbe and knew not what to ſay. But *Valerius* and ſome others entreated the Conſul, not to deale thus hardly with them, ſince they *came* as Embaſſadours; though *ſince*, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* alſo ſpake for himſelfe: and ſaid, That neither He nor yet the *Apocleti* or ordinarie Councel of the Nation, were able to fulfill theſe iniunctions; without approbation of the generall Aſſembly. For which cauſe He entreated yet further ten dayes reſpite; and had granted vnto him Truce for ſo long.

* *Lega. excerp. è Polyb. 13.*

This ſurceſance of warre, during ten and other ten dayes together, began preſently after the taking of *Heraclea*; when *Philip* had beene commanded away from *Lamia*, that elſe he might haue wonne. Now becauſe of the indignitie herein offered vnto that King, and to the end that he might not returne home with his Armie, like one that could not be truſted in employment: eſpecially the *Romans* being like hereafter to haue further neede of him, in the continuance of this Warre: He was deſired to ſet vpon the *Athamanians*, and ſome other pettie Nations their borderers, whileſt the Conſul was buſie with the *Ætolians*; taking for his reward, all that He could get. And Hee got in that ſpace all *Athamanta*, *Perrhæbia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians*, hearing what had befalne their Embaſſadours, were ſo enraged, That although they were very ill prouided for Warre; yet they could not endure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened, that *Nicander* about the ſame time was come backe from *Antiochus*, with mony and hopefull promiſes: the *Romans* abiding ſtill about *Heraclea*; and *Philip* hauing lately riſen from before *Lamia*, yet not being farre gone thence. His monie *Nicander* conueighed into *Lamia*, by very vnuſuall dexteritie. But he himſelfe being to paſſe further to the Aſſembly of the *Ætolians*, there to make report of his Embaſſage; was very much perplexed about this his iourney, which lay betweene the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Campes. Yet he made the aduenture: and keeping as farre as they could from the *Roman* ſide, fell vpon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led vnto their King. He expected no good; but either to be deliuered vnto the *Romans*, or vſed ill enough by *Philip*. But it ſeemes, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignitie, of his being ſent away from *Lamia*. For He commanded his ſeruants to entreat *Nicander* friendly: and he himſelfe being then at ſupper, did viſit him as ſoone as he roſe vp: giuing him to vnderſtand; That the *Ætolians* did now reape the fruits of their owne madneſſe; foraſmuch as they could neuer hold themſelues contented, but would needes be calling ſtrangers into *Greece*. They had pleaſed themſelues well, in their acquaintance firſt with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*; but himſelfe, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therefore, He ſaid, high time for them to haue regard vnto his friendſhip, whereof hitherto they had neuer made any triall: for ſurely their good affection, one vnto the other, would be much more auaileable vnto each of them; than their mutuall catching of aduantages; whereby they had wrought themſelues much diſpleaſure. Thus much the King willed *Nicander* to ſignifie vnto his Countrimen; and priuately to hold in minde the courteſie which he then did him, in ſending him ſafe home. So giuing him a Conuoy to gard him to *Hypata*; He louingly diſmiſſed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was alwaies after dutifully affected to the Crowne of *Macedon*: ſo as in the war of *Perſeus* he made himſelfe ſuſpected vnto the *Romans*, and therfore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Conſul vnderſtood, that the *Ætolians* refuſed to make their ſubmiſſion, in ſuch wiſe as he required it: hee foorthwith meant to proſecute the warre againſt them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head againſt him at *Naupactus*: whither hee therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durſt. The ſiege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceiued it: for it was a ſtrong Citie, and well manned. But *Acilius* ſtood vpon point of honour; wherein he thought that he ſhould haue beene a loſer, by riſing from before it without Victory. So He ſtaid there welneere all the following time of his Conſulſhip; whileſt the *Macedonian* King and the *Achæans* made farre better vſe of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is ſaid before, being allowed to take in ſuch places as had reuolted vnto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the ſtrong Citie of *Demetrias*; and with an haſtie courſe of Victory, ſubdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Achæans* called to accompt the *Eleans* and *Meſſenians*: which had long beene addicted to the *Ætolian* ſide; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gaue good words; whereby they ſaued themſelues from trouble awhile. The *Meſſenians* being more ſtout, before they were inuaded; had none other helpe when the *Achæan* Prætor waſted their Countrey, than to offer themſelues vnto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whom they ſent word, That at his Commandement their gates ſhould be opened; but that vnto the *Achæans* it was not their meaning to yeelde. A meſſage from *Titus* to the *Achæan* Prætor, did ſuffice to call home the Armie, and finiſh the Warre: as alſo the peremptorie Command of the ſame *Titus* cauſed the *Meſſenians* to annexe themſelues vnto the *Achæans*, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Maieſtie of a *Roman* Embaſſador. *Titus* did fauour the *Achæans*; yet could not like it well, that either they or any other ſhould take too much vpon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were ſtrong enough to defend it againſt any of their neighbours. That they ſhould make themſelues great Lords, and able to diſpute with the *Romans* vpon euen termes; it was no part of his deſire. They had lately bought the Ile of *Zacynthus* which had once beene *Philips*, and was afterward giuen by him to *Aminander* who ſent a Gouernor thither. But when *Aminander* in this preſent Warre, was driuen out of his owne Kingdome by *Philip*: then did the Gouernour of *Zacynthus* offer to ſell the Iland to the *Achæans*; whom hee found ready Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their owne Caruers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their

their Enemies; as a reward of the victorie which they had obtained. It was bootleſſe to diſpute. Wherefore the *Achæans* referred themſelues vnto his diſcretion. So hee told them, that their Common-wealth was like a Tortoyſe, wherof *Peloponneſus* was the ſhell: and that holding themſelues within that compaſſe, they were out of danger; but if they would needs bee looking abroad, they ſhould lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Hauing ſetled things thus in *Peloponneſus*, Hee went ouer to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the Conſul had laine two moneths, that might haue beene farre better ſpent. There, whether out of compaſſion which hee had vpon the *Ætolians*, or out of diſlike of King *Philips* thriuing ſo faſt: He perſwaded the Conſul to grant vnto the beſieged, and to the whole Nation, ſo long Truce, that they might ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*; and ſubmitting themſelues, craue pardon of the Senate. Moſt like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: elſe would not the *Ætolians* haue made ſuch earneſt ſuit as they did vnto *Titus*, for procuring of this fauour. But if *Glabrio* had beene ſure to carrie it, in any ſhort ſpace: it may well be thought hee would not haue gone away without it; ſince the winning of that Towne, wherein was then the whole floure of the Nation, would haue made the promiſed ſubmiſſion much more humble and ſincere. When they came vnto *Rome*, no entreaty could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of theſe two; That either they ſhould wholly permit themſelues to the good pleaſure of the Senate; Or elſe pay a thouſand Talents, and make neither Peace nor Warre with any, further than as the *Romans* ſhould giue approbation. They had not ſo much mony: neither could they wel hope to bee gently dealt withall, if they ſhould giue themſelues away *vnto diſcretion*; which what it ſignified, they now vnderſtood. Wherefore they deſired to haue it ſet downe, in what points, and how farre forth, they ſhould yeeld vnto the good pleaſure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certaine anſwere: ſo that they were diſmiſſed as enemies, after long and vaine attendance.

Whileſt the *Ætolians* were purſuing their hopes of peace, the Conſull had little to doe in *Greece*; and therefore tooke vpon him grauely to ſet things in order among the tractable *Achæans*. Hee would haue had them to reſtore the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* home into their Countrie; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowſhip of their Common-wealth. This the *Achæans* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romanes* ſhould be medling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the reſtitution of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act of their owne meere grace. As for the *Eleans*: they were loth to be beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to diſparage the *Achæans*: into whoſe Corporation they were deſirous to be admitted; and ſaw that they ſhould haue their deſire, without ſuch compulſiue mediation.

The *Romane* Admirall *C. Liuius*, much about the ſame time, fought a battaile at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admirall to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought helpe to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and fiue and twenty ſaile of *Rhodians* came after the battaile, when they were following the Chace. The Kings Fleet was the better of ſaile: but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquiſhed in fight, was yet out of danger; as ſoone as he betooke himſelfe to a ſpeedie retrait.

And ſuch end had the firſt yeeres warre, betweene King *Antiochus* and the *Romanes*. After this, as many of the *Greekes* as had followed the vaine hopes of the *Ætolians*, were glad to excuſe themſelues by feare; thinking themſelues happy when by Embaſſadours they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie ſide, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemie of late vnto the *Romans*, did now ſend to gratulate this their Victorie: and, in recompence of his good affection, had reſtored vnto him *Demetrius* his yonger ſonne; whom ſome few yeeres they had kept as an hoſtage. Alſo King *Ptolemy* of *Ægypt*, gratulating the *Roman* Victorie, ſent word how greatly all *Aſia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard Hee deſired the Senate not to foreſlow time; but to ſend an Armie, as ſoone as might be, into *Aſia*: promiſing, that his aſſiſtance, wherein ſoeuer it pleaſed them to vſe it, ſhould not bee wanting. This *Ptolemie* was the ſonne-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of Fortune. He vnderſtood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the Contention, that the *Romans* were like to haue the vpper hand. The ſame did *Antiochus* now begin to ſuſpect, who had thought himſelfe a while as ſafe at *Epheſus*, as if he had bin in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not ſo far out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, as out of *Italie* into *Greece*; and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would ſoon be there, and make him try the chance of a battell for his Kingdome.

§. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, *hauing with him* Publius *the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is ſent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the Ætolians, that ſo hee might at leiſure paſſe into Aſia. Much troubleſome buſineſſe by Sea; and diuers fights. An inuaſion vpon* Eumenes *his Kingdome; with the ſiege of Pergamus, rayſed by an handfull of the Achæans.* L.Scipio *the Conſul comes into Aſia: where* Antiochus *moſt earneſtly deſireth peace, and is denied it. The battaile of* Magneſia: *wherein* Antiochus *being vanquiſhed, yeeldeth to the Romanes good pleaſure. The Conditions of the peace. In what ſort the Romanes vſed their Victorie.* L.Cornelius Scipio, *after a moſt ſumptuous triumph ouer* Antiochus, *is ſurnamed The Aſiatique, as his brother was ſtiled The African.*

LVcius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of *P. Scipio* the *African*, was choſen Conſul at *Rome* with *C. Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being deſirous (as generally all Conſuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be ſo pleaſed, the diſpoſition of their Prouinces; without putting it to the hazard of a Lotterie. *Lucius* hauing talked with his brother *Publius*, approued well of the motion. Such a queſtion had not of long time been put vnto the Fathers: who therefore were the more deſirous to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter beeing otherwiſe ſomewhat indifferent; *P. Scipio* the *African* ſaid openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre againſt *Antiochus*, He himſelfe would follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutenant. Theſe words were heard with ſuch approbation, that the controuerſie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied vpon *Hannibal*, & ſhould happen to be directed wholly by that great Captaine: what better man could they oppoſe, than *Scipio*; that had beene victorious againſt that ſame Great Worthy? But indeed a worſer man might haue ſerued well enough the turne. For *Hannibal* had no abſolute Command, nor ſcarce any truſt of great importance: excepting now and then in conſultation; where his wiſedome was much approued, but his libertie and high ſpirit as much diſliked. It is worthy of remembrance; as a ſigne of the freedome that he vſed in his cenſures, euen whileſt hee liued in ſuch a Court. *Antiochus* muſtered his Armie in preſence of this famous Captaine: thinking, as may ſeeme, to haue made him wiſh, that he had beene ſerued by ſuch braue men in *Italie*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with ſuch coſtly furniture of Gold, Siluer, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible brauery on a Sun-ſhine day. Whereupon the King, well pleaſing himſelfe with that goodly ſpectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romanes*. *Enough* (ſaid *Hannibal*) *were the Romanes the moſt couetous men in all the world*: meaning, that all this Coſt vpon the backes of Cowardly *Aſiatiques*, was no better than a ſpoyle to animate good Souldiers. How little this anſwere pleaſed the King, it is eaſie to gheſſe. The little vſe that he made of this *Carthaginian*, teſtifies that his diſlike of the man, cauſed him to loſe the vſe of his ſeruice, when he ſtood in greateſt neceſſitie thereof.

The *Scipio's* made all haſte away from *Rome* as ſoone as they could. They carried with them, beſides other Souldiers newly preſt to the warre, about fiue thouſant Voluntaries, that had ſerued vnder *P. Africanus*. There was alſo a Fleet of thirty Quinquereme Gallies, and twenty Triremes newly built, appointed vnto *L. Æmilius Regillus*, that was choſen Admirall the ſame yeere for that voyage. At their comming into *Greece*, they found the old Conſul *Glabrio* beſieging *Amphyſſa* a Citie of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* after that they were denied peace, had expected him once againe at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not onely fortified that Towne: but kept all the paſſages thereto leading; which heedleſſely, as in a time of confuſion, they had left vnregarded the laſt yeere. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceiued their expectation, and fell vpon *Lamia*: which being not long ſince much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the ſudden; was carried at the ſecond aſſault. Thence went He to *Amphyſſa*: which he had almoſt gotten; when *L. Scipio*, his ſucceſſor, came with thirteene thouſand Foot, and fiue hundred Horſe, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of *Amphyſſa* was preſently forſaken by the inhabitants, but they had a Caſtle, or higher Towne, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embaſſadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalfe of the *Ætolians*:

lians: entreating him to ſtand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining ſome tollerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words: and willed them to perſwade the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould faithfully and with true meaning deſire it. This was gladly taken. But many meſſages paſſing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Conſul made ſtill the ſame anſwere, with which they had been chaced from *Rome*. The concluſion was, That they ſhould ſue for a longer time of reſpite from warre: whereby at more leiſure they might attend ſome better diſpoſition of the Senate; or any helpefull commoditie which time ſhould afford. So they obtained halfe a yeeres truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another halfe yeeres leiſure of breathing. Heereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time loſt, which with-held the Warre from paſſing ouer into *Aſia*.

The buſineſſe of *Ætolia* being thus laide aſide: and the old Conſul *Glabrio* ſent home into *Italie*: the *Scipio's* marched into *Theſſalie*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* & *Thrace* vnto the *Helleſpont*. Yet they conſidered, That hereby they muſt commit themſelues vnto the loyaltie of King *Philip*: who might either doe them ſome miſchiefe by the way, if he were diſpoſed to watch a notable aduantage: or at the leaſt, would be vnfaithfull; though he were not ſo couragious, yet might hee take ſuch order with the *Thracians*, that euen for want of victualls, if by no greater inconuenience, they ſhould be diſgracefully forced to returne. Hee had promiſed them the vtmoſt of his furtherance: wherein, whether hee meant ſincerely, they thought to make ſome triall; by cauſing a Gentleman to ride Poſt vnto him, and obſerue his doings as he ſhould take them on the ſudden. The King was merry at a feaſt, and drinking, when the Meſſenger came: whom he louingly bade welcome; and ſhewed him the next day, not only what prouiſion of victualls he had made for the Armie, but how he had made bridges ouer the riuers, and mended the badde wayes by which they were to paſſe. With theſe good newes *Gracchus* returned backe in haſte vnto the *Scipio's*: who entring into *Macedon*, found all things in a readineſſe, that might helpe to aduance their iourny. The King entertained them royally; and brought them on their way, euen to the *Helleſpont*: where they ſtayed a good while, vntill their Nauie was in readineſſe to tranſport them into *Aſia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the moſt part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admirall of *Antiochus*, was a baniſhed *Rhodian*: true to the King; and deſirous of reuenge vpon his Countreymen that had expelled him. Hee, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* hauing not as yet put to Sea; thought to doe ſomewhat vpon thoſe that were ſo early in their diligence, before their followers ſhould arriue to helpe them. Yet went he craftily to worke; and ſent word, as in great ſecrecie, to the *Rhodian* Admirall, That if the ſentence of his baniſhment might be repealed, He would, in requitall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleete. After many paſſages to and fro, this was beleeued: and the *Rhodian* Admirall grew ſo careleſſe, expecting ſtill when he ſhould receiue a watch-word from *Polyxenidas*, that hee himſelfe was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his owne Hauen. The Kings Fleete ſet foorth from *Epheſus* by night; and, for feare of being diſcouered, reſting one day in a harbour by the way; came the ſecond night to *Samos*: where, by morning, it was ready to enter the Hauen. *Pauſiſtratus* the *Rhodian* Admirall ſeeing this, thought it his beſt way of reſiſtance, to beſtow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Hauen; ſo to guard the mouth of it: for that he ſaw no likelihood of defending himſelfe by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed ſome Companies, in another part of the Iland: which falling vpon the backe of *Pauſiſtratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confuſion: ſo as the enemies tooke him out of all order; and ſunke or boorded all his Nauie, fiue excepted, that by a ſudden deuice made ſhift to eſcape. Each of them hung out a burning Creſſet vpon two poles, at the Beake-head: and then rowed forwards directly vpon the Enemie: who hauing not bethought himſelfe what ſhift to make againſt ſuch vnexpected danger of firing, was content to giue way vnto theſe deſperate Gallies; for feare leſt they ſhould burne, together with themſelues, a part of the Kings Fleete.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had ſome loſſe by tempeſt: wherof *Polyxenidas* could not take ſuch aduantage as hee had hoped; becauſe, putting to Sea for that purpoſe, Hee was driuen backe againe by the like foule weather. But the *Rhodians*, to ſhew that they were not diſcouraged, ſet forth twentie other Gallies: the *Romans* alſo with King *Eumenes* repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great brauerie, preſented battaile to *Polyxenidas* before the Hauen of *Epheſus*. When hee durſt not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as eyther they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perſwaded by ſome appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by ſtormes at Sea; and another while by ſtrong reſiſtance, made againſt them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forſake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For *Antiochus* waſted all the grounds about *Elæa* & *Pergamus*: and leauing his ſonne *Seleucus* to beſiege the royall Citie of *Pergamus*: did with the reſt of his Armie ſpoyle the whole Countrey thereabout. *Attalus*, the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; hauing with him no better men to defend the Citie, than were they that lay againſt it. Wherefore he had reaſon to ſtand in feare; being too much inferiour in number. There came to his aid a thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe of the *Achæans*: old ſouldiers all, and trayned vp vnder *Philopœmen*; whoſe Scholler, in the Art of warre, *Diophanes* their Commander was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high Towne, the demeanour of the Enemie; began to diſdain that ſuch men as they ſhould hold them beſieged. For *Seleucus* his Armie which was encamped at the hill-foot, ſeeing that none durſt ſallie forth vpon them, grew ſo careleſſe: as otherwiſe, than by ſpoyling all behinde their backes, they ſeemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrie. *Diophanes* therfore ſpake with *Attalus*: and told them that he would goe foorth, encamped not farre from the Enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the beſiegers; they wondred at firſt what his meaning was: but when they ſaw that he held himſelfe quiet, they made a ieſt of his boldneſſe; and laughed to ſee with what an handfull of men he looked ſo ſtoutly. So they returned vnto their former negligence and diſorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiuing, He commanded all his men to follow him, euen as faſt as they well might: and he himſelfe, with the hundred Horſe, brake out on the ſudden vpon the Station that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their Horſes readie ſaddled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to make reſiſtance: ſo as He draue them all out of their Campe; and chaſed them as farre as he might ſafely aduenture, with great ſlaughter of them, and no loſſe of his owne. Heereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had couered the wals of the Towne, men and women, to behold this ſpectacle) were very ioyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of theſe *Achæans*. Yet would they not therefore iſſue forth of their gates, to helpe the *Achæans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than he had done before: and againſt him went foorth *Diophanes* the ſecond time; who quietly reſted a while in his old Station. When they had ſtaied many houres, looking who ſhould begin: *Seleucus*, in faire order as he came, withdrew himſelfe toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moued not whileſt the Enemie was in ſight: but as ſoone as the ground betweene them hindred the proſpect, hee followed them in all haſte, and ſoone ouertaking them with his Horſe, charged them in Rere; ſo as he brake them, and with all his forces purſued them at the heeles, to their very Trenches. This boldneſſe of the *Achæans*, and the baſeneſſe of his owne men, cauſed *Seleucus* to quit the ſiege, little to this honour. Such being the qualitie of theſe *Aſiatiques*; *Philopœmen* had cauſe to tell the *Romans*, That he enuied their victorie. For when *Antiochus* lay feaſting at *Chalcis* after his mariage, and his ſouldiors betooke themſelues to Riot, as it had beene in a time of great ſecurity: a good man of warre might haue cut all their throates, euen as they were tipling in their victualling houſes; which *Philopœmen* ſaid that he would haue done, had He beene Generall of the *Achæans*, and not, as he then was, a priuate man.

Antiochus was full of buſines: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of trauaile, brought almoſt nothing to paſſe. Hee had beene at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leauing the *Romanes*, did put himſelfe with a few of his Horſe and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his ſonne as before hath beene ſhewed, & went to *Elæa*: whither he heard that *Æmylius* the *Roman* Admiral was come, to bring ſuccour to *Eumenes*. There hee made an Ouerture of peace: about which to conſult, *Eumenes* was ſent for by *Æmylius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was conſidered, that no concluſion could be made without the Conſul; this Treatie brake off. Then followed the Ouerthrow newly mentioned; which cauſed *Seleucus* to giue ouer the ſiege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, foure or fiue Townes of ſcarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of ſeuen and thirty Sayle, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victorie the *Rhodians* had no great cauſe to reioyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admirall of the *Syrians*, did them in manner as great hurt as they could doe to *Apollonius*; and hauing the victory taken out of his hand by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made ſuch a retrait, that the *Rhodians* durſt not farre aduenture vpon him. Now of theſe Actions which were but as Præfaces vnto the warre; the laſt and greateſt was a victorie of the *Romanes* by Sea, againſt *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admirall. The battaile was fought by *Myonneſus* a Promontorie in *Aſia*: where *Polyxenidas* had with him fourſcore and nine Gallies; and fiue of them greater, than any of the *Romans*. This being all the ſtrength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of thoſe brags, wherewith *Antiochus* vanted the laſt yeere, That his *Armada* ſhould couer all the ſhores of *Greece*. The *Romanes* had eight and fiftie Gallies; the *Rhodians*, two and twenty: the *Roman* being the ſtronger built, and more ſtoutly manned; the *Rhodian* more light-timbred and thin planckt, hauing all aduantage of ſpeede, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themſelues by the ſame deuice; with which, fiue of their Gallies had lately eſcaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their prowes they ran vpon the Enemy: who declining them for feare, laid open his ſide: and was thereby in greater danger of being ſtemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Nauie hoyſted ſaile: and hauing a faire winde, bore away toward *Epheſus* as faſt as they could. Yet fortie of their Gallies they left behinde them: whereof thirteene were taken: all the reſt burnt or ſunke. The *Romans* and their fellowes loſt only two or three ſhippes: but got heereby the abſolute Maſterie of the Sea.

The report of this miſaduenture, may ſeeme to haue taken from *Antiochus* all vſe of reaſon. For as if no hope had beene remayning, to defend thoſe places that hee held in *Europe*: He preſently with-drew his Garriſons from *Lyſimachia*: which might eaſily haue beene kept, euen till the end of Winter following, and haue reduced the beſiegers (if the ſiege had beene continued obſtinately) vnto termes of great extremitie. Hee alſo gaue ouer the ſiege of *Colophon*: and laying aſide all thought ſaue onely of defence, drew together all his Armie; and ſent for helpe to his father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Conſul, without impediment, not onely came to the *Helleſpont*, but had yeelded vnto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* ſide. The Fleet was then alſo in readineſſe, to tranſport him ouer into *Aſia*: where *Eumenes* had taken ſuch care before, that Hee landed quietly at his owne good eaſe; euen as if the Countrie had beene his alreadie. The firſt newes that he heard of the Enemie, was by an Embaſſador that came to ſue for peace. This Embaſſador declared in his Maſters name, That the ſame things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romanes* heeretofore, did now perſwade him, that he ſhould eaſily come to good agreement with them. For in all diſputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, and *Lyſimachia*, had beene the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now alreadie giuen ouer *Lyſimachia*; and was further purpoſed, not to ſtriue with the *Romans* about *Lampſacus* and *Smyrna*: what reaſon was there, why they ſhould need to trouble him with warre? If it was their deſire, that any other Townes vpon the Coaſt of *Aſia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, ſhould bee alſo ſet at libertie, or otherwiſe deliuered into their hands: the King would not refuſe to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take ſome part of *Aſia*: ſo as the bounds, diuiding them from the King, might not be vncertaine; and it ſhould bee quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough: the King would likewiſe beare halfe the Charges, whereat they had beene in this warre. So praying the *Romanes* to hold themſelues content with theſe good offers, and not to bee too inſolent vpon confidence of their fortune; He expected their anſwere. Theſe offers which to the Embaſſadour ſeemed ſo great, were iudged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reaſonable, that the King ſhould beare all the charges of the warre, ſince it began through his owne fault: and that He ſhould not onely depart out of theſe few Townes, which he held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*; but quite out of *Aſia the leſſe*, and keep himſelfe on the other ſide of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embaſſadors therefore ſaw, that no better bargaine could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in priuate: and to him he promiſed a great quantitie of gold, together with the free reſtitution of his ſonne; who (it is vncertaine by what miſchance) was taken priſoner, and moſt honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwiſe to the reſtitution of his ſonne, than vpon Condition, That it might bee with making ſuch amends for the benefit, as became a priuate man. As for the publike buſineſſe: He onely ſaid thus much, That ſince *Antiochus* had alreadie forſaken *Lyſimachia,* and ſuffered the warre to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, ſaid He, tell your King in my name, that I would aduiſe him to refuſe no Condition whereby he may haue peace.

The King was not any whit moued with this aduice. For ſeeing that the Conſul demanded of him no leſſe, than if he had beene alreadie ſubdued: little reaſon there was that he ſhould feare to come to battaile; wherein he could loſe, as he thought, no more, than by ſeeking to auoid it he muſt giue away. Hee had with him threeſcore and tenne thouſand Foot, and twelue thouſand Horſe; beſides two and fifty *Indian* Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or ſythes, according to the manner of the Eaſterne Countries. Yet was he nothing pleaſed, to heare that the Conſul drew neere him apace as one haſtning to fight. But howſoeuer he was affected; He made ſo little ſhew of feare, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie ſicke at *Elæa*, He ſent thither vnto him his ſonne without ranſome: as one both deſirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his ſickeneſſe, and withall not deſirous to retaine the yong Gentleman for a pledge of his owne ſafetie. Thus ought his bountie to be conſtant. Otherwiſe it might be ſuſpected, That heerein hee dealt craftily. For ſince he could haue none other ranſome of *Scipio*, than ſuch as an honourable man, that had no great ſtore of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe ſuch a courteſie before the battell, as would afterwards haue beene little worth; than to ſtay vntill the *Romanes*, perhaps victorious, ſhould exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recouerie of his ſonne: ſo as the ioy thereof was thought, to haue beene much auaileable vnto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanitie, Hee ſaid onely thus much vnto thoſe that brought him this acceptable Preſent, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by aduiſing him not to fight vntill hee ſhall heare that I am in the Campe.* What he meant by this, it is hard to coniecture. *Antiochus* reſolued to follow his counſaile: and therefore withdrew himſelfe from about *Thyatira*, beyond the Riuer of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, vnto *Magneſia* by *Sipylus:* where encamping, Hee fortified himſelfe as ſtrongly as hee could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Conſul; and ſate downe within foure miles of him. About a thouſand of the Kings Horſe, moſt of them *Gallo-Greekes*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at firſt they ſlew ſome; and were anon, with ſome loſſe driuen backe ouer the Riuer. Two daies were quietly ſpent, whileſt neither the King nor the *Romans* would paſſe the water. The third day the *Romanes* made the aduenture: wherein they found no diſturbance, nor were at all oppoſed, vntill they came within two miles and a halfe of *Antiochus* his Campe. There as they were taking vp their lodging, they were charged by three thouſand Horſe and Foote: whom their ordinarie *Corps du gard* repelled. Foure dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and ſet them in order before the Trenches, without aduancing any further. The fift day the *Romans* came halfe way forward, and preſented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Conſul tooke aduice what was to be done. For either they muſt fight vpon whatſoeuer diſaduantage, or elſe reſolue to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore ſubiect vnto many difficulties: vnleſſe they would ſtaine their honour by returning farre backe, to winter in a more conuenient place; and ſo defer the warre vntill the next Spring. The *Roman* ſouldier was throughlie perſwaded of that Enemies baſe temper. Wherefore it was the generall Crie, That this great Armie ſhould be aſſayled, euen in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were ſo many beaſts to be ſlaughtered, than men to bee fought with. Yet a day or two paſſed, in diſcouering the fortifications of *Antiechus*, and the ſafeſt way to ſet vpon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being very loth to diſhearten his men, by ſeeming to ſtand in feare of the Enemie, reſolued to put the matter to triall. So when the *Romans* tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battells:

Hee alſo did the like; and aduanced ſo farre, that they might vnderſtand his meaning to fight.

The *Romane* Armie conſiſted of foure Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latine:* in each of which were fiue thouſand and foure hundred men. The *Latines*, as vſually, were in the points; the *Romans*, in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted form, were diuided into Maniples. The *Haſtati* had the leading: after them follow the *Principes*, at ſuch diſtance as was vſuall; and laſt of all, the *Triarij*. Now beſide theſe, there were about three thouſand Auxiliaries; partly *Achæans*; and partly ſuch as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Vtmoſt of all (ſaue ſome fiue hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trallians*) were almoſt three thouſand Horſe: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the reſt being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the riuer: yet foure Troups of horſe were placed there, though ſuch helpe ſeemed in a manner needleſſe. Two thouſand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Campe. The Conſul had with him ſixeteene *African* Elephants, which he beſtowed in his Rere: foraſmuch as had they come to fight with thoſe of *Antiochus*, they onely would haue ſerued to diſcourage his men; as beeing ſure to bee beaten: the *Indian* beeing farre the greater, and more couragious beaſts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewiſe much aduantage in number.

The Kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diuerſly appointed, and not all accuſtomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the ſeuerall kindes, in ſuch wiſe as each might be of moſt vſe. The maine ſtrength of his Foote conſiſted in ſixteene thouſand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. Theſe hee placed in the middeſt, and diuided into tenne Battalions: euery one hauing two and thirty in File, and fiftie in Front. Betweene euery Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beaſts, and ſuch as being adorned with Frontals, high Creſts, Towers on their backes, and beſides him that gouerned the Elephant, foure men in euery Tower, made a gallant and terrible ſhew. On the right hand of theſe were fifteene hundred Horſe of the *Gallo-Greekes*: then, three thouſand Barbd Horſe: and a Regiment of almoſt a thouſand Horſe, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Countrie, and accompanied by ſome others. All which Troupes of Horſe, diuided in their ſeuerall kindes, doe ſeeme to haue followed one another in depth, rather than to haue bin ſtretched out in Front. Adioyning vnto theſe, were ſixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment; called the *Argyraſpides*, or *Siluerſhields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like ſo valiant as thoſe of the ſame name, that had ſerued vnder Great *Alexander:* then, twelue hundred Archers on horſebacke, three thouſand light-armed Footee, two thouſand and fiue hundred Archers of *Myſia*; with foure thouſand ſlingers and Archers of the *Cirtæans*, & *Elymæans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greekes*, and Barbd Horſe: as alſo two thouſand Horſe that were ſent from *Ariarathes*, with two thouſand and ſeuen hundred of diuers Nations; and a Regiment of a thouſand Horſe more lightly armed, that were called *the Kings Troup*, being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In front of all theſe Horſe were the Chariots armed with hooks or ſythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon ſate *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would ſerue to reach from thoſe high Camels. Beyond theſe were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Piſidians*, *Cyrtæans*, *Elymæans*, and manie others, hauing alſo with them ſixteene Elephants. *Antiochus* himſelfe commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principall Captains commanded ouer the *Phalangiers*.

The firſt on-ſet was giuen by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horſe; the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foote; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, eaſily made fruſtrate the danger threatned by them both. For with ſhowtings, and noyſes, and ſome wounds, they were driuen out of the fielde; and running backe vpon their owne men, did the ſame harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Romane* Horſe following this aduantage, charged vpon the left wing: whereas they found no reſiſtance; ſome being out of order; others being without courage. It is ſhamefull to rehearſe, and ſo ſtrange, that it may hardly ſeeme credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with ſuch varieties of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no reſiſtance; but all of them fledde, in a manner, as ſoone as they were charged. Onely the King, *Antiochus* himſelfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaile: and ſeeing the *Latines*, that ſtood oppoſite vnto him, weakely flanked with Horſe: gaue vpon them couragiouſly, and forced them to retire. But *M. Æmilius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Campe, iſſued forth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by perſwaſion, what by threates made them renew the fight. Succour alſo came from the right wing, where the *Romanes* were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* diſcouered the approach; Hee not onely turned his Horſe about, but ranne away vpon the ſpur without further tarriance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is ſaid to haue loſt in this battaile fiftie thouſand Foot, and foure thouſand Horſe; beſides thoſe that were taken. Of the *Romanes*, there were not ſlaine aboue three hundred Foot, and foure and twenty Horſe: of *Eumenes* his followers fiue and twenty.

Antiochus fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the ſame night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the cuſtodie of *Sardes*, and the Caſtle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Townſmen and Souldiors were ſo diſmayed with the greatneſſe of the Ouerthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in thoſe parts, without expecting ſummons, yeelded vp themſelues by Embaſſadors: whom they ſent to the *Romanes*, whileſt they were on the way. Neither were many daies ſpent, ere *Antiochus* his Embaſſador was in the Campe: hauing none other errand, than to know what it would pleaſe the *Romanes* to impoſe vpon the King his Maſter. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother, who obtained leaue to make the anſwere, becauſe that it ſhould bee gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he ſhould quite abandon his Dominions on this ſide *Taurus*. For their charges in that Warre, they required fifteene thouſand Talents: fiue hundred in hand; two thouſand and fiue hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* ſhould haue confirmed the peace; and the other twelue thouſand, in twelue yeeres next enſuing by euen portions. Likewiſe they demanded foure hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and ſome ſtore of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now beſides twentie hoſtages which they required, very earneſt they were to haue *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with ſome others who had ſtirred vp the King to this warre, deliuered into their hands. But any wiſe man might ſo eaſily haue perceiued, that it would be their purpoſe to make this one of their principall demands; as no great art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embaſſadour had full commiſſion, to refuſe nothing that ſhould be enioyned. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to ſend immediatelie to *Rome* for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Conſuls choſen in the meane while at *Rome*, *M. Fuluius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volſo*. The *Ætolians* deſired peace, but could not obtaine it: becauſe they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Conſuls ſhould make warre vpon the *Ætolians*; the other, vpon *Antiochus* in *Aſia*. Now though ſhortly there came newes that *Antiochus* was already vanquiſhed in battaile, and had ſubmitted himſelfe vnto all that could be required at his hands: yet ſince the State of *Aſia* was not like to bee ſo throughly ſetled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Aſia* fell by lot, had not his Prouince changed.

Soone after this, came the Embaſſadours of King *Antiochus* to *Rome*, accompanied with the *Rhodians* and ſome others: yea by King *Eumenes* in perſon; whoſe preſence added a goodly luſtre to the buſineſſe in hand. Concerning the peace to bee made with King *Antiochus*, there was no diſputation: it was generally approoued. All the trouble was, about the diſtribution of the purchaſe. King *Eumenes* reckoned vp his own deſerts, and comparing himſelfe with *Maſaniſſa*, hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountifull to him than they had beene to the *Numidian*, ſince they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Maſaniſſa* was onely ſuch in title; and ſince both hee and his Father had alwaies beene their friends, euen in the very worſt of the *Romane* fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what hee would haue: He ſtill referring himſelfe to their courteſie; and they deſiring him to ſpeake plaine. At the length hee craued they would beſtow vpon him, as much of the Country by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpoſe to keepe in their owne hands. Neither thought he it needfull, that they ſhould trouble themſelues with the care of giuing liberty to many of the *Greeke* Towns, that were on *Aſia* ſide. For ſince the moſt of thoſe Townes had beene partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reaſon that they ſhould be gainers by his ouerthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They deſired the Senate to bee truely Patrons of the *Grecian* libertie; and to call to minde, that no ſmall part of *Greece* it ſelfe had bin ſubiect vnto *Philip*, and ſerued him in his Warre: which was not alleadged againſt him as a cauſe why they ſhould not be made free, after that *Philip* was ouercome. But the maine point whereon they inſiſted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* againſt King *Antiochus* was ſo great, as eaſily might ſatisfie the deſires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifully gaue away ſo much, that euery one had cauſe to be well pleaſed.

Such end had the Warre againſt King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld vntill that day. Now foraſmuch as the ſurname of *The African* had beene giuen vnto *P. Scipio*, it was thought conuenient by ſome, to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Aſiatick*: which the fortune of his Victorie had no leſſe deſerued; though the vertue, requiſite to the purchaſe thereof, was no way correſpondent.

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§. IX.

The Ætolians, and the Gallogreekes, vanquiſhed by the Roman Conſuls Fuluius *and* Manlius. Manlius *hardly obtaines a Triumph: being charged (among other obiections) with attempting to haue paſſed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by* Sibyl. *Of* Sibyls *Prophecies; the Bookes of* Hermes; *and that Inſcription,* Simoni Deo Sancto. *The ingratitude of Rome to the two* Scipio's: *and that beginning and faction among the Romane Nobilitie.*

MArc. *Fuluius* and *Cn. Manlius* had the ſame charge diuided betweene them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now ſtyled *Aſiaticus*, had lately vndergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at once to *Greece* and to *Aſia*. And for this reaſon was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted ſo long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But ſince, in this long *Interim* of Truce, that haughtie little Nation had not ſought to humble it ſelfe to the *Romane Maieſtie*, it was now to bee brought vnto more lowlie termes than any other of the *Greekes*. The beſt was, that ſo great a ſtorme fell not vnexpected vpon the *Ætolians*. They had foreſeene the danger, when their Embaſſadours were vtterly denied peace at *Rome*: and they had prouided the laſt remedie; which was, to entreate the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become interceſſours for them. Neyther were they ſo deiected, with any terrible apprehenſions, that they could not well deuiſe, euen vpon helping themſelues, by repurchaſe of Countries loſt, where they ſpied aduantage.

Poore King *Aminander* liued in exile among them, whileſt *Philip* of *Macedon* kept for him, poſſeſſion of his Lands and Caſtles. But the *Athamanians* (beſides that manie of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) hauing beene long accuſtomed to ſerue a Mountaine Lord, that conuerſed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and inſolent manner of commaund, vſed by the Captaines of *Philip* his Garriſons. They ſent therefore ſome few of them to their King, and offered their ſeruice toward his reſtitution. At the firſt there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which vndertooke the worke. Yet aſſurance, that all the reſt would follow, made *Aminander* willing to trie his fortune. Hee was at the borders with a thouſand *Ætolians*, vpon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers hauing diuided themſelues into foure parts, occupied, by the readie aſſiſtance of the multitude, foure of the chiefe Townes in the Countrie, to his vſe. The fame of this good ſucceſſe at firſt; with diuers letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their beſt in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of *Philip* vnable to thinke vpon reſiſtance. One of them held the Towne of *Theium* a few dayes; giuing thereby ſome leiſure vnto his King to prouide for the reſcue. But when he had done his beſt, he was forced thence; and could onely tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was loſt. *Philip* had brought from home ſixe thouſand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in ſuch a running march, hee left all ſaue two thouſand behinde him, and ſo came to *Athenæum*, a little *Athamanian* Caſtle, that ſtill was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he ſent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying ouer *Argithea*, that was chiefe of the Countrie. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither hee, nor the King had the boldneſſe to deſcend vpon *Argithea*; for that, they might perceiue the *Athamanians*, all along the hill ſides, ready to come downe vpon them, when they ſhould be buſie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a ſafe retreat: eſpecially when *Aminander* came in ſight with his thouſand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back, from-wards *Argithea*, and preſently withdrawn by their King towards his own borders. But they were not ſuffered to depart in quiet at their pleaſure. The *Athamanians* and *Ætolians* way-layd them, and purſued them ſo cloſely, that their retrait was in manner of a plaine flight, with great loſſe of men and armes; few of thoſe eſcaping, that were left behinde, as to make a countenance of holding ſomewhat in the Countrey, vntill *Philip* his returne.

The *Ætolians* hauing found the buſineſſe of *Athamania* ſo eaſie, made an attempt in their owne behalfe, vpon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. Theſe had belonged vnto their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently reuolted, and became *Ætolian* againe. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had beene euer belonging to the *Macedonian*, and ſo did ſtill purpoſe to continue. Theſe tooke Armes at firſt: but ſoone layed them away; ſeeing their neighbors ready to fight with them in the *Ætolian* quarrell, and ſeeing their owne King ſo haſtily gone, as if he meant not to returne.

Of theſe victories the ioy was the leſſe; for that newes came of *Antiochus* his laſt ouerthrow, and of *M. Fuluius* the new Conſul his haſting with an armie into *Greece*. *Aminander* ſent his excuſes to *Rome*, praying the Senate, not to take it in deſpight, that hee had recouered his owne from *Philip* with ſuch helpe as he could get. Neither ſeemes it that the *Romanes* were much offended to heare of *Philip* his loſſes: for of this fault they neither were ſharpe correctors, nor earneſt reprouers. *Fuluius* went in hand with the buſineſſe, about which he came, and layed ſiege to *Ambracia*, a goodly Citie, that had beene the chiefe ſeate of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdome. With this he began; for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Ætolians*: yet could not by them be relieued, vnleſſe they would aduenture to fight vpon equall ground. To helpe the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were, at the ſame time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at ſea, and ready to be driuen from their new conqueſt, by *Perſeus* the ſonne of *Philip*, who inuaded the Countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were vnable to deale with ſo many at once; and therefore as earneſtly ſought peace with the *Romans*, as they ſtoutly made head againſt the reſt. In the meane while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embaſſadours came; who beſought the Conſul to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made ſtrong reſiſtance, and would not bee terrified, by any violence of the aſſaylants, or danger that might ſeeme to threaten. The Conſul had no deſire to ſpend halfe his time about one Citie, and ſo bee driuen to leaue vnto his ſucceſſour the honour of finiſhing the Warre. Wherefore hee gladly hearkened vnto the *Ætolians*, and bade them ſeeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouerdeare, at a reaſonable price; conſidering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the ſame purchaſe. Hee alſo gaue leaue to *Aminander*, offering his ſeruice as a mediatour, to put himſelfe into *Ambracia*, and trie what good his perſwaſions might doe with the Citizens. So, after many demaunds and excuſes, the concluſion was ſuch as was grieuous to the weaker, but not vnſufferable. The ſame Embaſſadours of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians*, accompanied thoſe of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this interceſſion, for that *Philip* had made a verie grieuous complaint about the loſſe of thoſe Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Heereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace, which thoſe good Mediatours of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earneſtly ſollicite. The *Ætolians* were bound to vphold the Maieſtie of the people of *Rome*, and to obſerue diuers Articles, which made them the leſſe free, and more obnoxious to the *Romanes*, than any people of *Greece*; they hauing beene the firſt that called theſe their Maſters into the Countrie. The Ile of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romanes*: who kept it for themſelues (as not long ſince they had gotten *Zacinthus* from the *Achæans*, by ſtiffely preſſing their owne right) that ſo they might haue poſſeſſion along the coaſt of *Greece*, whileſt they ſeemed to forbeare the Countrey. But concerning thoſe places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claime, there was ſet down an Order ſo perplexed, as would neceſſarily require to haue the *Romans* Iudges of their controuerſies, when they ſhould ariſe. And heereof good vſe will bee ſhortly made: when want of employment elſewhere, ſhall cauſe a more Lordly Inquiſition to be held, vpon the affaires of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

Cn. Manlius, the other Conſull, had at the ſame time warre in *Aſia*, with the *Gallo-Greekes* and others. His Armie was the ſame that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whoſe victorie, his acts were the conſummation. He viſited thoſe Countries on the hither ſide of *Taurus*, that had ſcarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among theſe were ſome petty Lords, or Tyrants, ſome free Cities, and ſome that were together at Warres, without regard of the great alteration happened in *Aſia*. From euery of theſe hee got ſomewhat; and by their quarrells found occaſion to viſite thoſe Prouinces, into which hee ſhould elſe haue wanted an errand. Hee was euen loaden with bootie, when, hauing fetcht a compaſſe about *Aſia*, he came at length vpon the *Gallogreekes*. Theſe had long domineered ouer the Countrie: though of late times it was rather the fame and terror of their fore-paſſed acts, than any preſent vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately ſuch triall, when they did ſerue vnder King *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themſelues farre the worſe men. Wherefore they thought it no ſmall part of their ſafetie, that they dwelt vpon the Riuer *Halys*, in an In-land Countrie, where thoſe enemies were not very like to ſearch them out. But when ſuch hopes failed; and when ſome Princes of their owne Nation, that had beene friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the reſt to yeeld: then there was no counſaile thought ſo good, as to forſake their houſes and Countrie, and, with all that they could carrie or driue, to betake themſelues vnto the high mountaines of *Olympus* and *Margana*. Theſe mountaines were exceeding hard of aſcent, though none ſhould vndertake the cuſtodie. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as alſo the naturall ſtrength being helpt, by ſuch fortification as promiſed greateſt aſſurance: it was thought, that the Conſul would either forbeare the attempt of forcing them, or eaſily bee repelled; and that finally, when hee had ſtayed there a while, winter, and much want, ſhould force him to diſlodge. Yet all this auailed not. For whereas the *Gallogreekes* had beene carele ſſe of furniſhing themſelues with caſting weapons, as if ſtones would haue ſerued well enough for that purpoſe: the *Romanes*, who came farre otherwiſe appointed, found greater aduantage in the difference of Armes, than impediment in diſaduantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did eaſily preuaile againſt caſters of ſtones; eſpecially being ſuch as were theſe *Gallogreekes*, neither exerciſed in that manner of fight, nor hauing prepared their ſtones before-hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than thoſe of a fit ſize. Finally, the *Barbarians*, wanting defenſiue Armes, could not hold out againſt the Arrowes and weapons of the *Romane* light armature: but were driuen from a piece of ground, which they had vndertaken to make good, vp into their Campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to caſt themſelues headlong downe the ſteepe rockes. Few of their men did eſcape aliue: all their wiues, children, and goods became a prey vnto the *Romanes*. In the very like manner, were the reſt of that Nation ouercome ſoone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them ſaued themſelues by flight, as hauing fairer way at their backes.

Theſe warres being ended: *Fuluius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconſul, his Prouince for another yeere. *Fuluius*, in his ſecond yeere, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gaue peace to thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed; as likewiſe to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and ſome others, not by him vanquiſhed, but ſubmitting themſelues for feare of the *Roman* armes. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid vpon them ſuch conditions, as he thought expedient. Hee alſo did finiſh the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto hee ſwore, and receiued the Kings oath by Embaſſadours, whom he ſent for that purpoſe. Finally, hauing ſet in order the matters of *Aſia*, he tooke his way toward the *Helleſpont*, loaden with ſpoile, as carrying with him (beſides other treaſures) all that the *Gallogreekes* had in ſo many yeeres extorted, from the wealthy Prouinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armie of *Manlius* returne home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needeful vſe, which the *Roman* ſouldier had beene wont to take as the onely good purchaſe; but furniſhed with ſumptuous houſhold ſtuffe, and ſlaues of price, excellent Cookes, and Muſicians for banquets, and in a word, with the ſeedes of that luxurie, which finally ouer-grew and choked the *Roman* vertue.

The Country of *Thrace* lay between *Helleſpont* and the Kingdome of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his iourney homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he paſſed through them, without any ſuch bootie as might prouoke them; or perhaps rather, becauſe *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſtirre. But when *Manlius* came along with a huge traine of baggage; the *Thracians* could not ſo well containe themſelues. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* tooke it otherwiſe than very pleaſantly, to haue this *Roman* Armie robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cauſe to be angry, ſeeing how little himſelfe was regarded, and what great rewards were giuen to *Eumenes*. For he vnderſtood, and afterwards gaue the *Romans* to vnderſtand, that *Eumenes* could not haue abidden in his owne Kingdome, if the *People* of *Rome* had not made warre in *Aſia*: whereas contrariwiſe, *Antiochus* had offered vnto himſelfe three thouſand talents, and fiftie ſhips of warre, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*; promiſing moreouer to reſtore vnto him all the *Greeke* Cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the warre began: he thought it no euen dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to giue away not onely the halfe of *Aſia*, but *Cherſonneſus* and *Lyſimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas vpon himſelfe they beſtowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeede with his Nobilitie to goe to *Rome* and begge Prouinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained louingly the two *Scipio's*, which he thought the moſt honourable men in *Rome*; and was growne into neere acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correſpondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himſelfe acquainted with the warres in *Spaine* and *Africke*. This perhaps he deemed ſufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due reſpect of him. But *Eumenes* tooke a ſurer way. For the *Scipio's* had not a diſpoſing of that which they wonne from *Antiochus*: as neither indeede had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates aſſiſting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which thoſe Delegates were choſen, and inſtructed how to proceede. When *Philip* therefore ſaw theſe vpſtart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as baſe companions, aduanced ſo highly, and made greater than himſelfe; yea himſelfe vnregarded, contemned, and expoſed to many wrongs: then found he great cauſe to wiſh, that he had not ſo haſtily declared himſelfe againſt *Antiochus*, or rather that he had ioyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might haue beene freed from his inſolent Maſters. But what great argument of ſuch diſcontentedneſſe the *Macedonian* had, we ſhall very ſhortly be vrged to diſcourſe more at large. At the preſent it was beleeued, that the *Thracians* were by him ſet on, to aſſaile the *Romans* paſſing through their Countrie. They knew all aduantages; and they fell, vnexpected, vpon the carriages, that were beſtowed in the midſt of the Armie; whereof part had already paſſed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet ſo farre aduanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leaue behinde: though both the getting, and the ſauing, did coſt many liues, as well of the *Barbarians*, as of the *Romans*. They fought vntill it grew to night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themſelues; not without as much of the bootie, as was to their full content. And of ſuch trouble there was more, though leſſe dangerous, before the Armie could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into *Epirus*; and ſo to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fuluius*, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: eſpecially to *Manlius*; whom ſome of the ten Delegates, appointed to aſſiſt him, did very bitterly taxe, as an vnworthy Commander. Touching the reſt of their accuſation; it ſufficeth that he made good anſwere, and was approoued by the chiefe of the Senate. One clauſe is worthy of more particular conſideration. Reprehending his deſire to haue hindered the peace with *Antiochus*;

they ſaid, *That with much adoe he was kept from leading his Armie ouer* Taurus, *and aduenturing vpon the calamitie threatned by* Sibyls *verſes, vnto thoſe that ſhould paſſe the fatall bounds.* What calamitie or ouerthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyls* prophecie threatned the *Roman* Captaine or Armie, that ſhould paſſe ouer *Taurus*, I doe not conceiue. *Pompey* was the firſt, that marched with an Armie beyond thoſe limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened vnto him the way, and had before-hand won, in a ſort, the Countries on the other ſide of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gaue to one of *Antiochus* his race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we finde not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* ſuffered any loſſe, in preſuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeede the accompliſhment of this prophecie, fell out neere about one time, with the reſtitution of *Ptolemie* King of *Ægypt*; that was forbidden vnto the *Romans* by the ſame *Sibyl*. It may therefore ſeeme to haue had reference vnto the ſame things, that were denounced, as like to happen vpon the reduction of the *Ægyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tullie* noteth, *ſowed at randome in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by euent; I will not here diſpute. But I hold this more probable, than that the reſtitution of *Ptolemie* to his Kingdome by *Gabinius* the *Roman*, ſhould haue any way betokened the comming of our Sauiour: as ſome both ancient and moderne *Chriſtian* Writers haue beene well pleaſed to interprete *Sibyl* in that prophecie. Of the *Sibylline* prædictions I haue ſometimes thought reuerendly: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke, few men know) yet following the common beleefe and good authority. But obſeruation of the ſhamefull Idolatry, that vpon all occaſions was aduanced in *Rome* by the bookes of *Sibyl*, had well preuailed vpon my credulitie, and made me ſuſpect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the iudgement of *Euſebius*: when that learned and excellent worke of Maſter *Caſaubon* vpon the *Annales* of Cardinall *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine errour; making it apparent, That not onely thoſe prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein *Chriſt* ſo plainely was ſhewed, but euen the bookes of *Hermes*, which haue borne ſuch reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at firſt entertained (whoſoeuer deuiſed them) by the vndiſcreet zeale of ſuch, as delighted in ſeeing the *Chriſtian* Religion ſtrengthned with forreine proofes. And in the ſame ranke, I thinke, we ought to place that notable Hiſtorie, reported by *Euſebius* from no meane Authors Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy god*. For what can be more ſtrange, than that a thing ſo memorable, and ſo publike, ſhould haue beene quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of thoſe times? Phyloſophers and Poets would not haue ſuffered the matter to eſcape in ſilence, had it beene true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then liued and flouriſhed, would haue abſtained from ſpeaking any word of an Argument ſo famous. Wherefore I am perſwaded, that this inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by ſome bad *Criticiſme*, taken amiſſe in place of *Semoni Sango*: a title foure hundred yeeres older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruuius* a Rebell, had many ages before beene conſecrated *Semoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus*, in whoſe Chappell they were beſtowed. So as either by the ill ſhape of the old *Roman* letters, or by ſome ſpoile that Time had wrought vpon them; it might eaſily come to paſſe, that the words ſhould be miſſe-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that ſome *Chriſtian* who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, thereupon ſhould frame the coniecture, which now paſſeth for a true Hiſtorie. Such coniectures, being entertained without examination, finde credit by Tradition, whereby alſo, many times, their faſhion is amended, and made more Hiſtoricall, than was conceiued by the Authour. But it cannot be ſafe, to let our faith (which ought to ſtand firme vpon a ſure foundation) leane ouer-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten poſt.

Liu.l.38.

Tull.de Diuin. lib.2.

Iſaac. Caſaub. Exercita. 1. ad Annal.Bar.n. 10.& 11.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt.c.13.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a few of the richeſt, which euer the Citie beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treaſurie, was made the laſt paiment of thoſe monies which the Common-wealth had borrowed from priuate men, in the ſecond *Punicke warre*. So long was it, that *Rome* had ſtill ſome feeling of *Hannibal*: which being paſt, there was remaining neither care, nor memorie, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, euen ſo long as hee well could: for that he thought it not ſafe, to make his entrance into the Citie, vntill the heat of an Inquiſition, then raging therein, ſhould be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called one after other, into iudgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, onely by this accuſation, knowne to Poſteritie. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they beganne, could not endure that ſuch vnworthy men ſhould queſtion him, of purloyning from the Common Treaſury, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargaine for his Countrey. When therefore his day of anſwere came; hee appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accuſed, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he paſſed through the middeſt of the Aſſembly, and offered himſelfe to ſpeake. Hauing audience, he told the People, That vpon the ſame day of the yeere he had fought a great battell with *Hannibal*, and finiſhed the *Punike Warre*, by a ſignall victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit ſeaſon to brabble at the Law; but intended to viſit the *Capitoll*, and there giue thankes to *Iupiter*, and the reſt of the gods, by whoſe grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily diſcharged the moſt weighty buſineſſe of the Common-wealth. And hereto he inuited with him all the Citizens: requeſting them, *That if euer ſince the ſeuenteenth yeere of his life, vntill he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred vpon him, had preuented the capacitie of his age, and yet his deſerts had exceeded the greatneſſe of thoſe honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their Citie might ſtill be like to him.* Theſe words were heard with great approbation: ſo as all the people, euen the Officers of the Court, followed *Scipio*, leauing the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their owne ſlaues and a Crier, by whom ridiculouſly they cited him to iudgement, vntill for very ſhame, as not knowing what elſe to doe, they granted him, vnrequeſted, a further day. After this, when *the African* perceiued that the Tribunes would not let fall their ſuit, but enforce him to ſubmit himſelfe to a diſgracefull triall: he willingly relinquiſhed the Citie, and his vnthankefull *Romans*, that could ſuffer him to vndergoe ſo much indignitie. The reſt of his time he ſpent at *Liternum*: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any deſire of ſeeing *Rome* againe. How many yeeres he liued, or whether he liued one whole yeere, in this voluntarie baniſhment; it is vncertaine. The report of his dying in the ſame yeere, with *Hannibal* and *Philopœmen*, as alſo of his priuate behauiour at *Liternum*, render it probable, that he out-liued the Tribuneſhip of his accuſers; who meant to haue drawn him backe to his anſwere, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the reſt from proceeding) had not cauſed them to deſiſt. Howſoeuer it was; the ſame Tribunes went more ſharply to worke with *L. Scipio the Aſiatique*. They propounded a Decree vnto the People, touching mony receiued of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treaſury; That the Senate ſhould giue charge vnto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and iudicially determine thereof. In fauour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the ſuppoſed author of theſe contentions, and inſtigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue; temperate, valiant, and of ſingular induſtrie; frugall alſo, both of the publike, and of his owne; ſo as in this kinde he was euen faultie: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was hee vnmercifull and vnconſcionable, in ſeeking to increaſe his owne wealth, by ſuch meanes as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poyſoned with enuie, troubled both himſelfe and the whole Citie, whileſt he liued. His meane birth cauſed him to hate the Nobilitie, eſpecially thoſe that were in chiefe eſtimation. Neither did he ſpare to bite at ſuch as were of his owne ranke, men raiſed by deſert, if their aduancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whoſe Lieutenant he had beene at *Thermopylæ*, was his Competitor for the Cenſorſhip, and likely to carry it, hee tooke an Oath againſt him, which was counted as no better than malicious periurie, That hee had not brought into the common Treaſury ſome veſſels of gold and ſiluer, gotten in the Campe of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare vnto the *Scipioes* grew partly, (beſides his generall ſpight at the Nobility) from his owne firſt riſing, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from ſome checke, that was giuen vnto himſelfe, in the *African* voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whoſe Treaſurer he then was. For when *Cato* did vtter his diſlike of the Conſuls bad husbandry (iudging Magnificence to be no better) in ſome peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainely told him, That hee had no neede of ſuch double diligence in his Treaſurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lyes he publiſhed, or for want of iudgement, thinking vnworthily of the vertue that was farre aboue him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with vntrue reports againſt his Generall; whoſe noble deedes confuted ſufficiently the author of ſuch falſe tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the *Scipioes*, whileſt it was nouriſhed by their enemy, brake out vpon aduantage, eſpecially againſt *L. Scipio*, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A ſeuere inquirie and iudgement being appointed of purpoſe againſt *Scipio*, matters were ſo carried, that he was ſeene condemned in a ſum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *non payment*, his body ſhould haue beene laid vp in priſon: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the ſame Tribune who had cauſed the ſuite againſt the *African* to be let fall. In his eſtate, which was confiſcated to the vſe of the Citie, when there neither appeared any ſigne of his hauing beene beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found ſo much as what he had beene condemned to pay; then fell his accuſers, and all whoſe hands had beene againſt him, into the indignation of *the People*. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kinred, friends, and Clients made ſuch a collection for him, as would haue ſet him in better eſtate than before, if he had accepted it. Hee tooke no more than ſuch of his owne goods, as were of neceſſary vſe, being redeemed for him by his neereſt friends.

And thus began the ciuill warre of the *Tongue*, in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not beene, or not beene much regardable, vntill now, ſince the Punicke Warre. Securitie of danger from abroad, and ſome want of ſufficient employment, were eſpeciall helpes to the kindling of this fire; which firſt caught hold vpon that great Worthy, to whoſe vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into ſo great ſecurity her extreme danger. But theſe factious contentions did no long while containe themſelues within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in ſuch quarrelſome buſineſſe, grew to perfection, they that found themſelues ouer-matched by their aduerſaries, at this kinde of weapon, began to make oppoſition, firſt with clubs & ſtones, afterward with ſwords; and finally, proceeded from frayes and murders in the ſtreets, vnto battaile in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Lady of rare vertue, that in honour of her two ſonnes was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, ſaw thoſe her two ſonnes, whileſt they were but yong, ſlaughtered in *Rome*, together with ſome of their friends, by thoſe whom they oppoſed, and their death not reuenged by order of Law, but rather approued by the Senate. At theſe times the Senatours began to take vpon them authoritie, more than was to them belonging. They conferred vpon the Conſuls all the whole power of the Citie, vnder this forme, *Let the Conſuls prouide, that the Commonweale receiue no detriment*. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemie to the State*, they thought to haue wonne a great aduantage ouer the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus* a popular man, whom by ſuch authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius*, a famous Captaine of theirs, was ſo condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senators: whereupon began the ciuill warres; which giuing vnto *Sylla*, who preuailed therein, meanes to make himſelfe abſolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæſar*, a man of higher ſpirit, to affect and obtaine the like ſoueraigne power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was prouoked. It is true, that neuer any Conſul had finally cauſe to reioyce, of his hauing put in execution ſuch authoritie to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in paſſing their Lawes, by hurling of ſtones, and other violence, made the Citie ſtand in neede of a Soueraigne Lord: ſo the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as enemies thoſe that would not ſubmit themſelues, when they were ouer-topped by voyces in the Houſe, did compell *Cæſar*, or giue him at leaſt pretence, to right himſelfe by armes: wherewith preuailing againſt his aduerſaries, hee tooke ſuch order, that neither Senate, nor People, ſhould thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by inteſtine diſcord, the *Romans* conſuming all or moſt of their principall Citizens, loſt their owne freedome, and became ſubiects vnto the arbitrary gouernment of One: ſuffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their inſolent rule; wherein they tooke vpon them as the higheſt Lords on Earth, to doe euen what they liſted. Yet had not *Rome* indeede attained hitherto vnto compleat greatneſſe, nor beleeued of her ſelfe as if ſhee had, whileſt a King ſate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and vpholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this conſummation of her honour was thought vpon betimes. How it was effected, the ſequele will diſcouer.

Chap. VI.

The ſecond Macedonian Warre.

§. I.

The Condition wherein thoſe Princes and Eſtates remained, which were aſſociates of the Romans, when the warre with Antiochus *was finiſhed. The Romans quarrell with* Philip. *They deale inſolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being vnreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his ſonne* Demetrius; *of whom thenceforth hee becomes iealous.*

AFter the ouerthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonweale of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were gouerned by the ſame Lawes and Magiſtrates, as they formerly had beene, before the arriuall of the *Romans* in thoſe parts: yet in very truth (the publike declaration excepted) they were none other than abſolute vaſſals to the People of *Rome*. For of thoſe fiue Prerogatiues belonging to a Monarch, or vnto Soueraigne power, in whomſoeuer it reſt; namely, *To make Lawes, To create Magiſtrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To beate Monie*, and *to reſerue* (as the *French* call it) *le dernier reſort*, or *the laſt Appeales*, the *Romans* had aſſumed foure; and the greateſt of them ſo abſolutely, that is, *The Appeale*, or laſt reſort, as euery pettie iniurie offered to each other by the fore-named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embaſſadors, or Commiſſioners, in thoſe places whence the Complaint came, or otherwiſe by the Senators themſelues within *Rome*: from whoſe arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Common-weales, declined, He or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Eſtates and Regalities vtterly diſſolued. Neuertheleſſe it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Offices of their owne ordaining: yet ſo, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the *Romans* interpoſed their will to the contrary; neither was their election of Magiſtrates ſo free, as that they had not therein eſpeciall regard vnto the good pleaſure of theſe their Maſters.

And to ſuch degree of ſeruitude the ſeuerall Eſtates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankfull for their deliuerance from a yoke more ſenſibly grieuous; or, as being skilfull in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, ſince therein conſiſted their chiefe hope of thriuing; or, as being more fearfull of diſpleaſing the ſtrongeſt, than mindfull of their owne honour. But *Eumenes* liuing further off, and being moſt obſequious vnto the *Romans*, was not, of long time, queſtioned about any of his doings: his conformitie vnto them in matter of warre and peace, together with the diuerſion of their thoughts another way, giuing him leaue to vſe his owne euen as he liſted, vntill they ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of him. Neither was it a little auaileable to him, that his Kingdome bordered vpon the Nations, by them not throughly ſubdued. For vpon the ſame reaſon (as well as vpon his owne high deſerts) were they very louing vnto *Maſaniſſa*, and to his Houſe, vntill *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion ſetled in *Africke*: as likewiſe afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others: holding people in ſubiection vnto themſelues, by the miniſtery of Kings; eſpecially of ſuch Kings, as were vſeful and obſequious vnto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper; and ſhewed himſelfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatneſſe, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But ſuch magnanimity was none otherwiſe conſtrued by the *Romans*, than as want of due reuerence to their Eſtate, and a valuation of himſelfe againſt them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithſtanding that he had lately giuen paſſage to their Armies through his Country, prepared the wayes for them, and furniſhed them both with victuals, and other things needefull, to tranſport them ouer the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, againſt *Antiochus*: yet vpon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the States of *Theſſalie* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and

Maronea, with all Pieces and Places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, euen from the *Romans* themſelues.

Theſe Townes of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had beene part of *Lyſimachus* his Kingdome: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the Northweſt, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to haue made himſelfe Lord of *Tranſyluania*: in which Prouince it is ſaid, * That innumerable Medals of gold haue beene found, in the age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and ſtamped with his Image on the one ſide, on the other ſide with *Victorie*. Of all theſe Lordſhips, the poſſeſſion, or rather the title (for he liued not to ſettle his eſtate in *Europe*) fell to *Seleucus Nicator* by right of war, wherein he vanquiſhed and ſlue *Lyſimachus*: as alſo, by the like right, *Ptolemie Ceraunus* thought them his owne, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gaules*, which the Kingdome of *Macedon* could not ſuſtaine, did ſhortly and eaſily waſh away from that Crowne, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all thoſe heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the ſonne of *Demetrius*, and his ſucceſſours: though not much; for they were otherwiſe buſied. The furie of the *Gaules* being ouer-paſt, thoſe Countries which lately had beene oppreſſed by them, recouered their libertie; and not onely held it, but learned, ſome of them, eſpecially the *Dardanians* and wilde *Thracians*, to finde their aduantages, and make vſe of them, euen vpon *Macedon*. Againſt the miſchiefes commonly done by theſe, King *Philip* did prouide the moſt conuenient remedies: by ſhutting vp the wayes, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying *Lyſimachia*, with ſome other Townes in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of his owne Countrey, againſt the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne eſtate: yet foraſmuch as theſe Townes were, in a manner, at abſolute libertie, his poſſeſſion of them was thought to partake more of violence than of iuſtice. And in this reſpect he was formerly accuſed by the *Ætolians*, of wrongfull vſurpation and oppreſſion, in his hauing occupied *Lyſimachia*. Hereunto hee made a good anſwere, That his Garriſon did onely ſaue it from the *Thracians*: who, as ſoone as he thence withdrew his men, did ſeize vpon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might haue ſaid, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; That they were places vnable to defend themſelues, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might haue entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not auayled him, in the diſputation about *Lyſimachia*: and in the preſent queſtion, the *Romans* were not without their owne title; ſince *Antiochus* had gotten all the Countrie thereabout, whileſt *Philip* was buſied in his former warre: and ſince they, by their victory had gotten vnto themſelues all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he onely ſubmitted his right vnto the good pleaſure of the Senate: referring it vnto their diſpoſition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* ſhould be ſet at libertie: whether left in his hand, or whether beſtowed vpon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lyſimachia* and *Cherſonneſus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might eaſily perceiue, by the demeanor of their Embaſſadors towards him: who ſitting as Iudges betweene him and all that made complaint vpon him, gaue ſentence againſt him in euery controuerſie. Neuertheleſſe, he ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, there to maintaine his right vnto theſe Townes; wherein he thought, that equitie (if it might preuaile) was wholly on his ſide. For he had holpen their Conſuls in the warre againſt *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: wherein whatſoeuer hee had gotten for himſelfe, was now taken from him by their Embaſſadours: and would they now depriue him of thoſe two Townes, lying ſo fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which he had gotten to himſelfe out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his owne ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in thoſe quarters a great deale more? By ſuch allegations either he was likely to preuaile; or at leaſtwiſe to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himſelfe what he had to doe. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had beene their Embaſſadours. Wherefore, conſidering how inſolently the *Maronites* had behaued themſelues, in pleading againſt him for their liberty, hee tooke counſell of his owne paſſions; and (as by nature he was very cruell) gaue order to *Onomaſtus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coaſts, to handle theſe *Maronites* in ſuch ſort, as they might haue little ioy of the libertie by them ſo earneſtly deſired. *Onomaſtus* employed *Caſſander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians*

Hiſt. of Hungarie by Mart. Fumee, lib. 5.

cians by night, that they might ſacke the Towne, and vſe all cruelties of warre. This was done: but ſo ill taken by the *Roman* Embaſſadors, who had better notice, than could haue beene feared, of theſe proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more ſtrictly, than became his Maieſtie, to an accompt. He would haue remooued the blame from himſelfe, and layed it euen vpon the *Maronites*; affirming; That they, in heat of their Factions, being ſome inclinable to him, other ſome to *Eumenes*, had fallen into ſuch outrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And hereof he willed the Embaſſadours to enquire, among the *Maronites* themſelues: as well knowing, that they who ſuruiued, were either his owne friends; or ſo terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durſt not vtter an offenſiue word. But he found the *Romans* more ſeuere, and more throughly informed in the buſineſſe, than to reſt contented with ſuch an anſwere. He was plainely told, that if he would diſcharge himſelfe of the crime obiected; he muſt ſend *Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate ſhould thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his ſpirits, and ſaid, that *Caſſander* ſhould be at their diſpoſition: but concerning *Onomaſtus*, who had not beene at *Maronea*, nor neere to it, hee requeſted them not to preſſe him; ſince it ſtood not with his honour, ſo lightly to giue away his friends. As for *Caſſander*, becauſe hee ſhould tell no tales; hee tooke order to haue him poyſoned by the way. By this wee ſee, that the doctrine, which *Machiauel* taught vnto *Cæſar Borgia*, to employ men in miſchieuous actions, and afterwards to deſtroy them when they haue performed the miſchiefe; was not of his owne inuention. All ages haue giuen vs examples of this goodly policie, the later hauing beene apt ſchollers in this leſſon to the more ancient: as the reigne of *Henry* the eighth here in *England*, can beare good witneſſe; and therein eſpecially the Lord *Cromwell*, who periſhed by the ſame vniuſt Law that himſelfe had deuiſed, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an vnpleaſant noiſe at *Rome*, and were like to haue brought vpon him the warre which he feared, before hee was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore he employed his yonger ſonne *Demetrius* as Embaſſadour vnto the Senate: giuing him inſtructions, how to make anſwere to all complaints, and withall to deliuer his owne grieuances, in ſuch wiſe that if ought were amiſſe, yet might it appeare that hee had beene ſtrongly vrged to take ſuch courſes. The ſumme of his Embaſſage was, to pacifie the *Romans*, and make all euen for the preſent. *Demetrius* himſelfe was knowne to be very acceptable vnto the Senate; as hauing beene well approued by them, when he was hoſtage in *Rome*: and therefore ſeemed the more likely, to preuaile ſomewhat; were it onely in regard that would be borne vnto his perſon.

Whileſt this buſineſſe with the *Macedonian* hung in ſuſpenſe, and whileſt hee, by his readineſſe to make ſubmiſſion, ſeemed likely to diuert from himſelfe ſome other way the *Roman* armes: the ſame Embaſſadours, that had beene Iudges betweene him and his neighbours, made their progreſſe through the reſt of *Greece*; and tooke notice of the controuerſies, which they found betweene ſome Eſtates in the Countrey. The greateſt cauſe that was heard before them, was the complaint of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Achæans*. It was obiected vnto the *Achæans*, That they had committed a grieuous ſlaughter vpon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon*: That vnto this crueltie they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walles of the Citie: as alſo further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, made anſwere, That theſe baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, who now tooke vpon them to accuſe the Nation that had once protected them; were notoriouſly known to be the men, who had themſelues committed that murder, whereof ſhameleſly they laid the blame vpon others: the *Achæans* hauing onely called thoſe vnto iudgement, they were ſuppoſed to be chiefe authours of a Rebellion againſt both them and the *Romans*; and theſe plaintifes hauing ſlaine them, vpon priuate, though iuſt hatred, as they were comming to make anſwere for themſelues. Concerning their throwing downe the walles of *Lacedæmon*, hee ſaid it was moſt agreeable to *Lycurgus* his ordinance: who, hauing perſwaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and libertie by their proper vertue, did inhibite vnto them all kindes of fortifications: as the Retraits and Neſts either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Vſurpers. Further he ſhewed, how the ſame Tyrants that had built theſe wals and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had alſo quite aboliſhed *Lycurgus* his ordinances; and gouerned the Citie by their owne lawleſſe will. As for the *Achæans*; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the beſt, or elſe would ſoone change them and take better, vnto the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For concluſion, *Lycortas* plainely tolde *App. Claudius* the chiefe of the Embaſſadours, That hee and his Countrimen held it ſtrange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the *Romans*, to ſee themſelues thus conſtrained, to anſwere and giue account of their actions, as vaſſals and ſlaues to the *People of Rome*. For if they were indeede at libertie: why might not the *Achæans* as well require to be ſatisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did buſie themſelues, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? For if the *Romans* would ſtand vpon their greatneſſe, and intimate as they beganne, that the libertie of their friends was nothing worth, longer than ſhould pleaſe themſelues to ratifie it: then muſt the *Achæans* haue recourſe vnto thoſe Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without periurie could not be violated; as reuerencing, and indeede fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold anſwere of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking ſtate vpon him, he pronounced more like a Maſter than a Iudge, That if the *Achæans* would not be ruled by faire meanes, and earne thankes whileſt they might; they ſhould be compelled with a miſchiefe, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Achæans*; which groned to heare the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet Feare preuailed aboue Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the *Romans* to doe as they liſted. Hereupon the Embaſſadours reſtored ſome baniſhed and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, verie ſoone after, did make voide all Iudgements of death or baniſhment, that had beene laid by the *Achæans* vpon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewiſe they made it a matter of diſputation, whether or no the Citie and Territory of *Lacedæmon*, ſhould be ſuffered to continue a member of the *Achæan* Common-wealth; or taken from them, and made as it had beene an Eſtate by it ſelfe. By bringing ſuch a matter into queſtion, the *Romans* well declared, That they held it to depend vpon their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates ſhould be ſuffered to enioy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Councell of *Achaia*, they diſcouered no leſſe, as to them ſeemed, the loue which they bare vnto the *Achaians*, than the power which they had ouer them.

Into ſuch ſlauery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Common-weales whatſoeuer, bordering vpon any part of the *Mediterran* Seas, reduced themſelues; by calling in the *Romans* to their ſuccour. They wanted not the good counſaile and perſwaſion of many wiſe and temperate men among them; They had alſo the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and *Africans*, all ſubdued by the *Romans*; and, by ſeeking Patronage, made meere vaſſals; to inſtruct them, what in the like caſe they ſhould expect: yet could not the true reaſons of Eſtate and Policie ſo preuaile with them, but their priuate paſsions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath euermore bought reuenge at the price of ſelfe-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enioyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into moſt baſe and fearefull ſeruilitie.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who though he ſaw the *Greekes* very farre from daring to ſtirre againſt thoſe, by whom both hee and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his ſubiection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affection all the Countrey would be his, whenſoeuer he ſhould take armes, as ſhortly he was like to doe. Young *Demetrius*, comming home from *Rome*, brought with him the deſired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignitie ſoone following. Hee had beene louingly vſed at *Rome*, and heard with great fauour in the Senate. There being confounded with the multitude of obiections, whereto his youth, vnkilfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make anſwere: it was permitted vnto him, to reade ſuch briefe notes as hee had receiued from his Father, and out of thoſe the Senate were contented to gather ſatisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his owne ſake, as they then ſaid and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodneſſe in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the entreatie of his ſonne, together with ſome inſolence of his ſonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the *Romans*; did increaſe in *Philip* his hatred vnto *Rome*,and breede in him a iealouſie of his too forward ſonne. To ſet him forward in theſe paſſions, there came daily new Embaſſadours from *Rome*; ſome bringing one commandement; ſome another; and ſome,requiring him to fulfill thoſe things, which had beene impoſed vpon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that obſerued his countenance: and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that he had done things vnwillingly, and would be obedient, no longer than he needes muſt. With theſe Embaſſadours yong *Demetrius* was conuerſant: rather perhaps out of ſimplicitie,and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious reſpect; yet a great deale more than was pleaſing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perſeus*,the elder ſon of the King,ſhould not ſucceede vnto his father; but that the Diademe ſhould be conferred vpon *Demetrius*, if not by ſome other pretence,yet by meere fauour of the *Romans*. This offended not onely *Perſeus*,but *Philip* himſelfe: who ſuſpected his yonger ſonne, as more *Roman* than his owne; and accordingly miſconſtrued all his doings. But ere we proceede vnto the bitter fruits of this iealouſie; it will not be amiſſe, to ſpeake of ſome memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

§. II.

The death of Philopœmen, Hannibal, *and* Scipio. *That the Militarie profeſſion is of all other the moſt vnhappie: notwithſtanding ſome examples, which may ſeeme to prooue the contrary.*

THE *Romans*, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late beene ſo peremptorie with the *Achæans*; that they ſeemed not vnlikely to take part againſt them, in any controuerſie that ſhould be moued. Hereupon the *Meſſenians*, who againſt their will were annexed vnto the *Achæan* Commonwealth, hauing long beene of a contrary Faction thereto; gew bold to withdraw themſelues from that Societie, with purpoſe to ſet vp againe an Eſtate of their owne; ſeuered from communion with any other. This was the deuice of ſome that were powerfull in their Citie: who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpoſe, and not ouer-ſtrongly affected in the buſineſſe; were carefull to ſeeke occaſion of reducing things to ſuch paſſe, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a neceſſitie of ſtanding out, and of not returning to the *Achæan* League. And hereupon they began to doe ſome acts of hoſtilitie; whereby it was probable that bloud ſhould bee drawne, and either ſide ſo farre exaſperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Vpon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, leuied ſuch forces as hee could in haſte, and went againſt them. Many principall Gentlemen of the *Achæans*, eſpecially of the *Megalopolitans*, were ſoone in a readineſſe to wait vpon him. Beſides theſe,which were all,or for the moſt part,Horſe;he had ſome Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that vſually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captaine of the *Meſſenians*; whom hee charged, and forced to runne. But whileſt his horſemen were too earneſt in following the chace;there arriued, by chance, a ſupply of fiue hundred from *Meſſene*, which gaue new courage vnto thoſe that were fled. So the Enemies began to make head againe; and with the helpe of thoſe,who very ſeaſonably came to their aide, compelled *Philopœmens* Horſemen to turne backe. *Philopœmen* himſelfe had long beene ſicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatneſſe of his courage would not ſuffer him, to be negligent of their ſafetie, which had ſo willingly aduentured themſelues vnder his conduct. Hee tooke vpon him to make the Retrait: and ſuffering his Horſemen to paſſe along by him in a narrow lane,he often turned about againſt the *Meſſenians*; whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching ouer-neere to him. But it fell out vnhappily, that being caſt to ground by a fall of his Horſe, and being withall in very weake plight of body, he was vnable to get vp againe. So the Enemies came vpon him, and tooke him; yet ſcarce beleeued their fortune to be ſo good, although their eyes were witneſſes. The firſt meſſenger that brought theſe newes to *Meſſene*, was ſo farre from being beleeued, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ranne foorth to meet him, and behold the ſpectacle ſeeming ſo incredible. They cauſed him to be brought into the Treater, that there they might ſatisfie themſelues with beholding him. The greateſt part of them had compaſſion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the ſingular benefits by him done vnto them, eſpecially in deliuering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifeſt their good will for his deliuerie. Contrariwiſe, *Dinocrates* and his Faction were deſirous haſtily to take away his life: becauſe they held him a man implacable, and one that would neuer leaue any diſgrace, or iniurie, done to him, vnreuenged. They durſt not one truſt another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a ſtrong vault vnder ground, that had beene made for the cuſtody of their Treaſure. So thither they let him downe faſt bound, and with an engine laid an heauie ſtone vpon the mouth of the vault. There hee had not ſtayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his preſent death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe vnto him, with a cuppe of poyſon, which *Philopœmen* tooke in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horſemen were eſcaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was ſafe; when he heard an anſwere to his minde, he ſaid it was well: and ſo with a cheerefull countenance, dranke his laſt draught. He was ſeuentie yeeres old, and weakned with long ſickeneſſe, whereby the poyſon wrought the ſooner, and eaſily tooke away his life. The *Achæans*, when they miſſed him in their flight, were maruellouſly offended with themſelues, for that they had beene more mindefull to preſerue their owne liues, than to looke vnto the ſafetie of ſo excellent a Commander. Whileſt they were deuiſing what to doe in ſuch a caſe: they got aduertiſement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: ſo as Embaſſadours were forthwith diſpatched vnto *Meſſene*, crauing his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in caſe that faire meanes would not ſerue. *Lycortas* was choſen Generall of the Armie againſt *Meſſene*: who comming thither, and laying ſiege to the Towne, enforced it in ſhort ſpace to yeelde. Then *Dinocrates*, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands vpon himſelfe, and made an end of his owne life. The reſt of thoſe that had beene partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds vpon the aſhes of *Philopœmen* that were carried home in ſolemne pompe to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them ſlaine at his funerall, as ſacrifices to his Ghoſt whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a *Roman* Embaſſadour, was then in *Greece*; whence, vpon one occaſion or other, the *Roman* Embaſſadours were ſeldome abſent. Hee would haue entermedled in this buſineſſe of *Meſſene*, had not *Lycortas* made ſhort worke, and left him nothing to doe.

About the ſame time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* ſent Embaſſadour to *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*: not ſo much to withdraw him from proſecuting the warre againſt *Eumenes*, as to entreat him, that he would deliuer *Hannibal*, the moſt ſpightfull enemy in all the world vnto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Pruſias* (therein vnworthy of the Crowne he wore) did readily condeſcend: or rather (as *Liuie* thinkes) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliuer him aliue to *Flaminius*. For vpon the firſt conference betweene the King and *Flaminius*, a troupe of Souldiors were directed to guard and enuiron the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captaine hauing found cauſe before this to ſuſpect the faith of *Pruſias*, had deuiſed ſome ſecret ſallies vnder-ground to ſaue himſelfe from any treaſonable and ſudden aſſault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-cloſed, he had recourſe to his laſt remedy: which he then was conſtrained to practiſe, as well to fruſtrate his enemies of their triumphing ouer him, as to ſaue himſelfe from their torture and mercileſſe hands; who, as hee well knew, would neither reſpect his famous enterpriſes, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he ſaw no way of eſcape, nor counſell to reſort vnto, hee tooke the poyſon into his hand, which he alwaies preſerued for a ſure Antidote againſt the ſharpeſt diſeaſes of aduerſe fortune; which being ready to ſwallow downe, he vttered theſe words: *I will now* (ſaid he) *deliuer the Romans of that feare, which hath ſo many yeeres poſſeſt them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of* Flaminius *ouer me, which am diſarmed, and betrayed into his hands, ſhall neuer be numbred among the reſt of his heroicall deedes: No; it ſhall make it manifeſt to all the Nations of the world, how farre the ancient Roman vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For ſuch was the nobleneſſe of their forefathers; as, when* Pyrrhus *inuaded them in Italie, and was ready to giue them battaile at their owne dores, they gaue him knowledge of the treaſon intended againſt him by poyſon:*

ſon; whereas theſe of a later race haue employed Flaminius, *a man who hath heretofore beene one of their Conſuls, to practiſe with* Pruſias, *contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith giuen, and contrary to the Lawes of Hoſpitalitie, to ſlaughter or deliuer vp his owne Gheſt.* He then curſing the perſon of *Pruſias, and all his, and deſiring the immortall gods to reuenge his infidelitie,* dranke off the poyſon, and died.

In this yeere alſo (as good Authors haue reported) to accompanie *Philopœmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the *African*: theſe being, all of them, as great Captaines as euer the world had; but not more famous, than vnfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whoſe Tragedie we haue now finiſhed, had he beene Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might haue commanded ſuch ſupplies, as the Warre which he vndertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torne vp the *Roman* Empire by the roots. But he was ſo ſtrongly croſt by a cowardly and enuious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to ſuſtaine it, did laſtly diſſolue it ſelfe in his owne, and in the common miſerie of his Countrey and Commonweale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the enuie of our equals, and iealouſie of our Maſters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, That there is no Profeſſion more vnproſperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Captaines, being no Kings. For beſides the enuie and iealouſie of men, the ſpoyles, rapes, famine, ſlaughter of the innocent, vaſtation, and burnings, with a world of miſeries laied on the labouring man, are ſo hatefull to God, as with good reaſon did *Monluc* the Marſhall of *France* confeſſe, That *were not the mercies of* God *infinite, and without reſtriction, it were in vaine for thoſe of his profeſsion to hope for any portion of them: ſeeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were alſo infinite.* Howſoeuer, this is true, That the victories, which are obtained by many of the greateſt Commanders, are commonly either aſcribed to thoſe that ſerue vnder them, to Fortune, or to the cowardiſe of the Nation againſt whom they ſerue. For the moſt of others, whoſe vertues, haue raiſed them aboue the leuell of their inferiours, and haue ſurmounted their enuie: yet haue they beene rewarded in the end, either with diſgrace, baniſhment, or death. Among the *Romans* we finde many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Liuius*, *L. Æmylius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom wee haue lately buried. Among the *Greekes* wee reade of not many, that eſcaped theſe rewards. Yea, long before theſe times, it was a Legacie that *Dauid* bequeathed vnto his victorious Captaine *Ioab*. With this fare *Alexander* feaſted *Parmenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Caſſander*. Hereto *Valentinian* the Emperour inuited *Ætius*: who, after many other victories, ouerthrew *Attila* of the *Hunnes*, in the greateſt battaile, for the well fighting and reſolution of both Armies, that euer was ſtrucken in the world; for there fell of thoſe that fought beſide runne-awayes, an hundred and foureſcore thouſand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Ætius*, hee had cut off his owne right hand with his left: for it was not long after that *Maximus* (by whoſe perſwaſion *Valentinian* ſlue *Ætius*) murdered the Emperour, which hee neuer durſt attempt, *Ætius* liuing. And, beſides the loſſe of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Ætius*, the glory of the Weſterne Empire was rather diſſolued then obſcured. The ſame vnworthy deſtinie, or farre worſe, had *Belliſarius*; whoſe vndertakings and victories were ſo difficult and glorious, as after-ages ſuſpected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Iuſtinian*: and hee died a blinde begger. *Narſes* alſo, to the great preiudice of Chriſtian Religion, was diſgrac'd by *Iuſtine*. That rule of *Cato* againſt *Scipio*, hath been well obſerued in euery age ſince then; to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which ſtandeth in awe of any one man. And hence hath the *Turkes* drawne another Principle, and indeede a Turkiſh one, That euery warlike Prince ſhould rather deſtroy his greateſt men of Warre, than ſuffer his owne glory to be obſcured by them. For this cauſe did *Baiazet* the ſecond diſpatch *Baſſa Acomat*; *Selim* ſtrangle *Baſſa Muſtapha*; and moſt of thoſe Princes bring to ruine the moſt of their *Viſiers*. Of the *Spaniſh* Nation, the great *Gonſaluo*, who draue the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Corſete*, who conquered *Mexico*, were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Earles of *Egmond* and *Horn*, had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Captaines of all Nations haue beene paid with this copper Coine, there are examples more than too many. On the contrary it may be ſaid, That many haue acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of warre. This I confeſſe. Yet muſt it be had withall in conſideration, that theſe high places haue beene giuen, or offered, vnto very few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many haue vſurped them, by the helpe and fauour of thoſe Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which haue oppreſſed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which haue traiterouſly caſt downe their Maſters, and ſtepped vp into their ſeats; were not all of them good men of warre: but haue vſed the aduantage of ſome commotion, or many of them by baſe and cowardly practices, haue obtained thoſe dignities, which vndeſeruedly were aſcribed to their perſonall worth. So that the number of thoſe, that haue purchaſed abſolute greatneſſe by the greatneſſe of their warlike vertue; is farre more in ſeeming, than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldiour, and by helpe of the Souldiours he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, ſeldome found in any other than cowards, he ſlew firſt the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that neuer had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himſelfe. This his bloudy aſpiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him againe by *Heraclius*: who tooke from him the Imperiall Crowne, vniuſtly gotten; and ſet it on his owne head. *Leontius* laid hold vpon the Emperour *Iuſtine*, cut off his noſe and eares, and ſent him into baniſhment: But Gods vengeance rewarded him with the ſame puniſhment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whoſe charge hee had left his owne men of warre. *Iuſtine*, hauing recouered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the ſame faſhion. *Philippicus*, commanding the forces of *Iuſtine*, murdered both the Emperour and his ſonne. *Anaſtaſius*, the vaſſall of this new Tyrant, ſurpriſed his Maſter *Philippicus*, and thruſt out both his eyes. But with *Anaſtaſius*, *Theodoſius* dealt more gently: for hauing wreſted the Scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a Prieſt. It were an endleſſe, and a needeleſſe worke to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodoſius*; how many others haue beene repayed with their owne cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thouſands, hoping of Captaines to make themſelues Kings, haue by Gods iuſtice miſerably periſhed in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the beſt way of thriuing, by the practice of Armes, is to take what may be gotten by the ſpoile of Enemies, and the liberalitie of thoſe Princes and Cities, in whoſe ſeruice one hath well deſerued. But ſcarce one of a thouſand haue proſpered by this courſe. For that obſeruation, made by *Salomon*, of vnthankefulneſſe in this kinde, hath beene found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little Citie, and few men in it, and a great King came againſt it, and compaſſed it about, and builded Forts againſt it: And there was found a poore and wiſe man therein, and he deliuered the Citie by his wiſdome: but none remembred this poore man.* Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thankes, leſt thereby they ſhould acknowledge themſelues to haue beene indebted for great benefits: which the vnwiſer ſort of them thinke to ſauour of ſome impotency in themſelues. But in this reſpect they are oftentimes coozened and abuſed; which proues that weakneſſe to be in them indeede, whereof they ſo gladly ſhun the opinion. Contrariwiſe, free Eſtates are bountifull in giuing thankes; yet ſo, as thoſe thankes are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captaines haue made, by enriching themſelues with the ſpoyle of the enemy, they are very inquiſitiue to ſearch into it, and to ſtrip the wel-deſeruers out of their gettings: yea moſt iniuriouſly to rob them of their owne, vpon a falſe ſuppoſition: that euen they whoſe hands are moſt cleane from ſuch offences, haue purloyned ſomewhat from the common Treaſurie. Hereof I neede not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipioes* being ſo lately recited.

Eccl.c.9.14. & 15.

In my late Soueraignes time, although for the warres, which for her owne ſafetie, ſhe was conſtrained to vndertake, her Maieſtie had no leſſe cauſe to vſe the ſeruice of Martiall men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predeceſſors for many yeeres had; yet, according to the deſtiny of that profeſſion, I doe not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admirall excepted, her eldeſt and moſt proſperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwiſe honoured, for any ſeruice by them performed. And that her Maieſtie had many aduiſed, valiant, and faithfull men, the proſperitie of her affaires did well witneſſe, who in all her dayes neuer receiued diſhonor, by the cowardiſe or infidelity of any Commander, by her ſelfe choſen and imployed.

For as all her old Captaines by Land died poore men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewrie*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Conſtable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkeley*, *Bingham*, and others:

ſo thoſe of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof *Norrice* and *Vere* were the moſt famous, & who haue done as great honor to our Nation (for the meanes they had) as euer any did: thoſe (I ſay) with many other braue Colonels, haue left behinde them (beſides the reputation which they purchaſed with many trauels and wounds) nor title nor eſtate to their poſteritie. As for the L. *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Berty* L. *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Eſtates.

That her Maieſtie in the aduancement of her Men of warre did ſooner beleeue other men than her ſelfe, a diſeaſe vnto which many wiſe Princes, beſides her ſelfe, haue beene ſubiect, I ſay that ſuch a confidence, although it may ſeeme altogether to excuſe her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in ſome ſort accuſe her of weakeneſſe. And exceeding ſtrange it were, were not the cauſe manifeſt enough, that where the proſperous actions are ſo exceedingly prized, the Actors are ſo vnproſperous and ſo generally neglected. The cauſe, I ſay, which hath wrought one and the ſame effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that thoſe which are neereſt the perſon of Princes (which Martiall men ſeldome are) can with no good grace commend, or at leaſt magnifie a profeſſion farre more noble than their owne, ſeeing therein they ſhould onely minde their Maſters of the wrong they did vnto others, in giuing leſſe honour and reward to men of farre greater deſeruing, and of farre greater vſe than themſelues.

But his Maieſtie hath already payed the greateſt part of that debt. For beſides the relieuing by Penſions all the poorer ſort, hee hath honoured more Martiall men, than all the Kings of *England* haue done for this hundred yeeres.

He hath giuen a *Coronet* to the Lord *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkeable ſeruice, as well in the yeere 1588, as at *Caliz*, the *Ilands*, and in our owne Sea; hauing firſt commanded as a Captaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Maieſtie hath changed the Baronies of *Montioy* and *Burley* into Earledomes, and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knollys*, *Ruſſel*, *Carew*, *Danuers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chicheſter*, Barons, for their gouernments and ſeruices in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elſewhere.

§. III.

Philip *making prouiſion for warre againſt the Romans, deales hardly with many of his owne ſubiects. His negotiation with the Baſtarnæ. His crueltie. Hee ſuſpecteth his ſonne* Demetrius. Demetrius *accuſed by his brother* Perſeus; *and ſhortly after ſlaine, by his fathers appointment.* Philip *repenteth him of his ſonnes death; whom hee findeth to haue beene innocent: and intending to reuenge it on* Perſeus, *he dieth.*

Q*Vintus Martius* the *Roman* Embaſſador, who trauelled vp and downe, ſeeking what worke might bee found about *Greece*, had receiued inſtruction from the Senate, to vſe the moſt of his diligence in looking into the Eſtate of *Macedon*. At his returne home, that he might not ſeeme to haue diſcouered nothing, hee told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatſoeuer they enioyned him; yet ſo, as it might appear, that ſuch his obedience would laſt no longer, than meere neceſſity ſhould enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and ſayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which hee was deuiſing. Now it was ſo indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithfull obſequiouſneſſe to the *Romanes*, and foreſaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with ſafety of their honour, if they could finde conuenient meanes; or otherwiſe (as to him ſeemed apparent) by what meanes ſoeuer. Hee was in an ill caſe: as hauing beene already vanquiſhed by them; hauing loſt exceedingly both in ſtrength and reputation; hauing ſubiects that abhorred to heare of Warre with *Rome*; and hauing neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto vrged, would aduenture to take his part: yet he prouided as well as hee could deuiſe, againſt the neceſſitie which he daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gaue him cauſe to ſuſpect, that they would doe but bad ſeruice againſt the *Romans*, he compelled to forſake their dwellings, and remooued them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Countrey, whence theſe were tranſplanted, hee filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whoſe faith he thought a great deale more aſſured, againſt thoſe enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, hee deuiſed vpon alluring the *Baſtarnæ*, a ſtrong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the riuer of *Danubius*, to abandon their ſeat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, beſides other great rewards, would helpe them to roote out the *Dardanians*, and take poſſeſſion of their Countrey. Theſe were like to do him notable ſeruice againſt the *Romans*: being not onely ſtout fighting men; but ſuch as being planted in thoſe quarters by him, would beare reſpect vnto him alone. The leaſt benefit that could bee hoped by their arriuall, muſt be the vtter extirpation of the *Dardanians*; a People alwaies troubleſome to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, whenſoeuer they found aduantage. Neither was it iudged any hard matter, to perſwade thoſe *Baſtarnæ*, by hope of ſpoyle, and other inticements, vnto a more deſperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countries vpon the *Adriaticke* Sea, into *Italie* it ſelfe. It was not knowne who ſhould withſtand them vpon the way: Rather it was thought, that the *Scordiſci*, and peraduenture ſome others, through whoſe Countries they were to paſſe, would accompanie them againſt the *Romanes*, were it onely in hope of ſpoyle. Now to facilitate the remoue of theſe *Baſtarnæ* from their owne habitations, into the Land of the *Dardanians*, vpon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious iourney vnto them, that carried with them their wiues and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchaſe the good will of ſome *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to paſſe. And thus hee ſought meanes to ſtrengthen himſelfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were knowne vnto them; ſince he was not like to finde aſſiſtance from any ciuill Nation, about the whole compaſſe of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But theſe deuices were long ere they tooke effect: ſo as the *Baſternæ* came not before ſuch time as hee was dead; his death being the ouerthrow of that purpoſe. In the meane time he neglected not the training of his men to Warre, and the exerciſe of them in ſome ſmall Expeditions, againſt thoſe wilde people that bordered vpon him, and ſtood worſt affected toward him.

But theſe his counſailes and proceedings were miſerably diſturbed by the calamities that fell vpon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne houſe. The Families and whole Towneſhips, which he had cauſed much againſt their wils to forſake their ancient dwellings, & betake themſelues to ſuch new habitations, as he in his diſcretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at firſt contained it ſelfe within words: hee hauing done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwiſe than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long liued: which alſo hee did vnwillingly, being himſelfe ouer-ruled by neceſſitie, that ſeemed apparent. This euill therefore would ſoone haue beene determined, had not his cruell and vindicatiue nature made it worſe. Hee could not pardon words proceeding from iuſt ſorrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly did ſeeke reuenge where it was needleſſe. In his rage he cauſed many to die: among whom were ſome eminent men; and few or none of them deſeruedly. This encreaſed the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curſes. Which grew the more generall; when the King in a moſt barbarous and baſe fury, miſtruſting all alike whom hee had iniuried, thought himſelfe vnlike to be ſafe, vntill hee ſhould haue maſſacred all the children of thoſe parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his vnmanly pleaſure, ſome accidents, more tragicall then perhaps he could haue deſired, gaue men cauſe to thinke (as they could not in reaſon thinke otherwiſe) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heauen, hee felt the like miſerie in his owne children. It is hard to ſay what the *Romanes* intended, in the extraordinary fauour which they ſhewed vnto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger ſonne. It may well bee (though it may be alſo ſuſpected) that they had no purpoſe to make and nouriſh diſſention betweene the brethren, but onely to cheriſh the vertue and towardlineſſe of *Demetrius*; like as we finde it in their Hiſtories. But their notable fauour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall reſpect of them, bred extreame iealouſie in the fathers head. If any cuſtome of the *Romanes*, the manner of their life, the faſhion of their apparell, or the vnſightly contriuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of *Rome*, were ieſted at in ordinarie diſcourſe and table-talke, *Demetrius* was ſure to be preſently on fire, defending and prayſing them, euen in ſuch points as rather needed excuſe. This, and his daily conuerſation with their Embaſſadours, as often as they came, gaue his father cauſe to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counſaile held againſt them. Wherefore he communicated all his deuices with his elder ſonne *Perſeus*: who fearing ſo much leſt his brother ſhould ſtep betweene him and the ſucceſſion, conuerted wholly vnto his deſtruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perſeus* was then thirty yeres old; of a ſtirring ſpirit, though much defectiue in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by fiue yeeres, more open and vnwarie in his actions, yet thought olde and crafty enough, to entertaine more dangerous practices, than his free ſpeeches diſcouered. The iealous head of the King hauing entertained ſuch ſuſpitions, that were much increaſed by the cunning practice of his elder ſonne, a ſlight occaſion made the fire breake out, that had long layne ſmothered. A Muſter, and ceremonious luſtration of the Armie, was wont to be made at certaine times with great ſolemnitie. The manner of it at the preſent was thus: They cleft in twaine a bitch; and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailes, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Armie was to paſſe. This done, the Armes of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very firſt originall, were borne before the Armie. Then followed the King between his two ſonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whom all the reſt of the *Macedonians* followed. Hauing performed other ceremonies, the Armie was diuided into two parts: which, vnder the Kings two ſonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vſing poles, and the like, in ſtead of their pikes and accuſtomed weapons. But in this preſent skirmiſh there appeared ſome extraordinary contention for the victorie: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did ouer-earneſtly ſeeke each to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good ſucceſſe in a greater triall. Some ſmall hurt there was done, and wounds giuen, euen with thoſe ſtakes, vntill *Perſeus* his ſide at length recoyled. *Perſeus* himſelfe was ſorry for this, as it had been ſome bad preſage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good vſe. They were of the craftier ſort: who perceiuing which way the Kings fauour bent, and how all the courſes of *Demetrius* led vnto his owne ruine, addreſſed their ſeruices to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they ſaid, that this victory of *Demetrius* would affoord matter of complaint againſt him; as if the heate of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that ſolemne paſtime. Each of the brethren was that day to feaſt his owne companions, and each of them had ſpies in the others lodging, to obſerue what was ſaid and done. One of *Perſeus* his Intelligencers behaued himſelfe ſo indiſcreetly, that he was taken & well beaten by three or foure of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of dores. After ſome ſtore of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would goe viſit his brother, and ſee what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting ſuch of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet hee would leaue none of his traine behinde, but forced them all to beare him company. They, fearing to bee ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themſelues ſecretly to preuent all danger. Yet was there ſuch good eſpiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made knowne to *Perſeus*: who thereupon tumultuouſly locked vp his doores, as if he ſtood in feare to be aſſaulted in his houſe. *Demetrius* wondred to ſee himſelfe excluded, and fared very angerly with his brother. But *Perſeus* bidding him be gone as an enemie, and one whoſe murderous purpoſe was detected, ſent him away with entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accuſed the younger vnto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, and in effect the ſame hath beene here recited, ſaue that by miſconſtruction all was made worſe. But the maine point of the accuſation, and which did aggrauate all the reſt, was, That *Demetrius* had vndertaken this murder, and would perhaps alſo dare to vndertake a greater, vpon confidence of the *Romanes*; by whom hee knew that hee ſhould be defended and borne out. For *Perſeus* made ſhew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; becauſe hee bore a due reſpect vnto his father, and was ſorrie to ſee him ſpoyled, and daily robbed of ſomewhat by them. And for this cauſe he ſaid it was, that they did animate his brother againſt him: as alſo that they ſought how to winne vnto *Demetrius* the loue of the *Macedonians*. For proofe hereof he cited a letter, ſent of late from *T. Quintius* to the King himſelfe: whereof the contents were, That hee had done wiſely in ſending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he ſhould yet further doe well to ſend him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honourable traine of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence hee enforced, That this counſell was giuen by *Titus*, of purpoſe to ſhake the allegeance of thoſe, that ſhould wait vpon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become ſeruants to this yong Traytor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made anſwere, by rehearſing all paſſages of the day and night foregoing, in ſuch manner as he remembred them, and had conceiued of them: bitterly reprehending *Perſeus*, that conuerted matters of Paſtime, and what was done or ſpoken in wine, to ſuch an accuſation, whereby he ſought his innocent brothers death. As for the loue which the *Romanes* did beare him; He ſaid that it grew, if not from his owne vertue, at leaſtwiſe from their opinion thereof: ſo as by any impious practice, He were more like to loſe it wholly, than to encreaſe it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not ſuch paſſions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; beſides thoſe that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinarie Iudges. The King pronounced like a father, though a iealous father, That he would conclude nothing vpon the exceſſe or error, whatſoeuer it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one houres audience of the matter, but vpon better obſeruation of their liues, manners, and whole carriage of themſelues both in word and deed. And herein he may ſeeme to haue dealt both iuſtly and compaſſionately. But from this time forward he gaue himſelf ouer wholly to *Perſeus*: vſing ſo little conference with his yonger ſonne, that when hee had matters of weight in hand, ſuch eſpecially as concerned the *Romans*, He liked neither to haue him preſent, nor nere vnto him. Aboue all, he had eſpeciall care, to learne out what had paſſed betweene *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom hee thought no way intereſſed in the quarrells betweene the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they ſaw the more in grace. Theſe brought home with them a letter, ſaid to bee written by *Titus* (whoſe ſeale they had counterfetted) vnto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the yong Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthfull and ambitious deſires had cauſed him to enter into practices vniuſtifiable, againſt his elder brother; which yet ſhould neuer take effect, for that *Titus* himſelfe would not be author, or abetter, of any impious deuice. This manner of excuſe did forcibly perſwade the King, to thinke his ſonne a dangerous traytor. To ſtrengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gaue *Demetrius* in cuſtodie, made ſhew as if hee had pittied the eſtate of the vnhappy Prince; and ſo wrung out of him his ſecret intentions, which he ſhortly diſcouered vnto *Philip*. It was the purpoſe of *Demetrius* to flye ſecretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not only to liue in ſafety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than hee could finde at home, of bettering ſuch claime as he had in reuerſion vnto the Crowne of *Macedon*. Whatſoeuer his hopes & meanings were, all came to nought through the falſhood of *Didas*; who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the eſcape, and in the meane while reuealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* reſolued to put his ſonne to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away priuily, for feare leſt the *Romanes* ſhould take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proofe ſufficient, at leaſt, of the Kings deſpight againſt them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the vnhappy Prince out of his life. This accurſed Miniſter of his Kings vnaduiſed ſentence, firſt gaue poyſon to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither ſo haſtily, nor ſo ſecretly, as was deſired. Heereupon hee ſent a couple of Ruffians, to finiſh the tragedie: who villainouſly accompliſhed their work by ſmothering that Prince, in whoſe life conſiſted the greateſt hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not beene found a King, that had thus cruellie dealt with any Prince of his owne bloud. The houſes of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander* fell either with themſelues, or euen vpon their heeles; by inteſtine diſcord and iealouſies, grounded on deſire of ſoueraigne rule, or feare of loſing it. By the like vnnaturall hatred, had almoſt beene cut off the lines of *Ptolemie* and *Seleucus*: which though narrowlie they eſcaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grieuouſly diſtempered. Contrariwiſe, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that vpſtart family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raiſed it ſelfe to maruellous greatneſſe, in very ſhort ſpace, from the condition of meere ſlauery: whereof a principall cauſe was, the brotherly loue maintained by them, with ſingular commendation of their pietie. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of theſe examples; but is ſaid to haue propounded the laſt of them, to his owne children, as a paettrne for them to imitate. Certainely hee had reaſon ſo to doe: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender foſterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cheriſhed him in his minoritie. But He was himſelfe of an vnmercifull nature; & therefore vnmeet to be a good perſwader vnto kindely affection. The murders by him done vpon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the ſatiating of his bloud-thirſty appetite, he delightfully had committed vpon many innocents, both ſtrangers, and ſubiects of his owne; did now procure vengeance downe from Heauen, that rewarded Him with a draught of his owne Poyſon. After the death of his ſonne, He too late began to examine the crimes that had beene obiected; and to weigh them in a more equall ballance. Then found he nothing that could giue him ſatisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not bin contriuer of the whole proceſſe. His onely remaining Son *Perſeus* could ſo ill diſſemble the pleaſure which he tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition; as there might eaſily be perceiued in him a notable change, proceeding from ſome other cauſe, than the remooue of thoſe dangers, which he had lately pretended. The *Romanes* were now no leſſe to bee feared than at other times, when he, as hauing accompliſhed the moſt of his deſires, left off his vſuall trouble of minde, and carefulneſſe of making prouiſion againſt them. Hee was more diligently courted, than in former times; by thoſe that well vnderſtood the difference, betweene a riſing and a ſetting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner deſolate, ſome expecting his death; and ſome ſcarce enduring the tediouſneſſe of ſuch expectation. This bred in the King a deepe melancholy; and filled his head with ſuſpitious imaginations; the like whereof hee had neuer beene ſlow to apprehend. Hee was much vexed: and ſo much the more, for that hee knew, neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Couſin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued ſo true to *Philip*, that hee grew thereby hatefull to *Perſeus*: and thus becomming ſubiect vnto the ſame iealous impreſſion which troubled the King, became alſo partaker of his ſecrets. This counſailour, when hee found that the anger conceiued againſt *Perſeus* would not vent it ſelfe, and giue eaſe to the King, vntill the truth were knowne whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treaſon obiected; as alſo that *Philocles* and *Apelles*, (the Embaſſadours which had brought from *Rome* that Epiſtle of *Flaminius*, that ſerued as the greateſt euidence againſt *Demetrius*) were ſuſpected of forgery in the buſineſſe: made diligent inquirie after the truth. In thus doing, he found one *Xichus*, a man moſt likely to haue vnderſtood what falſe dealing was vſed by thoſe Embaſſadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and preſented vnto the King: ſaying, that this fellow knew all, and muſt therefore be made to vtter what he knew. *Xychus* for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before ſuſpected: confeſſing againſt himſelfe, that he had beene employed by the Embaſſadors in that wicked piece of buſineſſe. No maruell, if the Fathers paſſions were extreme, when he vnderſtood that by the vnnaturall practice of one ſonne, he had ſo wretchedly caſt away another, farre more vertuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly againſt himſelfe, and withall againſt the authors of the miſchiefe. Vpon the firſt newes of this diſcouerie, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italie*, *Philocles* was taken: and either foraſmuch as he could not denie it when *Xychus* confronted him, yeelded himſelfe guilty, or elſe was put to torture. *Perſeus* was now growne ſtronger, than that he ſhould need to flye the Countrie: yet not ſo ſtout as to aduenture himſelfe into his fathers preſence. Hee kept on the borders of the Kingdome, towards *Thrace*, whileſt his father wintered at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngracious ſonne; tooke a reſolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him, and confer it vpon *Antigonus*. But his weake body, and exceſſiue griefe of minde, ſo diſabled him in the trauell thereto belonging; that ere hee could bring his purpoſe to effect, hee was conſtrained to yeeld to nature: Hee had reigned about two and forty yeeres: alwaies full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexed himſelfe with continuall warres; of which that with the *Romans* was moſt vnhappy, and few or none of the reſt found the concluſion, which a wiſe Prince would haue deſired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the euill that befell him, hee might thanke his own peruerſe condition: ſince his Vncle, King *Antigonus*, had left vnto him an eſtate, ſo great, and ſo well ſettled, as made it eaſie for him, to accompliſh any moderate deſires, if he had not abhorred all good counſell. Wherefore he was iuſtly puniſhed by feeling the difference betweene the imaginary happineſſe of a Tyrant, which he affected; and the life of a King, whereof he little cared to performe the dutie. His death, euen whileſt yet he was onely drawing neere, was fore-ſignified vnto *Perſeus*, by *Calligenes* the Phyſician; who alſo concealed it a while from thoſe that were about the Court. So *Perſeus* came thither on the ſuddaine, and tooke poſſeſſion of the kingdome: which in fine hee no leſſe improuidently loſt, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. IIII.

How the Baſtarnæ fell vpon Dardania. The behauior of Perſeus *in the beginning of his reigne. Some warres of the Romans: and how they ſuffered* Maſaniſſa *cruelly to oppreſſe the Carthaginians. They quarrell with* Perſeus. *They allow not their Confederates to make war without their leaue obtained. The Treaſon of* Callicrates; *whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to* Perſeus. *He ſeekes friendſhip of the Achæans, and is withſtood by* Callicrates. *The Romans diſcouer their intent of warring vpon him.*

IMmediately vpon the death of *Philip*, came the *Baſtarnæ* into *Thrace*: where order had beene taken, long before, both for the free paſſage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrie. This compact was friendly obſerued, as long as no other was knowne than that *Philip* did liue, to recompence all that ſhould be done, or ſuſtained, for his ſeruice. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize: then was all daſht and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford ſo good markets vnto theſe ſtrangers, as formerly they had done. On the other ſide, the *Baſtarnæ* would not be contented with reaſon, but became their owne caruers. Thus each part hauing loſt the rich hopes repoſed in *Philip*, grew carefull of thriuing in the preſent; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blowes; and the *Baſtarnæ* had the vpper hand, ſo as they chaſed the *Thracians* out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little vſe of their good fortune. For whether by reaſon of ſome ouerthrow, receiued by them in aſſaulting a place of ſtrength; or whether becauſe of extreame bad weather, which is ſaid to haue afflicted them as it were miraculouſly: all of them returned home, ſaue thirty thouſand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How theſe thirty thouſand ſped in their voyage, I doe not finde. It ſeemes that by the careleſſe vſing of ſome victories, they drew loſſe vpon themſelues: and finally tooke that occaſion, to follow their companions backe into their owne Countrey.

As for *Perſeus* he thought it not expedient, in the noueltie of his Reigne, to embroyle himſelfe in a warre ſo dangerous, as that with the *Romanes* was likely to proue. Wherefore he wholly gaue his minde to the ſetling of his Eſtate: which well done, hee might afterwards accommodate himſelfe, as the condition of his affaires ſhould require, eyther for warre or peace. To preuent all danger of rebellion, he quickly tooke away the life of *Antigonus*. To winne loue of his people; hee ſate perſonally to heare their cauſes in iudgement (though herein he was ſo ouer-diligent and curious, that one might haue perceiued this his vertue of iuſtice to be no better than fained) as alſo he gratified them with many delightfull ſpectacles, magnificently by him ſet forth. Aboue all, hee had care to auoid all neceſſitie of warre with *Rome*: and therefore made it his firſt worke, to ſend Embaſſadors thither, to renue the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate ſaluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neither was hee negligent in ſeeking to purchaſe good will of the *Greekes*, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein ſo exceſſiuely bountifull, that it may ſeeme a wonder how in few yeeres, to his vtter ruine, hee became ſo griping and tenacious. His feare was indeede the maſtring paſſion, which ouer-ruled him, and changed him into ſo many ſhapes, as made it hard to diſcerne which of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For proofe of this, there is requiſite no more, than the relation of his actions paſt and following.

The *Romanes* continued, as they had long, buſie in warres againſt the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquiſhed, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They alſo conquered *Iſtria*; ſubdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had ſome quarrells, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Ouer the *Carthaginians* they bore (as euer ſince the victory) a heauy hand: and ſuffered *Maſaniſſa* to take from them what hee liſted. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient vaſſals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leaue of the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* therefore had great aduantage ouer them, and was not ignorant how to vſe it. He could get poſſeſſion by force, of whatſoeuer he deſired, ere their complaining Embaſſadours could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated, to leaue things as they found them.

So had He once dealt before, in taking from them the Countrie of *Emporia*: and ſo did he vſe them againe and againe; with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwiſe, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Maſaniſſa* had wonne ſome land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within awhile, reſtored to the right owners, for loue of his Wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Aſdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Maſaniſſa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans*, to whoſe iudgement the caſe was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Eſtate, to vſe all manner of ſubmiſſiue obedience to *Rome*. They had ſcarcely digeſted this iniury, when *Maſaniſſa* came vpon them againe, and tooke from them aboue ſeuentie Townes and Caſtles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaſſadours they made lamentable complaint vnto the *Roman* Senate. They ſhewed how grieuouſly they were oppreſſed by reaſon of two Articles in their League: That they ſhould not make warre, out of their owne Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were ſo, that they might lawfully withſtand the violence of *Maſaniſſa*, inuading their Country, howſoeuer hee was pleaſed to call it his: yet ſince he was confederate with the *Romanes*, they durſt not preſume to beare defenſiue armes againſt him, but ſuffered themſelues to be eaten vp, for feare of incurring the *Romanes* indignation. Wherefore they entreated, that either they might haue fairer iuſtice; or be ſuffered to defend their owne by ſtrong hand; or at leaſt, if right muſt wholly giue place to fauor, That the *Romanes* yet would be pleaſed to determine, how farre forth *Maſaniſſa* ſhould be allowed, to proceed in theſe outrages. If none of theſe petitions could be obtained, then deſired they, that the *Romanes* would let them vnderſtand, wherein they had offended ſince the time that *Scipio* gaue them peace; and vouchſafe to inflict on them ſuch puniſhment, as they themſelues in honour ſhould thinke meete: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to ſuffer at once what ſhould be appointed by ſuch Iudges; than continually to liue in feare, and none otherwiſe draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hangman. And heerewithall the Embaſſadors threw themſelues proſtrate on the ground, weeping in hope to mooue compaſſion.

Here may we behold, the fruits of their enuy to that valiant houſe of the *Barchines*, of their irreſolution, in proſecuting a war ſo important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their half-penny worthing, in matter of expence, when they had aduentured their whole eſtate, in the purchaſe of a great Empire. Now are they ſeruants, euen to the ſeruants of thoſe men, whoſe fathers they had oft chaſed, ſlaine, taken, & ſold as bondſlaues in the ſtreets of *Carthage*, & in al Cities of *Africk* & *Greece*. Now haue they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* ſo often & ſo earneſtly deſired. Onely they want peace with *Maſaniſſa*, once their mercinarie, and now their maſter, or rather their tormentor; out of whoſe cruell hands, they beſeech their maſters to take the office of correcting them. In ſuch caſe are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they ſee flouriſhing in ſuch proſperitie as might haue beene their owne. But the *Romans* had farre better entreated *Varro*, who loſt the battell at *Cannæ*; than *Hannibal* that won it was vſed by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely beſtowed, euery man of them, all his priuate riches, vpon the Commonwealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without crauing recompence: as alſo they had not thought it much, though being in extreame want, to ſet out an Armie into *Spaine*, at what time the enemy lay vnder their owne walls. Theſe were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians* hauing fought againſt their betters, muſt patiently endure the miſeries belonging vnto the vanquiſhed. Their pittifull behauiour bredde peraduenture ſome commiſeration; yet their teares may ſeeme to haue beene miſtruſted, as proceeding no leſſe from enuie vnto the *Romanes*, than from any feeling of their owne calamitie. They thought themſelues able to fight with *Maſaniſſa*: which eſtimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into compariſons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained no ſuch leaue as they ſought, of defending their owne right by armes : but contrariwiſe, when without leaue obtained they preſumed ſo farre, the deſtruction of *Carthage* was thought an eaſie puniſhment of that offence. At the preſent, they receiued a gentle anſwere ; though they had otherwiſe little amends. *Guluſſa* the ſonne of *Maſaniſſa* was then in *Rome* ; and had not as yet craued audience. He was therefore called before the Senate ; where he was demanded the reaſon of his coming ; and had related vnto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* againſt his Father. He anſwered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embaſſadours thither ſent from *Carthage*, had therefore not giuen him inſtructions, how to deale in that buſineſſe. Onely it was knowne, that the *Carthaginians* had held counſell diuers nights, in the Temple of *Æſculapius* : whereupon he himſelfe was diſpatched away to *Rome*, there to entreat the Senate, that theſe common enemies of the *Romanes* and of his Father might not be ouermuch truſted ; eſpecially againſt his Father, whom they hated moſt maliciouſly, for his conſtant faith to the people of *Rome*. This anſwere gaue little ſatisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed, that for *Maſaniſſa* his ſake, they had done, and would doe, whatſoeuer was reaſonable ; but that it ſtood not with their iuſtice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* thoſe lands, which by the couenants of the league, were granted vnto them freely to enioy. With this milde rebuke they diſmiſſed *Guluſſa* ; beſtowing on him friendly preſents (as alſo they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willed him to tell his Father, that he ſhould doe well to ſend Embaſſadours, more fully inſtructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* warre was euen ready to begin : at which time the *Romanes* were not willing, too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians*, (for feare of vrging them vnſeaſonably to rebellion) or *Maſaniſſa*, at whoſe hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Maſaniſſa* : by the *Carthaginians*, partly for feare, partly for hope of better vſage in the future ; by *Maſaniſſa*, in way of thankefulnes ; though if it had happened (which was vnlikely) that they ſhould be vanquiſhed ; he made none other account, than that all *Africke* round about him, and *Carthage* therewithall, ſhould be his owne.

In the midſt of all theſe cares, the *Romans* had not been vnmindfull of *Perſeus*. They viſited him daily with Embaſſadours ; that is, with honourable ſpies to obſerue his behauiour. Theſe Hee entertained kindely at firſt, vntill (which fell out ere long) he perceiued whereto their diligence tended. Firſt they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania* : neither would they take any ſatisfaction, vntill the *Baſtarnæ* were thence gone ; though he proteſted, that hee had not ſent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings ; and were no leſſe ill contented with good offices, by him done, to ſundry of his neighbours, than with thoſe wrongs, which (they ſaid) that he did vnto other ſome. Where hee did harme to any ; they called it, making warre vpon their friends : Where hee did good ; they called ſuch his bounty, ſeeking friends to take his part againſt them. The *Dolopians*, his ſubiects, (vpon what occaſion it is vncertaine) rebelled, and with exquiſite torments ſlue *Euphranor*, whom hee had appointed their gouernour. It ſeemes that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without ſtrength to reſiſt the *Macedonian* : and therefore vnlikely to haue preſumed ſo farre, vnleſſe either they had beene extremely prouoked ; or elſe were ſecretly animated by the *Romanes*. Whatſoeuer it was that bred this courage in them : *Perſeus* did ſoone allay it, and reclaime them by ſtrong hand. But the *Romanes* tooke very angerly this preſumption of the King : euen as if hee had inuaded ſome Countrie of their *Italian* confederates, & not corrected his owne Rebels at home. Faine they would haue had him to draw in the ſame yoke with the *Carthaginians* ; whereunto had hee humbled once his necke, they could themſelues haue done the part of *Maſaniſſa* ; though *Eumenes*, or ſome other fit for that purpoſe, had been wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league between them were ſuch, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their licence firſt obtained.

To the ſame paſſe they would alſo faine haue reduced the *Greekes*, & generally all their adherents, euen ſuch as had entred into league with them vpon equall termes : whom vſually they rewarded with a frowne, whenſoeuer they preſumed to right themſelues by force of Armes, without ſeeking firſt the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Achæans* had good experience : whoſe confidence in their proper ſtrength made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne caruers, and whoſe hope of extraordinarie fauour at *Rome* cauſed them the more willingly to referre their cauſes to arbitrement. For when they went about to haue chaſtiſed the *Meſſenians* by warre; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking ſuch a worke in hand, without his authoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, euen with Lordly threates, when they tooke vpon them to carry any buſineſſe of importance, by their owne power, without ſtanding vnto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who neuertheleſſe, vpon ſubmiſſion, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their abſolute libertie, as by which they were not like to thriue; eſpecially in vſurping the practice of Armes, which belonged onely to the Imperiall Citie. In learning this hard leſſon, they were ſuch vntoward Schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very ſharpe correction. Yet was there no ſmall part of blame to be imputed vnto their Maſters. For the *Romane* Senate, being deſirous to humble the *Achæans*, refuſed not onely to giue them ſuch aide as they requeſted, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a careleſſe inſolencie, reiected this honeſt and reaſonable petition, That the Enemie might not be ſupplied from *Italie*, with victualls or armes. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argiues*, *Lacedæmonians*, or *Corinthians*, would reuolt from the *Achæans*; they themſelues would thinke it a buſineſſe no way concerning them.

Polyb. Legat. 51. & 53.

This was preſently after the death of *Philopœmen*: at what time it was beleeued, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much diſtreſſe; were it not vpheld by countenance of the *Romanes*. All this notwithſtanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Achæans* had vtterly ſubdued the *Meſſenians* farre ſooner than was expected; and when as not only no Town rebelled from the *Achæans*, but many entred into their corporation: then did the *Romanes* with an ill-fauoured grace, tell the ſame Embaſſadours, to whoſe petition they had made ſuch bad anſwere (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie,) That they had ſtreightly forbidden all manner of ſuccour to be carried to *Meſſene*. Thus thinking, by a fained grauitie, to haue ſerued their owne turnes; they manifeſted their condition; both to ſet on the weaker, againſt the ſtronger and more ſuſpected; and alſo to aſſume vnto themſelues a Soueraigne power, in directing all matters of Warre, which diſſemblingly they would haue ſeemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting any of them to make Warre, whether offenſiue or defenſiue; though it were againſt meere ſtrangers; without interpoſing the authoritie of the Senate and People of *Rome*: vnleſſe peraduenture ſometimes they winked at ſuch violence, as did helpe towards the accompliſhment of their owne ſecret malice. Now theſe *Romane* Arts howſoeuer many (for gainefull or timerous reſpects) would ſeeme to vnderſtand them; yet were generally diſpleaſing vnto all men endued with free ſpirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the moſt turbulent Citie in *Greece*, hauing neither ſubiects of their owne that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into ſubiection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practice their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations; were much delighted in flattering the moſt mighty. So they kept themſelues in grace with the *Romans*, remained free from all trouble, vntill the warre of *Mithridates*: being men vnfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-crauers for the vanquiſhed. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for thoſe other Common-weales and Kingdomes, that with ouer-nice diligence ſtroue to preſerue their liberties and lands, from conſuming by piece-meale: they were to bee deuoured whole, and ſwallowed vp at once. Eſpecially the *Macedonian*, as the moſt vnpliant, and wherein many of the *Greekes* began to haue affiance, was neceſſarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow than to breake.

Neither *Perſeus* nor the *Romans* were ignorant, how the *Greekes* at this time ſtood affected. *Perſeus*, by reaſon of his neere neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his ſubiects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopœmen* had long ſince foretold, of the miſerable ſubiection, whereinto *Greece* was likely to bee reduced, by the *Romane* patronage. Indeede they not onely perceiued the approching danger: but as being tenderly ſenſible of their liberty, felt themſelues grieued with the preſent ſubiection, whereto already they were become obnoxious: Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the *Romans:* yet all of them had the care, to chooſe among themſelues none other Magiſtrates, than ſuch as affected the good of their Countrie, and would for no ambition, or other ſeruile reſpect, bee flatterers of the greatneſſe which kept all in feare. Thus it ſeemed likely, that all domeſticall conſpiracies would ſoone be at an end; when honeſtie and loue of the Common weale, became the faireſt way to preferment. Of this carefull prouiſion for the ſafety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not throughly aduertiſed: eyther becauſe things were diligently concealed from their Embaſſadours, whom all men knew to bee little better than Spies; or becauſe little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by ſuch Traytors (of whom euery Citie in *Greece* had too many) as were men vnregarded among their owne people, and therefore more like to ſpeake maliciouſly than truely; or perhaps becauſe the Embaſſadours themſelues, being all Senators, and capable of the greateſt Office or charge, had no will to finde out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne deſires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which many know, from theſe that are feared or flattered by many. The *Achæans* being to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, that ſhould both excuſe them, as touching ſome point wherein they refuſed to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the ſame buſineſſe; choſe one *Callicrates*, among others, to go in that Embaſſage. By their making choiſe of ſuch a man; one may perceiue the aduantage, which miſchieuous wretches, who commonly are forward in purſuing their vile deſires, haue againſt the plaine ſort of honeſt men, that leaſt earneſtly thruſt themſelues into the troubleſome buſineſſe of the weale publike. For this *Callicrates* was in ſuch wiſe tranſported with ambition; that he choſe much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other bee of more authoritie than himſelfe therein. Wherefore in ſtead of well diſcharging his credence, and alleadging what was meeteſt in iuſtification of his people: he vttered a quite contrary tale; and ſtrongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppreſſe both the *Achæans* and all the reſt of *Greece*, with a farre more heauy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the ſetling of their authority, among his froward Countrimen; if they meant not wholly to forgoe it. For now there was taken vp a cuſtome, to ſtand vpon points of confederacie, and lawes: as if theſe were principally to bee in regard; any iniunction from *Rome* notwithſtanding.

Hence grew it, that the *Achæans* both now, and at other times, did what beſt pleaſed themſelues, and anſwered the *Romans* with excuſes: as if it were enough to ſay, That by ſome condition of League, or by force of ſome Law, they were diſcharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be ſo, if Hee, and ſome other of his opinion, might haue their wills: who ceaſed not to affirme, That no Columes or Monument erected, nor no ſolemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obſeruance of Confederacie or ſtatute, ought to be of force, when the *Romanes* willed the contrarie. But it was euen the fault of the *Romans* themſelues, That the multitude refuſed to giue eare vnto ſuch perſwaſions. For howſoeuer in popular Eſtates, the ſound of libertie vſed to be more plauſible, than any diſcourſe tending againſt it: yet if they which vndertooke the maintenance of an argument, ſeeming neuer ſo bad, were ſure by their ſo doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increaſe apace, & they became the preualent faction. It was therfore ſtrange how the *Fathers* could ſo neglect the aduancement of thoſe, that ſought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* maieſty. More wiſely, though with ſeditious and rebellious purpoſe, did the *Greekes*: who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, vpon men otherwiſe of little account or deſert; only for hauing vttered ſome braue words againſt the *Romans*. The *Fathers* hearing theſe and the like reaſons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughlie thoſe that were obſtinate, and by cheriſhing their friends, to make their partie ſtrong; reſolued to follow this good counſaile, in euerie point; yea to depreſſe all thoſe that held with the right, and to ſet vp their owne followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not onely dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the *Achæans*, than had beene their manner in former times; but wrote at the preſent vnto all Cities of *Greece*; requiring them to ſee that their mandate (which was concerning the reſtitution of thoſe that were baniſhed out of *Lacedæmon*) ſhould be fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of *Callicrates*; they aduiſed all men, to be ſuch,

Polyb. Legat. 78.

and ſo affected, as hee was, in their ſeuerall common-weales. With this diſpatch, *Callicrates* returned home a ioyfull man: hauing brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himſelfe into the way of preferment. Neuertheleſſe hee forbore to vant himſelfe, of his eloquence vſed in the Senate. Onely hee ſo reported his Embaſſage, that all men became fearefull of the danger, wherewith hee threatned thoſe that ſhould preſume to oppoſe the *Romanes*. By ſuch arts he obtained to be made Pretor of the *Achæans*: in which Magiſtracie, as in all his courſes following, hee omitted nothing, that might ſerue to manifeſt his ready obſequiouſneſſe vnto thoſe whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the *Romans* by threatning termes wonne many flatterers, and loſt as many true friends: ſo *Perſeus* on the other ſide, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopeful promiſes, to aſſure vnto himſelfe thoſe that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honeſter than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* diſtracted with factions: ſome holding with the *Romans*; ſome with the *Macedonian*; and ſome few, reſpecting onely the good of the Eſtates, wherein they liued. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not ſufferable, That a King, no better than their vaſſall, ſhould dare to become head of a faction againſt them. This therefore muſt be reckoned in the number of his treſpaſſes: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, ſhall afford them iuſt occaſion to make warre vpon him. *Perſeus* hauing finiſhed his buſineſſe among the *Dolopians*, made a iourney to *Apollo* his temple at *Delphi*. He tooke his Armie along with him; yet went, and returned in ſuch peaceable and friendly wiſe, that no place was the worſe for his iourney, but the good affection towards him generally increaſed thereby. With thoſe that were in his way, he dealt himſelfe; to ſuch as lay further off, he ſent Embaſſadors or letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatſoeuer, done by his father, might be buried with his father; ſince his owne meaning was to hold friendſhip ſincerely with all his neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could haue beene pleaſed better, if hee had behaued himſelfe after a contrary faſhion, and done ſome acts of hoſtilitie in his paſſage. Yet as if he ought not to haue taken ſuch a iourney, without their licence; this alſo was made a valuable matter, and caſt into the heape of his faults. He laboured greatly to recouer the loue of the *Achæans*: which his father had ſo loſt, that by a ſolemne decree, they forbade any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. It was iealouſie perhaps, no leſſe than hatred, which cauſed them, at the firſt, to make ſuch a decree. For howſoeuer *Philip* had by manie vile acts, eſpecially by the death of the two *Arati*, giuen them cauſe to abhorre him: yet in the publike adminiſtration of their eſtate, he had, for the more part, been to them ſo beneficiall, that not without much adoe and at length, without any generall conſent, they reſolued to forſake him. Wherefore it was needfull, euen for preſeruation of concord among them, to vſe all circumſpection; that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a country, towards him ſo doubtfully affected: eſpecially when by hearkening to his meſſages, they might make themſelues ſuſpected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of Warre, and when all danger of innouation was paſt; was vnciuill, if not inhumane, as nouriſhing deadly hatred, without leauing means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Achæans* reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like ſort, forbidden the Kingdome of *Macedon*: yet vnderſtanding what would be due to them, if they ſhould aduenture thither, none of them durſt ſet foot therein. Hence it came to paſſe, that their bondmen, knowing a ſafe harbour, out of which their maſters could not fetch them, ranne daily away, in great numbers: exceedingly to the loſſe of ſuch, as made of their ſlaues very profitable vſe. But *Perſeus* tooke hold vpon this occaſion: as fitly ſeruing to pacifie thoſe, whoſe enmitie faine he would haue changed into loue. Hee therefore apprehended all theſe fugitiues, to ſend them home againe: and wrote vnto the *Achæans*, That as for good will vnto them, hee had taken paines to reſtore back their ſeruants; ſo ſhould they do very well to take order for keeping them, that heereafter they might not runne away againe. His meaning was readily vnderſtood, & his letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearſed by the Pretor, before the Councell. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angerly; and bade them be aduiſed what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine deuice, to make them depart from the friendſhip of the *Romanes*. Heerewithall hee tooke vpon him, ſomewhat liberally, to make the *Achæans* before-hand acquainted with the Warre, that was comming vpon *Perſeus* from *Rome*. Hee told them, how *Philip* had made preparations for the ſame warre; how *Demetrius* had beene made away, becauſe of his good affection to the *Romanes*; and how *Perſeus* had, ſince his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly Hee rehearſed all thoſe matters, which were afterwards alleaged by the *Romanes*; the inuaſion of the *Baſtarnæ*, vpon the *Dardanians*; the Kings iourny againſt the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behauiour, which was (he ſaid) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he aduiſed them, to expect the euent of things, and not ouer-haſtily to enter into any degree of friendſhip with the *Macedonians*. Heereto good anſwer was made by the Prætors brother: That *Callicrates* was too earneſt, in ſo light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings cabbinet, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himſelfe too well acquainted with all that had paſſed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that *Perſeus* had renued his league with the *Romanes*; that he was by them ſaluted King, and friend to the Eſtate; and that Hee had louingly entertained their Embaſſadors. This beeing ſo: why might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Ætolians*, *Theſſalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greekes*, hold with him ſuch correſpondence, as common humanitie required? Neuertheleſſe *Callicrates* was growne a man ſo terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durſt not ouer-ſtiffely gaineſay him. Therefore the matter was referred vnto further deliberation: and anſwere made the whileſt, That ſince the King had onely ſent a letter without an Embaſſadour; they knew not how to reſolue. Better it was to ſay thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought moſt reaſonable and conuenient. But when *Perſeus*, herewith not contented, would needes vrge them further, and ſend Embaſſadors: then were they faine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to giue audience: which was proofe ſufficient (to one that could vnderſtand) of the condition wherein they liued. For harkening to this aduice of *Callicrates*; they were ſoone after highly commended by a *Roman* Embaſſadour: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended warre vpon the *Macedonian*; though hitherto no cauſe of warre was giuen.

§. V.

How Eumenes *King of Pergamus was buſied with* Pharnaces, *the Rhodians and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom he accuſeth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemnes his enemies the Rhodians; with the cauſes thereof. The vnuſuall ſtoutneſſe of the Macedonian Embaſſadors.* Perſeus *his attempt vpon* Eumenes. *The brotherly loue betweene* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perſeus *his deuice to poyſon ſome of the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree warre againſt him, and ſend him defiance. Other things, concerning the iuſtice of this warre.*

Polyb. Legat. 56. & 59.

Eumenes King of *Pergamus* had beene troubled, about theſe times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates* his neighbours. Hee had taken the right courſe; in making firſt his complaint to the *Romanes*: by whom hee was animated with comfortable words, and promiſe, That they, by their authoritie, would end the buſineſſe, to his content. But in concluſion, by the helpe of the Kings *Pruſias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the warre himſelfe; and brought the Enemies to ſeeke and accept peace, on ſuch conditions as pleaſed him to giue them. After this being at good leiſure; he began to conſider, how the affaires of *Macedon* ſtood vnder *Perſeus*. His hatred to *Perſeus* was very great: and therefore hee was glad to vnderſtand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the ſame his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now beſides his ancient and hæreditarie quarrell with the *Macedonian*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his owne honours (whereof the *Greekes*, prodigall in that kinde, had heaped immoderate ſtore on his father and him) began to waxe euery where ſtale: whileſt *Perſeus*, either by his currying fauour, or by the enuie borne to the *Romans*, had gotten their beſt liking and wiſhes. For deſpight of this indignitie, Hee ſtirred vp the *Lycians* againſt the *Rhodians* his old friends: and in helping the rebels was ſo violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But ſmall pleaſure found he, in theſe poore & indirect courſes of reuenge. The *Lycians* could not bee ſaued by his patronage, from ſeuere and cruell chaſtiſement, giuen to them by the *Rhodians*. This rendred him contemptible: as likewiſe, his acts of hoſtilitie, little different from robberies, made him hatefull to thoſe which loued him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not onely continued

Polyb. Legat. 74.

falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a Decree of the *Achæans*, as too vnmeaſured, misbeſeeming them to giue, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deſeruings. All this (which he needed not to haue regarded, had hee not beene too vainely ambitious) befell him, eſpecially for his being ouer-ſeruiceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdome, which if it fell, the libertie of *Greece* was not like to ſtand. Now for the redreſſe heereof; hee thought it in vaine to ſtriue any longer with bounty, againſt ſuch an aduerſarie, as by hopefull promiſes alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the generall fauor. And therefore hee reſolued euen to ouerturne the foundations of this popularitie, by inducing the *Romans* vtterly to take away from the eyes of men, this Idol, The *Macedonian* Kingdome, which all ſo vainly worſhipped. Neither would it proue a difficult matter, to perſwade thoſe that were already deſirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for ſetting forward their wiſhes; and perhaps to be recompenced with ſome piece of the Kingdome, as he had beene rewarded, for the like ſeruice, when *Antiochus* was vanquiſhed.

Liuie lib. 42.

To this end hee made a ſecond voyage to *Rome*: where though hee had little to ſay which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with ſuch attention, as if they had contained ſome ſtrange noueltie, and ſo pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Baſtarnæ* into *Dardania*; that of *Perſeus* himſelfe againſt the *Dolopians*, and to *Delphi*; the great eſtimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*; his intermedling in buſineſſe of neighbours; his riches, and his great prouiſions: were all the materiall points of *Eumenes* his diſcourſe. Onely he deſcended into particulars, hauing ſearched into all (as he profeſſed) like vnto a Spie. Hee ſaid, That *Perſeus* had thirty thouſand foot, and fiue thouſand Horſe, of his owne; money in a readineſſe to entertaine ten thouſand Mercenaries for ten yeeres; armes, to furniſh a number thrice as great; The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Soldiours as many as hee ſhould require; and that he prepared victuals for ten yeeres, becauſe he would not be driuen, either to liue vpon ſpoyle, or to take from his owne Subiects. Herewithall Hee prayed them to conſider, that King *Seleucus* the ſonne and ſucceſſour of *Antiochus* the Great, had giuen his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perſeus*; *Perſeus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Pruſias* of *Bithynia*, by earneſt ſuite, had gotten to wife the ſiſter of *Perſeus*; and that theſe mariages were ſolemnized with great concourſe of Embaſſages from all quarters. Neither ſpared He to tell them, (though ſeeming loth to vtter it plainely) That euen the enuie of their Eſtate was the cauſe, why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with *Philip*, were now growne maruellouſly well affected to his ſonne. All this, and ſome facts of *Perſeus*, which might either be denied, or iuſtified (as that he had procured the death of ſome which were friends to the *Romans*; & that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who inuaded *Macedon*, out of his Kingdome or Lordſhip) *Eumenes* failed not to amplifie vnto the moſt: ſaying that he thought it his dutie to forewarne them; ſince it would be to Himſelfe a great ſhame, if *Perſeus* got the ſtart of him, and were in *Italie* making warre vpon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to beleeue that the *Romans* ſtood in feare of *Perſeus*, leſt hee ſhould ſet vpon them in *Italie*. Neuertheleſſe foraſmuch as they loued not to make war without faire pretence, not onely of wrong done to them or their aſſociates, but of further hurt intended: great thankes were giuen to *Eumenes*, who had euery way furniſhed them with ſuch goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now though it were ſo that He told them little elſe than what they knew before: yet his perſon, and the manner of his comming, made all ſeeme greater. For if vpon any relation made by their owne Embaſſadours, or vpon tales deuiſed by their flatterers and ſpies, they had warred againſt *Perſeus*, ere Hee had committed any open act of hoſtility againſt them; their iniuſtice, and oppreſſion, would haue beene moſt manifeſt. But when the wrongs to them done were ſo notorious, and the danger threatning them ſo terrible; that ſuch a Prince as *Eumenes*, came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from *Aſia*, to bid them looke to themſelues: who could blame them, if they tooke the ſpeedieſt order to obtaine their owne right and ſecuritie? Toward this iuſtification of the warre, and magnifying the neceſſitie that enforced them thereto; their more then vſuall curioſitie, in concealing what *Eumenes* had vttered in the Senate, when they could not but vnderſtand that his errand was well knowne; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embaſſadours were at *Rome*, prouided of anſwers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would ſpeake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of Him, or of ſome about him, ſeemes to haue diſcloſed all: when the warineſſe of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable ſhew of ſome fearefull apprehenſion; againſt which, it behooued their wiſedome to neglect no poſſible remedy. Wherefore careleſſe audience was giuen to the *Rhodian* Embaſſadours; who accuſed *Eumenes*, as one more troubleſome to *Aſia*, than *Antiochus* had euer beene, and a prouoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pompe, conueighed by Sea vnto *Perſeus*, his bride *Laodice*; which friendly office as the *Macedonian* bountifully requited, ſo the *Romans* deſpightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquiſhed, were ſetling themſelues in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*: Embaſſadours came from *Rome* with ſtrange newes, which gaue new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it ſtood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to aliene quite from their owne protection any people or Nation by them vanquiſhed; and that the *Lycians* were by them aſſigned vnto thoſe of *Rhodes*, not as meere vaſſals, but as dependants and aſſociates. For proofe hereof, they referred themſelues vnto the commentaries of the tenne Embaſſadours, whom they had ſent to diſpoſe of things in *Aſia*, after the victory againſt King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Maſaniſſa*, The *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Eſtats, that were beholding to *Rome* for increaſing the number of their ſubiects, had cauſe to finde themſelues agrieued if they well conſidered the matter: ſince by force of this or the like decree, thoſe their ſubiects might eaſily be made their fellowes, whenſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe the Senate: though it were ſo, that all men knew the preſent meaning of the Senate, which was onely to plague the *Rhodians*, for their good will to *Perſeus*, by ſetting them and the *Lycians* together by the eares. The *Fathers* could therefore ſee no reaſon to diſlike *Eumenes*, vpon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embaſſadours; which indeed more neerely touched themſelues. Rather they honoured the King ſo much the more: for that others (as they would needes take it) conſpired againſt him, becauſe of his loue to *Rome*.

Polyb. Legat. 60 & 61.

Liu. lib. 41.

But the *Macedonian* Embaſſage they heard not ſo careleſly as angrily: though peraduenture it well contented them to finde cauſe of anger. For whereas at other times all cares had beene taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuſes: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perſeus* deſired much to giue them ſatisfaction, concerning any deede or word of his, that might ſauour of hoſtilitie; but that, if his trauaile in this kinde proued vaine, then would he be ready to defend himſelfe by armes, and ſtand to the chance of warre, which often fals out contrary to expectation. Theſe bigge words may ſeeme to haue proceeded from the vehemencie of *Harpalus*, that was chiefe of the Embaſſadors; rather than from inſtruction giuen by the King, with whoſe faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reaſon, why *Perſeus* himſelfe might, at this time, thinke to ſpeede better by a ſhew of daring, than he was like to doe by any ſubmiſſion. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now caſt vpon him, as on the greateſt hope of deliuerance from the *Roman* ſeruitude; it was not expedient, that he ſhould leſſen, or perhaps vtterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by diſcouering his too much weakeneſſe of ſpirit, vnanſwerable to a worke of ſuch importance. Wherefore He, or his Embaſſador for him, was bold to ſet a good countenance on a game not very bad, but ſubiect (in appearance) to Fortune; which might haue beene his, had he knowne how to vſe it.

Now that this brauery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings owne heat; it appeares by his daring to aduenture ſoone after, on a practice that more iuſtly might anger the *Romans*, and giue them fairer ſhew of reaſon to make warre vpon him. It was knowne that *Eumenes*, in turning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there doe ſacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perſeus* deadly hating him, and thirſting after his bloud, reſolued to way-lay him, and by making there of him a ſacrifice, to rid his owne hands of a moſt miſchieuous enemy. So there were appointed three or foure ſtout ruffians to doe the murder: who placing themſelues behinde a broken mud wall, on the ſide of a very narrow path leading vp from the Sea to the Temple; did thence aſſault the King; whom they ſorely bruiſed with great ſtones, and left for dead. They might haue finiſhed their worke; ſuch was the opportunitie of the place which they had choſen; but feare of being apprehended, made them, without ſtaying to ſee all ſure, flee in ſuch haſte, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, becauſe he ſhould not diſcouer them. *Eumenes* was conueighed away to the little Iſle of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept ſo ſecretly, that the fame of his death was current in *Aſia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* tooke vpon him as King, and either tooke or would haue taken to wife (ſuppoſing it belike a matter of State) *Stratonica* the daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the widdow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly loue, That when the King returned aliue home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, receiued none other checke, than, *that Hee ſhould forbeare to marrie with the Queene, vntill Hee were well aſſured of the Kings death*. More than this, *Eumenes* neuer ſpake of theſe matters; but bequeathed at his death, vnto the ſame brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewiſe *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the preiudice of the King his brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in eſpeciall fauour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readineſſe, to haue transferred the Kingdome from his brother to Him. By ſuch concord of brethren was the Kingdome of *Pergamus* raiſed and vpheld: as might alſo that of *Macedon* haue beene, if *Demetrius* had liued and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perſeus*.

It is likely that *Perſeus* was very glad when he vnderſtood, that his miniſters had both accompliſhed his will, and had ſaued all from diſcouerie. But as he was deceiued in the maine point, and heard ſhortly after, that *Eumenes* liued: ſo was Hee beguiled in that other hope, of the concealement; which he vainly eſteemed the leſſe materiall. For Hee had written to one *Praxo* a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertaine the men whom he ſent about this buſineſſe: and ſhe, being apprehended by *C. Valerius* a *Roman* Embaſſadour then attending vpon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* alſo brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius* a Citizen of *Brunduſium*: who comming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, loaden with a dangerous ſecret, had preſently ſought out the Embaſſadour, and thereof diſcharged himſelfe. *Brunduſium* was the ordinary Port, for ſhips paſſing betweene *Italie* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a faire houſe; wherein he gaue entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embaſſadors, and other honourable perſonages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, iournying to and fro. By occaſion of ſuch his hoſpitalitie, he was commended to *Perſeus*, and inuited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whoſe many courteſies to his Embaſſadours, the King was ſtudious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and ſhortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or deſired, made partaker of the Kings ſecrets. The ſumme of all was, That he muſt needes doe a turne, in giuing to ſuch of the *Romans* as the King ſhould hereafter name, a poyſon of rare qualitie, ſure in operation, yet not to be perceiued either in the taking or afterward. He durſt not refuſe to accept this employment: for feare leſt the vertue of this medicine ſhould be tryed vpon himſelfe. But being once at libertie; he diſcouered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had neuer ſeene before, nor was like to ſee againe: and therefore, beſides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as ſuch a fellowes affirmation, the accuſation was improbable. Thus did *Perſeus*, in time ſhortly following, anſwere for himſelfe, and in like ſort concerning the attempt vpon *Eumenes*: denying to haue had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall profeſſing, That ſuch obiections were not to be made vnto a King, to proue the rightfulneſſe of making warre vpon him; but rather vnto a ſubiect pleading for his life in iudgement. But howſoeuer the *Romans* neglected the getting of ſtronger proofe (which might haue beene eaſie) than any that wee finde by them produced: yet the baſe and cowardly temper of *Perſeus* was very ſuteable to theſe practices. Neither did the Senate greatly ſtand to diſpute the matter with him: theſe his treacheries being held inexcuſable. And as for his Royall Eſtate, wherein he ſuppoſed that they ought not to touch him for ſuch priuate offences, it gaue him no priuiledge: they iudging him to haue offended in the nature of a King. Herein ſurely they wanted not good reaſon. For if he might not lawfully make warre vpon *Eumenes* their confederate; that is, if Hee might not ſend men, to waſte the Kingdome of *Pergamus*, or to beſiege the Townes: might he ſend Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no leſſe breach of the league to deſtroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the ſword: was it lawfull for him to doe it by poyſon? Wherefore they preſently decreed warre againſt him; and ſent Embaſſadours to denounce it vnto him, vnleſſe he would yeelde to make ſuch amends as they ſhould require. He ſeemed at this time to haue beene ſo confident in the generall fauour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances; that if he deſired not warre, yet he did not feare it: or at leaſt he thought by ſhew of courage, to make his enemies more calme. Hee cauſed the Embaſſadours to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them backe; and bade them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearſall of all matters, which they had long beene collecting againſt him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that Hee had entertained long and ſecret conference in the Ile of *Samothrace*, with Embaſſadours ſent to him out of *Aſia*, about ſome ill purpoſe. In regard of all which they peremptorily required ſatisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to giue defiance. Better they might haue ſtood vpon the euidence, brought againſt him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if thoſe accuſations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwiſe they were deſtitute; it being no fault in a King, to be ſtrong, wel-beloued, and well friended. *Perſeus* anſwered, for the preſent, in a rage; calling the *Romans*, Greedy, Proud, Inſolent, and vnderminers of him by their daily Embaſſadors, that were no better then meere ſpies. Finally, he promiſed to giue them in writing their full anſwere: which was to this effect; That he would no longer ſtand to the league, made betweene them and his father, and renewed by himſelfe indeede onely for feare: but wiſhed them to deſcend to more equall conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would aduiſe, as they might alſo doe for theirs.

Polyb. Legat. 9.

Liu. lib. 33.

In the forme of the league betweene *Philip* and the *Romans*, as it is ſet downe by *Polybius*, we finde no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconuenience in the future; excepting thoſe which he immediately performed. But *Liuie* inſerts a clauſe, whereby he was expreſly forbidden, to make any war abroad, without leaue of the *Romans*. It is moſt likely, that all the *Roman* confederates were included in this peace: whereby euery one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entring ſhortly into league with *Rome*, did ſo binde the Kings hands, that he could no more make warre abroad, than if he had beene reſtrained by plaine couenant. And thus might that ſeeme an Article of the peace, which neuer was agreed vpon, but onely was inferred by conſequence. Now if the *Romans* would vrge this point further, and ſay, that the *Macedonian* might not beare defenſiue armes, without their permiſſion: then had *Perſeus* very iuſt reaſon to finde himſelfe agrieued. For ſince they had allowed his father, without controule, to make warre in *Thrace*, (whileſt they themſelues were vnacquainted with the *Thracians*) and elſewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why ſhould they now interpret the bargaine after another faſhion? Was it now become vnlawfull for him to chaſtiſe his owne Rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that inuaded *Macedon*? By ſuch allegations he maintained the right of his cauſe, in very milde ſort; when it was too late. At the preſent, by diſclaiming the league as vniuſt; he miniſtred occaſion vnto the Embaſſadours, to giue him defiance. Hauing heard the worſt of their meſſage; he commanded them to be gone out of his kingdome in three dayes. But either he ſhould haue beene leſſe vehement, or more conſtant in his reſolution. For if his heart could ſerue him to vndertake the warre; he ſhould couragiouſly haue managed it, and haue fallen to worke immediatly, whileſt the Enemie was vnprepared; not haue loſt opportunitie, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worſe peace than the former.

§. VI.

The Romans ſollicit the Greekes, to ioyne with them in the Warre againſt Perſeus. *How the Greeks ſtood affected in that warre. The timorouſneſſe of* Perſeus. Martius *a Roman Embaſſadour deludes him with hope of Peace. His forces. He takes the field, and winnes part of Theſſalie. The forces of* Licinius *the Roman Conſul: and what aſsiſtants the Romans had in this warre. Of Tempe in Theſſalie; and what aduantages the Macedonian had, or might haue had; but loſt by his feare.* Perſeus *braues the Romans; fights with them; knowes not how to vſe his victorie; ſues for Peace; and is denied it by the vanquiſhed.* Perſeus *hauing the worſe in a skirmiſh, forſakes all the Countrey lying without Tempe. The Bæotians rebell againſt the Romans, and are rigorouſly puniſhed. The Roman Commanders vnfortunate in the warre againſt* Perſeus. *They vexe the Greckes their friends; for whoſe eaſe the Senate makes prouiſion, hauing heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.*

SO long had the *Romans* beene ſeeking occaſion to take in hand this *Macedonian* war, that well might they haue beene ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in prouiſions. But it was on a ſudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together ſeemed more than ſufficient. This opportunitie of making their cauſe honeſt in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwiſe they were vnprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or hauing reaſon to beleeue, that their owne ſtrength was ſuch as would preuaile in the end; they haſtily embraced the faire occaſion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their vnreadineſſe a ſmall helpe, towards examining the diſpoſition of the *Greekes*, and others; who muſt afterwards dearely pay for any backwardneſſe found in their good will. There was not indeede any cauſe to feare, that all of the *Greekes* or other Eaſterne people ſhould conſpire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: ſuch was the diſſention betweene their ſeuerall Eſtates; howſoeuer the generalitie of them were inclined the ſame way. Neuertheleſſe Embaſſadours were ſent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe againſt *Perſeus*; or rather to demand it, in no leſſe ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it againſt *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in warres pretending the liberty of *Greece*. The Embaſſadours vſed as gentle words for faſhions ſake, as if they had ſtood in doubt, that their requeſt might happen to be denied. But the *Greekes* were now growne well acquainted with ſuch *Roman* courteſie: and vnderſtood, that not only ſuch as made refuſall, but euen they who might ſeeme to haue granted halfe vnwillingly, were like to heare other manner of words, when once this buſineſſe was ended. Wherefore none of them were ſcrupulous in promiſing the beſt of their helpe to the *Romans*: the * *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtfull, euen when they had done their beſt, leſt it ſhould be ill taken, as if they had halted in ſome part of their duetie. It is ſtrange, that men could be ſo earneſt to ſet vp the ſide, whereof they gladly would haue ſeene the ruine. The vulgar ſort was euery where addicted to *Perſeus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if ſome were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not oppoſers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wiſeſt and moſt honeſt, who regarded onely the benefit of their Countrey, wiſhed better to *Perſeus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number, *Polybius* the chiefe of Hiſtorians was one: who though Hee * iudged the victory of *Perſeus*, like to prooue hurtfull vnto *Greece*; yet wiſhed hee the *Romans* ill to thriue, that ſo the *Greekes* might recouer perfect libertie: for his endeuours in which courſe, he was at length tyrannically handled, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. This conſidered, it appeares, that an extraordinary feare, and not onely reuerence of the Imperiall Citie, made the *Achæans* and other Eſtates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occaſion of this their feare, may be iuſtly imputed vnto the timorous demeanour of *Perſeus* himſelfe. He had vndertaken a warre, whereof the benefit ſhould redound, not onely to his owne Kingdome, but vnto all that were oppreſſed by the *Romans*. Yet no ſooner were ſome few companies brought ouer-ſea, to make a countenance of meaning ſomewhat againſt him, than he began to ſpeake the enemie faire, and ſue for Peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was knowne, that euery ſmall thing would ſerue to terrifie him; and conſequently, that it ſhould at all times be in the *Romans* power,

by

* *Polyb. Legat.* 72. 78. & 80.

* *Polyb. Legat.* 77.

by giuing him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take reuenge at leiſure vpon thoſe which had aſſiſted him: little cauſe was there, why any ſhould aduenture to partake with him. He made indeede a great noiſe; leading about his armie; taking by force or compoſition, ſome few Townes; and ſolliciting all to ioyne with him. But wiſe men could not be ſo beguiled. For at the ſame time, he ſought all meanes of pacification: and to that end, made humble ſuit vnto the *Roman* Embaſſadours. *Q. Martius*, the chiefe of thoſe Embaſſadours, and a man of more fineneſſe in cunning than was vſuall among the *Romans*; made ſhew of inclination to the King deſire: and gaue out ſuch comfortable words, that the King intreated, and obtained a meeting at the Riuer *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with thoſe crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perſeus* made none other anſwere, than the ſame which they could haue made for him; yet the Embaſſadours, and eſpecially *Martius*, tooke it in good part, as therewith ſatisfied; and aduiſed him to giue the like ſatisfaction to the Senate. That this might conueniently be done; a truce was agreed vpon. Thus had *Matius* his deſire; which was, to make the King loſe time. For *Perſeus* had all things then in readineſſe, and might haue done much, ere the *Roman* Armie could haue beene in *Greece*. But by the interpoſition of this truce, he no way increaſed his forces; hee ſuffred a moſt conuenient ſeaſon, of winning vpon the enemie, to ſlip away; and obtained in recompence nothing elſe, than leiſure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleaſed herewith, as it had beene with ſome victory: publiſhing a copie of the diſputation betweene him and the *Romans*, whereby he gaue men to vnderſtand, how much he had the better, and what hope there was of Peace. He ſent Embaſſadours alſo to the *Rhodians*, of whoſe good will to him he was beſt perſwaded; not onely to let them know how much he was ſuperiour in cauſe; but to intreat them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators, to compound the differences betweene him and the *Romans*, if perhaps, notwithſtanding the goodneſſe of his cauſe, he ſhould be denied peace. Theſe were poore helpes. For hereby it appeared, that his late ſtanding vpon point of Honour, was no better than meere vanity: his owne ſafety being the vtmoſt of his ambition. This his fearefulneſſe might ſeeme excuſable, and the blame thereof to appertaine vnto the *Greekes*; who deceiued his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a neceſſity, that was partly their owne: had it not bin his office, who tooke vpon him as their Champion, to giue ſuch a manly beginning to the warre, as might incourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more auerſe from him; and were carefull, not to put their ſhoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many ſtout partizans, deſired him not to craue any thing at their hands, in which they might ſeeme to doe againſt the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Bœotians* alſo, who had entred of late into a ſtrict ſocietie with the *Macedonian*; renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a ſort, they yeelded themſelues as vaſſals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their ſubmiſſion vnder a generall forme; but cauſed their ſeuerall Townes to make couenant apart, each for it ſelfe; to the end, that being thus diſtracted into many little Common-weales, they might not (were they neuer ſo deſirous to rebell) haue ſuch force to doe hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, vnder the Citie of *Thebes*. This worke, of ſeparating the *Bœotians* from *Thebes* their head; was more than *Ageſilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would ſuffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedæmonians*. So far more auaileable to *Thebes*, being deſtitute of helpe from abroad, was the vertue of *Epaminondas* and a few braue Citizens; than was the ſocietie with King *Perſeus*, againſt a number not ſo great as followed the *Lacedæmonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whileſt the King ſate ſtill, as being bound by the truce: and hauing done this, he returned to the Citie; where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though ſome reprooued it as diſhoneſt) employed againe by the Senate, with commiſſion to deale as he ſhould thinke expedient. Touching the Embaſſadours which *Perſeus* had ſent; audience was giuen to them, for that they ſhould not plainely ſee how their Maſter was deluded: but neither excuſe, nor intreatie, would ſerue their turne; the Senate being reſolued before-hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citie, and had thirty daies reſpite allowed them to depart out of *Italie*: whereas they, who came laſt on the ſame errand, did their meſſage without the wals, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the vſuall place of giuing audience to open enemies, or to ſuch Commanders, as might not, by reaſon of ſome cuſtome, enter the Citie) and had onely the ſhort warning of eleuen dayes, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poore courteſie ſerue onely to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earneſt: but it was a likely meane, both to keepe a long while from *Perſeus* the knowledge of his buſineſſe, and to ſtagger his reſolution, when hee ſhould neede it moſt firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius*, the *Roman* Conſul, was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as ſoone, as the *Macedonian* Embaſſadours were with their King at *Pella*. Which, though it were enough to haue rouzed *Perſeus*, and haue made him lay aſide all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was he contented to deliberate awhile, Whether it were not better to offer himſelfe tributary to the *Romans*, and to redeeme their good will with ſome part of his Kingdome, that ſo he might enioy the reſt; than to put all at once to hazzard. But finally, the ſtouteſt counſel preuailed; which alſo was the wiſeſt, and ſo would haue proued, had it beene ſtoutly and wiſely followed. He now beganne, as if the warre had not begunne vntill now, to doe what ſhould haue bin done long afore. Hee cauſed all his forces to be drawne together; and appointed their Rendeuous at *Citium*, a Towne in *Macedon*. All being in readineſſe, he did royall ſacrifice, with an hundred beaſts, to I know not what *Minerua*, that was peculiarly honored in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and thoſe of his guard, ſet forward to *Citium*. His armie he found conſiſting of nine and thirtie thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe: whereof about twelue thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, were ſtrangers, of ſundry Nations, moſt part *Thracians*; the reſt of his owne *Macedonians*. Theſe hee animated with liuely ſpeeches; laying before them the glory of their anceſtors, the inſolencie of the *Romans*, the goodneſſe of his cauſe, the greatneſſe of his prouiſions, and the many aduantages which they had of the Enemy, eſpecially in numbers. They anſwered him cheerefully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewiſe meſſengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their ſeuerall abilities. He gaue them thankes: but anſwered, That his owne prouiſions would abundantly ſuffice, willing them onely to furniſh him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdome he iſſued forth into *Theſſalie*: knowing that the *Romans* were to paſſe through that Countrey, in their iourney towards him. Some Townes of *Theſſalie* opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend themſelues; ſome he balked, thinking them too ſtrong or well manned; and ſome he wonne by force. Of theſe laſt was *Mylæ*, a Towne thought impregnable, and therefore, not more ſtoutly than proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gaue contumelious language to the aſſailants. It was taken by reaſon of a ſally; which the Townеſmen raſhly made, and being driuen backe, receiued the *Macedonians*, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of warre was practiſed here: to the greater terrour of the obſtinate. So *Velatia* and *Connus* (townes of much importance, eſpecially *Connus*, which ſtood in the ſtreights of *Oſſa*, leading into *Tempe*) yeelded at the firſt. Hauing well fortified this paſſage, the King marched onwards to *Sycurium*, a Towne ſeated on the foot of mount *Oſſa*; where he reſted a while, expecting newes of the Enemie.

Licinius the Conſul brought with him onely two *Roman* Legions: being promiſed other ſtrength of auxiliaries, which was thought ſufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in *Theſſalie*, with foure thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. Thither alſo came, from euery part of *Greece*, ſuch aide as the ſeuerall Eſtates could afford, or thought expedient to ſend: which from the moſt of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Maſaniſſa* ſent thither his ſonne *Miſagenes*, with a thouſand foot, as many horſe, and two and twentie Elephants. *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, by reaſon of his affinitie with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had ſent to *Rome* his young ſonne, there to be brought vp: yet he did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps becauſe *Eumenes* himſelfe beganne within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwiſe aduiſed than he had beene in the beginning. *Pruſias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perſeus*, and yet fearing the *Romans*. *Antiochus* and *Ptolemie* (though *Ptolemie* was then young, and vnder Tutors) had buſineſſe of their owne; the *Syrian* meaning to inuade the *Ægyptian*: yet each of them promiſed helpe to the *Romans*, which they cared not to performe. *Gentius* the *Illyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*;

yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for feare. It was a prettie tricke, wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the *Roman* Admirals brother, ſerued him, for this his counterfet good will. This king had foure and fiftie ſhips, riding in the hauen of *Dyrrachium*, vncertain to what purpoſe: all which *Lucretius* tooke away, after a very kind ſort; making ſhew to beleeue, That for none other end than to ſerue the *Romans*, their good friend *Gentius* had ſent thither this fleet. But whatſoeuer *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he fooliſhly loſt both his kingdome and himſelfe, in the end of this warre; by offering, rather then giuing, his helpe to *Perſeus*.

With none other company than what hee brought ouer the ſea, *Licinius* came into *Theſſalie*: ſo tyred with a painefull iourney, through the mountainous Countrey of *Athamania*, which ſtood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perſeus* had beene ready, attending his deſcent into the Plaines, the *Romans* muſt needes haue taken a great ouerthrow. He refreſhed himſelfe and his wearied armie, by the riuer *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as faſt as they could. It was not any ſlender helpe, that could enable him to deale with *Perſeus*. Therefore he reſolued, to abide where he then was, and keepe his trenches, vntill his numbers were ſufficiently increaſed: contenting himſelfe in the meane while, to haue gotten quiet entrance into the Countrey. The land of *Theſſalie*, in which theſe two armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* beſides: as hauing beene freed by them from a more heauie yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope or expectation of ſuch a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needefull to mans life. In the midſt of it, but ſomewhat more to the Eaſt, was that beautifull valley of *Tempe*, ſo exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often vſed at large, to ſignifie the moſt pleaſant and goodly places. This valley of it ſelfe was not great: but adding to it thoſe huge mountaines, *Oſſa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poeſie) with their Spurres or branches, by which it was on all ſides encloſed; it occupied the better part of *Theſſalie*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; vnleſſe they would make an hungrie iourney, thorow the countrey of the *Daſſaretians*, as in the former warre with *Philip*, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. *Perſeus* therefore had no ſmall aduantage, by being maſter of the ſtreigths leading into *Tempe*: though farre greater he might haue had, if by miſſpending of time he had not loſt it. For if in defending the ragged paſſages of theſe mountaines, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worſe; yea to winne vpon them (for a while) euery yeere more than other, both in ſtrength and reputation: queſtionleſſe he might haue done farre greater things, had he ſeized vpon the ſtreights of *Aous*, which his father once kept, and defended all the Countrey behinde the Mountaines of *Pindus*. Surely not without extreame difficultie, muſt the *Romans* haue either trauelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to be found; or elſe haue committed their armies, and all things thereto needefull, vnto the mercie of ſeas that were very dangerous; if hee would haue ſought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: vpon neither of which courſes they once deuiſed, notwithſtanding any trouble which they found in this preſent warre. It may perhaps be ſaid, that the *Greekes*, and others, whom the King muſt haue left on his backe, would haue made him vnable to defend any places too farre from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the *Theſſalians*, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The *Ætolians*, vpon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into ſuſpition with the *Romans* (as wee ſhall finde anon) euen as ſoone as they met with *Perſeus*. The *Bœotians*, how politikely ſoeuer *Martius* had wrought with them, aduentured themſelues deſperately in the *Macedonian* quarrell: what would they haue done, if hee at firſt had done his beſt? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himſelfe, after awhile began to wauer, when they ſaw things goe better with *Perſeus*, then they had expected. So that if in ſtead of diſcouraging his friends, by ſuing baſely for peace; he had raiſed their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginning; and encreaſed the number of his well-willers, yea and bought downe with money (as he might haue done) ſome of his enemies, and among them, *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps haue bin compelled to forſake their imperious patronage ouer *Greece*; & to render the liberty, by them giuen, entire; which otherwiſe was but imaginarie. Such benefit of this war, ſince it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reaſon haue beene expected at firſt, from greater aduantages. But as a fearefull companie running from their enemies, till ſome riuer ſtay their flight; are there compelled by meere deſperation to doe ſuch acts, as done, while the battell laſted, would haue won the victory: ſo fell it out with *Perſeus*. In ſeeking to auoid the danger of that warre, whereof he ſhould haue ſought the honour; he left his friends that would haue ſtood by him, and gaue them cauſe to prouide for their owne ſafetie: yet being ouertaken by neceſſitie, hee choſe rather to ſet his backe to the mountaines of *Tempe*, and defend himſelfe with his proper forces; than to be driuen into ſuch miſerie, as was ineuitable, if he gaue a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Theſſalie*, it is hard to ſhew particularly, for that the hiſtory of thoſe things is much periſhed. Wherefore we muſt be contented with the ſumme.

The Conſul hauing no deſire to fight, vntill ſuch time as all his forces were arriued; kept within his trenchess and lay ſtill encamped by the Riuer of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Lariſſa*. That which perſwaded the Conſul to protract the time, did contrariwiſe incite the King, to put the matter vnto a haſty triall. Wherefore he inuited the *Romans* into the field; by waſting the land of the *Pheræans* their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignitie; he grew bold to aduenture euen vnto their trenches: out of which if they iſſued, it was likely, that his aduantage in horſe would make the victory his owne. At his comming they were troubled; for that it was ſudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themſelues to be ſafely lodged. They ſent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horſe, and with them ſome light armed foot, to entertaine skirmiſh. The Captaine, and ſome other of theſe were ſlaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*, found it reaſonable to hazzard battell. Thus day after day, a while together, *Perſeus* continued offering battaile: which they ſtill refuſed. Hereby his boldneſſe much increaſed; and much more his reputation: to the griefe of thoſe who being ſo farre come to make a Conqueſt, could ill digeſt the ſhame, that fell vpon them by their enduring theſe brauadoes. The Towne of *Sycurium*, where *Perſeus* then lay, was twelue miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any conuenient watering in that long march, which vſed to take vp foure houres of the morning; but hee was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirſty when they came to fight. For remedy of theſe inconueniences, he found out a lodging, ſeauen miles neerer to the enemy: whom hee viſited the next day by the Sunne riſing. His comming at ſuch an vnuſuall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in ſo much as though he brought with him onely his horſe and light armature, that were vnfit to aſſaile the trenches, yet the Conſull thought it neceſſarie, and reſolued to giue checke to his pride. Wherefore hee ſent foorth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many braue Captaines, with all his power of horſe, his Velites, and all the reſt of his light armature to trie their fortune: hee himſelfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readineſſe. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the *Theſſalians* made a good retrait) with little loſſe of his owne. But he diſcouered his weakeneſſe ere night; by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counſaile giuen by one of his owne temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great feare leſt he ſhould aſſault their Campe; and to that purpoſe, vpon the firſt newes of his ſucceſſe, his Phalanx was brought vnto him by the Captaines, though vnſent for: he neuertheleſſe tooke it for ſound aduice, which indeede was timorous and baſe, To worke warily, and moderate his victory; by which meanes it was ſaid, that either he ſhould get honeſt conditions of peace, or at leaſtwiſe many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it beene greater, and had he wonne the *Roman* Campe, his friends would haue beene the more, and the bolder. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in ſuing for it, euen when he had the victory, what elſe did hee, than proclaime vnto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune ſhould keepe him from yeelding to the *Romans*, whenſoeuer they would be pleaſed to accept him? At this time the ioy of his victory would admit none of theſe conſiderations. Hee had ſlaine of the *Roman* horſe two hundred, and taken of them priſoners the like number. Of their foot hee had ſlaine about two thouſand: loſing of his owne no more than twentie horſe and fortie foot. The *Roman* Campe, after this diſaſter, was full of heauineſſe and feare: it being much doubted that the enemy would ſet vpon it. *Eumenes* gaue counſaile to diſlodge by night, and remoue to a ſurer place beyond the Riuer *Peneus*. The Conſul, though aſhamed to profeſſe, by ſo doing, in what feare he ſtood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the loſſe paſt, than by ſtanding on proud tearmes, to draw vpon himſelfe a greater calamitie. So hee paſſed the Riuer in the dead of the night, and encamped more ſtrongly on the further ſide. The *Ætolians* were ſorely blamed for this loſſe: as if rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occaſioned their flight, wherein the reſt of the *Greekes* followed them. Fiue of them, that were men of eſpeciall marke, had beene obſerued to be the firſt which turned their backes: an obſeruation likely to coſt them deare, at a time of better leiſure. As for the *Theſſalians*, their vertue was honoured with reward: ſo as the *Greekes* might learne, by examples of either kinde, that if they would ſhunne indignation, or incurre fauour, then muſt they aduenture no leſſe for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would doe for their owne libertie. Thus fared it with the Conſul and his Armie. *Perſeus* came the next day to correct the former dayes errour; which how great it was, he not vntill then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of ſafetie; whither they could neuer haue attained, if the King had either preſſed his victory, or giuen better heede to them that night: his light armature alone being ſufficient to haue rowted them whileſt they were conueying themſelues to the other ſide of *Peneus*. But it was vaine to tell what might haue beene done, ſince there was no remedie. The *Romans* were beaten, euen the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were choſen their Senators, and conſequently the Generals themſelues, Prætors, Conſuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten ſo ſhamefully, that they ſtole away by night, and ſuffered him to gather vp the ſpoyles of them without reſiſtance, as yeelding themſelues ouercome. With ſuch braue words did the King ſet out the glory of his action; diuiding the ſpoyles among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to haue made his honor ſound. He came neerer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopſelus*, a place in the mid-way betweene *Tempe* and *Lariſſa*: as if it were his meaning to preſſe them ſomewhat harder. Neuertheleſſe he was eaſily perſwaded to vſe the occaſion, which he ſeemed to haue, of obtaining peace. Therefore he ſent vnto the Conſul, and offered to yeeld vnto the ſame Conditions, wherein his Father had beene bound to the *Romans*; if the warre might ſo take end. It were needeleſſe here againe to ſhew the folly of this his courſe. Towards the accompliſhment of this deſired peace, there was in the Conſul no greater power than to grant a truce, whileſt Embaſſadours might goe to *Rome*: it reſting in the Senate and People to approue the conditions and ratifie the league. And of ſuch a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no ſmall diſcommoditie redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned anſwere, That other hope of peace there was none; ſaue that *Perſeus* would yeeld both his Kingdome and perſon, ſimply and abſolutely, to diſcretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius*, to be ſo reſolute in aduerſitie. On the other ſide, it argued a faint heart in *Perſeus*, that hauing receiued an anſwere ſo peremptory, he ſtill perſiſted, making vaine offers of great tribute. Finding that the peace, which he ſo much deſired, could not be purchaſed with money, the King withdrew himſelfe backe to *Sycurium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whoſe forces were well repaired by the coming of *Miſagenes* the ſonne of *Maſaniſſa*, with the aide before mentioned. This diſtance betweene the King and them, cauſed the *Romans* to waxe the more bold in making their harueſt: about which buſineſſe they ranged all ouer the fields. Their careleſſe demeanour gaue him hope to doe ſome notable exploit: which he attempted, both vpon their Campe, and vpon thoſe that were abroad. The Campe he thought to haue fired on the ſudden: but the alarme being taken in good ſeaſon, he failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers; he had a good hand vpon them, if he could haue withdrawne it, and giuen ouer in time. But whileſt he ſtroue to force a guard, he was viſited by the Conſul; by whom either in a ſkirmiſh of horſe, or (for the report is diuers) in a great battell, he was ouercome. This miſaduenture, whether great or ſmall, cauſed *Perſeus*, after a few dayes, to fall backe into *Macedon*; as being naturally giuen to feare danger, euen where none was; whereby what loſſe he felt, will appeare hereafter. He left all behinde him, ſaue onely *Tempe*, weakely guarded: and conſequently an eaſie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went ſtraight vnto *Connus*; hoping to haue taken it, and ſo to haue gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the worke too hard, he returned backe vnto the *Perrhæbians* and others; from whom he won ſome townes, & among the reſt, *Lariſſa*. There were ſundry townes thereabout, bearing the ſame name of *Lariſſa*: ſo that this which the Conſul tooke, may ſeeme not to haue belonged vnto the *Theſſalians*; vnleſſe, perhaps, after his victory, *Perſeus* did greater Acts than we finde recorded, and got ſome part of *Theſſalie*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to giue a preciſe account; for that the hiſtories of them are greatly defectiue. One may thinke it ſtrange, that the *Bœotians*, whom a *Roman* Embaſſadour could terrifie, and bring altogether to his owne will, ſhould not be afraid of a *Roman* Armie, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Nauie on their coaſt. But more ſtrange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of *Martius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other pettie Townes, which by that ſame diſtraction of the *Bœotians*, became within themſelues more abſolute, than formerly they had beene. The cauſes hereof were to haue beene ſought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now loſt. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly puniſhed by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admirall: who got ſo much by ſpoyling them, that hee would haue brought others to rebell in like ſort, if by extreame oppreſſion he could haue driuen them ſo farre. Neither was *Licinius* the Conſul vndiligent in the ſame kinde. What his doings were, after ſuch time as he was at leiſure from *Perſeus*, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is ſaid in generall; That in the warre which hee made, hee cruelly and couetouſly demeaned himſelfe.

Liu. lib. 43.

After the ſame faſhion dealt they, that commanded in the yeere following; *Hoſtilius* the Conſul, and *Hortenſius* the Admirall, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hoſtilius* ſhewed more of his induſtrie, in picking quarrels with the confederates of *Rome*, than in proſecuting the warre againſt the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* warre vpon his kingdome, after that the Conſul had ſought paſſage in vaine ouer certaine mountaines, *Perſeus* ſeemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeede on that ſide which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Conſul ſent thither with an Armie of foure thouſand, and who, by leauies made vpon the Confederates, doubled this his Armie. But *Claudius* thinking to haue taken *Vſcana*, a border Towne of *Illyria*, by treaſon, came thither in ſuch careleſſe order, that the inhabitants which had made ſhew of treaſon, with purpoſe onely to traine him into danger; ſallied foorth vpon him, ouerthrew him, and chaſed him ſo farre, that hardly he eſcaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this Towne of *Vſcana* ſhortly after became *Roman*: which howſoeuer it happened, *Perſeus* very ſoone recouered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys*, a *Thracian* King, ſecuring him on the one ſide of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirote*, reuolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perſeus* likewiſe made a painefull iourney into *Ætolia*: where he was promiſed to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the ſtrongeſt Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were diſappointed by thoſe of the *Roman* faction; yet in his returne home, hee tooke in *Aperantia*; and ſhortly heard good newes, That *Ap. Claudius* was againe throughly beaten by *Cleuas*, one of his Lieutenants. Such ſucceſſe had the *Macedonian* warre vnder *Hoſtilius*. The ſame Conſul offended much the *Greekes*, by the ſtrict inquiſition which his Embaſſadours made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For theſe Embaſſadours trauelling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, gaue out ſpeeches tending to ſhew, That they liked no better of thoſe who ſought not by might and maine to aduance their buſineſſe, than of thoſe which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to haue accuſed by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the ſteps of *Philopœmen*; and together with him, his ſonne *Polybius*, who ſoone after was Generall of the *Achæan* horſe, but more notable by that excellent hiſtorie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably diſcharged. The ſumme of the accuſation ſhould haue beene; That theſe were not heartie friends vnto the *Romans*, but ſuch as abſtained from raiſing troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie, than for any loue to the common quiet. But ſince no color of truth could be found, that might giue countenance to ſuch a tale; it was thought better, for the preſent, to let it alone, and giue gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: They demanded hoſtages; and found ſome in the Councell that approoued the motion: as alſo among

Polyb. Legat. 70.

Polyb. Leg. 74.

the *Acarnanians*, there were that entreated to haue *Roman* garriſons beſtowed in their Townes. But neither the one nor the other of theſe propoſitions tooke effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accuſed not onely ſuch as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but alſo the good *Patriotes*; making it no leſſe than a matter of treaſon, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary ſide, there wanted not ſome, who roundly told theſe pick-thankes of their baſe flatterie; rating them openly in ſuch ſort, that one of them hardly eſcaped being ſtoned, euen in preſence of the Embaſſadours. Thus was all full of accuſations and excuſes: among which the Embaſſadors carried themſelues, as men that could beleeue none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The beſt was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and publiſhed, to this effect: That it ſhould be free for all men, to refuſe obedience to any *Roman* Magiſtrate, impoſing any burthen for the preſent warre, vnleſſe it were ſuch, as the Senate had likewiſe thought meete. Of this decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or ſeemed, a good remedy of many inconueniences. But they that ſtanding on priuiledge hereof, refuſed to fulfill euery commandement, were numbred among the *Patriotes*; which in the end of this warre, proued little better, if not worſe, than to haue beene Traytours. The Senate was driuen to ſet downe this order; by reaſon of the many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magiſtrates, and eſpecially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortenſius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great ſum of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loued not to haue their ſubiects oppreſſed. *Hortenſius* being ſtill in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embaſſages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to ſeeke redreſſe of iniuries, or to offer their ſeruices: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a Towne of the leſſer *Aſia*, there was preſented vnto the Senate, and well accepted, a moſt baſe piece of flatterie. Theſe *Alabanders* brought three hundred horſemens targets, and a crowne of gold, to beſtow vpon *Iupiter* in the Capitol. But hauing a deſire to gratifie the *Romans* with ſome exquiſite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would be ſingular; and being not able to reach vnto any great performance: they built a Temple, vnto the Towne *Rome*, and appointed anniuerſarie games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that *goddeſſe*. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemie*, and the like vaine men, that would be thought gods; or at the ſhameleſſe flatterie of ſuch as beſtowed vpon men, and not the moſt vertuous of men, diuine honors; when hee ſees a Towne of houſes, wherein powerfull men dwell, worſhipped as a goddeſſe, and receiued (without ſcorne of the giuers, or ſhame of the preſent) the title of *Deitie*, at the gift of ſuch a raſcall Citie as *Alabanda*?

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§. VII.

Q. Martius *the Roman Conſul, with extreme difficultie and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of* Perſeus *in abandoning Tempe. The towne of Dium quitted by* Martius; *repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill ſucceſſe. Their affaires in hard eſtate.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.* Polybius *ſent Embaſſadour to* Martius *from the Achæans.* Polybius *his honeſt wiſdome beneficiall to the Achæans. King* Eumenes *growes auerſe from the Romans.* Perſeus *negotiates with* Antiochus *and* Eumenes. *His falſe dealing with* Gentius *King of Illyria; whom he drawes into the Roman warre. He ſends Embaſſadors to the Rhodians; who vainly take vpon them to be arbitrators betweene him and the Romans.* Perſeus *loſeth a mightie ſuccour of the Baſtarnæ, by his wretched parſimonie.*

After two yeeres of the *Macedonian* warre, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the warre began; which had beene thought likely to reforme all thoſe Countries, and bring them to what paſſe the *Romans* deſired; as it did in the end. *Perſeus* had hitherto the better, and was ſtronger now, than when he liued in peace. Hee had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* ſide; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, tooke courage daily; and his reputation grew ſuch, as cauſed thoſe that were before wholly *Roman*, to ſuſpect what the iſſue of the warre might proue, and thereupon to become wiſe for themſelues. Contrariwiſe, *Licinius* and *Hoſtilius* the Conſuls, had one after the other ſpent their time in vaine, ſeeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conqueſt, by very many loſſes receiued. The *Romane* Admiralls had ſo demeaned themſelues, that many Townes, euen of the beſt affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the *Romans* ſide; and the Armie much leſſened, not onely by caſualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or elſe of the Conſull himſelfe (for they laid the blame one vpon the other) in licencing the ſouldiers to depart. *Quintus Martius* the new Conſul, who ſucceeded vnto *Hoſtilius*, was to amend all this: which neuertheleſſe was more then he knew how to doe: though he brought with him a ſtrong ſupply of men. Hee began hotly to ſet the warre on foot, which a long time had ſlept. And hee began the right way: not ſeeking to force the ſtreights that were ſurely garded, but taking paines to clime the mountaines which were thought able to forbid all paſſage ouer them, without helpe or need of any cuſtodie. The King heard of his approach; and being vncertaine what way hee meant to take, diſtributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might giue entrance, or permit aſcent. But the Conſul proceeded in his iourney: with hope, either not to be diſcouered by the Enemie, or to breake through all oppoſition, or at leaſtwiſe, to fight on as conuenient ground, as they ſhould haue that lay to ſtop him, and at length, if all failed to make a ſafe retreat. He ſent before him foure thouſand of his moſt expedit foot, to diſcouer the waies. Two daies was this company troubled, in ouercomming the difficultie of no more than fifteene miles: after which they had ſight of the Enemie, that lay to denie their paſſage. They occupied therefore a ſafe peece of ground; and ſent backe word to the Conſul, where they were; intreating him to haſten vnto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit diſmayed at his arriuall; but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together; each returning to their owne Camp at night, with little loſſe on either ſide. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue ſcarcely roome vnto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the reſt were beholders. In this caſe, it was impoſſible to get forwards: yet a ſhame to returne. Wherefore *Martius* tooke the onely courſe remaining; and indeed the beſt: Part of his men hee left with *Popilius*, to attend vpon the *Macedonians*: whileſt hee, with the reſt, fetcht a compaſſe about, and ſought out wayes that neuer had beene troden. Heerein hee found extreame difficultie: which notwithſtanding he ouercame. Beſides the troubles commonly incident to ſuch iourneyes, through places vnfit for habitation: hee was compelled, by labour of hand, to make paths where none were, yea where Nature might ſeeme to haue intended, that none ſhould be. So ſteepe he found the deſcent of the mountaines, in this way which he tooke: that of ſeuen miles, which they trauelled the firſt day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themſelues downe; as not daring to truſt their feet. Neither was this the worſt. For they met with rockes, that ſtood one ouer another, ſo vpright, and cumberſome to get downe; that their Elephants were afraid of the giddy proſpect, and caſting their gouernours, made a terrible noyſe, which affrighted the horſes, and bredde great confuſion. Hauing therefore gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this grieuous iourney; there was nothing more deſired by the ſouldiours, than that they might be ſuffered to creep backe againe, the ſame way which they had come. But ſhift was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kind of bridges, like vnto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was ioyned to the edge of the cliffe; the other ſuſtained by two long poſtes, faſtned in the ground below. Vpon theſe two poſtes, or poles, which indeede (not being very ſtrong, ſince it was intended that they ſhould bee either cut or broken) were faſtned two rafters, anſwerable in length to the diſtance, betweene the higher and the lower fall: ſo as the end of one bridge might reach vnto the beginning of another. Theſe were couered with plankes and turfe; that they might ſeeme continent with the ground; ſo to make the beaſts aduenturous to goe vpon them. If there were a plaine of any good extent from the foote of a rocke, to the next downefall; then might the bridge be ſhorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, vpon one of theſe; the poſts vpholding the frame were cut aſunder; thereby cauſing him to ſinke downe vnto the next bridge; whence he was conueyed in like manner, to the third, and onward ſtill to the verie bottome. Thus went they downe ſliding, ſome on their feet, others on their buttockes, till they came to an euen valley. By this it appeares, how throughly prouided the *Romans* vſed to be in their iourneyes, of things needfull in all occaſions: as alſo wha ineſtimable paines they tooke in this deſcent, about the conueyance of themſelues and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they reſted; ſtaying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly or perhaps neuer, ſhould haue ouertaken them, if the Enemie had followed, and ſet vpon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies iourneyes were like vnto the firſt: ſaue that cuſtome, and the neareneſſe to their waies end without meeting enemie, cauſed them the better to endure the labour.

Perſeus could not be ignorant of the *Romans* comming towards him: ſince they fought with his men vpon the paſſage, three daies together; he lying ſo nigh, that he might welneare haue heard the noyſe. Yet was hee ſo poſſeſſed with feare; that he neither ſtirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Conſul, nor made any prouiſion for that which might fall out; but as one void of counſaile, ſate hearkening after the euent. Foure onely paſſages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the firſt by *Connus*; which the *Romanes* were vnable to force: the ſecond and third were the ſame which *Martius* had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it: the laſt, by the Citie of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All theſe were ſufficiently guarded: and whoſoeuer would ſeeke any other way, muſt bee faine to take ſuch paines as *Martius* had vndergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the reſt: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, ſaue through the valley it ſelfe, into which they muſt firſt pierce another way. *Dium* ſtood vpon the foote of the huge mountaine *Olympus*, about a mile from the ſea: of which mile, the riuer *Helicon* becomming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, tooke vp the one halfe; the reſt being ſuch as might eaſily haue beene fortified. Beſides all theſe, there was in the middeſt of *Tempe*, a paſſage which ten men might eaſily keepe: where the ſpurres of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neere to the verie bankes of *Peneus*, a goodly and deepe riuer which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had beene more eaſie, than to make the Conſul repent him of his troubleſome iourney: if *Perſeus* could haue ſeene his owne aduantages. For the *Romane* Armie was not onely in ill caſe to fight, after the vexation of that miſerable trauell: but muſt needs haue either periſhed for want of victuals, or bin enforced to return the ſame way that it came, if the King had made good the ſtreight of *Dium*. To haue returned, and climbed vp with their Elephants and carriages, againſt thoſe rocks, from which, with extreame labour, they could hardly get downe, it ſeemes a matter of impoſſibilitie: eſpecially conſidering, how the enemy from aboue their heads, would haue beaten vpon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though hee knew it not when they ſtole away from him. It may therefore be thought ſtrange, that the *Romans* did not rather take their iourney into *Macedon*, from the ſide of *Illyria*, whence that kingdome had often beene inuaded, as lying open on that part: than put themſelues to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*; whence, after that they were arriued, there was no meanes to eſcape, without enforcing one of thoſe paſſages, which they deſpaired to winne. For hee no ſooner heard that the Enemie was come ouer the mountaines into *Tempe*; then hee fared like one out of his wittes; ſaying, That hee was vanquiſhed, and had loſt all without battaile. Heerewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what hee could carry away in haſte; and ſtraight wayes abandoned the Towne. In the ſame vehemencie of amazement, hee ſent a ſtrait commandement to *Theſſalonica*, that the Arſenall there ſhould be ſet on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treaſures there ſhould be caſt into the ſea: as if the *Romans* were like preſently to be maſters of theſe two Cities. *Niceas*, who was appointed to drowne the treaſure, performed it haſtily as well as he could: though ſoone after, his maſter grew ſorie for the loſſe; and it was all, in a manner, recouered by Diuers from vnder the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to ſet fire on the Kings Arſenall, deferred the execution; foreſeeing that repentance might follow: and ſo hee preuented the dammage. Whether *Niceas*, for his abſolute and blinde obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his carefull prouidence, merited the greater commendation, or more eaſie pardon; it reſted in the King to interpret. The reward of their ſeruice was this. *Perſeus* growing aſhamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this haſtie direction; cauſed them both to be ſlaine. Alſo thoſe poore men, which had fetcht his treaſure out of the Sea by their diuing, were payd their wages after the ſame ſort: that ſo there might be no witneſſe of the Kings baſe folly. Such end muſt they feare, who are priuie to diſhonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perſeus* would haue gone ſurely to worke, for the hiding of his fault; then muſt he ſo royally haue behaued himſelfe, that no man might beleeue him to be the author of any vnworthy act or counſaile. But his vertue was of no ſuch capacitie. Hee thought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called *Hippias* away (the Captaine which had ſtopped the Conſul on the top of the mountaine) and *Aſclepiodatus*, from defence of the paſſages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; ſaying, that they had betraied vnto the Enemie the gates and barres of *Macedon*. Of this reproach, if they would diſcharge themſelues, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they haue ſped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The Conſul *Martius* had great cauſe to reioyce, for that the King ſo haſtily relinquiſhed his poſſeſſion of *Tempe*, and all the paſſages leading thereinto: ſince the *Roman* Armie, this notwithſtanding was hardly able to ſubſiſt, for want of victualls. He took *Dium* without reſiſtance; and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein hauing trauelled about a daies iourney, and gotten one towne that yeelded, hee was compelled by meere lacke of food for his men, to returne backe towards *Theſſalie*. His fleete came to him, in this time of neceſſitie, well appointed to haue holpen him in the warre: but hauing left behinde, at *Magneſia*, the ſhips of burthen, which carried the prouiſions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had beene carefull to occupy one of the Caſtles about *Tempe*, which were forſaken by the *Macedonians*: for by thoſe waies onely might corne be brought into the Army. To meet the ſooner with this corne, which was moſt deſirouſly expected; he forſooke *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which fooliſh iourney (if not worſe then fooliſh) hee loſt more, than a little the longer faſting had beene worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the moſt of his ſtore, were loſt among the mountaines: for otherwſie it had beene madneſſe to put himſelfe on ſuch an enterpriſe, ſo ſlenderly prouided, as that without enforcement, or ſight of the Enemie, hee ſhould be faine to quite it. Howſoeuer it was: men thought him a coward, or at leaſt a badde man of warre; ſince he thus recoyled and gaue off, when it moſt behooued him to haue proſecuted the action.

By vnderſtanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himſelfe; vnderſtood his owne error; ſought to hide it by ſuch poore meanes as haue been ſhewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repoſſeſſed the towne of *Dium*, which he haſtily repaired, finding it diſ-mantled by the *Romanes*. This done; he encamped ſtrongly by the riuer of *Enipeus*: meaning there to ſtop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Leſſe diligence, more timely vſed, would haue been enough, not onely to haue deliuered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to haue giuen him ſuch a noble victory, as might cauſe the *Romanes* to ſeek a good end of the warre vpon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in haſte. Yet this recouery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Conſul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conqueſt in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Onelie the towne of *Heraclea*, ſtanding on the riuer of *Peneus*, fiue miles from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a tricke of climing vpon mens heads, ſomewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made ſuch defence as it could, and was not giuen vp for feare. After this *Martius* did ſet a bold face towards *Dium*, as if he would haue taken it againe, and haue driuen the King further off: although his intent or hope was nothing like ſo great: his chiefe care, being to prouide for his wintering. Hee ſent the Admirall to make attempt vpon the Sea-Townes, *Theſſalonica*, *Caſſandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All theſe were aſſayed: but in vaine. The fieldes about *Theſſalonica* were waſted; and ſome companies, that ſundry times aduentured forth of the Towne, were ſtill put to the worſe. As for the towne it ſelfe; there was danger in comming nere it, either by land or ſea; by reaſon of the engins, which ſhot from the wals, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall ſetting ſaile from thence, ran along by *Ænia*, and *Antigonea*, (landing neere to each of them, and both doing and receiuing hurt) vntill he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Caſſandrea*. There King *Eumenes* ioyned with him, bringing twenty ſhippes of Warre: and fiue other were ſent thither from King *Pruſias*. With this acceſſe of ſtrength, the Admirall was bold to trie his fortune at *Caſſandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately caſt by *Perſeus*, before the towne: which while the *Romans* were filling vp, queſtion was made, what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not vpon the banke. By this occaſion, it was learned, that there were arches in the towne-wall filled vp with that earth,and couered with one ſingle row of bricke. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the towne,by ſapping the walls. To this worke he appointed ſuch as he thought meeteſt: giuing an alarme to the other ſide of the Towne, thereby to ſhadow his attempt, the breach was ſoon made. But whileſt the *Romanes* were ſhouting for ioy, and ordering themſelues for the aſſault: the Captaines within the towne perceiued what was done; and ſalying forth vnexpected, gaue a fierce charge on the companies that were betweene the ditch and the wall,of whom they ſlew about ſixe hundred, and ſuffered few to eſcape vnwounded. This diſaſter, and the want of good ſucceſſe on that part of the towne which King *Eumenes* aſſailed (a ſupply in the meane while entring the towne by ſea) cauſed the ſiege to breake vp. *Torone* was the next place which the Admirall thought meete to attempt: and thence likewiſe he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Captaine, was gotten before his comming, with ſuch forces, as were not onely ſufficient to haue defended the Towne, if the Admirall had layed ſiege to it, but to keepe the land about it from ſpoyle; or at leaſt (as they did) to make the enemy pay deare for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his iourney to *Demetrias*, by *Melibœa*; whither the Conſul (that he might not be quite without worke) had ſent his Lieutenant to beſiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing ſuddenly ouer their heads,cauſed the beſiegers to diſlodge in all haſte,ſetting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather,ſo farre was their abilitie ſhort of their Enterpriſes; euer ſince their Conſul (whether daſtardly, or careleſly) moſt vnlike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of *Macedon*,by forſaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be ſuſpected, that ſome greater harme befell them, or at leaſt, that they were in ſome greater danger, then is expreſſed in the broken remaining Hiſtorie of this Warre. For *Martius* perſwaded the *Rhodians* by *Ageſipolis* their Embaſſadour, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other buſineſſe of leſſe importance, That they ſhould doe well to interpoſe themſelues as mediatours, and ſeeke to finiſh the Warre. Now, although *Polybius* doe moſt probably coniecture, that this was rather a malicious deuice of *Martius*, craftily ſeeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their oppoſing the reſolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of *Perſeus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an armie on foot: yet ſince he made ſhew of feare, it is like withall, that ſomewhat had happened, which might make his feare ſeeme not counterfeit. And ſo were the *Rhodians* moued to thinke of him; not onely for that the extraordinary courteſie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embaſſadour, comming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cauſe it; but much more,for that ſhortly after the Embaſſadours of *Perſeus*,and of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did ſet out their buſineſſe at *Rhodes*, not more with the ſtrength of a good fleete, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the honor of ſome victory,wherein he had lately ſlaine great numbers of the *Roman* horſe. Thus much we finde intimated: though the time, place, or other circumſtances of the fight, be not ſpecified. And hereto may be referred, the report of thoſe that were ſent from *Rome* to view the eſtate of *Martius* his armie. For they found the Conſul wanting meat; the Admirall wanting men; and, for thoſe few that he had, wanting both money and cloathes: and *Ap. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, ſo vnable to inuade *Macedon*, that contrariwiſe,he was in extreme danger,ſo as either he muſt quickly be ſent for thence,or a new army be ſent thither to him. Wherefore it may ſeeme, that ſome blow had bin taken on the *Illyrian* ſide, which made all to halt; or at leaſt, that the *Romans* with greater loſſe, than is before ſpoken of, had beene driuen from ſome of the Townes which they beſieged.

Polyb. Leg. 80.

Polyb. Leg. 87

Now although it were ſo, that *Martius* in very few of his actions, behaued himſelfe like a man of warre: yet in exerciſe of Cunning, which one hath moſt aptly termed, *a crooked or ſiniſter kinde of wiſedome*, he dealt as a crafteſmaſter, with a reſtleſſe working diligence. This indeede neither proued his ſufficiency, nor commended his honeſtie: ſince thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neuertheleſſe, out of enuie, vaine-glory, or ſuch delight as weake and buſie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made oppoſition to the good of his Countrey. At ſuch time as *Perſeus*, by the ſucceſſe of his doings againſt *Hoſtilius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to inuade *Theſſalie*; *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriotes among the *Achæans*, iudged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the *Romanes*, as in a time of aduerſitie, whom in proſperity they loued not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* propoſed a decree which paſſed: That the *Achæans* ſhould ſend their whole power into *Theſſalie*; and participate with the *Romans* in all danger. So the Armie was leuied; and *Polybius*, with others, ſent Embaſſadors vnto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleaſure. *Polybius* found the Conſul buſie in finding paſſage through *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Armie; and awaited the Conſuls leiſure till they came to *Heraclea*; where finding the time conuenient, he preſented the Decree, and offered the ſeruice of his Nation, wherein ſoeuer it ſhould bee commanded. *Martius* tooke this very kindely; but ſaid, that he needed now no manner of helpe. Forthwith *Polybius* diſpatched home his companions, to ſignifie thus much: tarrying himſelfe behinde in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* deſired, or rather imperiouſly required, of the *Achæans*, fiue thouſand men, to be ſent him into *Epirus*. It was manifeſt, that *Appius* had need of theſe men; and that if he were ſtrong in fielde, he might doe notable ſeruice, by diſtracting the forces of *Perſeus*. But the Labirynthian head of *Martius* could not allow of ſuch plaine reaſon. He called vnto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of ſuch aide, and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wiſe take order that the men might not be ſent, nor the *Achæans* be put to ſuch needleſſe charges. Away went *Polybius*; muſing and vnable to reſolue whether it were for loue to the *Achæans*, that the Conſull was ſo earneſt in this buſineſſe; or rather for enuie, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, ſince himſelfe could doe nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliuer his opinion in the Councell touching this matter: then found hee a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne ſelfe, and thoſe of his partie. For as hee was ſure to incurre the great indignation of the Conſul, if he ſhould neglect what was giuen him in charge; ſo was it manifeſt on the other ſide, that the words by *Martius* vttered to him in priuate, would proue no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they ſhould refuſe to helpe *Claudius*, alleaging that he had no need: In this caſe therefore, hee had recourſe vnto the decree of the Senate: which exempted men from neceſſitie of doing what the *Romane* Commanders ſhould require, vnleſſe by ſpecial order from the Senate, the ſame were likewiſe appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred vnto the aduice of the Conſul: by whom it was ſure to be made fruſtrate. Heereby the *Achæans* were ſauers, of more then an hundred and twenty talents: though *Polybius* himſelfe ranne into danger of *Appius* his diſpleaſure; and for ſuch honeſt dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romanes* with many a long yeares impriſonment.

Polyb. Legat. 78.

Whether it were by the like policie of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to ſtand in feare leſt the fire, which he himſelfe had helped to kindle, would ſhortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to ouerſway all other paſſions; it is hard to determine: ſince they that had better means to know the truth, haue not preciſely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not ſo much as giue any helpe to *Martius*: but comming to haue ioyned with him, in ſuch friendly manner as hee did with the former Conſuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in ſuch anger, that hee refuſed to leaue behinde him certaine horſe of the *Gallogreekes*, being requeſted to haue done it. If this were true; and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behinde with the Conſul, did the *Romanes* good ſeruice: then is the reaſon apparent, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the loue to *Attalus*. But it is more generally receiued; that *Eumenes* gaue a willing eare to *Perſeus* his deſire of accord, for meere deſire of gaine. And it might well be, that couetouſneſſe drew him on, in the courſe, whereinto indignation firſt led him. Howſoeuer it befell; *Perſeus* cauſed *Eumenes* to be ſounded, and found him ſo tractable, that hee was bold to ſollicite him by an Embaſſage. The tenour of his aduertiſements, both to *Eumenes* & *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect loue betweene a King and a free Citie: That the *Romanes* had quarrell alike to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and vſed the helpe of one againſt another; That *Philip* was oppreſſed by them, with the helpe of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the helpe of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perſeus* aſſailed, with helpe of *Eumenes* and *Pruſias*. Heerewith he willed *Eumenes* to conſider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Aſia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of *Pruſias*, than of him. In like ſort hee admoniſhed *Antiochus*, not to looke for any good concluſion of his warre with the *Ægyptian*, ſo long as the *Romanes* could make him giue ouer, by denouncing their will and pleaſure. Finally, hee requeſted both of them, either to compell the *Romanes* to ſurceaſe from their war vpon *Macedon*; or elſe to hold them as common enemies vnto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay farre out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with ſuch remonſtrances. *Eumenes* was more nearely toucht; and as hee felt part of this to be true, ſo had he reaſon to ſtand in doubt of the reſt. Yet when he ſhould giue anſwere; he began to offer a bargaine of peace for money. He thought the *Romans* to be no leſſe weary, then *Perſeus* was afraid. Wherefore he promiſed, for his own part, That if he might haue fifteene hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for ſome greater quantitie of money (how much I find not) he would alſo bring the *Romanes* to condeſcend vnto peace: and for aſſurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to giue hoſtages. *Perſeus* liked well to receiue the hoſtages: but not to lay out the money; eſpecially before hand, as was required. He would faine haue peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* onely. For procuring of this, he promiſed to be at any reaſonable coſt: but he would lay down the money in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it ſhould be deliuered vnto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded & ratified. The Iſle of *Samothrace* was *Perſeus* his owne: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no neerer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Beſides, his labour deſerued ſomewhat, howſoeuer the buſineſſe might happen to ſucceed: ſo that needes he would haue part of his wages in *preſt*. Thus the two Kings did no more, than loſe time; and *Eumenes* grew ſuſpected of the *Romans*, as a Traytor.

After the ſame manner dealt *Perſeus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainely, and ſaid, That without money he could not ſtirre. Hereunto *Perſeus* loued not to hearken; thinking, that his Treaſures would ſerue at the laſt caſt, to deliuer him from all his feares. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his feare vrge him to prodigalitie; ſo as hee agreed to pay three hundred Talents, which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargaine was ſoone made, and pledges on both ſides deliuered for performance. This was openly done by *Perſeus*; to the end that all his Armie might haue comfort, by ſuch acceſſe of ſtrength to their partie. Preſently vpon the bargaine made, Embaſſadors were ſent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perſeus* and *Gentius*: who deſired the *Rhodians*, to take vpon them, as arbitrators, betweene *Perſeus* and the *Romanes*, and to bring the Warre to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Martius* the Conſul was no leſſe deſirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promiſed, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wiſhing the Kings to ſhew themſelues conformable. But the *Romane* Senate, hearing proud words to the ſame effect, from the *Rhodian* Embaſſadours; gaue an anſwere as diſdainfull, angry, and menacing, as they could deuiſe: ſo as this vaine glory of the *Rhodians* was throughly chaſtiſed; and more throughly ſhould haue beene, if their ſubmiſſion had not been as humble, as their follie was proud. Such vſe of *Gentius* his friendſhip, made *Perſeus*; without laying out one ounce of Siluer. Now faine he would haue haſtened this young and raſh *Illyrian* to enter with all ſpeed into the Warre: but then muſt the money be haſtened away. *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* Embaſſadour, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the Warre by land and ſea, whileſt the *Romans* were vnprouided. But finding what it was that made all to ſtay; he ſent word to *Perſeus*. Heereupon tenne Talents were ſent to *Pantauchus*: who deliuered it to the yong King, as earneſt of that which followed. More followed indeede; and ſealed vp with the ſeale of the *Illyrians*; but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too faſt. Before this money came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had layed hands vpon two *Romane* Embaſſadours, and caſt them into priſon. Which *Perſeus* no ſooner heard, than he recalled his Treaſure-bearers, and ſent them with their loade to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of neceſſitie to make warre with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

Liu. lib. 44. Plutar. in vit. Æmyl.

There came about the ſame time, through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perſeus*, vnder one *Clondicus* a pettie King, tenne thouſand horſe and tenne thouſand foot, of the *Gaules*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Baſtarnæ.* Theſe had before-hand made their bargaine, and were to receiue preſent pay at the firſt. At their entry into the Kingdome, *Perſeus* ſent one to them; deſiring their Captaines to come viſit him, whom he promiſed to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the firſt queſtion that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had ſent money to giue the ſouldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargaine? Heereto the meſſenger had not what to anſwer. Why then (ſaid *Clondicus*) tell thy maſter, That the *Gaules* will not ſtirre one foote further, vntill they haue gold, as was agreed, and hoſtages. *Perſeus* heereupon tooke counſaile: if to vtter his owne opinion, before men ſo wiſe that they would not contradict him, were to take counſaile. He made an inuectiue againſt the inciuilitie and auarice of the *Baſtarnæ*: who came with ſuch numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Fiue thouſand horſe of them, hee ſaid would bee as manie as he ſhould need to vſe; and not ſo manie, that hee ſhould need to feare them. It had beene well done, if any of his counſailors would haue told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Armie of them, ſince without anie danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of *Perræbia*, into *Theſſalie*: where waſting the Country, and filling themſelues with ſpoile, they ſhould make the *Romanes* glad to forſake *Tempe*, euen for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable ſeruice, whether they wonne any victorie, or not. This, and a great deale more, might haue beene alledged, if any man had dared to giue aduice freely. In concluſion, *Antigonus*, the ſame meſſenger that had beene with them before, was ſent againe, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmure of thoſe many thouſands that had beene drawne ſo farre to no purpoſe. But *Clondicus* asked him now againe, Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay thoſe fiue thouſand, whom the King would entertaine. Hereto, when it was perceiued, that *Antigonus* could make no better anſwere, than ſhifting excuſes; the *Baſtarnæ* returned preſently towards *Danubius*, waſting the neighbour parts of *Thrace*; yet ſuffering this craftie meſſenger to eſcape vnhurt: which was more than hee could haue well expected.

Thus dealt *Perſeus*, like a carefull Treaſurer, and one that would preſerue his money for the *Romans*, without diminiſhing the ſumme. But of this painfull Office he was very ſoone diſcharged by *L. Æmilius Paulus* the new Conſul: who in fifteene dayes after his ſetting forth from *Italie*, brought the Kingdome of *Macedon* to that end, for which *God* had appointed ouer it a King ſo fooliſh and ſo cowardly.

§. VIII.

Of L. Æmylius Paulus *the Conſul. His iourney. He forceth* Perſeus *to diſcampe. He will not hazard battaile with anie diſaduantage. Of an Eclipſe of the Moone.* Æmylius *his ſuperſtition. The Battaile of Pydna.* Perſeus *his flight. He forſakes his Kingdom: which haſtily yeelds to* Æmylius. Perſeus *at Samothrace. He yeelds himſelfe to the Romane Admirall, and is ſent priſoner to* Æmylius.

BY the Warre of *Macedon*, the *Romanes* hitherto had gotten much diſhonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity ſo moued them, that either * they decreed that Prouince to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwiſe their manner, to the chance of lot, betweene him and his fellow Conſul; or at leaſt were gladder that the lot had caſt it vpon him, than that ſo worthy a man was aduanced to the dignitie of a ſecond Conſulſhip. Hee refuſed to propound vnto the Senate any thing that concerned his Prouince; vntill by his Embaſſadours, thither ſent to view the eſtate of the Warre, it was perfectly vnderſtood, in what condition both the *Romane* forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the preſent remained. This being throughly knowne to be ſuch, as hath beene already told; the Senate appointed a ſtrong ſupply, not onely to the Conſul, but vnto the Nauie, and likewiſe to the Armie that lay betweene *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from which *App. Claudius* was remooued, and *L. Anicius* ſent thither in his place. *Æmylius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the People, as was the cuſtome, ſpake with much grauitie and authoritie. Hee requeſted thoſe that did thinke themſelues wiſe

Plutarc. in vit. Æmil.

enough to manage this Warre, either to accompany him into *Macedon*, and there aſſiſt him with their aduice; or elſe to gouern their tongues at home, and not take vpon them to giue directions by hearesay, and cenſure by idle reports: for hee told them plainely, That he would frame his doings to occaſions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like ſpeech of his father *L. Æmilius*, who died valiantly in the Battaile of *Cannæ*, might well be liuing in ſome of their memories: which was enough to make them conforme themſelues the more gladly vnto the inſtructions giuen by a wiſe and reſolute Conſul.

All his buſineſſe within the Citie being diſpatched, *Æmilius* was honourably attended, at his ſetting forth on his iourney; with an eſpeciall hope of men, that hee ſhould finiſh the Warre: though that he ſhould finiſh it ſo ſoone and happily, was more then could haue beene hoped or imagined. He came to *Brunduſium*: whence, when the wind came faire, he ſet ſayle at breake of day, and arriued ſafely at the Iſle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence paſſed he to *Delphi*: where, hauing done ſacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he ſet forwards to the Campe; and was there in fiue dayes more. So are there but fiue of the fifteene dayes remaining, in which he finiſhed the Warre.

Perſeus lay ſtrongly encamped at *Dium*; hauing ſpared no labor of men and of women to fortifie the bankes of *Enipeus*, where it was fordable in drie weather: So as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and conſequently, as little poſſibilitie to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconuenience troubling the *Romans*, and much diſabling them to make attempt vpon *Dium*; was lacke of freſh water. For there were ten miles betweene *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying betweene the Sea ſhore and the foote of *Olympus*, without any Brooke or Spring breaking foorth on that ſide. But *Æmilius* found preſent remedie for this, by digging Wells on the ſhoare; where he found ſweet Springs: as commonly there is no ſhoare that wants them, though they riſe not aboue the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking vp his lodging any neerer to the enemie, than the Towne of *Heraclea*, on the riuer of *Peneus*; where hee had watering at pleaſure, but could performe no ſeruice of any worth. Yet when the *Romane* Campe had ſuch meanes to lye cloſe to the *Macedonian*, as it preſently did; the paſſage onward beeing defended as hath beene already ſhewed, ſeemed no leſſe difficult than before. Wherefore it was neceſſarie to ſearch another way: which by enquirie was ſoone found out. There was a narrow paſſage ouer *Olympus*, leading into *Perrhæbia*; hard of aſcent, but ſlenderly guarded, and therefore promiſing a faire iourney. *Martius* eyther had not beene informed heereof; or durſt not attempt it: or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the aduenture; they fearing leſt it would prooue ſuch a piece of worke as had beene their march ouer *Oſſa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater induſtry, courage, and abilitie, to command. Hee had reformed, euen at his firſt comming, many diſorders in the *Romane* Campe: teaching the ſouldiors among many other good leſſons, to bee obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themſelues, as had beene their manner, to examine the doings and purpoſes of their Generall. And now hee appointed about fiue thouſand men to this Enterpriſe: whereof he committed the charge vnto *Scipio Æmylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his owne ſonnes by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a ſonne of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Fabij*. *Scipio* tooke with him ſome light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretans*; but his maine ſtrength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, conſiſted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at ſome diſtance, they might doe notable ſeruice againſt thoſe that ſhould climbe vp vnto them; yet when the darkeneſſe tooke away their ayme, they were like to make a bad nights worke, being to deale with thoſe that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the buſineſſe about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* tooke a wrong way, towards the Fleete; where victualls were prouided for their iourney: it being noyſed, that they were to runne along the coaſt of *Macedon* by ſea, and waſte the Countrey. All the while that they were paſſing the Mountaines (which was about three dayes) the Conſul made ſhew of a meaning to ſet vpon *Perſeus* where he lay, rather to diuert the Kings attention from that which was his maine Enterpriſe, than vpon any hope to doe good, in ſeeking to get ouer *Enipeus*. The Channell of *Enipeus*, which receiued in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was ſuch, as though at the preſent it lay well-neare all drie, yet it ſerued not for thoſe that were weightily armed to fight vpon. Wherefore *Æmylius* employed none ſaue his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light armature had aduantage at farre diſtance, though the *Romanes* were better appointed for the cloſe. The Engines from off the Tower which *Perſeus* had rayſed on his owne banke, did alſo beat vpon the *Romans*, and gaue them to vnderſtand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet *Æmylius* perſiſted as hee had begunne; and continued his aſſault, ſuch as it could be, the ſecond day. This might haue ſerued to teach the *Macedonians*, that ſome greater worke was in hand: ſince otherwiſe a good Captaine, as *Æmilius* was knowne to bee, would not haue troubled himſelfe with making ſuch brauadoes, that were ſomewhat coſtly. But *Perſeus* looked onely vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men, that came running fearefully down the Mountaine, brought word into the Camp, That the *Romanes* were following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himſelfe no leſſe (if not more) amazed then any of the reſt. Order was forthwith giuen to diſlodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haſte, the Campe was broken vp, and a ſpeedy retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were ſo, that they which had cuſtodie of the paſſage were taken ſleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force; *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good ſucceſſe in their iourny. It may well be, that they ſlept vntill the *Romans* came ſomwhat neere to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrowes and ſlings could doe little ſeruice, were beaten at handie-ſtrokes: ſo as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, & an Epiſtle of *Scipio*, may each of them haue beene true. Thus was an open way cleered into *Macedon*: which had bin effected by *Martius* in the yeere fore-going; but was cloſed vp againe, through his not proſecuting ſo rich an opportunitie.

Perſeus was in an extreame doubt what courſe to take, after this vnhappy beginning. Some gaue aduice, to manne his Townes, and ſo to linger out the Warre: hauing been taught by the laſt yeeres example, how reſolute the people were in making defence. But farre worſe counſaile preuailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King reſolued to put all at once to hazard of battaile: fearing belike to put himſelfe into any one Towne, leſt that ſhould be firſt of all beſieged; and hee therein (as cowardly natures alwaies are iealous) not ouer-carefully relieued. This was euen the ſame that *Æmylius*, or anie inuader, ſhould haue deſired. So a place was choſen neere vnto *Pydna*, that ſerued well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewiſe on the ſides of it ſome peeces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature. There hee abode the comming of the enemie; who ſtayed not long behinde him. As ſoone as the *Romans* had ſight of the Kings Armie; which, with greater feare than diſcretion, had haſted away from them, forſaking the Campe that was ſo notably well fortified: they deſired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately: doubting leſt otherwiſe the King ſhould change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Conſul; praying him not to loſe occaſion by delay. But *Æmilius* told him, That he ſpake like a young man; and therefore willed him to haue patience. The *Romanes* were tyred with their iourney; had no Campe wherein to reſt themſelues; nor any thing there, ſaue onely the bare ground whereon they trode. For theſe, and the like reſpects, the Conſul made a ſtand: and ſhewing himſelfe vnto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of battaile; gaue charge to haue the Campe meaſured out & entrenched behinde the Armie; whereinto, at good leyſure, hee fell backe, without any manner of trouble. After a nights reſt, it was hoped, both by the *Romans* and by the *Macedonians*, that the matter ſhould be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the ſame day. As for the King, hee excuſed himſelfe by the backwardneſſe of the enemy; who aduanced no further, but kept vpon ground ſeruing ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other ſide, the Conſul had the reaſons before ſhewed, which he communicated to thoſe about him the next day.

That euening (which followed the third of September, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeere beene Prætor, foretold vnto the Conſul, and (with his good liking) vnto the Armie, an Eclipſe of the Moone, which was to bee the ſame night: willing the ſouldiors not to bee troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might bee knowne long before it was ſeene. It was the manner of the *Romanes*, in ſuch Eclipſes, to beat Pannes of Braſſe and Baſons, as wee doe in following a ſwarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone great eaſe, and helped her in her labour. But this prognoſtication of *Sulpitius* conuerted their ſuperſtition into admiration of his deepe skill, wherein they ſaw it verified. Contrariwiſe, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noyſe, as long as the Eclipſe laſted: rather perhaps becauſe it was their faſhion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigie betokening their loſſe; ſince their deſire to fight was no whit leſſened by it. I will not heere ſtand to diſpute, Whether ſuch Eclipſes doe ſignifie, or cauſe any alteration in ciuill affaires, and matters that haue ſmall dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of obſeruation it is, how ſuperſtition captiuates the vnderſtanding of the wiſeſt, where the helpe of true religion is wanting. *Æmylius*, though hee were ſufficiently inſtructed concerning this defect of the Moone, that it was no ſupernaturall thing, nor aboue the reach of humane vnderſtanding, ſo as he ſhould need to trouble himſelfe with any deuout regard therof: yet could he not refraine from doing his duetie to this Moone, and congratulating with ſacrifice her deliuerie, as ſoone as ſhe ſhone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended euen by *Plutarch*, a ſage Philoſopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not aſſiſt him in this fooliſh deuotion; yet is it like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for Warre, was partaker the next morning in a ſacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no leſſe fooliſh. For a great part of the day was vainely conſumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleaſed with any Sacrifice, and vouchſafe to ſhew tokens of good lucke in the entrailes of the beaſts. At length, in the bellie of the one and twentieth ſacrifice, was found a promiſe of victorie to *Æmilius*; but with condition, That hee ſhould not giue the onſet. *Hercules* was a *Greeke*, and partiall, as neerer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Romane*. Wherefore it had beene better to call vpon the new goddeſſe, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or vpon *Romulus*, founder of their Citie, on whom the *Romanes* had beſtowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authenticall) vpon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of militarie affaires; and who therefore would haue limited his fauour, with no iniunctions contrarie to the rules of Warre.

Now concerning the Battaile; *Æmilius* was throughly perſwaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwiſe he would not haue ſtayed at *Pydna*, when, as a little before, his leyſure ſerued to retyre whither hee liſted, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Conſul thought that he might wait vpon aduantage, without making any great haſte. Neyther was it to bee neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the *Romanes* faces: which would bee much to their hinderance all the forenoone. Since therefore *Perſeus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmilius* ſent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelyhood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clocke in the morning, a ſmall occaſion brought to paſſe that, which whereto neither of the Generalls had ouer-earneſt deſire.

A Horſe brake looſe at watering: which two or three of the *Romane* ſouldiers followed into the riuer, wading after him vp to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of *Thracians* ranne into the Water, to draw this horſe ouer to their owne ſide. Theſe fell to blowes, as in a priuate quarrell; and one of the *Thracians* was ſlaine. His Countrimen ſeeing this, haſted to reuenge their fellows death, and followed thoſe that had ſlaine him ouer the riuer. Heereupon company came in, to helpe on each part, vntill the number grew ſuch, as made it paſt a fray, and cauſed both the Armies to be carefull of the euent. In fine, each of the Generals placed his men in order of battaile, accordingly as the manner of his Country, and the Armes, wherewith they ſerued, did require. The ground was a flatte leuell, ſaue that on the ſides a few hillockes were raiſed heere and there; whereof each part might take what aduantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better ſouldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Conſul encouraged their men with liuely words: which the preſent condition could bountifully afford. But the King hauing finiſhed his Oration, and ſent on his men, withdrew himſelfe into *Pydna*: there to doe ſacrifice, as hee pretended, vnto *Hercules*. It is the leſſe maruaile, that hee durſt aduenture battaile, ſince hee had bethought himſelfe of ſuch a ſtratageme, whereby to ſaue his owne perſon. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the ſacrifice of a Coward: whoſe vnſeaſonable deuotion could bee no better than hypocriſie. For hee that will pray for a good Harueſt, ought alſo to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battaile, hee found it no better than loſt: and he, in looking to his owne ſafetie, cauſed it to be loſt altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, ſuch as wee find recorded, are, That the *Roman* Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did ſo ſtoutly preſſe onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much aſtoniſhed; That the *Peligni* ruſhing deſperately on the *Phalanx*, were ouer-borne, many of them ſlaine, and the ſquadrons following them ſo diſcouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. Theſe were the things that fell out aduerſe to the *Romanes*; and which the Conſul beholding, is ſaid to haue rent his coat-armor for griefe. If the King with all his power of horſe, had in like manner done his deuoyre, the victorie might haue beene his owne. That which turned the fortune of the battaile, was the ſame which doubtleſſe the Conſul expected, euen from the beginning: the difficultie, or almoſt the impoſſibilitie, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whileſt ſome of the *Romanes* ſmall battallions preſſed hard vpon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was neceſſary (if the *Macedonians* would follow vpon thoſe which were put to the worſe) that ſome files hauing open way before them, ſhould aduance themſelues beyond the reſt that were held at a ſtand. This comming ſo to paſſe, admoniſhed the Conſul, what was to be done. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little vſe, when they were charged in flanke by the *Roman* Targettiers; according to the direction giuen by *Æmilius*, when hee ſaw the front of the Enemies great battaile become vnequall, and the rankes in ſome places open, by reaſon of the vnequall reſiſtance which they found. Thus was the vſe of the *Phalanx* prooued vnauaileable againſt many ſmall ſquadrons, as it had beene formerly in the battaile of *Cynoſcephalæ*: yea, this forme of embattailing was found vnſeruiceable againſt the other, by reaſon, that being not euery where alike diſtreſſed, it would breake of it ſelfe; though heere were little ſuch inconuenience of ground, as had beene at * *Cynoſcephalæ*.

*Chap.4.§14

Perſeus, when hee ſaw his battaile begin to route, turned his bridle preſently, and ranne amaine towards *Pella*. All his horſe eſcaped, in a manner, vntouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witneſſing the little good ſeruice which they had done. As for the poore foote, they were left to the mercy of the Enemie: who ſlew aboue twenty thouſand of them; though hauing little cauſe to be furious, as hauing loſt, in that battaile, onely ſome foureſcore, or ſixeſcore men at the moſt. Some of the foote, eſcaping from the execution, ouertooke the King and his company in a wood; where they fell to rayling at the horſemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and ſuch other names, till at length they fell to blows. The King was in doubt leſt they had ill meaning to himſelfe: and therefore turned out of the common way; being followed by ſuch as thought it good. The reſt of the company diſperſed themſelues: euery one as his owne occaſions guided him. Of thoſe that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to leſſen. For hee fell to deuiſing vpon whom he might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was moſt due to himſelfe: thereby cauſing thoſe that knew his nature, to ſhrinke away from him, how they could. At his comming to *Pella*, hee found his Pages and houſhold ſeruants, ready to attend him, as they had beene wont. But of his great men that had eſcaped from the battaile, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his Treaſurers that had the boldneſſe to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their vnſeaſonable admonitions, he ſtabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he ſent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore ſtanding in feare, leſt they that refuſed to come at his call, would ſhortly dare ſome greater miſchiefe: he ſtole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Euander* (who had bin employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewiſe about 500. *Cretians*; more for loue of his money than of him. To theſe he gaue of his plate, as much as was worth about fiftie Talents, though ſhortly hee coozened them of ſome part thereof; making ſhew as if hee would haue redeemed it; but neuer paying the money. The third day after the battaile hee came to *Amphipolis*; where he exhorted the Towneſ-men to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne ſpeech being hindered by teares, appointed *Euander* to ſpeake what himſelfe would haue vttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themſelues.

Vpon the firſt fame of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towne of two thouſand *Thracians* that lay there in garriſon: ſending them forth vnder color of a gaineful employment, and ſhutting the gates after them. And now to be ridde of the King; they plainly bade *Euander* to be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde to tarry: but embarking himſelfe and the treaſure which hee had there, in certaine veſſells that hee found in the riuer *Strymon*; paſſed ouer to the Iſle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to liue ſafe, by priuiledge of the religious Sanctuarie therein.

Theſe miſerable ſhifts of the King make it the leſſe doubtfull, how all the Kingdome fell into the power of *Æmilius*, within ſo few dayes after his victorie. *Pydna* which was neereſt at hand, was the laſt that yeelded. About ſixe thouſand of the ſouldiours, that were of ſundry Nations, fledde out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confuſed rabble of ſo many ſtrangers hindering all deliberation and conſent. *Hippius* who had kept the paſſage ouer *Oſſa* againſt *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had beene ſent Embaſſadour to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the firſt that came in: yeelding themſelues and the Towne of *Beræa*, whither they had retired out of the battell. With the like meſſage came others from *Theſſalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Townes of *Macedon*, within two dayes: the loſſe of the head bereauing the whole body of all ſenſe and ſtrength. Neyther did they of *Pydna* ſtand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forſaken his Countrey: but opened their gates vpon ſuch termes, that the ſacke of it was granted to the *Romane* Armie. *Æmylius* ſent abroad into the Countrey, ſuch as he thought meeteſt, to take charge of other Cities: hee himſelfe marching towards *Pella*. Hee found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents; the ſame whereof *Perſeus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a very little while hee ſhall haue more.

It was ſoone vnderſtod, that *Perſeus* had taken Sanctuarie, in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his owne letters to the Conſul, confirming the report. Hee ſent theſe letters by perſon of ſuch meane condition; that his caſe was pittied, for that hee wanted the ſeruice of better men. The ſcope of his writing was, to deſire fauour: which though hee begged in tearmes ill beſeeming a King; yet ſince the inſcription of his Epiſtle was, *King Perſeus to the Conſul Paulus*, the Conſul, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retaine the Title, refuſed to make any anſwere thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby hee craued and obtained, that ſome might bee ſent to conferre with him about matters of his preſent eſtate. Neuertheleſſe, in this conference, hee was maruellous earneſt, that hee might bee allowed ſtill to retaine the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had ſo carefully preſerued his treaſure, vnto the very laſt: flattering himſelfe with ſuch vaine hopes as theſe; That the *Romanes* would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect thoſe great riches in his poſſeſſion; but compound with him for money, letting him haue his deſire to liue at eaſe, and to bee called King. Yea it ſeemes that hee had indeede, euen from the beginning, a deſire to liue in this Iſle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his conſultations about the Warre, hee was dehorted by his friends, from ſeeking to exchange his Kingdome of *Macedon*, for * ſuch a paltrie Iland; and for that hee offered to lay vp the money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwiſe. They vrge him to giue place vnto neceſſitie, and without more adoe, to yeeld to the diſcretion and mercie of the people of *Rome*. This is ſo farre againſt his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Preſently there arriues at *Samothroce Cn. Octauius* the *Romane* Admirall, with his fleet: who aſſayes, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for feare of impriſonment, hee had now alreadie impriſoned himſelfe. When all would not ſerue, a queſtion was moued to the *Samothracians*; How they durſt pollute their Temple, by receiuing into it one that had violated the like priuiledge of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quicke. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and ſend word to the King, That *Euander*, who liues with him in the Temple, is accuſed of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*, whereof vnleſſe he can cleare himſelfe in iudgement, hee muſt not be ſuffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Maieſtie, now paſt, makes them forbeare to ſay, that *Perſeus* himſelfe is charged

Liu. lib. 42.

with the ſame crime. But what will this auaile, when the miniſter of the fact being brought into iudgement, ſhall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? *Perſeus* therefore willed *Euander* to haue conſideration of the little fauour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand; who are like to be preſidents and ouerſeers of this iudgement: ſo as it were better to dye valiantly, ſince none other hope remaines, than hope to make good an ill cauſe; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion *Euander* ſeemes to like well: and either kils himſelfe, or hoping to eſcape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poyſon wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had ſtucke to *Perſeus* in all times of neede, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forſake him: ſo as none are left with him, ſaue his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be ſuſpected, that they which leaue him vpon this occaſion, will tell perillous tales, and ſay, That the King hath loſt the priuiledge of this holy Sanctuarie, by murdering *Euander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirme ſo much, who ſhall dare to gaineſay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and euen that alſo lyable to diſpute, which preſerues him from captiuitie; he purpoſeth to make an eſcape, and flye, with his Treaſures, vnto *Cotys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ſhip; who eaſily was perſwaded to waft the King thence. With all ſecrecie the Kings money, as much as could be ſo conueyed, was carried aboord by night; and the King himſelfe, with his wife and * children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him onely * *Philip* his elder ſonne, who was onely by adoption his ſonne, being his * brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by a rope, and ouer a mudde wall. At his comming to the Sea-ſide, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretians* had played a *Cretian* tricke, and he was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whileſt *Perſeus* was ſearching all along the ſhoare: who had ſtayed ſo long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere he could recouer the Temple. He ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging: and thinking it not ſafe to enter it the common way, leſt he ſhould be taken; he hid himſelfe in an obſcure corner. His Pages miſſing him, ranne vp and downe making enquirie; till *Octauius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatſoeuer, abiding with their maſter in *Samothrace*, ſhould haue their liues and libertie, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Iſle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they ſhould preſently yeeld themſelues to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewiſe *Ion*, a *Theſſalonian*, to whom the King had giuen the cuſtodie of his children, deliuered them vp to *Octauius*. Laſtly, *Perſeus* himſelfe, with his ſonne *Philip*, accuſing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him; rendered himſelfe, and made the *Roman* victory compleate. If he had not truſted in thoſe gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of liuing, than of reigning therein; he might well haue brought this Warre to an happier end. Now, by diuiding his cogitations, and purſuing, at once, thoſe contrary hopes of ſauing his Kingdome by armes, and himſelfe by flight; he is become a ſpectacle of miſery, and one among the number of thoſe Princes, that haue beene wretched by their owne default. He was preſently ſent away to *Æmylius*; before whom he fell to the gound ſo baſely, that he ſeemed thereby to diſhonour the victory ouer himſelfe, as gotten vpon one of abiect qualitie, and therefore the leſſe to be eſteemed. *Æmylius* vſed to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for hauing, with ſo hoſtile a minde, made Warre vpon the *Romans*. Hereto good anſwere might haue beene returned by one of better ſpirit. As for *Perſeus*, he anſwered all with a fearefull ſilence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Conſul tearmed it) almoſt aſſurance; for that ſuch was the mercy of the people of *Rome*. After theſe good words, being inuited to the Conſuls Table, and reſpectiuely entreated, he was committed priſoner to *Q. Ælius*.

Plut. in vit. Aemyl.
Liu. lib. 45.
Liu. lib. 42.

Such end had this *Macedonian* War, after foure yeers continuance: and ſuch end therewithall had the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had ſometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now tranſlated vnto *Rome*.

§. IX.

Gentius, *King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.*

ABout the ſame time, and with like celeritie, ***Anicius*** the ***Roman*** Prætor, who ſucceeded vnto *App. Claudius*; had the like ſucceſſe againſt King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Armie of fifteene thouſand; with which hee was at *Liſſus*, ready to aſſiſt King *Perſeus* as ſoone as the money ſhould come, whereof he had receiued onely ten Talents. But *Anicius* arreſted him on the way; fought with him; ouercame him; and draue him into * *Scodra*. This Towne was very defenſible by nature, beſides the helpe of fortification; and ſtrongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, aſſiſted with the Kings preſence, made it ſeeme vnpoſſible to be wonne, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late victory; and therefore preſented his Armie before the walles, making countenance to giue an aſſault. The *Illyrians*, that might eaſily haue defended themſelues within the Towne, would needes iſſue foorth and fight. They were, it ſeemes, rather paſſionate than couragious: for they were beaten, and thereupon foorthwith began amazedly to treat about yeelding. The King ſent Embaſſadours; by whom, at firſt, he deſired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his eſtate. It ill became him, who had layed violent hand on the *Roman* Embaſſadours, to haue recourſe to ſuch mediation. But he thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the caſting of thoſe Embaſſadours into priſon; where they were ſtill aliue. Hauing obtained three dayes reſpite, he paſſed vp a Riuer, within halfe a myle of the *Roman* Campe, into the Lake of *Scodra*, as it were to conſult the more priuately; though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Carauantius* was comming to his reſcue. Finding that no ſuch helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was ſo fooliſh as to returne into *Scodra*. He ſent Meſſengers crauing acceſſe vnto the Prætor: before whom hauing lamented his folly paſt (which, excepting the diſhoneſtie, was not ſo great as his folly preſent) he fell downe humbly, and yeelded himſelfe to diſcretion. All the Townes of his Kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, friends, were preſently giuen vp. So this Warre ended in thirtie dayes: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun; vntill *Perpenna*, one of the Embaſſadors that had beene impriſoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had paſſed.

* Cal'ed now *Scutari.*

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§. X.

How the Romans behaued themſelues in Greece and Macedon after their victory ouer Perſeus.

NOw began the *Romans* to ſwell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically vpon thoſe that had beene vnmannerly toward them before, whileſt the Warre with *Perſeus* ſeemed full of danger. The ***Rhodian*** Embaſſadors were ſtill at *Rome*, when the tidings of theſe victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with a bad grace; ſaying, that they were ſent from *Rhodes* to make an ouerture of peace; foraſmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no leſſe grieuous to the *Romans* themſelues, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalfe of the *Rhodians* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had beene expected. Hereto the Senate made anſwere, That the *Rhodians* had ſent this Embaſſage to *Rome*, not for loue of *Rome*, but in fauour of the *Macedonian*; whoſe partizans they were, and ſhould ſo be taken. By theſe threats, and the deſire of ſome (couetous of the charge) to haue Warre proclaimed againſt *Rhodes*; the Embaſſadours were ſo affrighted, that in mourning apparell, as humble ſuppliants, they went about the Citie; beſeeching all men, eſpecially the great ones, to pardon their indiſcretion, and not to proſecute them with vengeance for ſome fooliſh words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being knowne at *Rhodes*, all that had beene any whit auerſe from the *Romans* in the late Warre of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or ſent priſoners to *Rome*; excepting ſome that ſlue themſelues for feare, whoſe goods alſo were confiſcated. Yet this procured little grace; and leſſe would haue done, if olde *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not vttered a milde ſentence, and aduertiſed the Senate, That in decreeing Warre againſt *Rhodes*, they ſhould much diſhonour themſelues, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedy to ranſacke, than any iuſt cauſe, had moued them thereto. This conſideration, together with their good deſerts in the Warres of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any marke remained aliue, ſaue thoſe that had beene of the *Roman* Faction. All which notwithſtanding, many yeeres paſſed, ere by importunate ſuit, they could be admitted into the ſocietie of the *Romans*: a fauour which till now, they had not eſteemed, but thought themſelues better without it, as equall friends.

Cæſar. in orat apud Saluſt. de Coniurat. Catilinæ.

With the like, or greater ſeueritie, did the *Romans* make themſelues terrible in all parts of *Greece*. *Æmylius* himſelfe made progreſſe through the Countrey, viſiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleaſure: yet not forgetting to make them vnderſtand what power he had ouer them. More than fiue hundred of the chiefe Citizens in *Demetrias* were ſlaine at one time by thoſe of the *Roman* faction, and with helpe of the *Roman* ſouldiers. Others fled, or were baniſhed, and their goods confiſcated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Conſul; the redreſſe was ſuch, as requited not the paines of making ſupplication. His friends, that is to ſay, thoſe which betrayed vnto the *Romans* the liberty of their Countrey, he feaſted like a King, with exceſſiue cheere, yet ſo, that he had all things very cheape in his Campe: an eaſie matter, ſince no man durſt be backward in ſending prouiſions, nor ſet on them the due price. Embaſſadours likewiſe were ſent from *Rome*; ſome, to giue order for ſetling the eſtate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular inſtruction from the Senate than was vſuall in ſuch caſes; and ſome, to viſit the affaires of *Greece*. The Kingdome of *Macedon* was ſet at liberty by *Æmylius* and the Embaſſadours, his aſſiſtants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was ſuch as the *Romans* vſed to beſtow. The beſt part of it was, That the Tribute which had beene payed vnto the Kings, was leſſened by halfe. As for the reſt; the Countrey was diuided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were ſent captiue into *Italy*, with their wiues and children, as many as were aboue fifteene yeeres old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new giuen by *Æmylius*. Such miſchiefe the Senate thought it better to doe, at the firſt alteration of things in this Prouince, and in the time of Conqueſt, than otherwiſe to leaue any inconuenience that ſhould be worſe in the future. But concerning the *Greekes*, that were not ſubiects to *Rome*; the things done to them could deſerue no better name than meere tyrannie, yea and ſhameleſſe periury; were it not ſo, that the familiar cuſtome, among Princes and great Eſtates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation ſeeme of no validitie. The Embaſſadours that were ſent to viſit the *Greekes*, called before them all ſuch men of note, from euery quarter, as had any way diſcouered an vnſeruiceable diſpoſition towards the *Romans*. Theſe they ſent to *Rome*; where they were made ſure enough. Some of theſe had ſent letters to *Perſeus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that reſpect, though they were no ſubiects, yet wanted there no colour, for vſing them as traytors, or at leaſt as enemies. But ſince onely two men were beheaded, for hauing beene openly on the *Macedonian* ſide; and ſince it is confeſſed, that the good *Patriotes* were no leſſe afflicted in this inquiſition, than they that had ſold themſelues to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcuſable Tyrannie. With the *Achæans* theſe Embaſſadours were to deale more formally: not ſo much becauſe that Common-wealth was ſtrong (though this were to be regarded by them, hauing no Commiſſion to make or denounce Warre) and like to proue vntractable, if manifeſt wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of ſigne, by letters, or otherwiſe, whereby any one of the *Achæans* could be ſuſpitiouſly charged to haue held correſpondence with the *Marcedonian*. It was alſo ſo, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had beene employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their ſeruice to the *Romans*, but onely ſuch as were the beſt *Patriotes*. Yet would not therefore the Embaſſadours neglect to vſe the benefit of the time: wherein, ſince all men trembled for feare of *Rome*, the ſeaſon ſerued fitly to ranke the *Achæans* with the reſt.

And hereto *Callicrates* was very vrgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if ſome ſharpe order were not now taken, he and his fellowes ſhould be made to pay for their miſchieuous deuices, ere long time paſſed. So the Embaſſadours came among the *Achæans*: where one of them, in open aſſembly of the Nation, ſpake as *Callicrates* had before inſtructed him. Hee ſaid, that ſome of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended *Perſeus*. This being ſo; he deſired that all ſuch men might be condemned, whom, after ſentence giuen, hee would name vnto them. After ſentence giuen (cried out the whole aſſembly) what iuſtice were this? Name them firſt, and let them anſwere; which if they cannot well doe, wee will ſoone condemne them. Then ſaid the *Roman* boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their armies, were guiltie of this crime. If this were true, ſaid *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence; then ſhould I likewiſe haue beene friend to *Perſeus*: whereof, if any man can accuſe me, I ſhall throughly anſwere him, either here preſently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Vpon theſe words of *Xenon* the Embaſſadour laid hold, and ſaid that euen ſo it were the beſt way, for him and the reſt to purge themſelues before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not vntill he had cited aboue a thouſand; willing them to appeare and anſwere before the Senate. This might euen be tearmed the captiuitie of *Greece*; wherein ſo many of the honeſteſt and worthieſt men were carried from home, for none other cauſe than their loue vnto their Countrey; to be puniſhed according to the will of thoſe, who could not endure, that vertue, and regard of the publike libertie, ſhould dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their comming to *Rome*, they were all caſt into priſon, as men already condemned by the *Achæans*. Many Embaſſages were ſent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondred, that any ſuch honeſt care of theſe innocent men could be remaining: ſince honeſtie had been thus puniſhed as a vice, in ſo many of the worthieſt among them) to informe the Senate, that theſe men were neither condemned by the *Achæans*, nor yet held to be offendors. But in ſtead of better anſwere it was pronounced; That the *Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrie, that theſe men ſhould returne into Achaia*. Neither could any ſollicitation of the *Achæans*, who neuer ceaſed to importune the Senate for their libertie, preuaile at all; vntill after ſeuenteene yeeres, fewer than thirtie of them were enlarged, of whom that wiſe and vertuous man *Polybius*, the great Hiſtorian was one. All the reſt were either dead in priſon; or hauing made offer to eſcape, whether vpon the way before they came to *Rome*: or whether out of iayle, after that they were committed thereto, ſuffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being deſirous to preſerue the *Macedonian* Treaſure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiours, gaue order, That the whole Countrey of *Epirus* ſhould be put to ſacke. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as alſo it was performed by *Æmylius* with miſchieuous ſubtiltie. Hauing taken leaue of the *Greekes*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to vſe the libertie beſtowed vpon them by the people of *Rome*; he ſent vnto the *Epirots* for ten of the principall men out of euery Citie. Theſe he commanded to deliuer vp all the Gold and Siluer which they had; and ſent along with them, into euery of their Townes, what companies of men he thought conuenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gaue ſecret inſtruction to the Captaines, that vpon a certaine day by him appointed, they ſhould fall to ſacke, euery one the Towne whereinto he was ſent. Thus in one day were threeſcore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, ſpoyled by the *Roman* Souldiours; and beſides other acts of hoſtility in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thouſand of that Nation made ſlaues. It may be granted, that ſome of the *Epirots* deſerued puniſhment, as hauing fauoured *Perſeus*. But ſince they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had beene already ſent into *Italie*, there to receiue their due; and ſince this Nation, in generall, was not onely at the preſent in good obedience, but had euen in this warre, done good ſeruice to the *Romans*: I hold this act ſo wicked, that I ſhould not beleeue it, had any one Writer deliuered the contrary. But the truth being manifeſt by conſent of all; it is the leſſe marueilous, that *God* was pleaſed to make *Æmylius* childeleſſe, euen in the glory of his triumph, how great ſoeuer otherwiſe his vertues were.

In ſuch manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victory, with the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*.

ans. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appeare by the efficacie of an Embaſſage ſent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof before we ſpeake, we muſt ſpeake ſomewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himſelfe, and of his affaires about which theſe Embaſſadours came.

§. XI.

The Warre of Antiochus *vpon Ægypt, brought to end by the Roman Embaſſadours.*

ANtiochus the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the ſhort time following of his raigne and life. He died the ſixe and thirtieth yeere after he had worne a Crowne, and in the ſeuenteenth or eighteenth of *Ptolemie Epiphanes*: while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Iuſtine*) of *Iupiter*. He left behinde him three ſonnes, *Seleucus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom hee had giuen in marriage to *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, King of *Ægypt*. *Seleucus* the fourth of that name, and the eldeſt of *Antiochus* his ſonnes; reigned in *Syria* twelue yeeres, according to *Euſebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Ioſephus* giue him but ſeuen. A Prince, who as hee was ſloathfull by nature; ſo the great loſſe which his father *Antiochus* had receiued, tooke from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeeres before his birth, *Daniel* gaue this iudgement, *Et ſtabit in loco eius viliſsimus & indignus decore regio. And in his place* (ſpeaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) *ſhall ſtart vp a vilde perſon, vnworthy the honour of a King.* Vnder this *Seleucus*, thoſe things were done which are ſpoken of *Onias* the high Prieſt, in theſe words, and other to the ſame effect: *What time as the holy Citie was inhabited with all Peace, becauſe of the godlineſſe of* Onias *the Prieſt, it came to paſſe, that euen the King did honour the place, and garniſhed the Temple with great gifts.* And all that is written in the third Chapter of the ſecond of *Macchabees*, of *Simon* of *Beniamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treaſures of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* ſent by the King to ſeize them; of his miraculous ſtriking by God, and his recouery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his ſucceſſour *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the raigne of this King, that the bookes of the *Macchabees* take beginning. Which bookes ſeeme not to be deliuered by one and the ſame hand. For the firſt booke, although it touch vpon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing elſe of his ſtorie, nor of the acts of his ſucceſſours, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and ſucceſſour of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Macchabeus* (who died in the hundred threeſcore and ſeuenteenth yeere of the *Greekes* in *Syria*) that firſt booke treateth. The Author of the ſecond booke, although he take the Storie ſomewhat further off, by way of a Proœme, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeere of the *Grecian* raigne, and with the death of *Nicanor*, ſlaine by *Iudas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Iaſon* the brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, preuailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his ſucceſſor, for the Prieſthood. It is alſo held by *Ianſenius* and other graue Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* King of the *Spartans* ſent Embaſſadours to the *Iewes*, as to their brothers and kinſmen. Which intelligence betweene them and the *Greekes*, *Ionathan* the brother and ſucceſſour of *Iudas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epiſtle, which he himſelfe directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embaſſadours, whom he employed at the ſame time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating alſo the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had ſent to *Onias* the high Prieſt, whereof *Ioſephus* addes, that the name of the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſador was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a ſquare Volume, and were ſealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her clawes.

Strab. lib. 16. Iuſt. lib. 35.

Euſeb. in Chro. App. de bell. Syr. Ant. 12. cap. 5.

Dan. 11. v. 21.

2 Mac. cap. 3.

Mac. 1. 12. Super Eccl. c. 5.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, ſucceeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and ſeuen and thirtieth yeere of the *Greekes* in *Syria*. He was the ſecond ſonne of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdome by procuring the death of the King his brother; which alſo he vſurped from his brothers ſonne.

Ptolemie Philometor, his Nephew by his ſiſter *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had beene about ſeuen yeeres King of *Ægypt*.

Ptolemie Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Ægypt* foure and twenty yeeres, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to diuide his Kingdome betweene them, whileſt he was a childe. But they found ſuch other buſineſſe, ere long, with the *Romans*, as made them giue ouer their vniuſt purpoſe; eſpecially *Antiochus*, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this *Ptolemie*, the Prouinces of *Cœloſyria*, *Phœnice*, and *Iudæa*, which he had won by his victory ouer *Scopas*, that was Generall of the *Ægyptian* forces in thoſe parts. Neuertheleſſe, *Ptolemie* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby hee liued in the greater ſecuritie. He left behinde him two ſons; this *Ptolemie Philometor*, and *Ptolemie Phyſcon*, with a daughter, *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the yonger, by whom ſhee was caſt off, and her daughter taken in her ſtead. Such were the marriages of theſe *Ægyptian* Kings.

Ptolemie Philometor, ſo called (that is, the louer of his mother) by a bitter nickname, becauſe he ſlew her, fell into hatred with his ſubiects, and was like to be chaſed out of his Kingdome, his yonger brother being ſet vp againſt him. *Phyſcon* hauing a ſtrong party, got poſſeſſion of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himſelfe in *Memphis*, crauing ſuccour of King *Antiochus* his vncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who vnder colour to take vpon him the protection of the young Prince, ſought by all means poſſible to poſſeſſe himſelfe of that Kingdome. He ſent *Apollonius* the ſonne of *Mneſtheus* Embaſſadour into *Ægypt*, and vnder colour to aſſiſt the Kings Coronation, hee gaue him inſtructions to perſwade the Gouernours of the yong King *Philometor*, to deliuer the King his Nephew with the principall places of that Kingdome into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and deſire of his Nephewes ſafety and well doing. And the better to anſwere all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came hee alongſt the coaſt of *Syria* to *Ioppe*, and from thence on the ſudden he turned himſelfe towards *Ieruſalem*, where, by *Iaſon* the Prieſt (a Chaplin fit for ſuch a Patron) he was with all pompe and ſolemnitie receiued into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predeceſſour of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitour *Simon* of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would haue deliuered the treaſures thereof to *Apollonius* Gouernour of *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, was diſappointed of his wicked purpoſe by miracle from heauen; the ſaid *Apollonius* being ſtrucken by the Angell of God, and recouering againe at the prayer of *Onias*: yet ſufficed not this example to terrifie others from the like vngodly practices. Preſently vpon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Iaſon*, the brother of *Onias*, ſeeking to ſupplant his brother, and to obtaine the Prieſthood for himſelfe, offered vnto the King three hundred and threeſcore talents of ſiluer, with other rents and ſummes of money. So he got his deſire, though he not long inioyed it.

2 Mac. 4.

Mac. 2. cap. 3.

Mac. l. 2. c. 4.

This naughty dealing of *Iaſon*, and his being ouer-reached by another in the ſame kinde, cals to minde a by-word taken vp among the *Achæans*, when as that miſchieuous *Callicrates*, who had beene too hard for all worthy and vertuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus:

One fire than other burnes more forcibly,
One Wolfe than other Wolues does bite more ſore;
One Hawke than other Hawkes more ſwift does fly.
So one moſt miſchieuous of men before,
Callicrates, *falſe knaue as knaue might be,*
Met with Menalcidas *more falſe than he.*

And euen thus fell it out with *Iaſon*: who within three yeeres after, was betrayed, and ouerbidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Prieſthood for himſelfe: *Iaſon* thereupon being forced to flye from *Ieruſalem*, and to hide himſelfe among the *Ammonites*.

From *Ieruſalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phœnicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Ægypt*; with which, and with a mighty armie of land-forces, *He went about to raigne ouer* Ægypt, *that he might haue the dominion of two Realmes, and entred* Ægypt *with a mighty company with, Chariots and Elephants, with Horſemen, and with a great Nauie, and moued warre againſt* Ptolemæus *King of* Ægypt; *but* Ptolemæus *was afraid of him, and fled, & many were wounded to death. He won many ſtrong Cities, and tooke away the ſpoyles of the Land of* Ægypt. Thus was fulfilled

Mac. 1. c. 1. v. 17.

Verſ. 18. 19. 20 &c.

Prophecie of *Daniel*: *He ſhall enter into the quiet and plentifull Prouinces, and he ſhall doe that which his Fathers haue not done, nor his Fathers Fathers.* Neuer indeede had any of the Kings of *Syria* ſo great a victory ouer the *Ægyptians*, nor tooke from them ſo great riches. For he gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Captaines of *Ptolemie*, betweene *Peluſium* and the hill *Caſsius*, after which he entred, and ſackt the greateſt and richeſt of all the Cities of *Ægypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In concluſion, *after that* Antiochus *had ſmitten* Ægypt, *he turned againe, and went vp towards* Iſrael *and* Ieruſalem *with a mightie people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and tooke away the golden Altar, and the Candleſticke for the light, and all the inſtruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the Powring Veſſels, and the Bolles, and the golden Baſons, and the Vaile and the Crownes, and the golden Apparell. He tooke alſo the Siluer and the Gold, and the precious Iewels, and the ſecret Treaſures: and when hee had taken away all, hee departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.*

Dan.c.11.v.24.
Hier.in Dan.
Mac.l.1.c.1.

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* warre, that *Antiochus* tooke in hand this *Ægyptian* buſineſſe. At what time he firſt laid claime to *Cœloſyria*, iuſtifying his title by * the ſame allegations which his father had made; and ſtiffely auerting, that this Prouince had not beene conſigned ouer to the *Ægyptian*, or giuen in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Eaſie it was to approue his right vnto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all *Ægypt*. The *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greekes*, preſſed him, by ſeuerall Embaſſages, to ſome good concluſion. But his anſwere was, that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receiue their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolemies*, then ſhould the warre be preſently at an end; otherwiſe not. Yet when he ſaw, that it was an hard piece of worke to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers conſume themſelues with inteſtine war, than by the terror of his armes, threatning deſtruction vnto both of them, to put into them any deſire of comming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the preſent; leauing the *Ptolemies* in very weake eſtate, the yonger almoſt ruinated by his inuaſion; the elder hated and forſaken by his people.

Lib.6.
* *Cap.5.§.2.*
Polyb. Leg.81 82.&c.

But how weake ſoeuer theſe *Ægyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be ſo ſtrong, that *Antiochus* might leaue them to the proſecution thereof; and follow, at good leiſure, his other buſineſſe at *Ieruſalem* or elſewhere. So after the ſacke of *Ieruſalem*, he reſted him awhile at *Antioch*; and then made a iourney into *Cilicia*, to ſuppreſſe the Rebellion of the *Thracians* and other in thoſe parts, who had bin giuen as it were, by way of dowry, to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochis*. For Gouernour of *Syria* in his abſence, he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great authority about him. In the meane while *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the ſame who had thruſt *Iaſon* out of the Prieſthood, and promiſed the King three hundred talents for an Income, committing the charge of the Prieſthood to his brother *Lyſimachus*, ſtole certaine veſſels of gold out of the Temple: whereof hee preſented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and ſold the reſt at *Tyre*, and other Cities adioyning. This hee did, as it ſeemeth, to aduance the payment of the three hundred talents promiſed; the ſame being now by *Soſtratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Prieſt (formerly diſpoſſeſſed by *Iaſon*) had certaine knowledge, being moued with zeale, and deteſting the ſacriledge of *Menelaus*, he reproued him for it; and fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himſelfe into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adioyning as a ſuburb to *Antioch*. In compaſſe it had about ten miles: wherein were the *Temples* of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Groue, ſweete Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abuſed to luſt and other ſuch voluptuouſneſſe. Whether it were well done of *Onias*, to commit himſelfe to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claime priuiledge, from the holineſſe of a ground conſecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not ſtand to diſcourſe. Onely I ſay for mine owne opinion; that the inconuenience is farre leſſe, to hold this booke as *Apocryphall*, than to iudge this fearefull ſhift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the booke ſeemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not ſaue the life of the poore olde man: for Menelaus *taking* Andronicus *apart, prayed him to ſlay* Onias. *So when hee came to* Onias, *hee counſelled him craftily, giuing him his right hand with an oath, and perſwaded him to come out of the Sanctuarie; ſo hee ſlew him incontinently without any regard of righteouſneſſe.* Hereof

Mac.l.2.c.4.

when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his returne out of *Cilicia*, *He tooke away* Andronicus *his garment of purple, and rent his cloathes, and commanded him to be led throughout the Citie, and in the ſame place where he had committed the wickedneſſe againſt* Onias, *he was ſlaine as a murderer.* In taking reuenge of this innocent mans death, I ſhould haue thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Iuſtice. But preſently after this, at the ſuit of one *Ptolemie*, a Traytor to *Ptolemie Philometor*, hee condemned innocent men to death; who iuſtly complained againſt *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lyſimachus*, for a ſecond robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the veſſels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifeſt, that he was guided by his owne outragious will, and not by any regard of iuſtice: ſince he reuenged the death of *Onias*, yet ſlue thoſe that were in the ſame cauſe with *Onias*; *Who, had they told their cauſe, yea, before the* Scythians, *they ſhould haue beene heard as innocent.* By reaſon of ſuch his vnſteadineſſe, this King was commonly tearmed *Epimanes*, that is, mad, in ſtead of *Epiphanes*, which ſignifieth Noble or Illuſtrious.

Mac.2.c.4. v.38.

Verſ.47.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a ſecond voyage into *Ægypt*, *and then were there ſeene throughout all the Citie of* Ieruſalem, *forty daies long, horſemen running in the ayre with robes of gold, and as bands of Spearemen, and as troupes of Horſemen ſet in aray, encountring and courſing one againſt another.* Of theſe prodigious ſignes, or rather forewarnings of *God*, all Hiſtories haue deliuered vs, ſome more, ſome leſſe. Before the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem* by *Veſpaſian*, a ſtarre in the forme of a ſword appeared in the Heauens directly ouer the City, after which there followed a ſlaughter like vnto this of *Epiphanes*, though farre greater. In the *Cymbrian* warres, *Pliny* tels vs, that Armies were ſeene fighting in the ayre from the morning till the euening.

Mac.2.c.5.v.1

Plin.l.2.c.57.

In the time of Pope *Iohn* the eleuenth, a fountaine powred out blood in ſtead of water, in or neare the Citie of *Genoa*; ſoone after which the Citie was taken by the *Saracens*, with great ſlaughter. Of theſe and the like prodigious ſignes, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkeable. But this one ſeemeth to mee moſt memorable, becauſe the moſt notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the Off-ſpring of the *Cæſars*, as well naturall as adopted, tooke end; whereof this notable ſigne gaue warning.

Mercur. Vipera de Prodig. l.8. Vipera de Priſco & ſacro inſtituto.

When *Liuia* was firſt married to *Auguſtus*, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white Hen, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. *Liuia* cauſed this Hen to be carefully nouriſhed, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: Of the Hen came a faire encreaſe of white Poultrie; and from the little Branch there ſprang vp in time a Groue of Lawrell: ſo that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerors did vſe to carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Groue; & after the Triumphs ended, to ſet it againe in the ſame ground: which branches were obſerued, when they happened to wither, to foreſhew the death of thoſe perſons who carried them in triumph. And in the laſt yeere of *Nero*, all the broodes of the white Hens died, and the whole Groue of Bayes withered at once. Moreouer, the heads of all the *Cæſars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Auguſtus* his hand, were ſtricken downe with lightning. That the *Iewes* did not thinke ſuch ſtrange ſignes to be vnworthy of regard; it appeares by their calling vpon *God*, and praying, that theſe tokens might turne to good.

Suetor. Galba.

Now as the firſt voyage of *Antiochus* into *Ægypt* was occaſioned by diſcord of the two brethren therein reigning: ſo was his ſecond Expedition cauſed by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolemie* being left in *Memphis*, nor ſtrong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* againſt all the power of their Vncle; thought it the beſt way to ſeeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perſwaſion than by armes. *Phyſcon* had not yet forgotten the terrour of the former ſiege: the *Alexandrines* though they loued not *Philometor*, yet loued they worſe to liue in ſcarcitie of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreame) ſince nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the yonger brother ſaw no likelihood of good iſſue to be hoped for without reconciliation. Theſe good helpes, and aboue all theſe, the louing diſpoſition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor* in his purpoſe. But that which made him earneſtly deſirous to accompliſh it, was the feare wherein hee ſtood of his Vncle. For though *Antiochus* were gone out of *Ægypt* with his armie; yet had he left behinde him a ſtrong garriſon in *Peluſium*; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of *Ægypt*, to his owne vſe. This conſideration wrought alſo with *Phyſcon*, and with thoſe that were about him; ſo as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their ſiſter, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, hee was greatly enraged: for notwithſtanding that he had pretended no other thing than the eſtabliſhment of the King *Philometor* his nephew, and a meaning to ſubiect his younger brother vnto him, which hee gaue in anſwere to all Embaſſadours; yet he now prepared to make a ſharpe warre vpon them both. And to this end he preſently furniſhed and ſent out his Nauie towards *Cyprus*, and drew his land Armie into *Cœloſyria*, ready to enter *Ægypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embaſſadours ſent from *Ptolemie*. Their errand was partly to yeelde thankes to *Antiochus* for the eſtabliſhing of *Philometor* in his Kingdome; partly to beſeech him, That hee would rather be pleaſed to ſignifie what hee required to haue done in *Ægypt*, which ſhould be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with ſo puiſſant an Armie. But *Antiochus* returned this ſhort anſwere, That hee would neither call backe his Fleete, nor withdraw his Armie, vpon any other condition, than that *Ptolemie* ſhould ſurrender into his hands together with the Citie of *Peluſium*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that hee ſhould alſo abandon and leaue vnto him the Ile of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had vnto either of them for euer. For anſwere vnto theſe demands, hee ſet downe a day certaine, and a ſhort one. Which being come and paſt, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleete entred *Nilus*, and recouered as well thoſe places which appertained to *Ptolemie* in *Arabia*, as in *Ægypt* it ſelfe; for *Memphis*, and all about it, receiued *Antiochus*, being vnable to reſiſt him. The King hauing now no ſtoppe in his way to *Alexandria*; paſſed on thitherwards by eaſie iourneyes.

Of all theſe troubles paſt, as well as of the preſent danger wherein *Ægypt* ſtood, the *Romans* had notice long agoe. But they found, or, were contented to finde, little reaſon for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a ciuill warre: and wherein *Antiochus* ſeemed to take part with the iuſter cauſe. Yet they gaue ſignification, that it would be much diſpleaſing vnto them, to haue the Kingdome of *Ægypt* taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with *Perſeus*; and therefore loath to prouoke *Antiochus* too farre. Neuertheleſſe, the *Ægyptian* Kings being reconciled, and ſtanding ioyntly in neede of helpe againſt their Vncle, who prepared and made open warre againſt them both: it was to be expected, that not onely the *Romans*, but many of the *Greekes*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits ſhould arme in defence of their Kingdome. *Rome* had beene ſuſtained with food from *Ægypt*, in the warre of *Hannibal*; when *Italy* lying waſte, had neither corne, nor money wherewith to buy ſufficient ſtore. By helpe of the *Ægyptian*, had *Aratus* laide the foundation of that greatneſſe, whereto the *Achæans* attained. And by the like helpe, had *Rhodes* beene defended againſt *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were theſe friendly turnes, which that bountifull houſe of the *Ptolemies* had done for ſundry people abroad, ill followed, or ſeconded, by other as bad in requitall: but with continuance of ſutable beneficence, from time to time encreaſed. Wherefore the two brothers ſent abroad confidently for ayde; eſpecially to the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*, who ſeemed moſt able to giue it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra* had ſent, a yeere ſince: but their Embaſſadours lay ſtill in *Rome*. Of the *Achæans* they deſired in particular, that *Lycortas* the braue warriour might be ſent vnto them, as Generall of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his ſonne *Polybius*, Generall of the Horſe. Hereunto the *Achæans* readily condeſcended: and would immediatly haue made performance, if *Callicrates* had not interpoſed his miſchieuous art. Hee, whether ſeeking occaſion to vaunt his obſequiouſneſſe to the *Romans*; or much rather enuying thoſe Noble Captaines, whoſe ſeruice the Kings deſired; withſtood the common voyce; which was, That their Nation ſhould, not with ſuch ſmall numbers as were requeſted, but withall their power, be ayding vnto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (hee ſaid) conuenient time to entangle themſelues in any ſuch buſineſſe, as might make them the leſſe able to yeelde vnto the *Romans*, what helpe ſoeuer ſhould be required in the *Macedonian* warre. And in this ſentence, hee with thoſe of his faction, obſtinately perſiſted; terrifying others with bigge words, as it were in behalfe of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius* the late Conſull had ſignified vnto him, that the *Romans* were paſt all neede of helpe: adding further, that a thouſand foote, and two hundred horſe, might well be ſpared, to the ayde of their Benefactours, the *Ægyptian* Kings, without diſabling their Nation to performe any ſeruice to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Achæans* could without trouble, raiſe thirtie or fortie thouſand Souldiours. All this notwithſtanding, the reſolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree ſhould haue paſſed; he brought into the Theater where the aſſembly was held, a Meſſenger with letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Achæans* were deſired to conforme themſelues to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour as the Senate had done, by ſending Embaſſadours to ſet *Ægypt* in peace. This was an aduice againſt all reaſon. For the Senate had indeede ſent Embaſſadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater buſineſſe elſewhere, with ſuch milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Achæans* ſhould doe any good in the ſame kinde. Yet *Polybius* and his friends, durſt not gaine-ſay the *Roman* Councell; which had force of an iniunction. So the Kings were left in much diſtreſſe; diſappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perſeus* ouercome: and then might the Embaſſadour ſent from the *Roman* Senate, performe as much as any Armie could haue done.

Audience had beene lately giuen by the Senate, vnto thoſe Embaſſadours of *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra*; which hauing ſtayed more then a whole yeere in the City, brought nothing of their buſineſſe to effect vntill now. The Embaſſadors deliuered their meſſage in the name of thoſe that had ſent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no leſſe than his Brother and Siſter.

In this ambaſſage of *Ptolemie*, now requeſting helpe from *Rome*; appeared a notable change of his fortune, from ſuch as it had beene before three or foure yeeres laſt paſt. For in the beginning of theſe his troubles, which beganne with the *Macedonian* Warre; either he, or *Eulæus*, or *Lenæus* (vpon whom the blame was afterwards layd) which had the gouernment of him, thought his affaires in ſuch good eſtate, that not onely hee determined to ſet vpon *Antiochus*, for *Cœleſyria*; but would haue interpoſed himſelfe betweene the *Romans* and *Perſeus*, as a competent Arbitratour; though it fell out well, that his Embaſſadour was by a friend perſwaded to forget that point of his errand. From theſe high thoughts he fell on the ſudden, by the rebellion of his brother and ſubiects, to liue vnder protection of the ſame *Antiochus*. And now at ſuch time as by atonement with his brother and ſubiects, he might haue ſeemed to ſtand in no neede of ſuch protection, he hath remaining none other helpe whereby to ſaue both his Kingdome and life, than what can be obtained by their interceſſion which were imployed againſt him. This miſerable condition of him, his brother and ſiſter, ſhewed it ſelfe, euen in the habit of thoſe Embaſſadours. They were poorely clad; the haire of their heads and beardes ouergrowne, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands, branches of Oliue. Thus they entred into the Senate; and there fell, groueling and proſtrate vpon the floore. Their garments were not ſo meane and mournefull, nor their lookes and Countenances ſo ſadde and dejected, but that their ſpeech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For hauing told in what danger their King and Countrey ſtood; they made a pittifull and grieuous complaint vnto the Senate, beſeeching them to haue compaſſion of their Eſtate, and of their Princes, who had alwaies remained friendly and faithfull to the *Romanes*. They ſaid that the people of *Rome* had ſo much heeretofore fauoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of ſuch account and authoritie, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleaſed but to ſend their Embaſſadours, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his vndertaking vpon the King their Confederate; then would hee preſently raiſe his ſiege from before *Alexandria*, and with-draw his Armie out of *Ægypt*, into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or vſed any delay; then ſhould *Ptolemie* and *Cleopatra*, be ſhortlie driuen out of their Realmes, and make repaire to *Rome*, with ſhamefull diſhonour to the Senate, and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchſafed to relieue them.

Polib. Leg.72

The Lords of the Senate moued with compaſſion, ſent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hoſtilius*, as Embaſſadors to determine and end the warre betweene thoſe Kings. In commiſſion they had firſt to finde King *Ptolemie*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both vnderſtand, that vnleſſe they ſurceaſed, and gaue ouer Armes, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate, and people of *Rome*, whom they found obſtinate, or vſing delay. So theſe *Romans* together with the *Alexandrine* Embaſſadours, tooke their leaue, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whileſt *Popilius* and his fellowes were on their way toward *Ægypt*, *Antiochus* had tranſported his Armie ouer *Luſine*, ſome fortie myles from *Alexandria*. So neere was he to the end of his iourney, when the *Roman* Embaſſadours met him. After greeting and ſalutations at their firſt encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Rolle of paper; willing him to reade thoſe Mandates of the Senate, before he did any thing elſe. *Antiochus* did ſo; and hauing a little while conſidered of the buſineſſe, he told *Popilius*, That hee would aduiſe with his friends, and then giue the Embaſſadours their anſwere. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of ſpeech, which hee had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rodde which hee held in his hand, willing him to make him ſuch an anſwere as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moued out of that Circle. The King aſtoniſhed at this ſo rude and violent a Commandement, after hee had ſtayed and pawſed awhile, I will be content (quoth hee) to doe whatſoeuer the Senate ſhall ordaine. Then *Popilius* gaue vnto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Ægypt*, without any good iſſue of his coſtly Expedition; euen in ſuch manner as * *Daniel* had propheſied long before: yea, fulfilling euery particular circumſtance, both of returning, and of doing miſchiefe to *Ieruſalem* after his returne; like as if theſe things had rather beene hiſtorified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embaſſadors, they ſtayed awhile, and ſetled the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, leauing it vnto the elder brother, and appointed the yonger to reigne ouer *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they felt, as it had beene, in the power of the *Ægyptian*, hauing firſt ſent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already giuen an ouerthrow to the *Ægyptian* ſhips.

Dan.cap.11. v.29.30.&c.

§. XII.

How the Romans were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Pruſias, Maſaniſſa, *and* Cotys. *The end of* Perſeus *and his children. The inſtabilitie of Kingly Eſtates. The Triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octauius. *With the Concluſion of the worke.*

BY this peremptorie demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Meſſage, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; wee may perceiue how terrible the *Romans* were growne, through their conqueſt of *Macedon*. The ſame *Popilius* had beene well contented, a yeere before this, to lay aſide the roughneſſe of his naturall condition, and to giue good language to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*, when hee went Embaſſadour to thoſe people of *Greece*, that were of farre leſſe power than the King of *Antiochus*. Likewiſe, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, diſmiſſed other Embaſſadours which came from *Rome*, in ſuch ſort, as they complained not, much leſſe vſed any menacing tearmes, though he performed nothing of their requeſt. But now the caſe was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes ſent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victory ouer *Perſeus*, and to craue helpe or countenance of the Senate againſt the *Gallogreekes*, which moleſted him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and louingly entertained by moſt of the Senatours: who bade him be confident, and requeſt of the Senate his brothers Kingdome for himſelfe; for it ſhould ſurely be giuen him. Theſe hopefull promiſes tickled *Attalus* with ſuch ambition, that hee either approued, or ſeemed to approue the motion. But his honeſt nature was ſoone reclaymed by the faithfull counſaile of *Stratius* a Phyſician; whom *Eumenes* had ſent to *Rome* of purpoſe to keepe his brother vpright. So, when hee came into the Senate, hee deliuered the errand about which hee had beene ſent; recounting his owne ſeruices done to the *Romans* in the late Warre, * where withall hee forgat not to make of his brother as good mention as hee could: and finally requeſted, That the Townes of *Ænus* and *Maronea* might be

Liu.lib.45.

* *Polyb. Legat.* 93.

Polyb. ibid.

beſtowed vpon himſelfe. * By his omitting to ſue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceiued opinion, that he meant to craue another day of audience for that buſineſſe alone. Wherefore, to make him vnderſtand how gracious he was, they not onely granted all his deſire; but in the preſents which they gaue to him (as was their cuſtome to Embaſſadours that came with an acceptable meſſage) they vſed ſingular magnificence. Neuertheleſſe, *Attalus* tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did ſo highly diſpleaſe the Senate, that whileſt he was yet in *Italie*, they gaue order for the libertie of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: thereby making vneffectuall their promiſe; which otherwiſe they could not, without ſhame, reuoke. And as for the *Gallogreekes*, which were about to inuade the Kingdome of *Pergamus*; they ſent Embaſſadours to them, with ſuch inſtructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpoſe. The diſpleaſure of the Senate being ſo manifeſt; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the folly of his ſecond voyage thither, for this neceſſity of the third: ſince, by his malice to *Perſeus*, hee had layed open vnto theſe ambitious Potentates the way to his owne doores. No ſooner was he come into *Italie*, than the Senate was ready to ſend him going. It was not thought expedient to vſe him as an enemy, that came to viſit them in loue: neither could they, in ſo doing, haue auoided the note of ſingular inconſtancy: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King ſhould be ſuffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof ſent him home, without expence of much further complement.

Pruſias King of *Bithynia* had beene at *Rome* ſomewhat before; where hee was welcommed after a better faſhion. Hee had learned to behaue himſelfe as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or deſire. For entring into the Senate, hee lay downe, and kiſſed the threſhold, called the *Fathers* his gods and ſauiours: as alſo hee vſed to weare a Cap, after the manner of ſlaues newly manumiſed, profeſſing himſelfe an enfranchiſed bondman of the People of *Rome*. Hee was indeede naturally a ſlaue, and one that by ſuch abiect flattery kept himſelfe ſafe; though doing otherwiſe greater miſchiefe than any wherewith *Perſeus* had beene charged. His errand was, beſides matter of complement, to commend vnto the Senate the care of his ſonne *Nicomedes*, whom hee brought with him to *Rome*, there to receiue education. Further petition hee made, to haue ſome Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, becauſe the graunt would haue beene vniuſt, hee receiued a cold anſwere. But concerning the Wardſhippe of his ſonne, it was vndertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleaſure lately done to *Ægypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to conſider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gaue vnto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But aboue all other Kings, *Maſaniſſa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endleſſe with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendſhip of the *Romans* to him the more aſſured. In all controuerſies they gaue iudgement on his ſide: and whereas hee had inuaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Townes; the *Romans* (though at firſt they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppreſſion) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let goe all their hold, and to pay fiue hundered Talents to the *Numidian*, for hauing hindered him of his due ſo long. Now indeede had *Rome* good leyſure to deuiſe vpon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Maſaniſſa* himſelfe was ſhortly by them rooted vp. But heereof the olde King neuer dreamed. Hee ſent to *Rome* one of his ſonnes, to congratulate the victory ouer *Perſeus*; and offered to come thither himſelfe, there to ſacrifice for ioy vnto *Iupiter* in the *Capitol*. His good will was louingly accepted; his ſonne rewarded; and hee entreated to ſtay at home.

Cotys the *Thracian* ſent Embaſſadours, to excuſe himſelfe touching the aide by him giuen to *Perſeus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hoſtages; and to entreat, That his ſonne, which was taken with the children of *Perſeus*, might be ſet at libertie for conuenient ranſome. His excuſe was not taken; ſince hee had voluntarily obliged himſelfe to *Perſeus*, by giuing hoſtages, without neceſſitie: Yet was his ſonne giuen backe to him ranſome-free; with admonition, to carry himſelfe better toward the

Romanes in time following. His Kingdome lay betweene *Macedon* and ſome barbarous Nations; in which reſpect, it was good to hold him in faire tearmes.

As for thoſe vnhappy Kings, *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, they were led through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Æmilius* and *Anicius*. *Perſeus* had often made ſuite to *Æmylius*, that he might not be put to ſuch diſgrace: but hee ſtill receiued one ſkornefull anſwere, That it lay in his owne power to preuent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himſelfe. And ſurely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than hee found, he would rather haue ſought his death in *Macedon*, than haue bin beholding to the courteſie of his inſolent enemies for a wretched life. The iſſue of the *Roman* clemencie, whereof *Æmilius* had giuen him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow King, had beene led in chaynes through the ſtreets, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to priſon, wherein they remained without hope of releaſe. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vp towards the *Capitol*, there to doe ſacrifice, he ſhould command the captiues to be had away to priſon, and there put to death: ſo as the honor of the Vanquiſher, and miſerie of thoſe that were ouercome, might be both together at the vtmoſt. This laſt ſentence of death was remitted vnto *Perſeus*: yet ſo, that he had little ioy of his life; but eyther famiſhed himſelfe, or (for it is diuerſly reported) was kept watching perforce by thoſe that had him in cuſtodie; and ſo died for want of ſleepe. Of his ſons, two died; it is vncertaine how. The yongeſt called *Alexander* (onely in name like vnto the Great, though deſtined ſometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a Ioyner, or Turner, or, at his beſt preferment, a Scribe vnder the *Romane* Officers. In ſuch pouertie ended the Royall Houſe of *Macedon*: and it ended on the ſuddaine; though ſome eight-ſcore yeeres after the death of that Monarch, vnto whoſe ambition this whole Earth ſeemed too narrow.

If *Perſeus* had known it before, that his owne ſonne ſhould one day be compelled to earne his liuing by handie-worke, in a painefull Occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonneſſe of Soueraignetie, haue commanded thoſe poore men to bee ſlaine, which had recouered his treaſures out of the ſea, by their skill in the feat of diuing. Hee would rather haue beene verie gentle, and would haue conſidered, that the greateſt oppreſſors, and the moſt vndertroden wretches, are all ſubiect vnto the One high Power, gouerning all alike with abſolute command. But ſuch is our vnhappineſſe; in ſtead of that bleſſed counſaile, *Doe as ye would be done vnto*, a ſentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; we entertaine that arrogant thought, *I will bee like to the moſt High*: that is, I will doe what ſhall pleaſe my ſelfe. One hath ſaith truly:

--- Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam,
Poſſe volunt —— Iuuenal. Sat. 10.

Euen they that haue no murdrous will,
Would haue it in their power to kill.

All, or the moſt, haue a vaine deſire of abilitie to do euill without controule: which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. God, who beſt can iudge what is expedient, hath granted ſuch power to very few: among whom alſo, very few there are, that vſe it not to their owne hurt. For who ſees not, that a Prince, by racking his Soueraigne authoritie to the vtmoſt extent, enableth (beſides the danger to his owne perſon) ſome one of his owne ſonnes or nephewes to root vp all his progenie? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithſtanding their brotherhood, or other neereneſſe in bloud, be driuen to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that gouernes one, the moſt vnworthie of his whole houſe, yet reigning ouer all? The vntimely death of many Princes which could not humble themſelues to ſuch flattery; and the common practice of the *Turkiſh* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Heereunto may be added, That the heyre of the ſame *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered moſt traiterouſly and barbarouſly King *Edward* the ſecond; was, by reaſon of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortall enemie, to exerciſe the ſame vpon the Line of that vnhappie King. Such examples of the inſtabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are ſubiect; as they teach moderation, and admoniſh the tranſitorie Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the euill that may fall on their owne poſteritie: ſo doe they neceſſarily make vs vnderſtand, how happie that Countrie is, which hath obtained a King able to conceiue and teach, That * *God is the ſoreſt and ſharpeſt Schoolemaſter that can be deuiſed, for ſuch Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without controlment to turne it vpſide-downe at their pleaſure.*

* The true Law of free Monarchies.

Now, concerning the Triumph of *L. Æmylius Paulus*; it was in all points like vnto that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne perſon, that was ledde along therein, as part of his owne ſpoyles; and in regard likewiſe both of the Conqueſt and of the Bootie. So great was the quantitie of Gold and Siluer carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treaſurie, that from thenceforth, vntill the ciuil Wars which followed vpon the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, the Eſtate had no need to burthen it ſelfe with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to haue bin hindred by the ſouldiors; who grudged at their General, for not hauing dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate ouer-ruled the People and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reaſon by ſeuere exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enioyed as much honour of his victorie as men could giue. Neuertheleſſe, it pleaſed *God* to take away from him his two remaining ſons, that were not giuen in adoption: of which, the one died fiue daies before the Triumph; the other three daies after it. This loſſe he bore wiſely: and told the People, That he hoped to ſee the Common-wealth flouriſh in a continuance of proſperitie; ſince the ioy of his victorie was requited with his owne priuate calamitie, in ſtead of the publike.

Chap.3.§.4.

About the ſame time, *Octauius* the Admirall, who had brought *Perſeus* out of *Samothrace*: and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* priſoner; made their ſeuerall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent ſpectacles; together with the confluence of Embaſſages from all parts; and Kings, either viſiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to viſit her, and doe their duties in perſon; were enough to ſay vnto *Rome*, *Sume ſuperbiam, Take vpon thee the Maieſtie, that thy deſerts haue purchaſed.*

BY this which wee haue alreadie ſet downe, is ſeene the beginning and end of the three firſt Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectours thought, that they could neuer haue ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was alſo at this time almoſt at the higheſt. Wee haue left it flouriſhing in the middle of the field; hauing rooted vp, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after ſome continuance, it ſhall begin to loſe the beauty it had; the ſtormes of ambition ſhall beat her great boughes and branches one againſt another; her leaues ſhall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now theſe great Kings, and conquering Nations, haue bin the ſubiect of thoſe ancient Hiſtories, which haue bin preſerued, and yet remaine among vs; and withall of ſo many tragicall Poets, as in the perſons of powerfull Princes, and other mighty men haue complained againſt Infidelitie, Time, Deſtinie, and moſt of all againſt the Variable ſucceſſe of worldly things, and Inſtabilitie of Fortune. To theſe vndertakings, theſe great Lords of the world haue beene ſtirred vp, rather by the deſire of Fame, which ploweth vp the Aire, and ſoweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it ſo much vexation and ſo many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proues. And certainely, as Fame hath often beene dangerous to the liuing, ſo is it to the dead of no vſe at all; becauſe ſeparate from knowledge. Which were it otherwiſe, and the extreame ill bargaine of buying this laſting diſcourſe, vnderſtood by them which are diſſolued; they themſelues would then rather haue wiſhed, to haue ſtolne out of the world without noyſe; than to be put in minde, that they haue purchaſed the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppreſſion, and crueltie: by giuing in ſpoyle the innocent and labouring ſoule to the idle and inſolent, and by hauing emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with ſo many and ſo variable ſorts of ſorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatneſſe nor continuance) there hath beene no State fearefull in the Eaſt, but that of the *Turk*; nor in the Weſt any Prince that hath ſpred his wings farre ouer his neſt, but the *Spaniard*; who ſince the time that *Ferdinand* expel'd the *Moores* out of *Granado*, haue made many attempts to make themſelues Maſters of al *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treaſures of both *Indies*, and by the many Kingdoms which they poſſeſſe in *Europe*, they are at this day the moſt powerfull. But as the *Turke* is now counterpoyſed by the *Perſian*, ſo in ſtead of ſo many Millions as haue beene ſpent by the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defenſiue Warre, and in diuerſions againſt them, it is eaſie to demonſtrate, that with the charge of two hundred thouſand pound continued but for two yeeres, or three at the moſt, they may not onely be perſwaded to liue in peace, but all their ſwelling and ouer-flowing ſtreames may bee brought backe into their naturall channels and old bankes. Theſe two Nations, I ſay, are at this day the moſt eminent, and to be regarded; the one ſeeking to roote out the Chriſtian Religion altogether, the other the truth and ſincere profeſſion therof, the one to ioyne all *Europe* to *Aſia*, the other the reſt of all *Europe* to *Spaine*.

For the reſt, if we ſeeke a reaſon of the ſucceſſion and continuance of this boundleſſe ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath beene already ſaid; That the Kings and Princes of the world haue alwaies laid before them, the actions, but not the ends of thoſe great Ones which præceded them. They are alwayes tranſported with the glorie of the one, but they neuer minde the miſerie of the other, till they finde the experience in themſelues. They neglect the aduice of *God*, while they enioy life, or hope it; but they follow the counſell of Death, vpon his firſt approach. It is hee that puts into man all the wiſedome of the world, without ſpeaking a word; which *God* with all the words of his Law, promiſes, or threats, doth infuſe. *Death*, which hateth and deſtroyeth man, is beleeued; *God*, which hath made him and loues him, is alwaies deferred. *I haue conſidered* (ſaith *Salomon*) *all the workes that are vnder the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie, and vexation of ſpirit*: but who beleeues it, till Death tells it vs? It was Death, which opening the conſcience of *Charles* the fift, made him enioyne his ſonne *Philip* to reſtore *Nauarre*; and King *Francis* the firſt of *France*, to command that iuſtice ſhould be done vpon the Murderers of the Proteſtants in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which til then he neglected. It is therfore Death alone that can ſuddenly make man to know himſelfe. He tells the proud and inſolent, that they are but Abiects, and humbles them at the inſtant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent, yea, euen to hate their forepaſſed happineſſe. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a begger; a naked begger, which hath intereſt in nothing, but in the grauell that fills his mouth. He holds a Glaſſe before the eyes of the moſt beautifull, and makes them ſee therein, their deformitie and rottenneſſe; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, iuſt, and mighty Death! whom none could aduiſe, thou haſt perſwaded; what none hath dared, thou haſt done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only haſt caſt out of the world and deſpiſed: thou haſt drawne together all the farre ſtretched greatneſſe, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with theſe two narrow words, *Hîc iacet*.

Laſtly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calls it ſelfe, *The firſt part of the Generall Hiſtorie of the World*, implying a *Second* and *Third* Volume; which I alſo intended, and haue hewne out; beſides many other diſcouragements, perſwading my ſilence; it hath pleaſed *God* to take that glorious *Prince* out of the world, to whom they were directed; whoſe vnſpeakeable and neuer enough lamented loſſe, hath taught mee to ſay with *Iob*, *Verſa eſt in Luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium*.

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To the Reader.

The vſe of Chronologicall Tables is needfull to all Hiſtories, that reach to anie length of time; and moſt of all, to thoſe that are moſt generall: ſince they cannot, like Annales, yeerely ſet downe all Occurrences not cohærent. This heere following, may ſerue as an Index to the preſent Part of this worke; pointing vnto the ſeuerall matters, that hauing fallen out at one time, are farre disioyned in the Relation. Certainly it is not perfect: neither doe I thinke, that anie can be. For howſoeuer the yeares of the firſt Patriarchs may ſeeme to haue been well-neere compleat, yet in the reignes of the Kings of Iuda *and* Iſrael, *we finde many fractions, and the laſt yeere, or yeeres, of one King reckoned alſo as the formoſt of another. The ſame is moſt likely to haue fallen out in manie other; though not ſo preciſely recorded. Heereto may be added the diuerſe and imperfect formes of the yeere, which were in vſe among ſundry Nations: cauſing the * Summer Moneths, in proceſſe of ſome ages, to fall into the Winter; and ſo breeding extreme confuſion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a ſmall part of trouble, to chuſe out of ſo many, and ſo vtterly diſagreeing computations, as haue already gotten authoritie, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deale more, is to be alleaged, in excuſe of ſuch errour as a more intentiue and perfect Calculator ſhall happen to finde heerein. It may ſerue to free the Booke, and likewiſe the Reader (if but of meane iudgement) from any notorious* Anachronicisme; *which ought to ſuffice. The Booke indeed will need it, euen in that regard; not onely for ſome errors of the preſſe, in the numbring of yeeres, but for ſome haſtie miſ-reckonings of mine owne; which I deſire to haue heereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table ſhall not want carefull diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the reſt, ſhall finde reaſon to be pleaſed with this, as tending wholly to his owne eaſe.*

* *See lib. 2. chap. 3. §. 6*

The Titles ouer the Columnes, haue reference to that which followes vnder them; as will readily be conceiued. Where two Titles, or more, are ouer the head, as |*Rome* *Nabonaſſar*| *there doe the numbers vnderneath anſwere proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: The walls of* Ieruſalem *were finiſhed in the* 319. *yeere from the building of Rome, and in the* 314. *from* Nabonaſſar. *In like manner it is to be vnderſtood, That* Iehoſaphat *beganne his reigne in the* 3774. *of the* Iulian Æra, *in the* 3092. *of the World, & in the* 99. *yeare of the Temple. This needs not more illuſtration; nor indeed ſo much, to thoſe that are acquainted with works of this kinde. To auoid prolixitie, I haue forborne to inſert thoſe yeeres, which I finde not ſigned with ſome regardable accident: as with the birth or death of ſome Patriarch; the beginning of ſome Kings Reigne; ſome change of Gouernement; ſome Battaile fought; or the like. So, of the* 13. *yeares wherein* Syluius Caperus *reigned ouer the* Latines, *I note onely the firſt; that is, omitting all betweene the* 4. *of* Iehoſaphat, *wherein* Capetus *began, vnto the* 17, *wherein* Syluius Auentinus *ſucceeded, and wherein* Iehoram *firſt reigned with* Iehoſaphat *his father. For I thought it vaine to haue filled vp a page with* 12 *lines of idle cyphers; numbring forth* 2.3.4.5. *and ſo ſtill onwards, till I had come to the firſt of* Auentinus, *and the* 17. *of* Iehoſaphat. *In ſetting downe the Kings, there is noted ouer the head of euery one, what place he held in order of ſucceſſion: as whether he were the firſt, ſecond, fift, ſeuenth, or ſo forth, in ranke, of thoſe that reigned in his Country, without notable interruption: Before the name is the firſt yeare of his reigne; at the end, or foot of the name (as the ſpace giues leaue) is the whole number of yeeres in which he reigned; in the ſpaces following vnderneath are thoſe yeeres of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of ſome other King, or with the yeere of any remarkeable accident.*

accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name, there it is to be vnderſtood, that the ſame yere belonged, not onely to the King then beginning, but vnto ſome one, or more, of his fore-goers: as the firſt yeere of Iehoram King of Iſrael was the ſame with the ſecond of his brother Ahaziah, & the 22. of his father Ahab. So, where two or three names are found in one ſpace; as in the 3077. yeare of the World, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri: it is meant that euery one of them reigned in ſome part of the ſame yeere; which is reckoned the ſecond of Ela, & the firſt of Omri Particularly, vnder the yeeres of the Ægyptian Kings are ſet downe the yeares of thoſe Dynaſties, which it was thought meet to inſert; as likewiſe, otherwhiles, the day of the moneth vpon which Nabonaſſars yeare began: which, how it varied from other yeares, may be found in the place laſt aboue cited.

Concerning the Æra, or accompt of yeeres, from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads from Rome built, from Nabonaſſar, and the like; as much as was thought conuenient hath been ſaid, where due place was, in the Booke it ſelfe: ſo as it remaineth only to note, that vnder the title of Olympiads is ſet downe firſt the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the yeere of that Olympiad: as that Cyrus began his reigne in Perſia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the firſt yeere thereof.

Now, for that the yeares of the World, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonaſſar, & other, had not beginning in one month, but ſome of them in March, ſome in April, ſome about Midſummer, and ſome at other times: the better to expreſſe their ſeuerall beginnings, ſome painfull Chronologers haue diuided them proportionably in their ſeuerall Columnes; oppoſing part of the one yeare to part of the other: not (as I haue here done) cutting all ouerthwart with one ſtreight line, as if al had begun and ended at one time. But this labour haue I ſpared, as more troubleſome than vſefull; ſince the more part wold not haue apprehended the meaning, & ſince the learned might well be without it. It will only be needfull to obſerue, that howſoeuer the Æra of the Olympiads be 24. yeres elder than that of Rome, and 29, than that of Nabonaſſar, yet the reigne of ſome King may haue begun at ſuch a time of the yeere as did not ſute with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will eaſily finde my meaning: the vulgar will not find the difficultie. One familiar example may explane all. Queen Elizabeth began her reigne the 17. of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord 1558. Shee was crowned; held a Parliament; brake it vp; threw down Images; and reformed many things in Religion; all in her firſt yeere: yet not all in that yeere 1558, but the greater part in the yeere following; whether we begin with the firſt of Ianuarie, or with the 25 of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table; but ſo, as the difference is neuer of a whole yeere.

The Iulian Period, which I haue placed, as the greater number, ouer the yeres of the World, was deliuered by that honorable and excellently learned Ioſeph Scaliger: being accommodated to the Iulian yeeres, now in vſe among vs. It conſiſteth of 7980. yeres, which reſult from the multiplicatiō of 19. 28. & 15, that is, of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sun, and the yeares of an Indiction. Being diuided by any of theſe, it leaues the number of the preſent yeere; or if no fraction remaine, it ſhewes the laſt yere of that Cycle to be current. For example: in the 4498. of this period, when was fought the great battaile of Cannæ, the Prime or Golden number was 14, the Cycle of the Sun 18, & conſequently the Dominicall letter F. as may be found by diuiding the ſame number of the Iulian Period 4498, by 19. for the Prime, by 28. for the Cycle of the Sunne. This Iulian Period, after the preſent accompt, alwaies exceedes the yeares of the world by 682. Beſides the former vſes, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a yeare, than any other Æra (as, From the beginning of the World, From the Floud, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more vncertain poſition.

More I ſhall not need to write, as touching the vſe or explication of theſe Tables. Neither was thus much requiſite to ſuch as are conuerſant in workes of this kinde: it ſufficeth if hereby all be made plaine enough to the vulgar.

A CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE.

Yeares of the Iulian Period, World, Patriarchs, &c.

	Iulian, The World, and Adam.														
	683 1. *Adã.* 930														
	813 131	1. *Seth.* 912													
	918 236	106	1. *Enos* 905												
	1008 326	196	91	1. *Cainan.* 910	*All the yeeres of the Patriarchs, wherein they begate children, dyed, or performed any thing, are reckoned compleat: which is inferred out of the addition of the yeeres before they begate children, unto those that followed; making alwayes a compleate summe, Gen. 5.*										
	1078 396	266	161	71	1, *Mahalaleel* 895										
	1143 461	331	226	136	66	1. *Iarec* 962									
	1305 623	493	388	298	228	163	1. *Enoch.* 265								
	1370 688	558	453	363	293	228	65	1. *Methusela* 969							
	1557 875	745	640	550	480	415	253	188	1. *Lamech,* 777						
dam died about end of the yeare.	1612 930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56						
noch translated	1669 987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113						
h died about the of this yeare.	1724 1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168						
	1739 1057		822	732	662	597		370	183	1. *Noah.* 950					

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	Julian, The World,	Enos.	Cainan	Mahalaleel.	Iared.	Methuselah.	Lamech,	Noah.	Sem				
Enos dyed.	1822 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84					
Cainan dyed.	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179					
Mahalaleel dyed this yeere.	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234					
Iared dyed.	2104 1422					735	584	366					
Floud threatned, Gen.6,3.	2219 1537					850	663	481					
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1. *Sem.* 600				
Lamech dyed,	2333 1651					964	777	595	93				
Methuselah dyed this yeere a little before the Floud. Noah entreth into the Arke. C.7. § 8. & 9. The Floud.	2338 1656					969		600	98				
The Floud ceaseth. Noah issued out of the Arke.	2339 1657							601	99				
	Julian. World. Floud.	*Noah.*	*Sem.*	1. *Arphaxad* 438									
	2341 1659	603	101										
	2376 1694 37	638	136	36	1. *Salah.* 433								
	2405 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1 *Heber.* 464							
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	1. *Peleg.*		*Kings of Assyria.*				
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1. *Reu.* 239	1. *Nimrod* 114				
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. *Sarug.* 230	*Kings of Ægypt*		
Vide lib.2.c. 2. § 2.	2530 1848 191	792	290	190	155	125	91	61	61	29	1 1 *Cham* 161		
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. *Nahor.* 148	
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1.
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 1. *Belus,* 65	83	55	53	24

	Iulian. World. Floud.	Noah.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Peleg.	Reu.	Aſſyria	Sarug.	Ægypt	Nahor.	Terah.	Kings of Sicyō	
	2618 1936 279	880	278	378	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1 1. Aegyleus. 3	
	2649 1967 316	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1. Ninus, 52	148	120	118	89	32	
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	2 1. Europs 45	
he laſt yeare of Pe- g his life.	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9	
he death of Nahor	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10	
oah died this yeer	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
The 16. Dynaſtie Ægypt. Vid. L.2 .2.§ 3,4,5,&c.	2691 2009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	2 1. Mizraim or Oſiris.		131	22	1. Abram. 275
	2701 2019 362		461	361	326	296		232	4 1. Semiramis, 42	200	11		141	32	11
he laſt yeere of Reu	2708 2026 369		463	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	3 1. Telkin, or Selchin 20	25
he laſt of Sarug.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41

	Iulian. World. Floud.	Sem	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Aſſyria.	Ægypt.	Terah.	Sicyon.	Abram.
	2735 2053 395	495	395	360	330	35	45	175	4 1. Apis, 25	45
	2743 2061 404	503	403	368	338	5 1. Ninias, 28	53	183	9	53
	2760 2078 421	520	420	385	355	18	70	200	5 1. Thelxion or Thelaſion, 52	70
bram receiues the pro- miſe. erah dyes in Haran .2.c.1.§ 1,2,3.	2765 2083 426	525	425	390	360	23	75	205	6	75

	Iulian. World. Plomiſe.	Sem	Arphaxad	Salah.	Heber.	Abram.	Aſſyria	Ægypt	Sicyon.	
Abram enters into Ca- aan, and deſcends into gypt. The firſt of the 430. yeeres of Seruitude.	2766 2084 1	526	426	391	361	76	24	76	7	
Abram returnes into Canaan.	2767 2085 2	527	427	392	362	77	25	77	8	
Abram his victory ouer Chedorlaomer, & other Kings, L.2.c.1.§. 8, 9. &c.	2775 2093 10	535	435	400	370	85	33	85	16	
Iſmael borne.	2777 2095 12	537	437	402	372	87	35	87	18	
Arphaxad dies.	2778 2096 13	538	438	403	373	88	36	88	19	

	Iulian. *World.* *Promiſe*	*Sem*	*Salah.*	*Heber.*	*Abraham.*	*Aſſyria*	*Ægypt.*	*Sicyon.*		
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1.*Arius.* 30	91	22		
Iſaac borne when Abraham was 100.*yeers old compleat,* 101.*current.*	2791 2109 26	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1.*Iſaac* 180	
The laſt yeare of Salah.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18	
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1.*Aralius,*40	121	52	21	
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1.*Ægir*.34	22	
Sarai the wiſe of Abraham dyed this yeare.	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37	
Iſaac tooke Rebecca to wiſe, when he was 40.*yeares old compleate.*	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41	
The laſt yeare of Sem.	3840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50	
	Iulian, *World,* *promiſe*	*Heber.*	*Abraham.*	*Iſaac.*	*Iacob*	*Aſſyria*	*Ægypt*	*Sicyon.*	*Argiues.*	
	2845 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1 *Thurimachus.* 45		
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1 *Iacob* 147	8 1. *Beleus* 30	161	6	1 1. *Inachus* 50	
Abraham dyed this yeare.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15	
Heber died this yeare.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19	
The 17.*Dynaſtie, called of the Sphepheards, beginning this yeare, laſted* 103.*yeares.*	2881 2199 116			91	31	9 1.*Armamithres,* 38	191 1	36	31	
	2891 2209 126			101	41	11	201 11	1 1. *Leucippus,* 53	41	
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211 21	11	2 1.*Phoroneus,* 60	
The floud of Ogyges, a thouſand and twenty yeares before the Olympiads. See lib. 1.c.7.§.2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	10 1 *Belocus Priſcus.* 35	229 39	29	19	
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52	42	1. *Ioſeph.* 110
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254 64	9 1.*Moſſapus,* 47	44	3
See lib.2.c.2.§.6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	3. and 4. 1 *Typhon, & after him Hercul.* 7 72	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1.*Baleus,* 52	3 74	11	54	13

	Iulian. World. promiſe			Iſaac.	Iacob.	Aſſyria	Ægipt	Sicyon.	Argiues.	
Ioſeph ſold into Ægypt.	2959 2277 194			169	109	6	5 1. Orus, 79. 115.	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196			171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1. Apis. 35	20
The laſt yeere of Iſaac.	2970 2288 205			180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Iſrael into Ægypt.	2980 2298 215				130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynaſtie in Ægypt, which laſted 18.yeares.	2984 2302 219				134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226				141	38	33 8	10 1. Peratus. 46	31	50
	2996 2314 231				145	43	38 13	6	4 1. Argus.	55
Iacob dyes in Ægypt.	2997 2315 232				147	44	39 14	7	2	56

	Iulian. World. promiſe	Ioſeph.	Aſſyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon	Argiues.		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Altades, 32	48 23	16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32	79 54	11 1. Plemnaus 48	42		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. Mamitus 20	80 55	2	43		
The laſt yeere of Ioſeph.	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 68	15	56		
	3066 2384 301		29	108 83	30	5 1, Piraſus, or Criaſus, 54		
	3068 2386 303		14 1. Mancaleus 30	110 85	32	3		
	3074 2392 309		7	6 1. Seſoſtris the Great, 33 91	38	9		
	3085 2403 320		18	12 102	12 1 Orthopolis 63	20		
	3098 2416 333		15 1. Spherus or Iphereus, 20.	25 115	14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10	7 1 Seſoſtris the ſecond 14 124	23	42		
	3116 2434 351	1. Moſes. 120	19	10 133	32	51		

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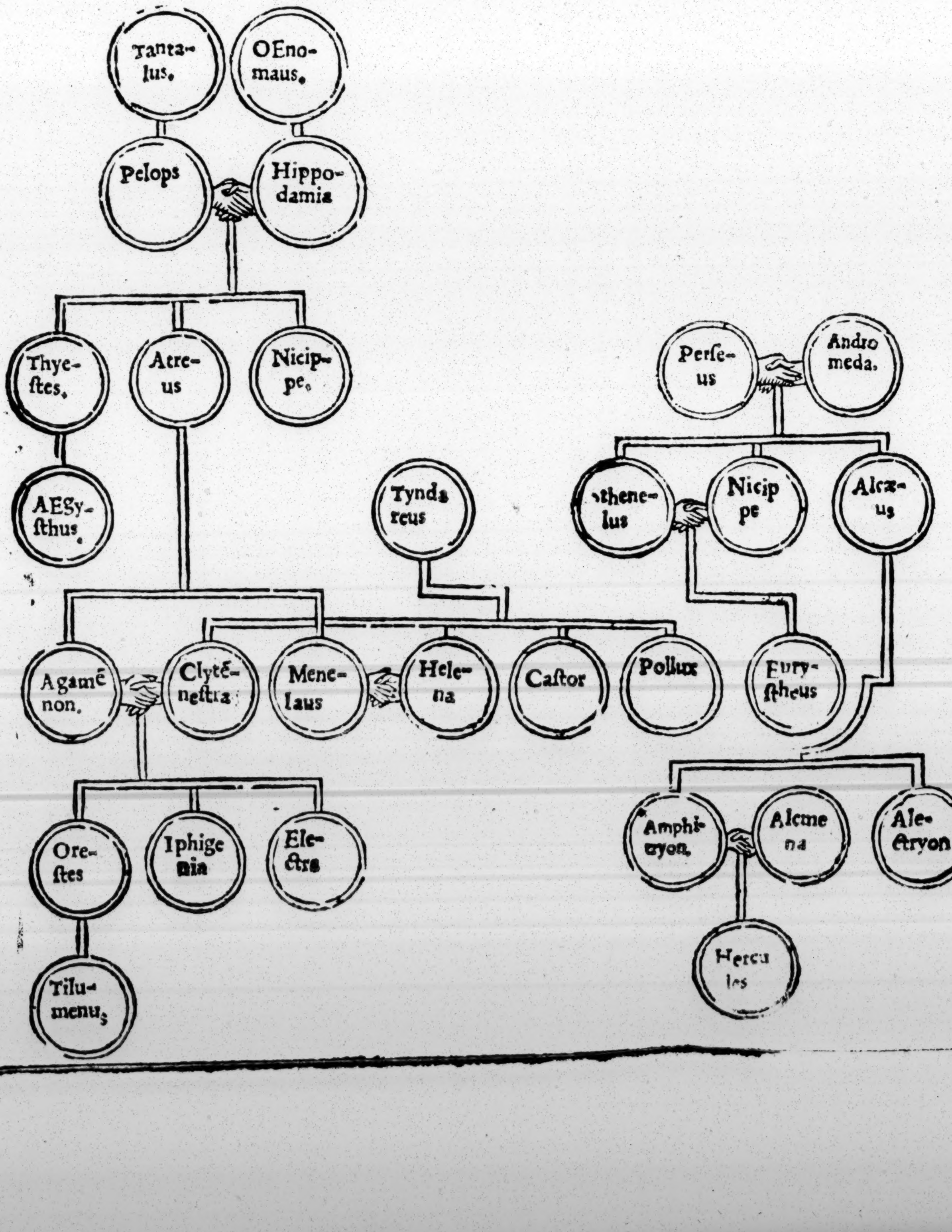
	Iulian. *World.* *promiſe*	*Moſes.*	*Aſſyria.*	*Ægypt.*	*Sicyon.*	*Argiues*	
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1. *Mamilas, or* *Mamelus.* 30.	12 135	34	53	
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	6 1. *Phorbas,* 35	
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1. *Orus* 2. *or Buſiris,* 38. 138	37	2	*Athenians.*
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1. *Sparetus,* 40	28 165	13 1. *Marathius* 30	29	
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 1. *Cecrops* 50
Moſes viſites his brethren the Iſraelites, kils an Ægyptian, and flies into Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. *Tripas,* 46	5
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1. *Thermutis, or Acencheres, Qu* 12, 176	12	5	9
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. *Rathoris, or Achoris* 9. 188	24	17	21
	3178 2496 413	63	31	8 195	14 1. *Marathus,* 20	24	28
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1. *Chencres* 16 197	3	26	30
	3188 2506 423	73	18 1. *Aſcatades.* 40	9 205	11	34	38
Moſes his wandering into Ægypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45
	Iulian. *World* *Exodus*	*Moſes.*	*Aſſyria.*	*Ægypt.*	*Sicyon.*	*Argos.*	*Athens*
The Paſſeouer. Iſrael deliuered out of Ægypt. Pharaoh drowned. The **Law** *giuen. The firſt of the* 480 *yeeres from Exodus to building the Temple.*	3196 2514 1	81	9	12 1. *Acherres,* 8. 213	19	42	46
The Flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton about this time.	3198 2516 3	83	11	3 215	15 1 *Echireus,* 55	44	48
	3201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1. *Crotopus,* 21	2 1 *Cranaus* 10
	3204 2522 9	89	17	13 1. *Cherres,* 15 221	7	4	4
	3211 2529 16	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 1 *Amphitryon:* 12
	3219 2537 24	104	32	14 1. *Armeus, or Danaus* 5. 236	22	19	9
	3222 2540 27	107	35	4 239	25	9 1 *Sthenelus* 11	12

	Iulian. *World.* *Exodus*	*Moſes.*	*Aſſyria.*	*Ægypt*	*Sicyon*	*Argos.*	*Athen*	
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 *Ericthonius,* 50	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 1. *Rameſſes*, 68 241	27	3	2	*Troy*
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1. *Amyntas* 4	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 245	32	8	7	1 *Dar* *us*, 6
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. *Danaus*, 50	11	5
The laſt yeere of Moſes.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Iulian. *World* *Exodus*	*Iſrael*	*Aſſyria.*	*Ægypt.*	*Sicyon.*	*Argos.*	*Athens*	*Troy.*
The Iſraelites enter the Land of Promiſe.	3236 2554 41	1 1 *Ioſua* 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1. *Corax*. 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	2 1. *Othoniel*, 40	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	20 1 *Belochus the ſecond*, 25	50 290	21	41	5 1. *Pandion* 40	45
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	17 1. *Epopeus* 35	11 1. *Lynceus* 41	11	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1 *Menophis*, 40 309	10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	2 *Ericthonius* 4
	3294 2612 99	3 1 *Ehud* 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 103	5	21 1 *Belopares*, 30	7	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 , *Erect-* *heus*, 50	21
	3318 2636 123	25	21	27 335	18 1 *Lamedon*, 40	36	6	26
	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 341	7	12 1. *Abbas*, 2.	12	32
	3328 2646 133	35	22 1. *Lamprides* 32	37 345	11	5	16	36

The 19. Dynaſtie: *of the* Larthes, 194. *yeeres.* See L.2.c.26.§.4.	3332 2650 137	39	5	17 1 *Zethus, or Sethoſus.* 55 1	15	9	20	4
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	3 1.*Tr* 6
Tantalus *in Phrygia.*	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1.*Prœtus*, 17	35	9
	3358 2676 163	65	31	27 27	19 1.*Sicyon*, 45	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1. *Soſares*, 20.	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 .*Cerops the ſecond*, 40.	25
Pelops *in Piſa, who gaue name to Peloponneſus.*	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1. *Acriſius*, 31	2	26
Ion *and* Xuthus *the ſonne of* Hellen. See Lib.2.c.17.§.6.	3374 2692 179	4 1. *Debora & Ba* 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1.*Lampares* 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	8	18 1.*Ramſes*, 66. 56	30	24	25	49
After the death of Acriſius, the Kingdome of the Argiues was diuided into many ſmall parts, and ouergrowne by that of Mycenæ, whereof ſome Kings deſcended from Perſeus, others from Pelops as in the Pedegree following.	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56


Tantalus.
OEnomaus.
Pelops
Hippodamia
Thyestes.
Atreus
Nicippe.
AEgysthus.
Perseus
Andromeda.
Sthenelus
Nicippe
Alcæus
Tyndareus
Agamēnon.
Clytēnestra
Menelaus
Helena
Castor
Pollux
Eurystheus
Orestes
Iphigenia
Electra
Amphitryon.
Alcmena
Alectryon
Anaxo
Tilumenus
Hercules

	Iulian. World Exodus	*Iſrael*	*Aſſyria.*	*Ægypt*	*Sicyon.*	*Mycenæ.*	*Athens*	*Troy.*
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	4 1. *Ilus*, 55.
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1. *Euriſtheus*, 45	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. *Polybus*, 40	2	8 1 *Pandio the 2.* 25	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. *Pannias*, 45	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1 *Gedeon.* 40	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Pandion *chaſed out of his Kingdome, which is recouered by hi* *ne* Aegeus, *in few yeares after. The omiſsion of this Interreg* *n, and reckoning the yeares in the forty eight of* Aegeus, *or the* *mbring them apart by themſelues, breeds anſwerable difference* *the times of the Athenians following · as of* Mneſtheus, Ca- *pi, and the reſt.*	3427 2745 232	14	18	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1. *Aegeus*, 48	34
Oedipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. *Inachus* 42	42	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61 116	5	1. *Atreus and Thyeſtes*, 65	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 1. *Amenophis*, 40 122	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1. *Abimelech*,	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. *Laomedon*, 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1 *Soſarmus* 19	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. *Tholas*, 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2792 379	18	27 1 *Mitreus*, 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2798 285	8 1. *Iair*, 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. *Theſeus* 30	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. *Pheſtus*, 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	6 1. *Priamus*, 40
	3493 2811 298	14	26	20 1. *Annemenes*, 26 162	23 1. *Adraſtus*, 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. *Polyphides*. 31	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. *Tautanes*, 32	9 170	5	55	22	12

	Iulian. *World* *Exodus*	*Iſrael*	*Aſſyria*	*Ægypt*	*Sicyon.*	*Mycenæ.*	*Athens*	*Troy.*
	3502 2820 307	9 1. *Iephta*, 6	2	10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313	10 1. *Ibzan* 7	8	16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64	11 1. *Mnesthe'* 24	21
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1. *Agamemnon* 18	3	23
	3515 2833 320	11 1. *Elon* 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	25
The warre of Troy beganne this yeare.	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 1. *Thuoris*, 7 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 1. *Abdon*. 8	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20. *Dynaſtie, called Of the Diapolitani, began this yeare in Ægypt, and laſted* 178. *yeares,* See lib: 2. c. 26. § 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1. *Dynaſtie*, 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3	25 1. *Pelaſgus*, 20	17	19	39
Troy taken 408. *yeeres, before the beginning of the Olympiads.* See L. 2. c. 14. §. 1.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. *Troy ta*

	Iulian, *World,* *Exodus*	*From Troy taken.*	*Iſrael.*	*Aſſyria*	*Ægypt*	*Sicyon.*	*Mycenæ.*	*Athens*	*The Kiogdo of the Latine*
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1. *Aegysthus*, 6	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. *Sampſon*, 20	29 1. *Tenteus* 40	8	6	4	24	1 1. *Ænea*,
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 1. *Demophon*, 33	2
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1. *Oreſtes*, 70	3	2 1. *Aſcaniu*
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 1. *Zeuſippus*, 32	13	15	13
	3553 2871 358	2	14 1. *Eli*, 40	21	28	6	18	20	18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 1. *Oxintes*, 12	32
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 1. *Thyneus* 30	48	26	38	7	38
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8	3 1. *Syl. Poſt mus*, 29.

	Iulian. *World.* *Exodus*	*From Troy taken.*	*Iſrael.*	*Aſſyria*	*Ægypt*	*Sicyon.*	*Mycenæ.*	*Athens*	*The Kingdome of the Latines.*
The Sycionian Kings ended in Zeuſippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. *Aphilas*, 1	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. *Timœtes*, 8.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. *Melanthus*, 37	15
	3593 2911 398	64	15 1. *Samuel, & after him Saul*, 40	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1. *Dercilus*, 40	78		68	16	4 1. *Sylvius Æneas* 31.
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1 *Tiſamenus*, 2	19	4
he deſcent of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, gaue end to the ngdome of Mycena, and beginning to the Kingdome of Sparta, rinth, and Meſſone, the Kings whereof I forbeare to inſert into is Table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22	7
	3625 2943 430	96	33	23	100			17 1. *Codrus* 21	23

	Iulian. *World.* *Exodus*		*From Troy taken.*	*Iſrael*	*Aſſyria*	*Ægypt*	*Athens*	*Latines*	
	3633 2951 438		104	1. *David*, 40.	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2952 439		105	2	32	109	10	5 1. *Syl. Latinus*, 50	
	3643 2961 448		114	11	32 1. *Eupales*, 38	118	19	10	
The Medontidæ ſucceede vnto the Athenian Kings, fter the death of Codrus. ee lib.2.c.17.§.10.	3646 2964 451		117	14	4	121	1 1. *Medon*, 20	13	
	3666 2984 471		137	34	24	141	2 1. *Agaſtus*, 36	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Ægypt. See L.2.c.26. § 5.	3673 2991 478	*Temple* 1	144	1. *Salomon*, 40	31	148	8	40	
Salomon began to build the Temple 480. *yeares comleat after the deliuerance out of Ægypt.*	3676 2994 481	1	147	4	34	151	11	43	
	3681 2999	6	152	9	33 1. *Leoſthenes*, 45	156	16	48	
	3684 3002	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. *Syl. Alba.*	
	3692 3010	17	163	20	12	1. *Seſac* 26 167	27	9	
	3702 3020	27	173	30	22	11 177	3 1. *Archippus*, 19	19	

	Iulian. World.	*Temple*	*From Troy taken.*	*Iſrael*	*Aſſyria.*	*Ægypt*	*Athens*	*Latines*
The 21. *Dynaſtie in Ægypt, which laſted* 130. *yeeres.*	3704 3022	29	175	32	24	13 1	3	21
The Ionicke migration after the taking of Troy, 180. *yeeres.* See L.2.c.17.§.6.	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26

	Iulian. World. Temple	*Troy.*	*Iuda.*	*Iſrael.*	*Aſſyria*	*Ægypt*	*Athens*	*Lati*
	3713 3031 38	184	1 1. *Rehoboam.* 17	1 1. *Ieroboam.* 22	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	1, *Chemmis,* 50 15.	17	35
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 18	4 1. *Terſippus,* 41	38
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3	7 1 *Syl.* *tys,*
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	34 1, *Pyrithiades.* 30	9 23	6	4
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1. *Abijam.* 3	18	5	13 27	10	8
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1, *Aſa,* 41.	21	8	16 30	13	11
	3734 3052 59	205	2	22 2 1. *Nadab* 2.	9	17 31	14	12
	3735 3053 60	206	3	2 3 1. *Baaſha,* 24.	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3067 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	29	8 1. *Sy* *Cap.*
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	35 1. *Ophrateus,* 20	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83	229	26	24 4 1. *Ela,* 2.	3	41 55	38	10
Of these Iſraelitiſh Kings, See lib.2.c.19.§.5.	3759 3077 84	230	27	3 5 1 { *Zimri.* 6. *Tibni.* 7. *Omri.* 12	4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	5 1. *Phorbas,* 31	14
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10	13	1. *Cheops,* 56, 65	7	20
	3770 3088 95	241	38	12 8 1. *Ahab,* 22	15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99	245	4 1. *Iehoſophat.* 25	5	19	7 71	13	26

	Iulian. *World.* *Temple*	*Troy.*	*Iuda.*	*Iſrael*	*Aſſyria*	*Ægypt*	*Athens*	*Latines*
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	36 1. *Ophratanes.* 50	9 73	15	28
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1. *Syl. Capetus,* 13
Of Iehoram *his ſundrie beginnings to reigne.* See lib.2.c.20.§.1.& 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. *Iehoram.*	21 9 1. *Ahazia,*2.	15	23 87	29	10 1. *Syl. Tyberinus.* 8.
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 2 10 1. *Iehoram.*	16	24 88	30	2
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	6 1. *Mezades,* 30.	4
	3795 3113 120	266	22 1. *Iehoram againe,* 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6
Iehoſaphat *dies, and* Iehoram *reignes alone.*	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1. *Syl Agrippa,* 41
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. *Ahazia.* 1.	12	27	35 99	10	5
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. *Athalia* 7	11 1. *Iehu.*28.	28	36 100	11	6
	3809 3127 134	280	7 8 1. *Ioas.*40.	7	34	42 106	17	12
Carthage built L.2.c.22.§.6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	56 120	7 1 *Diognetus,* 28	26
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1 *Cephrenes,* 50. 121	2	27
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	37 *Ocrazapes, Or.* 1. *Anicyndaraxes* 42	3 123	4	29
	3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1. *Iehoahaz.* 17	6	8 128	9	34
The end of the 21. *Dynaſtie. The Dynaſties following I omit.*	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 130	11	36
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	12 1 *Sil. Alladius,* 19
Ioas *reigned with his Father,* L.2.c.22.§7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. *Ioas.*	20	22	23	7
Ioas *reignes alone.*	3847 3165 172	318	39	1. *Ioas,* 16.	22	24	25	9
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. *Amazia,* 20	2	23	25	26	10

	Iulian. *World.* *Temple*	*Troy.*	**Iuda.**	*Iſrael*	*Aſſyria*	*Ægypt*	*Athens*	*Latines*	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1. *Pheredus*, 19.	13	
	3858 3766 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	13 1. *Syl. Aventinus* 37.	
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1. *Ieroboam* 41	37	39	12	5	
	3868 3186 193	339	21	7	38 1. *Sardanapalus.* 20	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1. *Ariphron.* 20	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. *Mycerinus* 6	5	16	
	Iulian. *World.* *Temple*	*Troy.*	**Iuda.**	*Iſrael*	*Aſſyri*	*Ægypt*	*Athens*	*Latines*	*Media.*
L. 2. C. 22. §. 11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. *Interregnum* 11. *yeares.*	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	1. *Bocchorus* 44	11	22	
L. 2. c. 22. §. 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20. *Sardanapalus ſlain.*	8	18	29	
L. 2. c. 33. § 1. & 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. *Vzzia, or Azaria.* 52	27		9	19	30	1 1. *Arbaces.* 28
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1 *Theſporus*, 27	32	3
L. 2. c. 23. §. 4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1 1. *Beloſus, or Phul.* 48.	13	3	34	5
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. *Syl. Procas,* 23	8
L. 2. c. 23. §. 1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. *Interregnum* 23. *yeeres.*	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1. *Soſarmus*, 30.
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	11 1. *Agameſtor.* 20	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1. *Syl. Amulius* 44	3
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	[illegible] *y in* [illegible] *after* [illegible] *Am*[illegible] *ſis.* 6	8	7	9
Zacharia *began at the very end of the yeere.* L. 2. c. 23. § 1.	3925 3243 250	396	38	23 15 *Zacharia ſix Moneths*	34	2	0	8	10

	Iulian. *World.* *Temple*	*Troy.*			*Iuda.*	*Iſrael.*	*Aſſyria*	*Egypt*	*Athens*	*Latine.*	*Me*
	3926 3244 251	397			39	16 *Shallum one month.* 17 *Menahem.*	35	3	10	9	11
This yeere neerely concurres with the first of Menahem	3927 3245 252	398			40	10. 1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	*1. Sabaccus the Ethiopian.* 50	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	*Iphitus*	*Olympiads.*	50	18 1. *Pekahia.* 2	46	8	12 1. *Eſchylus* 23	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L.2.c.23.§ 5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1 1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	1 2	52	19 *1. Peka Romeliæ.* 20.	48	10	3	22	24
L.2.c.23.§.6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	1 3	11 1 *Iothã* 16	2	2 *1. Tiglath Phul. Aſſar,* 27	11	4	23	25
	Iulian. *World.* *Temple*	*Iphit.*	*Olymp.*	*Iuda.*	*Iſrael*	*Aſſyria*	*Ægypt*	*Athens*	*Latins*	*Media*	
	3946 3264 271	9	3 1	7	8	7.	17	10	29	*1. Medidus,* 40	
	3955 3273 280	18	5 2	16 12 *1. Ahaz,* 16	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6 2	5	1. *Interregnum 7. yeeres*	20	30	23	42	14	
	3960 3278 285	23	6 3	6	2	21	31	13 *1. Alcmæon,* 2.	43	15	
	Iulian. *World.* *Temple*	*Rome.* *Nabon.*	*Iphitus*	*Olymp.*	*Iuda.*	*Iſrael*	*Aſſyria*	*Egypt.*	*Athens*	*Romãs.*	*Medi*
Rome *built.* Lib.2.chap.24.§.5. Carops *the First, gouerning in Athens for ten yeeres: after whom ſucceeded ſixe choſen each after other for the like time; and thence the Office became Annuall.*	3962 3280 287	1	25	7 1	8	4	23	33	1 1. *Carops,* 10	1 *Romulus,* 37	17
	3966 3284 291	5	29	8 1	12	20 1. *Hoſea* 9	27	37	5	5.	21
The Æra of Nabonaſſar. Lib.2.c.25.§.1.	3967 3285 292	6 1	30	8 2	13	2	3 *1. Salmanaſar, or Nabonaſſar,* 10	38	6	6	22
Ezekia *began in the verie end of this yeare.* L.2.c.23.§.1.	3968 3286 293	7 2	31	8 3	14 13 *Ezekiah* 29	3	2	39	7	7	23
This yeare concurres with the first of Ezekia. *Ibid.*	3969 3287 294	8 3	32	8 4	15 1	4	3	40	8	8	24
The beginning of the first Meſſenian war. Whereof ſee L.2.c.27.§ 4. *It laſted* 20.*yeares.*	3971 3289 296	10 5	34	9 2	3	6	5	42	10	10	26
Samaria beſieged by Salmanaſſar.	3972 3290 297	11 6	35	9 3	4	7	6	43		11	27

he captiuitie of the ten Tribes.	3974 3292 299	13 8	37	10 1	6	9	8	45		13	29
	3976 3294 301	15 10	39	10 3	8		10 4 *1. Senacherib. 7*	47		15	31
L.2.c. 26.§ 7.	3980 3298 305	19 14	43	11 3	12	*King. of he Caldeans.*	5	1. *Sethon.* 33		19	35
enacheribs *Army deſtroyed, and he ſlaine.* L.2.c.25.§ 2.	3982 3300 307	21 16	45	12 1	14		7	3		21	37
	3983 3301 308	22 17	46	12 2	15	*1. Merodach, or Mardocēpalus.*	5 *1. Aſarhaddon* 10	4		22	38
	3986 3304 311	25 20	49	13 1	18	4	4	7		25	4 1. *Cardiceas*, 13
Merodach *gets the whole empire. This yeere or i e end of the yeare foregoing, an eclipſe of the Moone*	3993 3311 318	32 27	56	14 4	25	1 *1. Merodach, 40*	11	14		32	8
	Iulian. *World.* *Temple*	*Rome.* *Nabon.*	*Iphit.*	*Olymp.*	*Iuda.*	*Caldea.*	*Ægypt*	*Rome.*	*Media.*	*Lydia.*	
Two eclipſes of the Moone, in the ſecond yeere of ardocempadus.	3994 3312 319	33 28	57	15 1	26	2	15	33	9		
	3997 3319 322	36 31	60	15 4	29	5	18	36	12	1 1. *Gyges*, 38.	
	3998 3316 323	37 32	61	16 1	14 1. *Manaſſes.*	6	19	37	13	2	
	3999 3317 324	38 33	62	16 2	2	7	20	*Interregnum one yeere.*	5 1. *Deioces*, 53	3	
	4000 3318 325	39 34	63	16 3	3	8	21	2 *1. Numa Pompilius*, 43	2	4	
L.2.c.27.§.2.	4013 3331 338	52 47	76	19 4	15	21	1. *Interregnum* 2.	14	15	17	
	4015 3333 340	54 49	78	20 2	18	23	1. 12 *Princes*, 15	16	17	19	
The beginning of the ſecond Meſſenian war; which ed about 18. yeares. Lib. 2.c.27.§.3.	4029 3347 354	68 63	92	23 4	32	37	15 *1. Pſammiticus*, 44	30	31	33	
L.2.c.78.§ 3.	4033 3351 358	72 67	96	24 4	36	2 *1 Ben. Merodach* 21	5	34	35	37	
	4035 3353 360	74 69	98	25 2	38	3	7	36	37	2 1. *Ardys*. 49	
	4043 3361 368	82 77	106	27 2	46	11	15	3 *1. Tullius Hoſtilius.* 33	45	9	
	4052 3370 377	91 86	115	29 3	55	20	24	10	6 *1. Phraortes*, 24	18	
	4053 3371 378	92 87	116	29 4	15 1. *Amon*, 2.	21	25	11	2	19	

	Iulian. World. Temple	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Iuda.	Chaldæa.	Ægipt	Rome	Media	Lydia.
The expedition of the Scythians. Lib.2.c.28.§.3.& 4.	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30 1	2	3 1. Nabu- laſſer. 35	26	12	3	20
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	30 2	16 1. Ioſi- as, 31	2	27	13	4	21
Lib.2.c.28.§.1.	4073 3391 398	112 107	136	34 4	19	20	1. Ne- co. 17	31	22	39
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35 2	21	22	3	4 1. Ancus, Martius 34	24	41
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35 3	22	23	4	2	7 1 Cyaxa- res, 40	42
	4084 3402 409	123 118	147	37 3	30	31	12	10	9	3 1. S[illegible] ettes, 1[illegible]
Lib.2.c.28.§.1.& 2.	4085 3403 410	124 119	148	37 4	37 17 Ioachaz, 3.moneths.	32	13	11	10	2
Nabuchodonoſor *had reigned one yeare with his Father, which is to be regarded in Aſtronomicall obſeruations concerning his time.* Lib.2.c.28.§.6.&.C.25.§.1.	4086 3404 411	125 120	149	38 1	18 1. Iehoia- kim. 11.	33	14	12	11	3
	4089 3407 414	128 123	152	38 4	4	4 1 Nabucho- donoſor the Great 44.	17	15	14	6
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39 1	5	2	1. Pſa- mis, 12	16	15	7
	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40 3	11 19 1. Ichoni 3. months.	8	7	22	21	4 1. Hal[illegible] attes
Zedekiah *his iourney to Babylon.* L.2.c. 28.§ 6.	4099 3417 424	138 133	162	41 2	20 Zedekia 11. yeeres. 4	11	10	5 1 L Tar- quin. Pri- ſcus, 38	24	4
	4102 3420 427	141 136	165	42 1	7	14	1 Apries or Ho- phra. 10	4	27	7
Ieruſalem taken by Nabuchodonoſor, *with whoſe 18. for the more part, and partly with whoſe 19. this yeere concurres.*	4106 3424 431	145 140	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11
	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp	Captivity.	Caldea	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.
Ieruſalem deſtroyed.	4107 3425	146 141	170	43 2	1	19	6 1. Phar. Hophra ſlaine, and the kingdom of Egypt gouerned 40 yeeres by Viceroye	9	32	12
Ægypt conquered by Nabuchodonoſor. L. 3.c. 1. §. 8.& 9.	4111 3429	150 145	174	44 2	5	23		13	36	16
	4116 3434	155 150	179	45 3	10	28	6	18	8 1 Aſtya- ges, 35	21
Nabuchodonoſor *liues wilde; and his Kingdome is gouerned by others for him, during ſeuen yeeres.* L.3.c.1.§.13.	4125 3443	164 159	188	47 4	19	37 1 Euil- merodac.	15	27	10	30
	4127 3445	166 161	190	48 2	21	39 1. Nigli- ſar, et Ni- tocris, 4	17	29	12	32

	Iulian. and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Iuda.	Chaldæa.	Ægipt	Rome	Media	Lydia.	
Nebuchadnezzar *recouers his ſenſe and Kingdom.*	4131 449	170 165	194	49 2	25	43 1. Laborosardach 9 mon.	21	33	16	36	
Lib. 3. c. 1. §. 6. *The* 37. *of* Iechonia *his captiuity compleat, and he enlarged.*	4133 3451	172 167	196	49 4	27	5 Euilmerodach 26	23	35	18	38	
	4137 3455	176	200	50 4	31	5	27	6 1. Seruius Tullus, 44	22	42	
Fortie yeares after the Conqueſt of Egypt paſt, Amaſis *began his reigne: this being incluſiuely the 41. and therefore the next yeere ſeemes concurrent with* Amaſis *his firſt.*	4151 3469	190 185	214	54 2	45	19	Amaſis 34	15	9 1. Cyaxares or Darius the Mede, 26	56	
	4153 3471	192	216	54 4	47	21	2	17	3	5 1. Crœſus, 14.	

	Iulian World	Rome Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Perſia	Caldea	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Iewes.
	4154 3472	193 188	217	55 1	1 1. Cyrus in Perſia 23	22	3	18	4	2	48
The ſeuen Sages in Greece.	4159 3477	198 193	222	56 2	6	6 1. Balthaſar. 17	8	23	9	7	53
Piſiſtratus makes himſelfe Tyrant in Athens.	4164 3482	203 198	227	57 3	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	4166 3484	205 200	229	58 1	13	8	15	30	16	14 Crœſus taken by Cyrus.	60
The end of the Chaldean Empire.	4175 3493	214 209	238	60 2	22	17. Balthaſar ſlaine.	24	39	25		69
	4176 3494	215 210	239	60 3	23	1. Darius the Mede, 2	25	40	26		70
The beginning of Cyrus his Empire. *His edict of liberty to the Iewes.*	4177 3495	216 211	240	60 4	1 Cyrus 7	2	26	41	Yeeres from 1 Cyrus		Zorobabel.
	4181 3499	220 215	244	61 4	5		30	7 L. Tarquini' Superbus, 25	5		*Onely* Zorobabell *&* Nehemias *are remembred as gouernours of the Iewes, vnto the* 32 *of* Artaxerxes Mnemon. *But there were many before* Nehemias, *as himſelfe witneſſeth* Ch. 5. v. 15. *ſo that the ſtories of them, their number and names, are vncertaine.*
	4184 3502	223 218	247	62 3	2 1. Cambyſes 7		33	4	8		
The 2 firſt yeares of Pſammeticus, & part of the third may be added to the years of his father, if it bee true that Cambyſes wan Egypt preſently on the death of Amaſis, L. 3. c. 4. §. 2.	4186 3504	225 220	249	63 1	3		1 Pſammonitus, 3.	6	10		
The Conqueſt of Egypt by Cambyſes.	4188 3506	227 222	251	63 3	5		3	8	12		

	Iulian World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Perſia	Ægipt	Rome	Greece.	Iewes	From Cyrus.	
Cambyſes reigned ſeuen yeares and fiue moneths, ſo as his laſt yeare was filled vp by the Magi, and (as may ſeeme) a good part of the next. L. 3. C. 4. §. 4.	4191 3509	230 225	254	64 2	8 The Magi one yeare		11			15	
	4192 3510	231 226	255	64 3	3 1 Darius Hyſtaſpis, 36.		12			16	

	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus	Olymp.	Perſia.	Ægypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Iewes and from Cyrus.
	4197 3515	236 231	260	65 4	6		17	Hippias the ſon of Piſiſtratus Tirant in Athens.	21
	4204 3522	243 238	267	67 3	13 Babylon, which had rebeld, taken by Darius.		42		28
The Tarquines expelled Rome. L.4.c.7.§.1.	4205 3523	244 239	268	67 4	14		25		29
The Carthaginians firſt league with Rome. L.5.c.1.§.2.	4206 3524	245 240	269	68 1	15		Brutus & Publicola } Conſulles.		30
L.3.c.5.§4.	4211 3529	250 245	274	69 2	20. Darius his expedition againſt the Scythians				35
	4212 3530	251 246	275	69 3	21			The Athenians and Ionians take Sardes.	36
	4222 3540	261 356	285	72 1	31		Sp.Caſsius Poſth. Cominius Conſuls.	The battaile of Marathon.	46
	4226 3544	265 260	289	73 1	35	Ægypt rebelleth againſt Darius.			50
	4228 3546	267 262	291	73 3	4 1. Xerxes. 21				52
The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for diuiſion of Lands: which bred great commotion.	4229 3547	268 263	292	73 4	2	Ægypt recouered by Xerxes.	Proc. Virginius. Sp. Caſsius. } Coſſ.		53
An Eclipſe of the Sun. L.3.c.6.§2.	4233 3551	272 267	296	74 4	6. The great muſter of Xerxes his armie at Sardes.				57
L.3.c.6.§.3.& 6.	4234 3552	273 268	297	75 1	7			The battailes at Thermopylæ, Artemiſium, and Salamis.	58
L.3.c.6.§.9.10.& 11.	4235 3553	274 269	298	75 2	8. Xerxes his tragicall loue			The battle of Platea and Mycale.	59
L.3.c.7.§.1.and 2.	4237 3555	276 271	300	75 4	10			The Athenians rebuild their walls, & lay the foundation of their Dominion.	62
	4244 3562	283 278	307	77 3	17			The great victories of Cimon, at Eurymedon, and elſewhere.	68
Lib.3.c.7.§.3.	4248 3566	287 282	311	78 3	21 The death of Xerxes, by the treaſon of Artaban°.				72
	4249 3567	288 283	312	78 4	5 1. Artaxerxes Longimanus. 40			Themiſtocles being baniſhed, flyes to Artaxerxes.	73
	4251 3569	290 285	314	94 2	3	Inarus ſet vp as King by the Ægyptians.			75
L.3.c.7 §.5, & 7.	4255 3573	294 289	318	80 2	7. The mariage of Heſter	Inarus vanquiſhed by the Perſians.	The deceviri choſen to cōpound a bodie of the Roma. Lawes.		79. Eſdras cometh to Ieruſalem, 1. Daniel his 70. weekes, or 490. yeres beginne.
	4264 3582	303 298	327	82 3	16			Hippocrates the great Phyſitian, and Democritus the Philoſopher flouriſh.	80 10.

The Accompt from the ſolution of the Captiuitie, is the ſame with that from Cyrus.	*Iulian.* *World.*	*Rome.* *Nabon.*	*Iphitus*	*Olymp.*	*Perſia.*	*Ægypt*	*Rome.*	*Greece.*	*Iewes, from C rus and Daniel.*
	4265 3583	304 299	328	82 4	17		The decemuiri choſē for a ſecond yeere, tyranize & vſurpe the place a 3. yeere.	*Cymons voyage to Cyprus, in which he dyed.*	89 11
Nehemias *comes to Ieruſalem.*	4268 3586	307	331	83 3	20			*A League for 30 yeeres, betweene Athens & Sparta.*	92 14
	4272 3590	311 306	335	84 3	24		Tribuni Militum firſt choſen inſted of Cōſul. Dionyſ. Liuy placeth thē in the 110 yeere of Rome.		96 18
	4273 3591	312 307	336	84 4	25			*The conqueſt of Samos by the Athenians vnder Pericles.*	97 19
	4278 3596	317 312	341	86 1	30			*The Athenians & the Corcyræans againſt the Corinthians*	102 24
The walles of Ieruſalem finiſhed. Nehemias *returnes to King* Artaxerxes.	4280 3598	319 314	343	86 3	32				104 26
Lib.3.c.8.ſ.1.	4283 3601	322 317	346	67 2	35			*The firſt yeare of the Peloponneſian Warre.*	107 29
L.3.c.9.ſ.1. L.3.c.8.ſ.4.	4289 3607	328 323	352	88 4	6 *Xerxes 2. months.* 7. *Sogdianus 8. mon*			*The victorie of the Athenians at Pylus.*	113 35
L.3.c.9.ſ.1.	4290 3608	329 324	353	89 1	8 1. *Darius Nothus.* 19				114 36
L.3.c.8.ſ.5. and 6.	4292 3610	331 326	355	89 3	3			*A vaine & troubleſome peace betweene Athens & Sparta.*	116 38
L.3.c.9.ſ.1. & c.8.ſ,8.	4301 3619	340 335	364	91 4	12. Egypt rebelleth againſt the Perſian, and ſets vppe Kings that reigne ſucceſſiuely, till Ochus his re-conqueſt.	1 1. *Amyrtæus,* 6		*The Athenian forces in Sicil vtterly deſtroyed.*	125 48
Cap.8.ſ.9.	4302 3620	341 [illegible]	365	92 1	13. Darius enters into confederacie with the Spartanes.	2		*The gouernment of the 400. in Athens, which was ſuppreſſed the yere following*	128 50
The Carthaginians inuade Sicil with an Army of 300000. L.5.c.1.ſ.4.†3.	4304 3622	[illegible] 338	367	92 3	15	4		*The Athenians beginne to recouer ſtrength.*	125 50
L.3.c.8.ſ.10.	4306 3624	345 340	369	93 1	17	6		Alcibiades after many victories returnes from baniſhment to Athens: is made Generall, and baniſhed againe.	130 52
	4307 3625	346 341	370	93 2	18	2 1. *Nephres* 6		*The battaile at Arginuſæ.*	131 53
	4308 3626	347 342	371	93 3	19	2		*Dionyſius the elder vſurps tyrannie in Syracuſe.*	132 54
L.3.c.8.ſ 12.	4309 3627	348 343	372	93 4	9 1. *Artaxerxes Mnemon,* 43	3		*The battaile at Argos, Potamos, &c,*	133 55
	4311 3629	350 345	374	94 2	3	5	*The ſiege of Veii, laſted 10 yeares*		135 57
L.3.c.10.ſ.1.	4313 3631	352 347	376	94 4	5. *The expedition of Cyrus againſt Artaxerxes.*	3 1. *Acoris* 12		*Socrates put to death. The 30. tirants put downe in Athens*	137 59

	Iulian. and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Perſia	Ægypt	Rome.	Greece.	Iewes From Cyrus Daniel.
Lib.3.c.15.§.4.	4318 3636	357 352	381	96 1	10	6		*Ageſilaus warreth in Aſia.*	142 64
L.3. c.11.§.7.	4320 3638	359 354	383	96 3	12	8		*The victory of Conon at Gnidus, &c.*	144 66
	4321 3639	360 355	384	96 4	13	9	*Vey taken by Camillus.*	*Xenophon and Plato flouriſh.*	145 67
	4325 3643	364 359	388	97 4	17	3 1.Pſammiticus the ſon of Inarus, & after him Nephres, that had bin expelled, reigned in all about two yeeres.	*The honorable victory of Camillus ouer the Faliſci.*		149 71
Lib.4.c.7.§.1 Lib.3.c.11.§.9.	4326 3644	365 360	389	98 1	18	2	*Rome taken & burnt by the Gauls*	*The Peace of Antalcidas.*	150 72
	4327 3645	376 361	390	98 2	19	4 1. *Nectanebus.* 18			151 73
	4332 3650	371 366	395	99 3	24	6	*M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death.*	*The Lacedemonians take the Citadell of Thebes by treaſon.*	156 78
Lib.3.c.11.§.11.	4336 3654	375 370	399	100 3	28	10		*The Thebans recouer their Citadell, and make ſtrong warre vpon the Lacedemonians*	160 82
	4340 3658	379 374	403	101 3	32	14	Tribunes of the people cótinued 5, yea. in office, propound popular Lawes, among which, That one of the Conſull: ſhould be ſtil a Plebeian.		164 86
L.3.c.12.§.1.	4343 3661	382 377	406	102 2	35	17		*The famous battaile of Leuctra.*	167 89
L.3.c.12.§.4.	4345 3363	384 379	408	102 4	37	4 1,Tachus 8. Euſebius giues onely two yeares to Tachus. Reinec.6. but the ſtorie of him proues more.	*L. Sextus a Plebeian & L, Aemylius, Conſuls.*	*The haſty growth of the Theban eſtate.*	169 91
	4351 3669	390 385	414	104 2	43 *Many Prouinces rebel againſt Artaxerxes, & are ſoone reclaimed.*	7		*The great Battaile of Mantinæa.* *Epaminondas dyes.*	175 97 *Ionathan*
L.3.C.12.§.8.	4352 3670	391 386	415	104 3	10 1. *Ochus.* 23	*8. Tachus betraied by Ageſilaus.* *1. Nectanebus,13*		*Peace in Greece. The Athenians weaken themſelues by conuerting their treaſure to vaine vſes.*	176 98 *about this time High Prieſt.*
	4354 3672	393 388	417	105 1	3	3		*1. Philip King of Macedon 24. yeares, and part of the 25.*	178 100
L.4.c.1.§.4.	4359 3677	398 393	422	106 2	8	8		*6 The Phocians warre begins.*	183 105
	4364 3682	403 398	427	107 3	12. *Ochus reconquers Ægypt.*	13. *Nectanebus flies into Æthiopia.*		11	188 110
L.4.c.1.§6.	4368 3686	407 402	431	108 3	17			15. *The end of the Phocian warre.*	192 114
L.5.c.1.§.4.†.4.	4369 3678	408 403	432	108 4	18			16. *Timoleon his voyage into Sicil.*	193 115
	4370 3688	409 404	433	109 1	19	*Nabonaſſar. Nouemb. the 17.*		17. *Philip waſteth Illyria, & drawes the Theſſalians to follow him.*	194 116
After this, the yeares from Cyrus & Daniel *are too few, by One.*	4375 3693	414 409	438	110 2	11 1. *Arſes* 3.			22	199 *Iaddus High* 121 *Prieſt* 16

	Iulian. and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Perſia	Ægypt	Rome.	Greece.	Iewes From Cyrus. Daniel.
	4376 3694	415 410	439	110 3	2			23 The battaile of Cheronæa. Philip choſen Captaine Generall of the Greekes.	2 199 121
L.4.c.1.§.8.	4378 3696	417 412	441	111 1	12. 1. Darius 6 yeeres & ſomwhat more	Nabon. Nouemb. 15.		25. Philip ſlaine by Pauſanias. 1. Alexander the great, 12 yeares, and fiue moneths.	4 201 123
	4379 3697	418 413	442	111 2	2			2 Thebes razed by Alexander.	5 202 124
	4380 3608	419 414	443	111 3	3			3 Alexander paſſeth into Aſia.	6 203 125
L.4.c.2.§.4.	4381 3699	420 415	444	111 4	4 The battaile of Iſſus.			4	7 204 126
L.4. c.7. §.5 6. & 7. & L.5.c.2. §.8.	4382 3700	421 416	445	112 1	5		The Gauls enter in league with the Romanes.	5 Alexander wins Tyre and Ægypt.	8 205 129 Iaddus meeting Alex. is reuerenced by him.

	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.						
An Eclipſe of the Moon	4383 3701	422 417	446	112 2	6 The battaile of Arbela.				6. Babylon, Suſa, and Perſepolis won by Alexander.	9 206 128
Lib.4.c.2. §.13.	4384 3702	423 418	447	112 3	7 Darius ſlaine by Beſſus.				7	10 207 129
					Macedon.	Ægypt.		Greece	Romans.	Iewes. Daniel
	4385 3703	424 419	448	112 4	8. Alexand. changes conditions, putting to death Parmenio & Philotas					11 130
	4380 3704	425 420	449	113 1	9 Alexander paſſeth into India: kils Clytus & Caliſthenes.					12 131
Alexander dyed 17. dayes before the Summer Solſtice. From Nabonaſſar hitherto are collected 424. yeares: and hence to the reigne of Auguſtus, 294. The ſumme is, 718 yeeres, which agree with this accompt, Ptolem. Almageſt. l.3.c.8.	4390 3708	429 424	453	114 1	13. Alexander dyes at Babylon.	Nabon. Nouemb. 12.				16 135
	4391 3709	430 425	454	114 2	1. Aridæus, 6 and foure moneths.	1 1. Ptolomie Lagi. 29.	L.3.c 3 §.1, 2 & 3.	The Lamian War.		1. Onias, 23 136
	4394 3712	433 428	457	115 1	4	4. Perdiccas ſlaine in Egypt. Nab. Nou 11	L.4. C.3. §.8. & 9.	Victories of Eumenes.		4 139
	4395 3713	434 429	458	115 2	5 Antigonus ſent againſt Eumenes.	5				5 140
Aridæus ſlaine by Olympias, Antigon beaten by Eumenes.	4397 3715	336 431	460	115 4	7	7				7 142
Eumenes betraied to Antigonus. Olympias ſlaine by Caſſander. Antigonus growes dreadfull	4398 3716	437 432	461	116 1	1. Caſſander. 19	8		Thebes re-edified by Caſſander.		8 143
Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this 12 from Alexander, by which account he reigned 32 yeares.	4402 3720	441 436	465	117 1	5	12 Nabonaſſar, Nouemb. 9.	Demetrius beaten at Gaza, by Ptolomie and Seleucus.			12 147
Peace between Alexanders Captains: with diuiſion of Prouinces.	4403 3721	442 437	466	117 2	6	13				13 148

	Iulian. and World.	*Rome. Nabon.*	*Iphit.*	*Olymp.*	*Macedon.*	*Ægypt.*	*Syria, and the Kingdome of the Greekes.*	*Greece.*	*Romans.*	*Iewes. Daniel.*
The Æra of the Kingdome of the Greekes.	4404 3722	443 438	467	117 3	7	14	1 1. *Seleucus.* 30 1	Lib.4.c.5.§.7		14 149
Alexanders *Captaines aſſume the name of Kings.*	4406 3724	445 440	469	118 1	9	16 *Ptolomy ouercome by Demetrius at Cyprus*	3 3	*Athens ſet free by Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus.*		16 151
Lib.4.c.6. §.4.	4413 3731	452 447	476	119 4	16	23	*10. The battaile at Ipſus, wherein Antigonus was ſlaine* 10			23 158
	4414 3732	453 448	477	120 1	17	24	*11. Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius.* 11			*1. Timon the Ancient.* 13 159
	4417 3735	456 451	480	120 4	*1. Antipater and Alexander the ſon of Caſſander.*	27	14 14			4 162
Lib.4. c.6. §.7.	4421 3739	460 455	484	121 4	1. *Demetrius* 6	31	18 18			8 166

	Iulian. World	*Rome. Nabon*	*Iphit:*	*Olympyads.*	*Macedon.*	*Ægypt*	*Syria.*	*Greece.*	*Rome.*	*Iewes Daniel*	
	4427 3745	466 461	490	123 2	1. *Pyrrhus,* 7. *Moneths.*	37	24			*1. Eleazar hie Priſt* 19 172	
	4428 3746	467 462	491	123 3	1. *Lyſimachus.* 5.	38	25			2 173	
	4429 3747	468 463	492	123 4	2	*39.* 2 *1. Ptolomie Philadelphus.* 38	26 26			3 174	
The Tranſlation of the Bible by the Septuagint.	4432 3750	471 466	495	124 3	5	4	29 29		**The Tarentines rayſe war in the eaſtern part of Italy, and cal in Pyrrhus againſt the Rom.**	6 177	
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FINIS.

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